Appendix E

Me’

Figure E.1: Irineo and Linda del Rosario

(E.1) tyi ’añ jum-p’ej k’in domingo  
PREP EXT one-NC.general day SP.Sunday  
‘It was a Sunday.’
(E.2) tyi 'añ jum-p'ej k'iñ domingo tyi xînk'iñîl
PREP EXT one-NC.general day SP.Sunday PREP midday
‘It was midday on a Sunday.’

(E.3) ta' k-tyemp-ä-loñ k-bâ
PERF 1E-unite-VT-PL.EXC 1E-self
‘We got together.’

(E.4) jo'-tyikil kixtyaî-ôb
six-NC.people SP.person-PL
‘Five people.’

(E.5) jo'-tyikil kixtyaî-ôb 'am-bâ-loñ ts'i'
six-NC.people SP.person-PL EXT-REL-PL.EXC dog
‘Five people and a dog with us.’

(E.6) y-ik'oty jul-oñ-ib
3E-with shoot-AP-NOM
‘With guns.’

(E.7) entonses ta' k-sub-e-y-ôb pi'âl-ob, koñla k-ajîni-sañ
SP.and.so PERF 1E-say-VT-EPN-PL friend-PL let's.go 1E-run-CAUS me’
dereer
‘And so I said to my friends, let’s go hunt deer.’

(E.8) ta' k-tyemp-ä-loñ k-bâ
PERF 1E-unite-VT-1PL.EXC 1E-self
‘We got together.’

(E.9) tyi majl-i-Ø k'el-oñ
PERF go-VI-3A see-1A
‘They went to see me.’

(E.10) ta’ majl-i-Ø k'el-ob baki 'añ jiñî me’
PERF go-VI-3A see-PL where EXT DET deer
‘They went to see where the deer was.’

(E.11) ya’ baki 'añ jiñî me’
there where EXT DET deer
‘There where the deer was.’
(E.12) \( ta' \)  
\[ k'oty-i-y-oñ-lojoñ \]  
\[ tyi \]  
\[ jum-p'ej \]  
PERF arrive-VI-EPN-1A-PL.EXC PREP one-NC.round 
\[ chobälél \]  
\[ rozadura.de.milpa \]  
“We arrived in a rozadura de milpa.”

(E.13) \( ta' \)  
\[ kañi \]  
\[ i-k'el-be-loñ \]  
\[ i-y-ok \]  
\[ jiñi \]  
\[ me' \]  
PERF PROSP 3E-see-APP-PL.EXC 3E-EPN-foot/leg DET deer 
“We began to see the deer’s footprints.”

(E.14) \( yo'aiñ \)  
\[ jiñi \]  
\[ i-y-ok \]  
\[ me' \]  
there-EXT DET 3E-EPN-foot/leg deer 
“There where the deer’s footprints were.”

(E.15) \( entonces \)  
\[ jiñi \]  
\[ k-pi'ñl \]  
\[ tyofilo \]  
SP.and.so DET 1E-friend Teofilo 
“And so my friend Teofilo…”

(E.16) \( kabál \)  
\[ wiñ \]  
\[ y-ujil \]  
\[ y-ajñi-sañ-tyel \]  
\[ me' \]  
\[ i-ts'i' \]  
lot lot 3E-know 3E-run-CAUS-PASS deer 3E-dog 
“. . .whose dog really knows how to hunt deer.”

(E.17) \( wiñ \)  
\[ y-ujil \]  
\[ y-ajñi-sañ-tyel \]  
\[ me' \]  
\[ \)  
lot 3E-know 3E-run-CAUS-PASS deer 
“He really knows how to hunt deer.”

(E.18) \( ta' \)  
\[ y-ilä-be-Ø \]  
\[ baki \]  
\[ 'añ \]  
\[ i-y-ok \]  
PERF 3E-see-APP-3A where EXT 3E-EPN-foot/leg 
“He saw where the deer’s footprints were.”

(E.19) \( tyi \)  
\[ kaj-i-Ø \]  
\[ i-tsäklä-beñ-Ø \]  
\[ majl-el \]  
\[ i-y-ok \]  
PERF begin-VI-3A 3E-follow-APP-3A go-NOM 3E-EPN-foot/leg 
\[ jiñi \]  
\[ ts'i' \]  
DET  dog 
“The dog began to go follow the deer’s footprints.”

(E.20) \( che' \)  
\[ tyi' \]  
\[ tsäkl-ä-Ø \]  
\[ majl-el \]  
\[ ts'i' \]  
when PERF.3E follow-VT-3A go-NOM dog PERF 
“When he began to follow it…”
(E.21) \text{tyi weñ jumuk ta' k-il-ä-Ø-loñ ya' tyä-æ-loñ} \\
PREP good short.time PERF 1E-see-VT-PL.EXC there arrive-NOM \\
\text{jiñi me'} \\
DET deer \\
‘In a short time we saw where the deer was coming.’

(E.22) \text{mi i-weñ cha'leñ-Ø ajñ-el tyä-æ-loñ} \\
IMPF 3E-lot do-3A run-NOM arrive-NOM \\
‘It arrives running.’

(E.23) \text{ta' k'oty-i-Ø tyi koty-äl che'bä weñ dyes metro} \\
PERF arrive-VI-3A PREP stay-POS like good SP.ten SP.meter \\
‘It came and stood about ten meters away.’

(E.24) \text{ta' k'oty-i-Ø} \\
PERF arrive-VI-3A \\
‘It arrived.’

(E.25) \text{ta' y-il-ä-y-o-lojoñ jiñi me'-i} \\
PERF 3E-see-VT-EPN-1A-PL.EXC DET deer.PROX \\
‘The deer saw us.’

(E.26) \text{ta' tyip'-i-Ø} \\
PERF jump-VI-3A \\
‘It jumped.’

(E.27) \text{entonses jiñi me' ta' y-il-ä-y-o-lojoñ tyi} \\
SP.and.so DET deer PERF 3E-see-VT-EPN-1A-PL.EXC PERF \\
tyip'-i-Ø \\
jump-VI-3A \\
‘And so the deer saw us and it jumped.’

(E.28) \text{ta' majl-i-Ø ya' baki 'añ i-potrero dom beto} \\
PERF go-VI-3A there where EXT 3E-SP.field SP.Mr. Beto \\
‘It went to Don Beto’s field.’

(E.29) \text{osea ba'añ i-potrero orbelin} \\
SP.that.is where.EXT 3E-SP.field Orbelin \\
‘I mean, Orbelin’s field.’
(E.30) jiñi me'-i ta’ i-tyemp-ä-Ø i-bää y-ik’oty borrego
DET deer-PROX PERF 3E-unite-VT 3E-self 3E-with SP.sheep
‘The deer ran into the sheep.’

(E.31) ta’ i-tyemp-ä-Ø i-bää y-ik’oty borrego
PERF 3E-unite-VT-3A 3E-self 3E-with SP.sheep
‘It ran into where the sheep were.’

(E.32) entoneses li ts’i’-i ya’ tyi i-säty-be-Ø jiñi
SP.and.so that dog-PROX there PERF 3E-lose-APP-3A DET
y-uts’i
3E-scent
‘And so the dog lost its scent.’

(E.33) tyi i-säty-be-Ø y-uts’i
PERF 3E-lose-APP-3A 3E-scent
‘It lost its scent.’

(E.34) entoneses li ts’i’-i ta’ kaj-i-Ø tyi tyo’ol
SP.and.so that dog-PROX PERF begin-VI-3A PREP in.vain
kotyokñigel ñumel
wander walk
‘And so the dog began to wander around aimlessly.’

(E.35) ma’añ tyi’ ña’ty-ä-Ø baki tyi majl-i-Ø me’
NEG.EXT PERF.3E know-VT-3A where PREP go-VI-3A deer
‘It didn’t know where the deer went.’

(E.36) entoneses tyi’ käy-ä-Ø jiñi ts’i’
SP.and.so PERF.3E leave-VT-3A DET dog
‘And so the dog gave up.’

(E.37) ta’ cha’ majl-i-Ø k-päs-be-loñ...
PERF again go-VI-3A 1E-show-APP-PL.INC
‘And we went again to show him...’

(E.38) baki tyi’ cha’ tyech-e-Ø ta’ i-chä’ tyaj-a-Ø
where PREP.3E again begin-VT-3A PERF 3E-again find-VT-3A
yambä
other
‘Where he could find another.’
(E.39) \textit{ta’} \textit{i-cha’} \textit{tyaj-a-Ø yambā} \\
PERF 3E-again find-VT-3A other \\
‘He found another.’

(E.40) \textit{entonses} \textit{’ili ts’i’ ta’ majl-i-Ø y-ajnī-san-Ø majl-el} \\
SP.and.so DET dog PERF go-VI-3A 3E-run-CAUS-3A run-NOM \\
‘And so the dog left to follow him.’

(E.41) \textit{ta’} \textit{majl-i-Ø} \\
PERF go-VI-3A \\
‘He went.’

(E.42) \textit{tyi} \textit{majl-i-Ø jīnī ts’i’} \\
PERF go-VI-3A DET dog \\
‘The dog left.’

(E.43) \textit{entonses} \textit{ta’} \textit{jīnī cha’añ ta’ majl-i-Ø ‘ila tyi ‘ototal} \\
SP.and.so PERF DET for PERF go-VI-3A there PREP Ototal \\
‘And so because of that that he went to Ototal.’

(E.44) \textit{ma’-ix} \textit{ta’} \textit{k-īl-ā-Ø-loñ baki ta’ majl-i-Ø} \\
NEG-ALR PERF 1E-see-VT-3A-PL.EXC where PERF go-VI-3A \\
‘We didn’t see where he went.’

(E.45) \textit{entonses} \textit{jīnī ta’ tyēl-i-Ø juñ-tyikil k-pi’āl} \\
SP.and.so DET PERF arrive-VI-3A one-NC.people 1E-friend \\
\textit{jorhe-bā} \textit{i-k’aba’} \\
Jorge-REL 3E-name \\
‘And so my friend Jorge arrived.’

(E.46) \textit{ta’} \textit{tyēl-i-Ø i-k’el-Ø ‘ila tyi potrero roberto} \\
PERF arrive-VI-3A 3E-see-3A there PREP SP.potrero Roberto \\
‘He arrived to see in Roberto’s potrero…’

(E.47) \textit{mi} \textit{ma’añ tsikil jīnī me’} \\
if NEG.EXT visible DET deer \\
‘If the deer wasn’t there.’

(E.48) \textit{ya’} \textit{tyi k’oty-i-Ø i-koty tyaj} \\
there PERF arrive-VI-3A 3E-standing find \\
‘He arrived to find it standing there.’
(E.49) \textit{ta’ k’oty-i-Ø i-tyaj-Ø me’}
\hspace{1cm} \text{PERF arrive-VI-3A 3E-find-3A deer.‘}
\hspace{1cm} ‘He arrived to find the deer.’

(E.50) \textit{entoneses jiñi sebastian tyi’ sub-e-Ø...}
\hspace{1cm} \text{SP.and.so DET Sebastian PERF.3E say-VT-3A}
\hspace{1cm} ‘And so Sebastian said to him...’

(E.51) \textit{sebastian che’ la’-añ jiñi me’ che’ tyi i-sub-e-Ø}
\hspace{1cm} \text{Sebastian so here-EXT DET deer so PERF 3E-say-VT-3A}
\hspace{1cm} ‘Here’s the deer, Sebastian said.’

(E.52) \textit{entoneses sebastian ta’ y-il-ä-Ø jiñi me’}
\hspace{1cm} \text{SP.and.so Sebastian PERF 3E-see-VT-3A DET deer}
\hspace{1cm} ‘And so Sebastian saw the deer.’

(E.53) \textit{che’ ya’ majl-el tyi ajñ-el jiñi me’...}
\hspace{1cm} \text{when there go-NOM PREP run-NOM DET deer}
\hspace{1cm} ‘When the deer went running...’

(E.54) \textit{ta’ i-ch’uyb-ä-Ø}
\hspace{1cm} \text{PERF 3E-whistle-VT-3A}
\hspace{1cm} ‘He whistled.’

(E.55) \textit{ta’ koty-le-Ø jiñi me’}
\hspace{1cm} \text{PERF stand-POS-3A DET deer}
\hspace{1cm} ‘The deer was standing.’

(E.56) \textit{entoneses ya’ tyip’äl i-jul-Ø jiñi me’}
\hspace{1cm} \text{SP.and.so there in.this.moment 3E-shoot-3A DET deer}
\hspace{1cm} ‘And so in that moment he shoots the deer.’

(E.57) \textit{tyip’äl i-jul-Ø}
\hspace{1cm} \text{in.this.moment 3E-shoot-3A}
\hspace{1cm} ‘Then he shoots.’

(E.58) \textit{pero ma’añ tyi’ tyaj-a-Ø}
\hspace{1cm} \text{SP.but NEG.EXT PERF.3E find-VT-3A}
\hspace{1cm} ‘But he didn’t find him.’
(E.59) \(ta'\) majl-\(i\)-\(Ø\)  
PERF go-VI-3A  
‘He went.’

(E.60) entoneses pero teofilo ma'\(a\)ñ \(a\)ñ tsikil k'oty-el che'\(ñ\)ak  
SP.and.so SP.but Teofilo NEG.EXT visible arrive-NOM then  
ji\(ñ\)i  
DET  
‘And so Teofilo hadn’t arrived at that time.’

(E.61) \(y\)-ik'oty candido  
3E-NC.with Candido  
‘Neither had Candido’

(E.62) kome \(a\)ñ\(-\)o\(-\)i jul\(-\)o\(ñ\)-\(ib\) ta' majl-\(i\)-\(Ø\)  
SP.because EXT-PL-PROX shoot-AP-NOM PERF go-VI-3A  
i\(-\)k'el-\(Ø\)-ob tyi yamb\(á\)  
3E-see-3A-PL PREP other  
‘Because they had their rifle they went to look in another part.’

(E.63) entoneses ta' majl-\(i\)-\(Ø\)  
SP.and.so PERF go-VI-3A  
‘And so he went.’

(E.64) ta' k\(-\)cha' tyemp-a\(-\)\(Ø\)-lo\(ñ\) k-b\(á\)  
PERF 1E-again unite-VT-3A-PL.EXC 1E-self  
‘We got together again.’

(E.65) ji\(ñ\)i jo\(ñ\)o\(ñ\), aurelio, candido, sebastian, y-ik'oty jo\(ñ\)o\(ñ\)  
DET 1PRON Aurelio Candido Sebastian 3E-with 1PRON  
‘Me, Aurelio, Candido, Sebastian, and me.’

(E.66) ta' k\(-\)sub-e-\(Ø\)-lo\(ñ\) teofilo  
PERF 1E-say-VT-3A-PL.EXC Teofilo  
‘We told Teofilo’

(E.67) che'\(b\)á ora poray tyi lasdos delatarde  
this SP.time SP.around PREP SP.two.o'clock SP.in.the.afternoon  
‘at that time it was around two o’clock in the afternoon.’
(E.68)  
\[ ta-k \quad sub-e-\varnothing \]
PERF-1E say-VT-3A
'I said...'

(E.69)  
\[ chokoch \quad ma’ani \quad mi \quad a-pas-be \quad 'och-el \quad ji\text{"}ni \quad a-tsi' \]
why NEG.EXT IMPF 2E-show-APP-3A enter-NOM DET 2E-dog
'Why don’t you show your dog how to go in...'

(E.70)  
\[ baki \quad tyi \quad 'och-i-\varnothing \quad majl-el \quad ji\text{"}ni \quad me' \]
where PERF enter-VI-3A go-NOM DET deer
‘...there where the deer went in.’

(E.71)  
\[ ta’-b\text{"} \quad i-jul-u-\varnothing \quad Sebastian \quad cho’oni \quad tyi-k \quad sub-e-\varnothing \]
PERF-REL 3E-shoot-VT-3A Sebastian I.say PERF-1E say-VT-3A
‘The one that Sebastian shot, that’s what I told him.’

(E.72)  
\[ entoneses \quad ta’ \quad y-\text{"}al-\text{"} \varnothing \quad teofilo, \quad yom\text{"}ach \]
SP.and.so PERF 3E-say-VT-3A Teofilo okay
‘And so Teofilo said, okay.’

(E.73)  
\[ alomejor \quad ji\text{"}ni \quad me' \quad jul-ul-ix, \quad che' \quad ta' \quad y-\text{"}al-\text{"} \varnothing \]
SP.probably DET deer shoot-POS-ALR so PERF 3E-say-VT-3A
‘Probably the deer was already shot, that’s what he said.’

(E.74)  
\[ eridoj-ix \quad ji\text{"}ni \quad me' \]
SP.injured-ALR DET deer
‘The deer is already hurt.’

(E.75)  
\[ alomejor \quad 'a\text{"}n-ix \quad ba' \quad w\text{"}ay-\text{"}al \quad tyi \quad matye'el \]
SP.probably EXT-ALR where sleep-POS PREP jungle
‘Probably he’s there asleep in the jungle.’

(E.76)  
\[ ya' \quad lich-il \quad i-k'ayo(?) \]
there weak-POS 3E-rest
‘There he’s weak, resting.’

(E.77)  
\[ mi \quad tyi \quad la-k-pas-be-\varnothing \quad ts'i', \quad mi \quad ke \quad i-tyaj \]
if PERF PL-1E-show-APP dog IMPF PROSP 3E-find
‘If we showed the dogs, they’d find him.’
(E.78) entones ta-k sub-e-Ø sebastian
   SP.and.so PERF-1E say-VT-3A Sebastian
   'And so I told Sebastian...'

(E.79) wäch mi aw-ajñ-el 'ila tyi' potrero beto
   here.AFF IMPF 2E-run-NOM here PREP.3E SP.potrero Beto
   'Stay here in Don Beto’s field'

(E.80) porke mi ta' tyál-i-Ø jiñi me'-i...
   SP.because if PERF arrive-VI-3A DET deer-PROX
   'Because if the deer comes...'

(E.81) mi ke i-ñum-el 'ila tyi potrero orbelin
   IMPF PROSP 3E-pass-NOM here PREP SP.field Orbelin
   'He’ll come by here in Orbelin’s field.'

(E.82) ta' käy-le-Ø sebastian i-pi’yañ ya' tyi bij
   PERF stay-POS-3A Sebastian 3E-wait there PREP path
   'Sebastian stayed to wait for him in the path'

(E.83) candido ta' majl-i-Ø 'ix tyi i-potrero tio
   Candido PERF go-VI-3A there PREP 3E-SP.field SP.uncle
   Sebastian
   'Candido went to the potrero of Uncle Sebastian.'

(E.84) deyayi entones jiñi aurelio ta' käy-le-Ø ya'
   SP.from.there SP.and.so DET Aurelio PERF stay-POS-3A there
   tyi chobüel
   PREP plot
   'From there Aurelio stayed in the plot of land.'

(E.85) entones ta' jiñi i-tyaj-a-Ø jiñi ts'i'
   SP.and.so PERF DET 3E-find-VT-3A DET dog
   'And so the dog found him.'
(E.87) jonoñ ta’ majl-i-Ø k’el ya’ tyi jum-p’ej bij
1PRON PERF go-VI-3A see there PREP one-NC.round path
‘I went to look in a path.’

(E.88) ta’ kaj-i-y-oñ tyi ’oñ-el
PERF begin-VI-EPN-1A PREP yell-NOM
‘I began to yell.’

(E.89) jiñi ts’i’ yax woli i-tyech-Ø tyal-el
DET dog there.ALR PROG 3E-raise-3A arrive-NOM
‘The dog was already bringing him up.’

(E.90) ta’ k-oty-ű-Ø joñon che’ ta’ k-oty-ű-Ø
PERF 1E-yell-VT-3A 1PRON so PERF 1E-yell-VT-3A
‘I yelled at him, I yelled at him.’

(E.91) tyi k-űl-ụ-Ø che’...
PERF 1E-say-VT-3A so
‘I told him that...’

(E.92) mi-k majl-el tyi ya’ baki ’añ-ob i-jul-oñ-ib
IMPF-1E go-NOM PREP there where EXT-PL 3E-shoot-AP-NOM
‘I would go to where the weapons were.’

(E.93) che’ ya’ mi-k jul-Ø-ob tyi k-űl-ụ-Ø
so there IMPF-3E shoot-3A-PL PERF 1E-say-VT-3A
‘So there I would shoot them, I said.’

(E.94) pero ma’añ ta’ majl-i-Ø
SP.but NEG.EXT PERF go-VI-3A
‘But he didn’t go.’

(E.95) entones yambä tyi tyaj-a-Ø ts’i’
SP.and.so other PERF find-VT-3A dog
‘And so the dog found another.’

(E.96) yambä jun-koty kolem me’
other one-NC.animal big deer
‘Another bigger deer.’
(E.97) ta’ majl-i-Ø, ta’ majl-i-Ø
PERF go-VI-3A PERF go-VI-3A
‘He went, he went.’

(E.98) entones ta’ k-il-ä-Ø tyi sujty-i-Ø i-t’s’i’-i
SP.and.so PERF 1E-see-VT-3A PERF return-VI-3A 3E-dog-PROX
jiñi teofilo
DET Teofilo
‘And so I saw when Teofiolo’s dog came back.’

(E.99) ta’ sujty-i-Ø jiñi ts’i’ teofilo
PERF return-VI-3A DET dog Teofilo
‘Teofilo’s dog came back.’

(E.100) jiñi-k papa ya’añ tyi potrero k-tio sebastian
DET-1E father there-EXT PREP SP.field 1E-SP.uncle Sebastian
‘My father was there in the field of my uncle Sebastian.’

(E.101) y-ik’oty oso y-ik’oty bufi
3E-with Oso 3E-with Bufi
‘With Oso and Bufi.’

(E.102) tyi y-ub-i-Ø che’ woli tyi ajñ-él i-pi’äl
PERF 3E-hear-VT-3A so PROG PREP run-NOM 3E-friend
‘He heard how his friend was running.’

(E.103) ta’ tyãl-i-Ø tyi ajñ-él i-k’el ’ila tyi
PERF arrive-VI-3A PREP run-NOM 3E-see there PREP
manga
SP.mango
‘He arrived running to see here in the mango tree.’

(E.104) tyi y-il-ä-Ø jiñi me’ che’ ’iya’ majl-él tyi
PERF 3E-see-VT-3A DET deer so there run-NOM PREP
i-sãkl-a-Ø majl-él
3E-follow-VT-3A go-NOM
‘He saw the deer and went to follow him.’

(E.105) tyi i-sãkl-a-Ø majl-él
PERF 3E-follow-VT-3A run-NOM
‘He went to follow him.’
'And so the deer tried to go in the river.'

'It threw itself into the water.'

'There in the water with the cascades.' (lit.: . . . the tall hanging water.)

'There the deer couldn’t get up and out.'

'It can’t get out because it’s high.'

'Because the deer is hurt . . . '

'And can’t get up.'

'It couldn’t get up.'

'There he was broken.'
(E.115) entoneses ta'-bi k'oty-i-Ø ji ni k-papa
    SP.and.so PERF-REP arrive-VI-3A DET 1E-father
    'And so they say my father arrived.'

(E.116) ta'-bi kaj-i-Ø i-k'el-Ø-ob
    PERF-REP begin-VI-3A 3E-see-PL
    'They say they began to look at it.'

(E.117) ta'-bi 'och-i-Ø i-tsep-beñ-Ø i-bik' tyi ja'
    PERF-REP enter-VI-3A 3E-cut-APP-3A 3E-neck PREP water
    'He went into the water to cut its neck in the river.'

(E.118) tyi' tsep-be-Ø i-bik'
    PERF.3E cut-APP-3A 3E-neck
    'He cut his neck.'

(E.119) ta'-bi 'och-i-Ø i-ts'oty-beñ-Ø i-xulub
    PERF-REP enter-VI-3A 3E-grab-APP-3A 3E-horn
    'He went in to grab his horns.'

(E.120) ya'-'aañ braulio tyi jop'-a-Ø i-jul-Ø
    there-EXT Braulio PREP try-VT-3A 3E-shoot-3A
    'There where Braulio tried to shoot it.'

(E.121) tyi i-jol ta' 'och-i-Ø bala
    PERF 3E-head PREP enter-VI-3A SP.bullet
    'A bullet went into his head.'

(E.122) entoneses me' ta' jub-i-Ø i-wersa
    SP.and.so deer PERF lower-VI-3A 3E-SP.power
    'And so the deer lost its power.'

(E.123) ta' jub-i-Ø i-wersa me'
    PERF lower-VI-3A 3E-SP.power deer
    'The deer lost its power.'

(E.124) deyayi entoneses che' ta'-ix chäm-i-Ø, chäm-i-Ø
    SP.and.from.there SP.and.so so PERF-ALR die-VI-3A die-VI-3A
    'And so then the deer died, it died.'
(E.125) \( ta' \ i-tyuk'\-ä-y-ob \) \( \text{lets-el} \) \( tyi \) \( pān\text{lum} \)

PERF 3E-pull-VT-EPN-PL go.up-NOM PREP earth

‘They brought him to the ground.’

(E.126) \( pero \ ma'\text{a}n-\text{i-k} \) \( ta' \ ň\text{ajt}y \) \( tyi \) \( k'\text{oty-i-}0 \) \( tyi \)

SP.but NEG.EXT-SUB PERF far PREP arrive-VI-3A PREP

yaj\-el \( me' \)
fall-NOM deer

‘But they didn’t get very far before the deer fell.’

(E.127) \( ya'\text{-ba} \) \( muk'\text{-ob} \) \( tyi \) \( ts'\text{âm-el} \) \( x\text{-bi}'\text{tayal-ob} \)

there-where IMPF-PL PREP bathe-NOM CL-child-PL

‘There where the kids bathe.’

(E.128) \( y\text{-ujty-el} \) \( ts'\text{âm-el} \)

3E-finish-NOM bathe-NOM

‘It ended where they bathe.’

(E.129) \( enton\text{ses} \) \( cha'\text{a}n \) \( ma'\text{a}n \) \( mi' \) \( ň\text{a}'\text{tayn-ob} . . . \)

SP.and.so for NEG.EXT IMPF.3E know-Ø-PL

‘And so in order that they don’t know . . . ’

(E.130) \( mach \) \( maxk\-i \) \( cho'\text{nkol} \) \( i\text{-jul-}0 \) \( ji'n\_mi \)

NEG who PROG 3E-shoot-3A DET deer

‘Who is shooting the deer . . . ’

(E.131) \( ma'\text{a}n \) \( ta' \) \( k\text{-sub-u-}0\text{-lo}n \) \( k-bä \)

NEG.EXT PERF 1E-say-VT-3A-PL.EXC 1E-self

‘We didn’t talk to each other.’

(E.132) \( tyi \) \( k\text{-tyuk'}\text{-u-}0\text{-lo}n \) \( maj\text{-el} \) \( tyi \) \( matye'el \)

PREP 1E-pull-VT-3A-PL.EXC go-NOM PREP forrest

‘We dragged him into the forrest.’

(E.133) \( jal \) \( ya'a\text{-lo}n \) \( pi't\text{ya}n \) \( ji'n\text{-tyo} \) \( ta' \) \( k'\text{oty-i-}0 \)

a.while there-PL.EXC wait DET-STILL PERF arrive-VI-3A

k\text{-pi'il-ob} \( tyi \) \( laj \) \( i-k\text{'el-e-}0\text{-y-ob} \)
1E-friend-PL PREP PERF 3E-see-VT-3A-EPN-PL

‘We waited a while until my friends arrived to see.’
(E.134) che' tyi i-k'el-e-Ø-y-ob me’ mach jiñi ta’-bā
so PREP 3E-see-VT-3A-EPN-PL deer NEG DET PERF-REL
i-jul-u-Ø sebastian
3E-shot-VT-3A Sebastian
‘when they saw the deer it wasn’t the one that Sebastian had shot.’

(E.135) yambā, yambā kolem me’
other other big deer
‘It was another, another big deer.’

(E.136) yambā me’
other deer
‘Another deer.’

(E.137) entoneses, ta’ ke-k pos-o-Ø-loñ jiñi me’
SP.and.so PERF PROSP-1E clean-VT-3A-PL.EXC DET deer
‘And so, we began to clean him.’

(E.138) ta’ kek pos-loñ jiñi me’
PERF PROSP-1E clean-PL.EXC DET deer
‘We began to clean the deer.’

(E.139) ta’ k-la lu’-tsep-be-Ø-y-ob i-bāk’tyal
PERF 1E-PL all-cut-APP-3A-EPN-PL 3E-meat
‘We cut all of its meat.’

(E.140) tyi’ lu’-tsep-be-y-Ø-ob i-bāk’tyal
PREP.3E all-cut-APP-EPN-3A-PL 3E-meat
‘They cut all of the meat off him.’

(E.141) pejtyelel i-bāk’tyal
all 3E-meat
‘All of its meat.’

(E.142) i-y-ok i-bāk-el
3E-EPN-foot/leg 3E-bone-NOM
‘His hoofs and his bones.’

(E.143) entoneses che’ tax ujty-i-Ø ‘ila k’el-beñ-tyel
SP.and.so so PERF.ALR finish-VI-3A that see-APP-PASS
pejtyelel i-bāk’tyal
all 3E-meat
‘And so when we had finished taking care of the meat...’
We began divide it between ourselves.'

Piece by piece we began to give it to ourselves.'

There were nine of us there.'

It was me, Aurelio, Candido, Sebastian, Jorge, and Braulio, my father…'

'And then we began to divide the meat.'

One piece for each person.'

'Okay.'
Jesus;

(E.152) *boloñ-tyikil*

nine-NC.people

‘Boloñtyikil.’

Irineo;

(E.153) *entonses* *ta’*  *k-ty’ox-be-Ø-loñ*  *i-bäk’tyal*

SP.and.so PERF 1E-divide-APP-3A-PL.EXC 3E-meat

‘And so we divided the meat.’

(E.154) *tax*  *k-ty’ox-be-Ø-loñ*  *tyi*  *pejtyelel*

PERF.ALR 1E-divide-APP-3A-PL.EXC PREP all

‘We divided all of it.’

(E.155) *ta’*  *kej*  *j-k’el-Ø-oñ*  *che’tyo-bä*  *alä*

PERF PROSP 1E-see-3A-PL.EXC so-STILL-REL small

jo’-p’ej  *kilo*  *i-bäk’tyal*

five-NC.round SP.kilo 3E-meat

‘We began to see there were still about five kilos of meat.’

Jesus;

(E.156) *jo’-p’ej*  *kilo*

five-NC.round SP.kilo

‘Five kilos.’

Irineo;

(E.157) *jo’-p’ej*  *kilo*  *i-bäk’tyal*

five-NC.round SP.kilo 3E-meat

‘Five kilos of meat.’

(E.158) *týijik-ña*  *ta’*  *sujty-i-y-o-lojoñ*  *porke*

happy-AFT PERF return-VI-EPN-1A-PL.EXC SP.because

’añ-loñ*  *k-we’el*

EXT-PL.EXC 1E-meat

‘We returned happy because we had our meat.’

(E.159) *entonses*  *jiñi*  *i-xulub*  *me’*  *tyi*  *ch’äm-be-Ø*  *tyofilo...*

SP.and.so DET 3E-horn deer PREP receive-APP-Ø Teofilo

‘Teofilo got the horns...’
(E.160) *cha’añ-bi mì i-jok’chokon i-morral*
   because-REP IMPF 3E-hang 3E-SP.morral
   ‘To hang on his morral they say.’

(E.161) *porke jÌn tyì’ tyech-e-Ø y-ajÌn-él i-ts’ì’*
   SP.because DET PERF.3E begin-VT-3A 3E-run-NOM 3E-dog
   ‘Because his dog began to hunt it.’

(E.162) *i-pàñchelel jÌn tyì’ ch’àm-be-Ø k-papa…*
   3E-hide DET PERF.3E receive-APP-3A 1E-father
   ‘The skin went to my dad.…’

(E.163) *cha’añbi mì tyiki-sañ-Ø*
   for-REP IMPF.3E dry-CAUS-3A
   ‘So that he could dry it.’

(E.164) *entonces che’añ li kwento le*
   SP.and.so so-EXT this SP.story this
   ‘And so that’s how the story is.’

(E.165) *bajche’ jÌn che’ ta’ ujty-i-Ø*
   how DET so PERF finish-VI-3A
   ‘So that’s how it ended.’

(E.166) *weñ tyijik-ña-y-o-lojöñ*
   good happy-AFT-EPN-1A-PL.EXC
   ‘We were really happy.’

(E.167) *ta’ k-tyaj-a-Ø-loñ k-we’el*
   PERF 1E-find-VT-3A-PL.EXC 1E-meat
   ‘We found our meat.’

(E.168) *ta’ jùl-i-y-oñ tyì’ k-otyoty ma’añ mì*
   PERF arrive-VI-EPN-1A PREP 1E-house NEG.EXT IMPF
   i-ña’tyan-Ø…
   3E-know-3A
   ‘When i arrived in my house they didn’t know…’

(E.169) *si mì ’añ i-we’el me’ k-ik’oty…*
   SP.if IMPF EXT 3E-meat deer 1E-with
   ‘If I had deer meat with me…’
(E.170) *mi 'añ i-we’el me’ tyi k-morral*  
If 3E-meat deer PREP 1E-SP.bag  
‘If there was deer meat in my bag.’

(E.171) *'ijik'-ix ta’ jul-i-y-on-lon ala ses de*  
dark-ALR PERF arrive-VI-1A-PL.EXC SP.at SP.six.o’.clock SP.of*la*  
SP.the SP.afternoon-ALR  
‘We arrived late, it was already around six in the afternoon.’

(E.172) *tyi k’oty-i-y-on tyi k-otyoty tyi*  
PERF arrive-VI-EPN-1A PREP 1E-house PERF  
k-pās-ā-Ø-lon we’el  
1E-show-VT-3A-PL.EXC meat  
‘I arrived in my house and we showed the meat.’

(E.173) *ta’ k-ch’ax-ā-Ø-lon ta’ j-k’ux-u-Ø-lon*  
PERF 1E-cook-VT-3A-PL.EXC PERF 1E-eat-VT-3A-PL.EXC  
‘We cooked it and we ate it.’

(E.174) *weñ sumuk*  
good tasty  
‘It was very tasty.’

(E.175) *ta’ ujty-i-Ø*  
PERF finish-VI-3A  
‘That’s how it ended.’