Appendix E

Me'

Figure E.1: Irineo and Linda del Rosario

(E.1) *tyi*   *'añ*   *jum-p'ej*   *k'iñ*   *domingo*
     PREP   EXT   one-NC.general   day   SP.Sunday
     'It was a Sunday.'

(E.2) *tyi   'añ   jum-p'ej   k'iñ domingo   tyi   xiñk'iñil*
       PREP   EXT   one-NC.general   day   SP.Sunday   PREP   midday
       'It was midday on a Sunday.'

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

(E.4) *jo'-tyikil   kixtyañ-ob*
       six-NC.people   SP.person-PL
       'Five people.'

(E.5) *jo'-tyikil   kixtyañ-ob   'am-bä-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-ob   pi'äl-ob,   koñla   k-ajñi-sañ*
       SP.and.so   PERF   1E-say-VT-EPN-PL   friend-PL   let's.go   1E-run-CAUS
       me'
       deer
       'And so I said to my friends, let's go hunt deer.'

(E.8) *ta'   k-tyemp-ä-loñ   k-bä*
       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   jiñi   me'*
        PERF   go-VI-3A   see-PL   where   EXT   DET   deer
        'They went to see where the deer was.'

(E.11) *ya'   baki   'añ   jiñi   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
      chobälel
      rozadura.de.milpa
      'We arrived in a *rozadura de milpa*.'

(E.13) *ta'*   *kaji*   *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) *ya'añ*   *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'äl*   *tyofilo*
      SP.and.so   DET   1E-friend   Teofilo
      'And so my friend Teofilo. . . '

(E.16) *kabäl*   *wiñ*   *y-ujil*   *y-ajñi-säñ-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-säñ-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) *tyi*　　*weñ*　*jumuk*　　　*ta'*　　*k-il-ä-Ø-loñ*　　　　　*ya'*　　*tyäl-el*
　　　　PREP　good　short.time　PERF　1E-see-VT-PL.EXC　there　arrive-NOM
　　　　jiñi　*me'*
　　　　DET　deer
　　　　'In a short time we saw where the deer was coming.'

(E.22) *mi*　　　*i-weñ*　*cha'leñ-Ø*　*ajñ-el*　　　*tyäl-el*
　　　　IMPF　3E-lot　do-3A　　　run-NOM　arrive-NOM
　　　　'It arrives running.'

(E.23) *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) *ta'*　　*k'oty-i-Ø*
　　　　PERF　arrive-VI-3A
　　　　'It arrived.'

(E.25) *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) *ta'*　　*tyip'-i-Ø*
　　　　PERF　jump-VI-3A
　　　　'It jumped.'

(E.27) *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) *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) *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-bä   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-bä   y-ik'oty   borrego*
PERF   3E-unite-VT-3A   3E-self   3E-with   SP.sheep
'It ran into where the sheep were.'

(E.32) *entonses   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) *entonses   li   ts'i'-i   ta'   kaj-i-Ø   tyi   tyo'ol*
SP.and.so   that   dog-PROX   PERF   begin-VI-3A   PREP   in.vain
kotyokñiyel   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) *entonses   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-cha'   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) *ta'*   *i-cha'*   *tyaj-a-Ø*   *yambä*
       PERF 3E-again find-VT-3A other
     'He found another.'

(E.40) *entonses*   *'ili*   *ts'i'*   *ta'*   *majl-i-Ø*   *y-ajñi-sañ-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) *ta'*   *majl-i-Ø*
       PERF go-VI-3A
     'He went.'

(E.42) *tyi*   *majl-i-Ø*   *jiñi*   *ts'i'*
       PERF go-VI-3A DET dog
     'The dog left.'

(E.43) *entonses*   *ta'*   *jiñ*   *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) *ma'-ix*   *ta'*   *k-il-ä-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) *entonses*   *jiñi*   *ta'*   *tyäl-i-Ø*   *juñ-tyikil*   *k-pi'äl*
       SP.and.so DET PERF arrive-VI-3A one-NC.people 1E-friend
     jorhe-bä   *i-k'aba'*
     Jorge-REL 3E-name
     'And so my friend Jorge arrived.'

(E.46) *ta'*   *tyäl-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) *mi* *ma'añ*   *tsikil*   *jiñi*   *me'*
       if   NEG.EXT visible DET deer
     'If the deer wasn't there.'

(E.48) *ya'* *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) *ta'*   *k'oty-i-Ø*   *i-tyaj-Ø*   *me'*
        PERF   arrive-VI-3A   3E-find-3A   deer.'
     'He arrived to find the deer.'

(E.50) *entonses*   *jiñi*   *sebastian*   *tyi'*   *sub-e-Ø. . .*
        SP.and.so   DET   Sebastian   PERF.3E   say-VT-3A
     'And so Sebastian said to him. . .'

(E.51) *sebastian*   *che'*   *la'-añ*   *jiñi*   *me'*   *che'*   *tyi*   *i-sub-e-Ø*
        Sebastian   so   here-EXT   DET   deer   so   PERF   3E-say-VT-3A
     'Here's the deer, Sebastian said.'

(E.52) *entonses*   *sebastian*   *ta'*   *y-il-ä-Ø*   *jiñi*   *me'*
        SP.and.so   Sebastian   PERF   3E-see-VT-3A   DET   deer
     'And so Sebastian saw the deer.'

(E.53) *che'*   *ya'*   *majl-el*   *tyi*   *ajñ-el*   *jiñi*   *me'. . .*
        when   there   go-NOM   PREP   run-NOM   DET   deer
     'When the deer went running. . .'

(E.54) *ta'*   *i-ch'uyb-ä-Ø*
        PERF   3E-whistle-VT-3A
     'He whistled.'

(E.55) *ta'*   *koty-le-Ø*   *jiñi*   *me'*
        PERF   stand-POS-3A   DET   deer
     'The deer was standing.'

(E.56) *entonses*   *ya'*   *tyip'äl*   *i-jul-Ø*   *jiñi*   *me'*
        SP.and.so   there   in.this.moment   3E-shoot-3A   DET   deer
     'And so in that moment he shoots the deer.'

(E.57) *tyip'äl*   *i-jul-Ø*
        in.this.moment   3E-shoot-3A
     'Then he shoots.'

(E.58) *pero*   *ma'añ*   *tyi'*   *tyaj-a-Ø*
        SP.but   NEG.EXT   PERF.3E   find-VT-3A
     'But he didn't find him.'

(E.59) *ta'   majl-i-Ø*
　　　PERF   go-VI-3A
　　'He went.'

(E.60) *entonses   pero   teofilo   ma'añ   tsikil   k'oty-el   che'ñak*
　　　SP.and.so SP.but   Teofilo   NEG.EXT   visible   arrive-NOM   then
　　jiñi
　　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   'añ-ob-i   jul-oñ-ib   ta'   majl-i-Ø*
　　　SP.because   EXT-PL-PROX   shoot-AP-NOM   PERF   go-VI-3A
　　i-k'el-Ø-ob   tyi   yambä
　　3E-see-3A-PL   PREP   other
　　'Because they had their rifle they went to look in another part.'

(E.63) *entonses   ta'   majl-i-Ø*
　　　SP.and.so   PERF   go-VI-3A
　　'And so he went.'

(E.64) *ta'   k-cha'   tyemp-a-Ø-loñ   k-bä*
　　　PERF   1E-again   unite-VT-3A-PL.EXC   1E-self
　　'We got together again.'

(E.65) *jiñi   joñoñ,   aurelio,   candido,   sebastian,   y-ik'oty   joñoñ*
　　　DET   1PRON   Aurelio   Candido   Sebastian   3E-with   1PRON
　　'Me, Aurelio, Candido, Sebastian, and me.'

(E.66) *ta'   k-sub-e-Ø-loñ   teofilo*
　　　PERF   1E-say-VT-3A-PL.EXC   Teofilo
　　'We told Teofilo'

(E.67) *che'bä 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   sub-e-Ø*
       PERF-1E say-VT-3A
    'I said...'

(E.69) *chokoch ma'añ   mi   a-päs-beñ   'och-el   jiñi a-ts'i'*
       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   tyi   'och-i-Ø   majl-el jiñi me'*
       where PERF enter-VI-3A go-NOM DET deer
    '...there where the deer went in.'

(E.71) *ta'-bä   i-jul-u-Ø   Sebastian cho'oñ tyi-k   sub-e-Ø*
       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) *entonses ta'   y-äl-ä-Ø   teofilo, yomäch*
       SP.and.so PERF 3E-say-VT-3A Teofilo okay
    'And so Teofilo said, okay.'

(E.73) *alomejor   jiñi me' jul-ul-ix,   che' ta'   y-äl-ä-Ø*
       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   jiñi   me'*
       SP.injured-ALR DET deer
    'The deer is already hurt.'

(E.75) *alomejor   'añ-ix   ba'   wäy-äl   tyi   matye'el*
       SP.probably EXT-ALR where sleep-POS PREP jungle
    'Probably he's there asleep in the jungle.'

(E.76) *ya'   lich-il   i-k'ayo(?)*
       there weak-POS 3E-rest
    'There he's weak, resting.'

(E.77) *mi tyi   la-k-päs-be-Ø   ts'i', mi   ke   i-tyaj*
       if   PERF PL-1E-show-APP dog IMPF PROSP 3E-find
    'If we showed the dogs, they'd find him.'

(E.78) *entonses   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'   tyäl-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-cha'   ajñi-sañ   ts'i'-i*
       IMPF PROSP 3E-again run-CAUS dog-PROX
       'The dog will follow him again.'

(E.82) *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.83) *ta'   käy-le-Ø   sebastian   i-pi'tyañ ya'   tyi   bij*
       PERF stay-POS-3A Sebastian 3E-wait there PREP path
       'Sebastian stayed to wait for him in the path

(E.84) *candido   ta'   majl-i-Ø   'ix   tyi   i-potrero   tio*
       Candido PERF go-VI-3A there PREP 3E-SP.field SP.uncle
       sebastian
       Sebastian
       'Candido went to the potrero of Uncle Sebastian.'

(E.85) *deyayi   entonses jiñi   aurelio ta'   käy-le-Ø   ya'*
       SP.from.there SP.and.so DET Aurelio PERF stay-POS-3A there
       tyi   chobälel
       PREP plot
       'From there Aurelio stayed in the plot of land.'

(E.86) *entonses   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) *joñoñ*   *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*   *tyäl-el*
      DET   dog   there.ALR PROG 3E-raise-3A arrive-NOM
    'The dog was already bringing him up.'

(E.90) *ta'*   *k-oty-ä-Ø*   *joñoñ*   *che'* *ta'*   *k-oty-ä-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-äl-ä-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-äl-ä-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) *entonses*   *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* *juñ-kojty*   *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) *entonses   ta'   k-il-ä-Ø   tyi   sujty-i-Ø   i-ts'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-el   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'   tyäl-i-Ø   tyi   ajñ-el   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-el   tyi*
      PERF 3E-see-VT-3A DET   deer so   there run-NOM PREP
      i-säkl-a-Ø   majl-el
      3E-follow-VT-3A go-NOM
      'He saw the deer and went to follow him.'

(E.105) *tyi   i-säkl-a-Ø   majl-el*
      PERF 3E-follow-VT-3A run-NOM
      'He went to follow him.'

(E.106) *entonses   komo   li   me' tyi'   jop'-o-Ø   i-chok-Ø*
SP.and.so SP.because this deer PREP.3E try-VT-3A 3E-throw-3A
i-bä   tyi   ja'
3E-self PREP water
'And so the deer tried to go in the river.'

(E.107) *tyi'   chok-o-Ø   i-bä   tyi   ja'*
PERF.3E throw-VT-3A 3E-self PREP water
'It threw itself into the water.'

(E.108) *ya'   tyi   ja'i   chañ kep-el*
there PREP water-PROX tall   hang-POS
'There in the water with the cascades.' (lit.:'...the tall hanging water.')

(E.109) *ya'i   li   me'-i   ma'añ   mi   i-mejl-el*
there-PROX this deer-PROX NEG.EXT IMPF 3E-can-NOM
tyi   lets-el
PREP ascend-NOM
'There the deer couldn't get up and out.'

(E.110) *ma'añ   mi'   mejl-el   tyi   lets-el   porke*
NEG.EXT IMPF.3E can-NOM PREP ascend-NOM SP.because
chañ
high
'It can't get out because it's high.'

(E.111) *porke   li   me'i   xul-em-ix   iya'...*
SP.because this deer-PROX break-NOM-ALR there
'Because the deer is hurt...'

(E.112) *ma'añ   mi   i-mejl-el   tyi   lets-el*
NEG.EXT IMPF 3E-can-NOM PREP ascend-NOM
'And can't get up.'

(E.113) *ma'añ   mi   i-mejl-el   tyi   lets-el*
NEG.EXT IMPF 3E-can-NOM PREP ascend-NOM
'It couldn't get up.'

(E.114) *xul-em-ix   'iya'   me'*
break-NOM-ALR there deer
'There he was broken.'

(E.115) *entonses*   *ta'-bi*   *k'oty-i-Ø*   *jiñi*   *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'-añ*   *braulio*   *tyi*   *jop'-o-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) *entonses*   *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*   *entonses*   *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* *lets-el* *tyi* *pañlum*
    PERF 3E-pull-VT-EPN-PL go.up-NOM PREP earth
    'They brought him to the ground.'

(E.126) *pero* *ma'añ-ik* *ta'* *ñajty* *tyi* *k'oty-i-Ø* *tyi*
    SP.but NEG.EXT-SUB PERF far PREP arrive-VI-3A PREP
    yajl-el *me'*
    fall-NOM deer
    'But they didn't get very far before the deer fell.'

(E.127) *ya'-ba* *muk'-ob* *tyi* *ts'äm-el* *x-bi'tyal-ob*
    there-where IMPF-PL PREP bathe-NOM CL-child-PL
    'There where the kids bathe.'

(E.128) *y-ujty-el* *ts'äm-el*
    3E-finish-NOM bathe-NOM
    'It ended where they bathe.'

(E.129) *entonses* *cha'añ* *ma'añ* *mi'* *ña'tyañ-ob...*
    SP.and.so for NEG.EXT IMPF.3E know-Ø-PL
    'And so in order that they don't know...'

(E.130) *mach* *maxki* *choñkol* *i-jul-Ø* *jiñi* *me'*
    NEG who PROG 3E-shoot-3A DET deer
    'Who is shooting the deer...'

(E.131) *ma'añ* *ta'* *k-sub-u-Ø-loñ* *k-bä*
    NEG.EXT PERF 1E-say-VT-3A-PL.EXC 1E-self
    'We didn't talk to each other.'

(E.132) *tyi* *k-tyuk'-u-Ø-loñ* *majl-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-loñ* *pi'tyañ* *jiñ-tyo* *ta'* *k'oty-i-Ø*
    a.while there-PL.EXC wait DET-STILL PERF arrive-VI-3A
    k-pi'il-ob *tyi* *laj* *i-k'el-e-Ø-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 jiñ   ta'-bä*
         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) *yambä, yambä kolem me'*
        other   other   big   deer

        'It was another, another big deer.'

(E.136) *yambä me'*
        other   deer

        'Another deer.'

(E.137) *entonses, ta'   ke-k   pox-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   pox-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-bäk'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-bäk'tyal*
        PREP.3E all-cut-APP-EPN-3A-PL 3E-meat

        'They cut all of the meat off him.'

(E.141) *pejtyelel i-bäk'tyal*
        all   3E-meat

        'All of its meat.'

(E.142) *i-y-ok   i-bäk-el*
        3E-EPN-foot/leg 3E-bone-NOM

        'His hoofs and his bones.'

(E.143) *entonses   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-bäk'tyal
        all   3E-meat

        'And so when we had finished taking care of the meat...'

(E.144) *ta'*   *kej*   *k-ty'ox-be-Ø-loñ*   *k-bä*
           PERF   PROSP   1E-divide-APP-3A-PL.EXC   1E-self
      'We began divide it between ourselves.'

(E.145) *ju-jum-p'ich*   *ta'*   *kej*   *k-äk'eñ-tye-loñ*
           one-one-NC.piece   PERF   PROSP   1E-give-PASS-PL.EXC
      'Piece by piece we began to give it to ourselves.'

(E.146) *nwebej-oñ-loñ*   *ya'-añ-oñ-loñ-i*
           nine-1A-PL.EXC   there-EXT-1A-PL.EXC-PROX
      'There were nine of us there.'

(E.147) *ya'-añ-oñ*   *joñoñ,*   *aurelio,*   *candido,*   *sebastian,*   *jorhe,*
           there-EXT-1A   1PRON   Aurelio   Candido   Sebastian   Jorge
      y-ik'oty   *braulio,*   *k-papa. . .*
      3E-NC.with   Braulio   1E-father
      'It was me, Aurelio, Candido, Sebastian, Jorge, and Braulio, my father. . .'

(E.148) *entonses*   *tax*   *ke-k*   *ty'ox-be-Ø-loñ*   *i-bäk'tyal*
           SP.and.so   PERF.ALR   PROSP-1E   divide-APP-3A-PL.EXC   3E-meat
      'And then we began to divide the meat.'

(E.149) *ju-jum-p'ej*   *ju-juñ-tyikil*
           one-one-NC.round   one-one-NC.people
      'One piece for each person.'

    (Here, Irineo's father, Don Jesús, jumps in for a few lines)

    Jesús;

(E.150) *boloñ-tyikil-oñ-la*   *che'*   *tyi*   *la-k-ty'añ*   *che'*   *nwebe*
           nine-NC.people-1A-PL   so   PREP   PL-1E-word   so   SP.nine
      '*boloñtyikiloñla* is how you say nine (people) in Chol.'

    Irineo;

(E.151) *abweno*
        SP.oh.good
      'Okay.'

Jesús;

(E.152) *boloñ-tyıkil*
      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.'

Jesús;

(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) *tyijik-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*   *mi*   *i-jok'chokoñ*   *i-morral*
       because-REP   IMPF   3E-hang   3E-SP.*morral*
     'To hang on his *morral* they say.'

(E.161) *porke*   *jiñ*   *tyi'*   *tyech-e-Ø*   *y-ajñ-el*   *i-ts'i'*
       SP.because   DET   PERF.3E   begin-VT-3A   3E-run-NOM   3E-dog
     'Because his dog began to hunt it.'

(E.162) *i-päychelel*   *jiñ*   *tyi'*   *ch'äm-be-Ø*   *k-papa. . .*
       3E-hide   DET   PERF.3E   receive-APP-3A   1E-father
     'The skin went to my dad. . .'

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

(E.164) *entonses*   *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'*   *jiñi*   *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-lojoñ*
       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'*   *jul-i-y-oñ*   *tyi*   *k-otyoty*   *ma'añ*   *mi*
       PERF   arrive-VI-EPN-1A   PREP   1E-house   NEG.EXT   IMPF
     i-ña'tyañ-Ø. . .
     3E-know-3A
     'When i arrived in my house they didn't know. . .'

(E.169) *si*   *mi*   *'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   EXT   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   tardej-ix
   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-päs-ä-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'äx-ä-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.'