

Appendix C

Jola Namal!

This conversation fragment was recorded after a performance of an important ritual. The elder who was supposed to perform the ceremony (FQQ) arrived very late, and the family sponsoring the ritual and their guests had to wait for a long time. Here the conversation begins with one of the guests (NDD), asks FQQ why he came so late.

This appendix utilizes some of the transcription conventions used in the conversation analysis literature. The numbers in parentheses indicate (unfilled) pauses the number being the length of the seconds pause (in seconds). Double parenthesis indicate the authors comments on the situation. Where I (or my consultants) are not confident with regard to the transcription, the text is placed in parenthesis. Latches and overlaps are not indicated.

- (1) NDD; pe7 tibil a jul-at k-ermano-tik
but late PT arrive-B:3 A:1-brother-PL
'llegaste tarde; you came late, brother'
- (0.1)
- (2) FQQ; huh?
huh
'huh?'
- (3) NDD; pe7 tibil a jul-at
but late PT arrive-B:2
'llegaste tarde; you came late'
- (4) FQQ; tibil a jul-on
late PT arrive-B:1
'I came late'
- (5) NDD; i banti ay-at-7a me x-k^ot s-lej-at-e
and where EXIST-B:2-DIST? COMP ICMP-arrive A:3-search-B:3-CL
'y donde estabas cuando te fui a buscar;
and where were you when we were arriving to looking for you?'
- (6) FQQ; jola namal
damn far
'hijo de la lejos; damn far'
- (7) NDD; ya namal-yotik
EMPH? far-1.PL
'está lejos entonces; we (you) were far then'

- (8) FQQ; ta:: (0.15) Majasil-to ta ts^ehl-to le Lidiyo
 PREP Majasil-still PREP near-still de(sp) Lidiyo
 ‘hasta.. hasta Majasil cerca de lidio; as far as Majasil near Lidio’
- (9) NDD; jola tey!
 damn there
 ‘damn there!’
- (10) FQQ; jahch-on ta Yajalon
 begin-B:1 PREP Yajalon
 ‘comenzé en Yajalon, I started in Yajalon’
- (11) baht k-wehlu-Ø jahch-el ta banti a yahl-Ø-e
 go A:1-lift-B:3 lift-PART PREP where PT fall-B:3-CL
 ‘lo fuí a levantar donde se cayó; I went to lift it up starting where he fell’
- (12) NDD; a jul-() ta Yajalon?
 PT arrive-B:? PREP Yajalon
 ‘did he/they come to Yajalon?’
- (13) FQQ; a k^alal ta Yajalon x-k^ot-uk k-wehlu-Ø jahch-el
 PT until PREP Yajalon ICMP-arrive-IRR A:1-lift-B:3 begin?-el
 hasta Yajalon lo fuí a traer; I went to begin to lift it as far as Yajalon
- (14) NDD; jala te::y!
 damn there
 damn there!
- (15) FQQ; ja7-i.. (0.5) ja7-i najil puente:: (1.7) sta.. s..
 F/T-PROX? F/T-PROX first bridge
 ta s-ti7 s-na ja7-i mamal j-Enrike-wan.
 PREP A:3-edge A:3-house F/T-PROX? old man G-Enrike-DUB
 ‘ese.. el primer puente enfrente su casa el viejo Don Enrique...;
 uhh... the first bridge... by the edge of the old man Enrique’s house’
- (16) bin s-bihil ja7-i mach^a najil puente-to namej-i
 what A:3-call? F/T-PROX who first bridge-still before-PROX
 ‘cómo se llama el primer puente de antes;
 what’s its name, the first bridge from before?’
- (17) NDD; ()
- (18) FQQ; uh-huh!
 ‘yes!’
- (19) NDD; (a ja7 tey-7a)
 PT F/T there-DIST
 ‘ah, there’

- (20) FQQ; ay ta.. (1.0) ta behlal (0.6) Chilon a ka7j-i
 EXIST PREP PREP way Chilon PT seems-PROX
 ‘There is a Chilon road, it seems’
- (21) NDD; ja7 me to
 F/T COMP? still
 ‘ah sí; ah, yes’
- (22) QMD; cham-ix in-i7, k-erman-otik
 die-already this-PROX, A:1-brother-PL
 ‘this one’s dead, brother’ (referring to the chicken)
- (23) FQQ; huh?
- (24) huh?
- (25) QMD; k-ich^∅-ix bajel in-i7
 A:3-take-B:3-already away this-PROX
 ‘lo voy a llevar éste; I will take this’
- (26) FQQ; yak
 ICMP.EMPH
 ‘yes’
- (27) yak, s-k^an-∅-ix ala pas-el
 yes A:3-want-B:3-already DIM do-PART
 ‘ya se puede hacer; yes, it needs to be done please’
- (28) QMD; ah, weno
 ah, ok
 ‘ah, ok’
- (29) FQQ; yak
 ICMP.EMPH
 ‘yes’
- (30) s-k^an-∅-ix ka w-ala tsob-ik-ix bajel
 A:3-want-B:3-already ICMP.A:2 EPN-DIM join-PL-already away
 ‘sí, esté bueno que lo junta ahí;
 yes, it’s good that you collect them there please’
- (31) FQQ; yak
 ICMP.EMPH
 ‘yes’
- (32) QMD; yak
 ICMP.EMPH
 ‘yes’

- (33) (QNP); (1.5) jun-nax sak sok in-i
 one-only? white with this-PROX
 ‘está igual este blanco; this white one too?’
- (34) FQQ; jun-nax sak-al k-erman-otik
 one-only? white-MOD A:3-brother-PL
 ‘sí, están iguales los blancos; yes, the white ones too, sister(?)’
- ((many people talking at once))
- (35) FQQ; yak abi::::
 yes well
 ‘sí pues; well, yes’
- (36) jich ay-ik-ix 7a
 like.this EXIST-PL-already DIST?
 ‘así están ya; are they like this?’
- (37) (QMD); yak ya7yel
 yes too
 ‘yes’
- (38) (FQQ); ala tsob-a-y-ik-ix
 DIM gather-IMP-EPN-PL-already
 ‘juntenlo ya; gather them already, please’
- (39) (QMD); ()
- (40) FQQ; uh-huh
 uh-huh
 ‘that’s it’
- (3.0)
- (41) (BQQ); ja7 a s-muk-Ø k-erman-otik in-i7
 F/T PT A:3-close-B:3 A:1-brother-PL this.PROX
 ‘ásta va a enterrar; this one will be buried, sister(?)?’
- (42) (QMD); ja7 in-i
 F/T this-PROX
 ‘this one’
- (1.2)
- (43) (BQQ); ja7 7a x-baht s-tsak-Ø (bajel)
 F/T PT ICMP-go A:3-grab-B:3 DIR:away
 ‘he/she/they are coming to take it away’
- (44) (QMD); ()

((7 seconds of inaudible conversation and silence))

- (45) FQQ; ta k-ok a boj-otik yan namal
PREP A:1-foot PT go-1.PL another far
'On foot we went somewhere else far'
- (46) NDD; ta yan namal
PREP another far
'To another far place'
- (47) FQQ; och-on ta:::: Yajalon li7 ta och-on ta (1.0)
enter-B:1 PREP Yajalon here PREP begin-B:1 PREP
'began in Yajalon here.. enter..'
- (48) ta Ch^ahpuyil ta bej-i7 bi
PREP Chahpuyil PREP path-PROX ?
'in Chahpuyil, in the path'
- (49) NDD; ah, jola tey
ah, damn there
'damn there!'
- (50) FQQ; ta pwente ta Ch^ahpuyil-i
PREP bridge PREP Ch^ahpuyil-PROX
'At the bridge to Chahpuyil'
- (51) NDD; ta pwente te pwente ta Ch^ahpuyil-i
PREP bridge DET bridge PREP Ch^ahpuyil-PROX
'The bridge.. The Chahpuyil bridge'
- (52) FQQ; tey-7a jil-on ta karo 7a
there-DIST? remain-B:1 PREP car DIST?
'ahí me bajé del carro; there I got off the car'
- (53) NDD; ah, tey
ah, there
'ah, there'
- (54) FQQ; puro ta k-ok boj-oryotik
only PREP A:1-foot go-PL.1EXCL
'nos fuimos puro a pie; we(excl) went only on foot'
- (55) baaaht-Ø (0.6) sole ma7 ka na7-Ø jay
go-B:3?, only NEG ICMP.2 know how many
tuhl-ik tal jich a tal s-behel ta s-ba-j-e7
NC:human-PL arrive like this PT arrive A:3-path PREP A:3-above-EPN-CL
'no sabes cuantos (caminantes) vinieron allá, arriba;
going(?) you don't know how many people came walking above'
- (56) NDD; ya jich mera
EMPH like this only
'yeah'
- (57) FQQ; ma sole (ma7)
NEG only NEG
'Only...'

- (58) (NNP); ()
- (59) NDD; tey jil-ik 7a
there stay-PL DIST?
'You got left (by the car) there?'
- (60) FQQ; ja7 tuhl-ik tal ta beh a k^ax-on bahel
F/T NC:human-PL arrive PREP walk PT pass?-B:1 DIR:away
'cuántas personas había en el camino; How many people were on the road'
- (61) NDD; ya ji:::ch
EMPH like this
'oh yeah'
- (62) FQQ; yan beh-7a, ma7-a-ba toj me beh a k^ax-otik bajel-e
other path-DIST?, NEG-PT-? direct DET path PT pass-1.PL away-CL
'es otro camino, no es directo el camino donde pasamos;
it is another way, it's not the direct way where we went'
- (63) NDD; ma7-ba toj
NEG-? direct
'It's not direct'
- (64) FQQ; jich-to k^ax-oryotik jich but^ik j-wax-i7
like this-still pass-1.PL.EXCL like this like this? G-cat-PROX
'hasta así pasamos como el wax;
until we went as the field of the wildcats from here'
- ((someone says something inaudible))
- (65) NDD; ah, ji:::ch
ah, like that
'oh, yeah'
- (66) FQQ; ji:::ch laj ka-be-ryotik bajel-i7
like this PFV give-APPL-1.PL.EXCL away-PROX
'hasta así le dimos [la vuelta]; so like this we(excl) gave it (a turn)'
- (67) NDD; laj
PFV
'yes'
- (68) FQQ; sole xiben sba me ton-tikil-i
only fear REFL DET rock-N-PROX
'da miedo el pedregal (lugar de piedras); only that the rock place was scary'
- (69) NDD; ya jich mero
yes like this only
'oh yeah!'
- (70) FQQ; sole s-wokol-il a x-muh-otik bahel ba
only A:3-suffering-PCHG PT ICMP-rise-1.PL away ?
'era difícil subir.. ; It was hard to climb'

((someone says something inaudible))

- (71) FQQ; ba7 k^ajon xanix ta (1.0)
? seem only? PREP
'donde parece que..; where it appeared that.'
- (72) yak-otik-ix ta muh-el baj-el ((laughs)) ta ch^ulchan
PROG-PL-already PREP rise-PART DIR:away PREP sky
'ya estamos subiendo al cielo; we were already climbing into the sky'
- (73) NDD; bihl-il-wan s-behl-al-e7
slippery-MOD-EVID A:3-way-PCHG-CL
'tal vez está resbaloso el camino; perhaps the path was slippery'
- (74) FQQ; ja7 me s-behl-al-e7
F/T DET A:3-way-PCHG-CL
'sí es el camino; yup, that's the way'
- (75) NDD; ja7
F/T
'yeah'
- (76) FQQ; ja7
F/T
'yeah'
- (77) NDD; ya ja7
yes F/T
'yes, that's it'
- (78) FQQ; xiben sba
fearsome REFL
'scary'
- (79) NDD; ya jich me::::
yes like this DET?
'sí entonces; then yes'
- (80) FQQ; jich-i
like this-PROX
'yeah'
- (81) NDD; jich
like this
'yeah'
- (82) FQQ; jich
like this
'yeah'
- ((this section of the recording is inaudible))
- (83) ?; ma-laj a-laj-in-Ø
NEG-EVID A:3-finish-V-B:3
'no lo acabaste; you have not finished it?' (referring to the bottle of liquor)

((this section of the recording is inaudible))

- (84) FQQ; sole xiben xanix sba
 only feasible ony? REFL
 'sí, da miedo; only it was scary'
- (85) NDD; ya jich li7 nax-i ma7 chopol-uk s-behl-al
 yes like this here only-PROX NEG bad-IRR A:3-way-PCHG
 'por aquí nada más no está feo el camino;
 it's only here that the road is not bad'
- (86) FQQ; jich ()
 like this
 'yeah'
- (87) FQQ; ah, k^ax chopol s-behlal
 ah, very bad A:3-way
 'oh yeah, the path is very bad'
- (88) NDD; ya chopol
 yes bad
 'yeah, bad'
- (89) FQQ; sole k^an ma k-tah-Ø-ix bajel me s-naj-e
 only MOD NEG A:3-find-B:3-already away DET A:3-house-CL
 'ya no iba yo a alcanzar su casa;
 I was already not going to get to the house'
- (90) NDD; () k^an me
 MOD DET
 'was going to...'
- (91) FQQ; ja7 lum-to ta:: ta ch^en-to ay s-na ejk
 F/T ground-still PREP PREP cliff-still EXIST A:3-house too
 ba7 x-k^ot-uk-on-e7
 where ICMP-arrive-IRR-B:1-CL
 'hasta allá en el barranco está su casa también donde fui;
 it's as far as the cliff, that his house was where we went'
- (92) NDD; ta ch^en-to s-na ejuk
 PREP cliff-still A:3-house also
 'Up to the cliff of the house too'
- (93) FQQ; TEY jich-to ta ch^en-to ta bejel ay-i7
 there like this-still PREP cliff-still PREP way? EXIST-PROX
 'en el pie del cerro; there, at the foot of the cliff it is'
- (94) NDD; jich ya7yel
 like this also
 'yeah'

(0.5)

- (95) FQQ; je xiben xanix s-ba
eh, fearsome only A:3-REFL
'yeah, it was scary'
- (96) NDD; ya jich mera
yes like those exactly
'oh yeah'
- (97) FQQ; jich
like this
'yeah'
- (98) NDD; jich, ja7mal me yakal-Ø-ix ja7al-e
like this, worse DET/COMP PROG-B:3-already water-CL
ma7 bil-il-uk s-behl-al
NEG slippery-MOD-IRR A:3-way-PCHG
'sí, peor que está lloviendo a de estar resbaloso el camino;
yeah, all the worse that it was raining for the slipperiness of the road'
- (99) FQQ; jola k^ax bilil s-behlal
damn very slippery A:3-road
'damn, it was slippery'
- (100) NDD; ya bilil
yes slippery
'yes, slippery'
- (101) FQQ; ja7 y-u7un (0.6) wokol a (0.6) k-suh-Ø k-bah-tik
F/T A:3-for difficult PT A:1-?-B:3 A:1-REFL-PL
ta beh-el
PREP way-PART
'es difícil apurarse a caminar; so it was(is?) difficult to hurry walking'
- (102) NDD; aw-il-Ø ja7 y-u7un wokol a (0.3) x-beh-en-otik
A:3-see-B:3 F/T A:3-for difficult PT ICMP-way-V-1.PL
'es por ese que caminamos con trabajo;
that is why we(incl) walk with difficulty'
- (4.2)
((someone says something inaudible))
- (0.7)
- (103) FQQ; ja7 y-u7un jich me (2.0)
F/T A:3-for like this COMP?
'so...'
- (104) bah-to k-cha7-wehlu-Ø jahch-el tal banti yahl-em ta
go-still A:1-again-lift-B:3 lift-PART arrive where fall-PREF PREP
'went again to lift it/air it up where (he/they) had fallen...'
- (105) ay tey ay ala ja7-a
EXIST there EXIST DIM water-DIST
'There is a little creek there'

- (106) NDD; ay tey ay ja7-a
 exist there exist water-dist
 ‘there is a creek there’
- (107) FQQ; pero es ke ay s::::
 but is that EXIST
 ‘it’s that...’
- (108) ja7 me (1.5) k^ax toyol a x-k^oj-Ø tal ejk me ja7-e
 F/T COMP? very high PT ICMP-descend-B:3 come also DET water-CL
 ‘caye de muy alto el agua; the water fell from very high’
- (109) jay jujt-uk xanix ejk me x-lok^Ø tal me ja7 ta wits-e
 how many NC?-IRR only? also COMP? ICMP-exit-B:3 come DET water PREP hill-CL
 ‘hay muchos agujeros en el cerro donde sale el agua;
 there are many rivulets in the hill where the water comes out’
- (110) NDD; ja7 ji::::ch
 F/T like this
 ‘oh, yeah’
- (1.1)
- (111) FQQ; wen toyol (0.2)
 very high
 ‘very tall...’
- (112) NDD; ah wen toyol
 ah very high
 ‘ah, very tall’
- (113) FQQ; pe7 ay s-lehch me s-ch^en-e7
 but EXIST A:3-ledge DET A:3-cliff-CL
 ‘but there is a ledge on the cliff’
- (114) NDD; ay s-lehch
 EXIST A:3-ledge
 ‘there’s a ledge’
- (1.1)
- (115) FQQ; ya ma jich-uk-to s::
 uh NEG like this-IRR-still
 ‘it would not be...’
- (116) but^ik y-u7un kaye s::::-k^ubulil bajem-i7
 like this A:3-for street A:3-hole? depth-PROX
 ‘ee.. no sería de aquí como a la calle de profundidad;
 the depth of the cave is about the same as from here to the street’
- (117) NDD; ja7 me s-kubulil-e7
 F/T COMP A:3-hole?-CL
 ‘that deep’

- (118) FQQ; ja7 me s-kubulil-e7
F/T COMP A:3-hole? -CL
'that deep'
- (119) NDD; ja7 jich
F/T like this
'oh, yeah'
- (0.3)
- (120) FQQ; ja7 jich s-toy-il but^ik pamal naj-e
F/T like this A:3-high-PCHG like this plane house-CL
pe7 lum-to xij-il but^ik kaye-je
but ground-still long-PRED like this street-CL
'it's like the same height as the footprint of the house except from the ground'
- (121) NDD; a tey-to xij-il bahel 7a
PT there-still long-PRED away DIST?
'that long'
- (122) FQQ; ja7 to tey baj-em:: (0.4) y-util-a
F/T still there away-PERF A:3-inside-DIST?
'hasta ahí se ha ido; up to this far in depth (gesture?)'
- (123) NDD; jola ja7 tey bah-em y-util 7a
damn F/T there go-PERF A:3-inside DIST?
'damn that far'
- (124) FQQ; ja7 to tey bahem yutil 7a
F/T still there go-PERF A:3-inside DIST?
'damn that far'
- (125) NDD; jola ja7-a
damn F/T-DIST?
'damn, like that'
- (126) FQQ; k^ax kole::::m
very big
'very big'
- (127) NDD; kole kole ja7 ya7yel
large large F/T also
'large too'
- (128) FQQ; ya7yel tey a tey a x-k^oj k-ts^um-be-Ø
also there DIST there DIST ICMP-descend A:1-collect-APPL-B:3
s-jel-ol 7a
A:3-change-NOM DIST?
'hasta ahí le fui a sembrar su cambio;
and there too we descended to make the replacement'

- (129) NDD; tey k^oj a-ts^um-be-Ø s-jel-ol 7a
there arrive A:2-collect-APPL-B:3 A:3-change-NOM DIST
‘you went there to collect the replacement’
- (130) FQQ; tey k^oj k-ts^um-be-Ø so le::::k ja7al k-atin-ej
there arrive A:1-collect-APPL-B:3 only well rain A:1-bathe-V-B:3?
‘solo con la lluvia bañé;
I went there to collect, (and) only really bathed in the rain’
- (131) NDD; ya jich ya7yel
yes like this too
‘oh yeah too’
- (132) FQQ; so lek pak^al-on ta ja7
only well beat-PRED-B:1 PREP water
‘only I was quite pounded by the rain’
- (133) NDD; ya ma7 tulan yakal tey ejk 7a
yes NEG hard PROG there too DIST
‘si no está lloviendo duro tambien allá; as if it was not raining hard there too’
- (134) FQQ; jo::la k^ax mi laj y-a-be::::-Ø
damn very much PFV A:3-give-APPL-B3
‘le dio mucho; damn it gave it much (rain)’
- (135) NDD; ()
- (136) FQQ; solo x-ch^ololet xani::::x
only ICMP-stream only
‘it was pouring’
- (137) NDD; (come ja7 me k^ax) mi ja7al abij-e
because F/T COMP? very much rain well-CL
‘because it was raining a lot’
- (138) FQQ; (k^ax mi7 laj y-a-be-Ø ja7al tey-7a)
very much PFV A:3-give-APPL-B:3 rain there-DIST
‘it rained a lot there’
- (139) k^ax mi7 laj y-a-be-Ø ja7al tey-7a
very much PFV A:3-give-APPL-B:3 rain there-DIST
‘llovió bastante allá; it rained a lot there’
- (140) NDD; ya mi7 mero
yes much very
‘sí es; oh yeah’
- (141) FQQ; solo t^uxul-on ta ja7
only full-A:1 PREP water
‘(I feel) that I am like a pale full of water’

- (142) ora tal-on li7-ix a tak-ij tal ta k-nujkul-el-i7
 now arrive-B:1 here-already PT dry-? come PREP A:1-skin-PCHG?-PROX
 ‘me vine rápido ya aquí, se secó en mi piel; I came here fast, drip-drying’
- (143) NDD; ()
- (144) ma jichuk a tak-ij ta a-nujkul-el-i7
 NEG like this-IRR PT dry-? PREP A:3-skin-PCHG?-PROX
 ‘As if you did not drip dry’
- (145) FQQ; jich a tak-ij ta knujkul-el-i7
 like this PT try-V? PREP A:2-skin-PCHG?-PROX
 ‘like this I drip-dried’
- (146) NDD; ya... ya jich
 yes yes like this
 ‘oh yeah’
- (147) FQQ; jich
 like this
 ‘yeah’
- (148) NDD; jich ban k^an k^ax-uk k-u7un-tik
 like this where want pass-IRR A:1-for-PL
 ‘si dónde lo íbamos a pasar? where would we weather the rain?’
- (149) FQQ; jola ban k^an (0.4) jil-uk-otik
 damn where MOD remain-IRR-1.PL
 ‘dónde íbamos a quedar; where would we stay?’
- (150) NDD; ya ma7-a
 yes NEG-PT
 ‘nowhere’
- (151) FQQ; ma-ba-7a
 NEG-?-PT
 ‘nope’
- (152) NDD; ma-ba-7a
 NEG-?-PT
 ‘nope’
- (0.9)
- (153) FQQ; ja7 y-u7un tibil a jul-on
 F/T A:3-for late PT arrive-B:1
 ‘por eso llegué tarde; and so I arrived late’

- (154) ma7 laj k-ta-Ø karro ta ijin li7 ta
 NEG PFV A:1-find-B:3 car PREP this here PREP
 (0.8) behl-al Biktoriya-h-i7
 way-PCHG Victoria-EPN-PROX
 ‘no encontré carro en este aqui en el camino de Victoria;
 I did not get a ride uhm.. here on the road to Victoria’
- (155) NDD; ah, bweno, ma laj a-ta-Ø karro
 oh, well, NEG PFV A:2-find-B:3 car
 ‘I see, you did not catch a car’
- (156) FQQ; ma-ba laj k-ta-Ø karro
 NEG-REFL? PFV A:1-find-B:3 car
 ‘I didn’t catch a car’
- (157) NDD; ah weno
 ah well
 ‘I see’
- (158) FQQ; ta k-ok a tal-on
 PREP A:1-foot PT come-B:1
 ‘I came on foot’
- (159) NDD; ta aw-ok a tal-at
 PREP A:2-foot PT come-B:2
 ‘you came on foot’
- (160) FQQ; ta k-ok a jul-on li7 k^alal-i7
 PREP A:1-foot PT come-B:1 here untill-PROX
 ‘a pie llegué hasta aquí; I came on foot as far as here’
- (161) NDD; ah weno
 ah well
 ‘I see’
- (162) FQQ; ja7 y-u7un tibil a ju::lo::n
 F/T A:3-for late PT arrive-B:1
 ‘so I arrived late’
- (163) NDD; ah, tibil ya7yel
 ah, late too
 ‘yeah, late’
- (164) FQQ; ja7 y-u7un tibil a ju::l-o::n
 F/T A:3-for late PT arrive-B:1
 ‘so I arrived late’
- (165) NDD; ja7 y-u7un
 F/T A:3-for
 ‘that’s why’
- (166) FQQ; ja7
 F/T
 ‘yup’

(167) NDD; ja7
F/T
'yup'

