

TEXISTEPEC POPOLUCA

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Texistepec Popoluca, a Gulf Zoquean language, is spoken in the town of Texistepec, located in the southernmost part of the state of Veracruz, Mexico. It is one of the four languages spoken in Veracruz that is referred to as Popoluca. Some scholars prefer to call it Texistepequeño and the autodenomination is *wiː-ʔoːt* ‘good word(s)’.

The story presented here was narrated in 1993 by Tomás López Florentino. This story was originally published in *Cuentos y colorados en popoluca de Texistepec* (Wichmann 1996), a collection of Texistepec stories with Spanish translations, an analytical index, and folkloristic commentary. At the time this story was recorded there were at most a few hundred speakers of the language. The stories were recorded on cassette and later transcribed and translated with the help of Mr. López, and to a lesser extent with the late Carmen Román Telésforo.

The representation of the person marking paradigm used in this text differs from the other texts in this volume as there are two intransitive paradigms reflected in the notation. S_A marks ergative subjects of intransitive verbs, and S_B marks absolutive subjects of intransitive verbs. Additionally, in this text the symbol ê represents an underlying segment that surfaces as [e], but which is subject to allophonic variation that distinguishes it from /e/. It is not in itself a phoneme; the use of the symbol here is strictly analytical.

KAÑCHEÑYOOMÄ ‘THE LAZY WOMAN’

TOMÁS LÓPEZ FLORENTINO

The story *Kañcheñyoomä* ‘The Lazy Woman’ (*kañčeñ* ‘lazy’, *yoːmiʔ* ‘woman’) is told in a series of episodes. It tells of a young man who wants to take a wife, but the object of his affection is known to be lazy (lines 1–60). After they are married, his bride’s lack of interest in helping with household chores frustrates her new family, especially her mother-in-law (61–93). After the couple is moved into their own home, the young man learns the extent of her laziness (104–154) and solves the problem (155–200). His father-in-law sees first-hand how his daughter has changed (201–244) and learns what motivated her transformation (245–283). The father-in-law returns home with notions of implementing the same strategy to change his wife’s lifelong

¹ Wichmann recorded and analyzed the text; Boudreault prepared the English translation and did the formatting; Jan Strunk is responsible for text-to-speech alignment.

attitude toward domestic responsibility (285–305). His actions have consequences (306–363), and his wife sets him straight (364–395).

- (1) Yä'äp tum pään.
 yi?ip tum pi:ñ
 this one man
 'This was a man.'
- (2) Tum suutu' pwe.
 tum su:tu? pues
 one boy well
 'Well, a boy.'
- (3) Ma' yakkä'ñkomtajam.
 ma? Ø-yak-ki?ñkom-tah=am
 PERF 3S_B-CAUS-marry-PASS=IAM
 'They married.'
- (4) Ma' dyyakkä'ñkom yoom je'ba'a tum yoomä',
 ma? y-yak-ki?ñkom y-?o:m he?-ba?a tum yo:mi?
 PERF 3A:3O-CAUS-marry 3PSR-father 3PRO-with one woman
 'His father married him to a woman,'
- (5) Pero njumbu' kañcheñ 'yaap.
 pero nhumbu? Ø-kañcheñ y-?a:p
 but very 3S_B-lazy 3PSR-mother
 'But her mother was very lazy,'
- (6) I njumbu' kañcheñ nee dyyombaa.
 ?i nhumbu? Ø-kañcheñ ne: y-yo:mi?-ba:
 and very 3S_B-lazy also 3PSR-woman-DIM
 'And her daughter was very lazy too.'
- (7) I jeksh boy wya'k.
 ?i hekš boy y-wa?k
 and now go.and.return_{AUX}:PERF 3A:3O-ask
 'And now he went to ask (her father).'
- (8) Dyim, Papa dyim, n'oom, eñch n'eshp a'y dāk knwya'ka' dyim,
 nuuñe'.
 y-dim papá y-dim n-?o:m ?eñč n-?êš-p
 3S_A-say father 3S_A-say 1PSR-father NEG 1A:3O-know-FUT
 ?a?y dik kny-wa?k-a? y-dim n-du:ñe?
 if go_{AUX} 2A:1O-ask-APPL 3S_A-say 1PSR-woman
 'He says, "Papa, I don't know if you can ask (for)," he says, "my wife."'

- (9) Si, dāk ta nwa'k dyim.
 sí dik ta n-wa?k y-dim
 yes go_{AUX} INCL 1A:3O-ask 3S_A-say
 “‘Yes, let’s go ask,” (his father) says.’”
- (10) Ee dyymbaa?
 ?e: y-yo:mi?-ba:
 who 3PSR-woman-DIM
 “‘Whose daughter is she?’”
- (11) Julaanu, dyim,
 Julano y-dim
 Fulano 3S_A-say
 “‘Fulano,” he says.’²
- (12) No dyim, chi' nwyata'ap jepe' nje' dyim.
 no y-dim či? ny-wat-a?-p hepe? nhe?
 no 3S_A-say what 2A:3O-do-APPL-FUT this 3PRO
 y-dim
 3S_A-say
 “‘No,” he says, “Why do you want her? No.’”
- (13) Uu! dyim, njumbu? kañcheñ dyim.
 u: y-dim nhumbu? Ø-kañčeñ y-dim
 INTER 3S_A-say very 3S_B-lazy 3S_A-say
 “‘Oh! She’s very lazy.’”
- (14) Njumbu'kañcheñ, dyim.
 nhumbu? Ø-kañčeñ y-dim
 very 3S_B-lazy 3S_A-say
 “‘She’s very lazy,” he says.’”
- (15) Eñch shyun yoswatp.
 ?eñč y-sun Ø-yo:s-wat-p
 no 3A:3O-want 3S_B-work-do-FUT
 “‘She doesn’t want to work.’”
- (16) Chi' nwyata'ap? Meñche nchyuunpakp!
 či? ny-wat-a?-p mēñ-če ny-tu:n-pak-pe
 why 2A:3O-do-APPL-FUT come_{AUX}-LIM 2A:3O-sit-have-FUT
 “‘Why do you want her? You’re going to have her sitting!’”
- (17) No dyim, eñdye nsun mej yä'ä.
 no y-dim ?eñd^ye n-sun Ø-meh yi?i
 no 3S_A-say NEG 1A:3O-want 3S_B-come:FUT here
 “‘No,” he says, “I don’t want her to come here.’”

² The name *Fulano* (of which *Julano* is a local variant) is frequently used in Spanish to mean ‘whoever’ or to refer to a nameless someone.

- (18) U nsun ñyuuñe' dyim, meñpä' kki'pa't sikyeera dyim.
 ?u n-sun ny-du:ñe? y-dim Ø-mêñ=pi?
 IMPF 1A:3O-want 2PSR-woman 3S_A-say 3S_B-come_{AUX}=REL
 ky-ki?-pa?t siquiera y-dim
 3/2-hand-find at.least 3S_A-say
 “‘We would want your wife to come to help you at least,’ he says.’”
- (19) Kki'pa't juch kdyoswatp dyim.
 ky-ki?-pa?t huč ky-yo:s-wat-p y-dim
 3/2-hand-find where 2S_B-work-do-FUT 3S_A-say
 “‘She’s going to help you where you work.’”
- (20) Byumbe jes kbij, byumbe shyun bich ñiiywatp.
 y-bumbe hes ky-bêh
 3S_A-all when 2S_B-come:FUT
 y-bumbe y-sun bič ny-di:y-wat-p
 3S_A-all 3A:3O-want 2PRO 2A:3O-self-do-FUT
 “‘When you come, she’s going to want you to do everything yourself.’”
- (21) Pero ätz nwä'ñjaam.
 pero ?iç n-wi?ñha:m
 but 1PRO 1A:3O-like
 “‘But I like her.’”
- (22) Ätz u nsun.
 ?iç ?u n-sun
 1PRO IMPF 1A:3O-want
 “‘I want her.’”
- (23) Bich njyaam, maan,
 bič ny-ha:m n-ba:n
 2PRO 2A:3O-know 1PSR-child
 “‘You’ll find out, son,’”
- (24) Ätz ma'ye knäma', jepe' yoomä' ma' matäj ke njumbu'm kañcheñ.
 ?iç ma?=ye kn-dim-a? hepe? yo:mi? ma?
 1PRO PERF=already 1A:2O-say-APPL this woman PERF
 n-batiñ que nhumbu?=m Ø-kañcheñ
 1A:3O-hear that very=REP 3S_B-lazy
 “‘(but) I tell you, I’ve heard this girl is really lazy.’”
- (25) Aa, no le hace.
 ‘Ah, it doesn’t matter to him.’

- (26) Pwe, ätz u nsun.
 pues ʔiç ʔu n-sun
 well 1PRO IMPF 1A:3O-want
 ‘‘Well, I want her.’’
- (27) Bweenu, bich njyaam.
 bueno bič ny-ha:m
 good 2PRO 2A:3O-know
 ‘‘Well, you know (best).’’
- (28) Ätz däk ta nwa'k shaaptu.
 ʔi:ç dik ta n-wa?k ša:ptu
 1PRO go_{AUX} INCL 1A:3O-ask Saturday
 ‘‘We’ll go ask this Saturday.’’
- (29) Shaaptu däk ta nwa'k.
 ša:ptu dik ta n-wa?k
 Saturday go_{AUX} INCL 1A:3O-ask
 ‘‘Saturday we’ll go ask.’’
- (30) Pwe ta däk p dyim.
 pues ta dik-p y-dim
 well INCL go-FUT 3S_A-say
 ‘‘Well, let’s go,’’ he says.’
- (31) Ma' däk yajam.
 ma? Ø-dik-yah=am
 PERF 3S_B-go-3PL=IAM
 ‘They went.’
- (32) Ma' du'k shaaptu.
 ma? Ø-du?k ša:ptu
 PERF 3S_B-arrive Saturday
 ‘Saturday came.’
- (33) Ma' däk yaj.
 ma? Ø-dik-yah
 PERF 3S_B-go-3PL
 ‘They went.’
- (34) Boy wya'kyaj jepe' yoomä'.
 boy y-wa?k-yah hepe? yo:mi?
 go.and.return_{AUX}:PERF 3A:3O-ask-3PL this woman
 ‘They went to ask for this woman.’

- (35) Ma' du'kam njem.
 ma? Ø-du?k=am nhem
 PERF 3S_B-arrive=IAM there
 'They arrived there.'
- (36) Pero ätzä' ma' kbeñta' dyim, poko yä'äp suutu' dyim, ma' shyun
 ñyombaa dyim.
 pero ?içei? ma? k-bêñ-ta? y-dim poco yi?ip su:tu?
 but 1PRO PERF 1S_B-come-1PL 3S_A-say because this boy
 y-dim ma? y-sun ny-yo:mi?-ba: y-dim
 3S_A-say PERF 3A:3O-want 2PSR-woman-DIM 3S_A-say
 "But we have come," he says, "because this boy says he is in love
 with your daughter," he says.'
- (37) Eñch n'esh njune' ma' shyunka'yaj dyim,
 ?eñč n-?êš nhune? ma? y-sun-ka?yah y-dim
 no 1A:3O-know how PERF 3A:3O-want-REC 3S_A-say
 "I don't know how they fell in love," he says.'
- (38) pero ej fin dyim, ma' kbeñ pa nwa'kta'
 pero en fin y-dim ma? k-bêñ pa n-wa?k-ta?
 but in end 3S_A-say PERF 1S_B-come for 1A:3O-ask-1PL
 "but in the end," he says, "we've come to ask for her,"
- (39) i nwa'ktzä' yta' dyim.
 ?i n-wa?k-çei?y-ta? y-dim
 and 1A:3O-ask-stay-1PL 3S_A-say
 "and we're going to ask," he says.'
- (40) Wää dyim.
 wi: y-dim
 good 3S_A-say
 "Good," he says.'
- (41) Ma' näm 'yoom,
 ma? Ø-dim y-?o:m
 PERF 3S_B-say 3PSR-father
 'Her father said,'
- (42) Wää dyim,
 Ø-wi: y-dim
 3S_B-fine 3S_A-say
 "That's fine," he says.'
- (43) pero batäjä' dyim, knämpaapä' dyim.
 pero Ø-batiñ-i? y-dim kn-dim-pa:=pi? y-dim
 but 3S_B-hear-IMP 3S_A-say 1A:2O-say-NOM=REL 3S_A-say
 "but listen," he says, "to what I tell you!" he says.'

- (44) Chi'yoo? dyim.
 či?yo: y-dim
 what 3S_A-say
 “‘What?’” he says.’
- (45) Yä'äpä' nyombaa dyim, eñdyee dyjoswat dyim.
 yi?ipi? n-yo:mi?-ba: y-dim ?eñdʲe: y-yo:s-wat
 this 1PSR-woman-DIM 3S_A-say NEG 3S_A-work-do
 y-dim
 3S_A-say
 “‘My daughter doesn’t work.’”
- (46) Eñdyee dyjoswat dyim,
 ?eñdʲe y-yo:s-wat y-dim
 NEG 3S_A-work-do 3S_A-say
 “‘She doesn’t work,” he says.’
- (47) Yä'äpä' eñdyee dyjoswat dyim.
 yi?ipi? ?eñdʲe y-yo:s-wat y-dim
 this NEG 3S_A-work-do 3S_A-say
 “‘She doesn’t work,” he says.’
- (48) I asi es ke ätz eñch n'eshp a'y nwi'ñjaam.
 ?i así es que ?iç ?eñč n-?êš-p ?a?y
 and that is what 1PRO NEG 1A:3O-know-FUT if
 ny-wi?ñha:m
 2A:3O-like
 “‘And so I don’t know if you’ll like that.’”
- (49) No dyim, eñch eeche wyat dyim,
 no y-dim ?eñč ?e:çe y-wat y-dim
 no 3S_A-say NEG nothing 3A:3O-do 3S_A-say
 “‘No,” he says, “it doesn’t matter.’”
- (50) Eñch eeche wyat.
 ?eñč ?e:çe y-wat
 NEG nothing 3A:3O-do
 “‘It doesn’t matter.’”
- (51) Ätz wää nwatta' yoos njem a'y chi' token.
 ?iç wi: n-wat-ta? yo:s nhem ?a?y či?
 1PRO be.able_{AUX} 1A:3O-do-1PL work there if something
 Ø-token
 3S_B-be.lacking
 “‘We can do the work there if it is needed.’”

- (52) Wää n'a'anja'ta' dyim.

wi: n-ʔaʔanjaʔ-taʔ y-dim
 be.able_{AUX} 1A:3O-show-1PL 3S_A-say

‘‘We can show her.’’

- (53) Wää n'a'anja'ta' njune'ep dyioswat dyim.

wi: n-ʔaʔanjaʔ-taʔ nhuneʔe-p y-yoʔs-wat
 be.able_{AUX} 1A:3O-show-1PL how-FUT 3S_A-work-do
 y-dim
 3S_A-say

‘‘We can show her how to work,’’ he tells him.

- (54) Usta'usta' byuska'ap dyim.

ʔustaʔ~ʔustaʔ y-bus-kaʔ-p y-dim
 DISTR~little 3A:3O-learn-INTENS-FUT 3S_A-say

‘‘Little by little she’s going to learn it,’’ he says.’’

- (55) Byuska'ap dyim, njune'ep dyioswat dyim.

y-bus-kaʔ-p y-dim nhuneʔe-p y-yo:s-wat
 3A:3O-learn-INTENS-FUT 3S_A-say how-FUT 3S_A-work-do
 y-dim
 3S_A-say

‘‘She’s going to learn how to work,’’ he says.’’

- (56) Bich njyaam dyim, a'y nshyun.

biç ny-ha:m y-dim ʔaʔy ny-sun
 2PRO 2A:3O-know 3S_A-say if 2A:3O-want

‘‘It’s up to you,’’ he says, ‘‘if you want her.’’

- (57) Pwes te nyakkä'ŋkomyaj dyim.

pues te n-yak-kiʔŋkom-yah y-dim
 but INCL 1A:3O-CAUS-marry-3PL 3S_A-say

‘‘Well, we’re going to get them married,’’ he says.’’

- (58) Pero ma'y knäma' dyim.

pero maʔ-ya kn-dim-aʔ y-dim
 but PERF-already 1A:2O-say-APPL 3S_A-say

‘‘But I told you,’’ he says.’’

- (59) Yä'äpä' eñdye shyun yoswatp dyim.

yäʔäʔiʔiʔ ʔeñdye y-sun Ø-yo:s-wat-p y-dim
 this NEG 3A:3O-want 3S_B-work-do-FUT 3S_A-say

‘‘She doesn’t want to work,’’ he says.’’

- (60) Si, pero yoom ma'y byatäj ke njumbu' kañcheñ.
 sí pero y-ʔo:m maʔ-ya y-batij que
 yes but 3PSR-father PERF-already 3A:3O-hear that
 nhumbu? Ø-kañcheñ
 very 3S_B-lazy
 ‘“Yes, I heard from her father that she’s very lazy.”’
- (61) Bweenu, ma' du'k tyempu jes kä'ηkomp.
 bueno maʔ Ø-duʔk tʔempu hes Ø-kiʔηkom-p
 good PERF 3S_B-arrive time when 3S_B-marry-FUT
 ‘Well, the time came for them to marry.’
- (62) Ma' yakkä'ηkomtabetz.
 maʔ Ø-yak-kiʔηkom-tah-beç
 PERF 3S_B-CAUS-marry-PASS-PL
 ‘They got married.’
- (63) Kä'ηkomyaj.
 Ø-kiʔηkom-yah
 3S_B-marry-3PL
 ‘They married.’
- (64) Jmm, dyim, jeksh 'yaap ma' tzä'y njem.
 hmm y-dim hekš y-ʔa:p maʔ Ø-çiʔy nhem
 hmm 3S_A-say now 3PSR-mother PERF 3S_B-stay there
 ‘Now the mother (of the bride) remained (having moved her daughter to the other house).’
- (65) Ma' du'k chikä.
 maʔ Ø-du'k y-tik-i
 PERF 3S_B-arrive 3PSR-house-LOC
 ‘(The couple) arrived at the house (of the groom).’
- (66) Ma'te we'kyaje'.
 maʔ=te Ø-wêʔk-yah-eʔ
 PERF=INC 3S_B-eat-3PL-DEP
 ‘They began to eat.’
- (67) Byumbe ech.
 y-bumbe Ø-ʔêč
 3PSR-all 3S_B-exist
 ‘Everything was there.’
- (68) Ma' sänkejyaj.
 maʔ Ø-sinj-keh-yah
 PERF 3S_B-sun-appear-3PL
 ‘The sun came up.’

- (69) Yoomä' u byoŋ.
 yo:mi? ʔu y-boŋ
 woman IMP 3S_A-sleep
 'The woman was sleeping.'
- (70) Baŋtzuŋ ' yaap.
 Ø-baŋ-çuŋ y-ʔa:p
 3S_B-stand-rise 3PSR-mother
 'His mother woke up.'
- (71) Ma'te dyyakwe'k shyuutu', dyim.
 maʔ=te y-yak-wêʔk y-su:tu? y-dim
 PERF=INC 3A:3O-CAUS-eat 3PSR-boy 3S_A-say
 'She began to feed her son.'
- (72) Ma'y dyyakwe'k njem.
 maʔ-ya y-yak-wêʔk nhem
 PERF-already 3A:3O-CAUS-eat there
 'There she fed him.'
- (73) Ma' dāk yooshuku.
 maʔ Ø-dik yo:s-yuku
 PERF 3S_B-go work-LOC
 'He went to work.'
- (74) Kisa ya upna' dyyu'k dyim.
 quizás ya ʔupa-na? y-duʔk y-dim
 perhaps already now-still 3S_A-arrive 3S_A-say
 '“Perhaps she's still coming (to learn),” (she) says.'
- (75) Kisa byuska'ap yoos dyim.
 quizás y-bus-kaʔ-p yo:s y-dim
 perhaps 3A:3O-learn-INTENS-FUT work 3S_A-say
 '“Maybe she'll learn the work,” (she) says.'
- (76) Ma' baŋtzuŋ.
 maʔ Ø-baŋ-çuŋ
 PERF 3S_B-stand-rise
 'She stood up.'
- (77) Yoomä' ma' o'tzput.
 yo:mi? maʔ Ø-ʔoʔç-put
 woman PERF 3S_B-sit-exit
 'The woman went out to sit.'
- (78) O'tzde'.
 Ø-ʔoʔç-deʔ
 3S_B-sit-STV
 'She sits.'

- (79) Ma'te peeyo'oye' chi'icho'om.
 maʔ=te Ø-pe:y-ʔoʔy-eʔ y-čê:čaʔ-oʔo-m
 PERF=INC 3S_B-rock-ANTIP-DEP 3PSR-hammock-LOC-LOC
 'She begins to rock in the hammock.'
- (80) Yä'äp yoomä' eñdye shyun yoswatp, dyim.
 yiʔip yo:miʔ ʔeñdʔe y-sun Ø-yo:s-wat-p
 this woman NEG 3A:3O-want 3S_B-work-do-FUT
 y-dim
 3S_A-say
 "‘This woman doesn’t want to work,’ (her mother-in-law) says.’"
- (81) Ni sikyeera meñ kkä'pa't.
 ni siquiera mēñ k-kiʔ-paʔt
 NEG at.least come_{AUX} 3A:1O-hand-find
 "‘She doesn’t even offer to help me.’"
- (82) Njune'ep meñ kkä'pa'tʔ dyim.
 nhuneʔe-p mēñ k-kiʔ-paʔt y-dim
 how-FUT come_{AUX} 3A:1O-hand-find 3S_A-say
 "‘How is she going to help me?’" she says.’"
- (83) Eñdye shyun yoswatp.
 ʔeñdʔe y-sun Ø-yo:s-wat-p
 NEG 3A:3O-want 3S_B-work-do-FUT
 "‘She doesn’t want to work.’"
- (84) Njune'ep nyakwe'kp, dyim,
 nhuneʔe-p n-yak-wêʔk-p y-dim
 how-FUT 1A:3O-CAUS-eat-FUT 3S_A-say
 "‘How am I going to feed her,’" she asks,’"
- (85) ay meñche nyakwe'kp?
 ʔaʔy mēñ-če n-yak-wêʔk-p
 if come_{AUX}-LIM 1A:3O-CAUS-eat-FUT
 "‘if she only comes for me to feed her?’"
- (86) Eñdye ma'bye'tz yoomä'ʔ dyim.
 ʔeñdʔe maʔ y-beʔe yo:miʔ y-dim
 NEG PERF 3A:3O-look woman 3S_A-say
 "‘Hasn’t he found his wife?’" she asks.
- (87) Sabe Dios!, nyakwe'k maan, dyim,
 sabe dios n-yak-wêʔk n-ba:n y-dim
 knowat:3SG:PRES god 1A:3O-CAUS-eat 1PSR-child 3S_A-say
 "‘God knows! I feed my son,’" she says.’"

- (88) poko biñ yooshuku, dyim,
 porque y-bêñ yo:s-yuku y-dim
 because 3S_A-come work-from 3S_A-say
 “‘because my son is coming from work,’ she says,’
- (89) I maan wää nyakwe'k, dyim,
 ?i n-ba:n wi: n-yak-wê?k y-dim
 and 1PSR-child be.able_{AUX} 1A:3O-CAUS-eat 3S_A-say
 “‘and I can feed my son,’ she says,’
- (90) pero yä'äp yoomä', a'y eñdye shyun yoswatp.
 pero yi?ip yo:mi? ?a?y ?eñd'e y-sun
 but this woman if NEG 3A:3O-want
 Ø-yo:s-wat-p
 3S_B-work-do-FUT
 “‘but this woman doesn't even want to work.’”
- (91) Pwe te npuuta'ap eyäm dyim, maas seguuru dyim.
 pues te n-put-Da?-p ?eyim y-dim ma:s
 well INCL 1A:3O-exit-CAUS-FUT apart 3S_A-say more
 seguro y-dim
 secure 3S_A-say
 “‘Well, we're going to separate her, it's a better bet,” (the boy's father) says.”
- (92) Joye nwästäkä te npuuta'ap dyim.
 hoye nwis-tik-i te n-put-Da?-p y-dim
 morning two-NCLF-LOC INCL 1A:3O-exit-CAUS-FUT 3S_A-say
 “‘Tomorrow at two, I'm going to take her out,” (the boy's mother) says.’
- (93) Che'ejä' pilaat dyim, byumbe kya'ache' dyiiksa'aje'.
 čê?-h-i? y-pila:t y-dim y-bumbe y-ka?ače?
 give-LIG-IMP 3PSR-plate 3S_A-say 3PSR-all 3PSR-utensils
 y-diks-Da?-h-e?
 3A:3O-go-CAUS-LIG-DEP
 “‘Give her her dishes!” she says (to her husband), “she can take all her stuff.’”
- (94) I ma' wye'kput tuṅkak täk.
 ?i ma? y-we?k-put tuṅkak tik
 and PERF 3A:3O-separate-exit other house
 ‘And she moved her to another house.’

- (95) Wyata' chik.
y-wat-aʔ y-tik
3A:3O-do-APPL 3PSR-house
'She made her house.'
- (96) Ma' dyiiksa' kya'ache', byumbe kya'ache'.
maʔ y-diks-Daʔ y-kaʔačeʔ y-bumbe y-kaʔačeʔ
PERF 3A:3O-go-CAUS 3PSR-utensils 3PSR-all 3PSR-utensils
'(The mother-in-law) took her kitchen stuff, all her stuff.'
- (97) Shyu'unj, byajko', byumbe, kyasweela', pilaat, boy tzakätaje' njem.
y-suʔunj y-bah-koʔ y-bumbe y-casuela y-pila:t
3PSR-pot 3S_A-give-INSTR 3PSR-all 3PSR-pan 3PSR-plate
boy Ø-çak-aʔ-h-eʔ nhem
go.and.return_{AUX}:PERF 3S_B-leave-APPL-LIG-DEP there
'Her pot, she gave it all, her pan, dishes, she went to leave them there.'
- (98) Ta'tztzakätaj bäske pälaat.
Ø-taʔç-çak-aʔ-tah biks-ke pila:t
3S_B-stow-leave-APPL-PASS much-INTENS plate
'Left many dishes stowed (there).'
- (99) Maan dyim, njem ech dyim,
n-ba:n y-dim nhem Ø-ʔêč y-dim
1PSR-child 3S_A-say there 3S_B-be 3S_A-say
'“My son,” she says, “there it is,”
- (100) basta nky'a'ache'.
basta ny-kaʔačeʔ
much 2PSR-utensils
'“many (kitchen) utensils.”
- (101) Basta n'iicha' nky'a'ache'.
basta ny-ʔêč-Daʔ ny-kaʔačeʔ
much 2A:3O-be-CAUS 2PSR-utensils
'“You have many utensils.”’
- (102) Si dyim, wää ich.
sí y-dim wi: y-ʔêč
yes 3S_A-say good 3S_A-is
'“Yes,” he says, “it's fine.”’
- (103) Jeksh jepe' pään ma'te put eyäm.
hekš hepeʔ pi:n maʔ=te Ø-put ʔeyim
now this man PERF=INC 3S_B-leave apart
'Now this man leaves.'

- (104) Ma'y shyos byo'os byumbe.
 maʔ=ya y-sos y-boʔos y-bumbe
 PERF=already 3A:3O-cook 3PSR-nixtamal 3PSR-all
 '(The woman) finished preparing her nixtamal, all of it.'
- (105) Ma'te waaye'. Ma' dyyaj wyay.
 maʔ=te Ø-way-eʔ maʔ y-yah y-way
 PERF=INC 3S_B-grind-DEP PERF 3A:3O-finish 3S_A-grind
 'She began grinding. She finished grinding.'
- (106) Pwes ma'meñ dyya'aŋ yooshuku, dyim,
 pues maʔ Ø-mêñ y-daʔaŋ yo:s-juku y-dim
 well PERF 3S_B-come 3PSR-husband work-from 3S_A-say
 'Well, her husband came from work, he says.'
- (107) Upa nwe'k dyim.
 ʔupa n-wêʔk y-dim
 now 1S_A-eat 3S_A-say
 '"Now I'm going to eat," he says.'
- (108) Byeja, upa nwe'k!
 vieja ʔupa n-wêʔk
 old.woman now 1S_A-eat
 '"Wife, now I'm going to eat!"'
- (109) Upa nwi'k? dyim.
 ʔupa ny-wêʔk y-dim
 now 2S_A-eat 3S_A-say
 '"Now you're going to eat?" she asks.'
- (110) Upa nwe'k dyim.
 ʔupa n-wêʔk y-dim
 now 1S_A-eat 3S_A-say
 '"Now I'm going to eat."'
- (111) Ma'te dyyakwe'k.
 maʔ=te y-ak-wêʔk
 PERF=INC 3A:3O-CAUS-eat
 'She began to feed him.'
- (112) Ma'ye wi'k jepe' päāñ, byumbe.
 maʔ-ye y-wêʔk hepeʔ pi:ñ y-bumbe
 PERF=already 3S_A-eat this man 3PSR-all
 'The man finished eating, everything.'

- (113) I yoomä'. Ma'y wi'kyaj wistäk.
 ʔi yo:miʔ maʔ-ya y-wêʔk-yah y-wis-tik
 and woman PERF-already 3S_A-eat-3PL 3S_A-two-NCLF
 'And (also) the woman. The two of them ate.'
- (114) Dyim, Jeksh dyim, yä'äp pälaat, ee chye'eka'aj? dyim.
 y-dim hekš y-dim yiʔip päla:t
 3S_A-say now 3S_A-say this plate
 ʔe: y-ʔeʔ-kaʔah y-dim
 who 3A:3O-wash-INTENS:FUT 3S_A-say
 'He says, "Now, these dishes, who's going to wash them?" he asks.'
- (115) Njem däk tzaakä' komjoso'om dyim.
 nhem dik ʔak-iʔ kom-yos-oʔo-m y-dim
 there go_{AUX} leave-IMP post-hole-LOC-LOC 3S_A-say
 "Leave it there in the corner!" he says.'
- (116) Jembesh te npu'utja'ap kwyenda dyim.
 hembeʔ-eš te n-put-Daʔ-h-aʔ-p y-cuenta
 there-FUT INCL 1A:3O-exit-CAUS-LIG-APPL-FUT 3PSR-count
 y-dim
 3S_A-say
 "There we're going to take count," he says.'
- (117) Te maychu'uŋa'ap nju'utza ech dyim.
 te n-bay-tuŋ-ʔaʔ-p nhuʔuʔa Ø-ʔêč
 INCL 1A:3O-count-road-VBZR-FUT how.many 3S_B-be
 y-dim
 3S_A-say
 "We're going to count how many there are."'
- (118) Njemesh ta mayka'ps dyim.
 nhem-eš ta n-bay-kaʔps y-dim
 there-FUT INCL 1A:3O-count-accomplish 3S_A-say
 "There we're going to count," he says.'
- (119) Tzaakä'!
 Ø-ʔak-iʔ
 3PO-leave-IMP
 "Leave it!"'
- (120) *Bueeno*.
 'Good.'

- (121) Chyak yoomä'.
 y-çak yo:mi?
 3A:3O-leave woman
 'The woman left them.'
- (122) Tsu'ɲn'eechkak eep ma'te we'eke'.
 çu?ɲn?e:ç-kak ?e:p ma?=te Ø-wê?k-e?
 in.the.afternoon-REPET other.time PERF=INC 3S_B-eat-DEP
 'In the afternoon, again he began to eat.'
- (123) Ma' du'k, ma'te we'kyaje'.
 ma? Ø-du?k ma?=te Ø-wê?k-yah-e?
 PERF 3S_B-arrive PERF=INC 3S_B-eat-3PL-DEP
 'He arrived (and) began to eat.'
- (124) Ma' we'kyaj wistäk.
 ma? Ø-wê?k-yah y-wis-tik
 PERF 3S_B-eat-3PL 3S_A-two-NUMC
 'The two of them ate.'
- (125) Eepä' dyimäkak dyim,
 ?e:pi? y-dim-a?-kak y-dim
 other.time 3A:3O-say-APPL-REPET 3S_A-say
 'Again when he comes back he says,'
- (126) Bweenu yä'äp pälaat, ee chye'eka'aj? dyim.
 bueno yi?ip pila:t ?e: y-çe?-ka?ah y-dim
 good these plate who 3A:3O-wash-INTENS:FUT 3S_A-say
 '“Okay, who's going to wash these dishes?” he says.'
- (127) Njem däk tzaakä' dyim, komjoso'om! dyim.
 nhem dik çak-i? y-dim kom-hos-o?o-m
 there toward.there leave-IMP 3S_A-say post-hole-LOC-LOC
 y-dim
 3S_A-say
 '“Leave them there in the corner!” he says.'
- (128) Njemesh ta mayka'ps dyim.
 nhem-eš ta n-bay-ka?ps y-dim
 there-FUT INCL 1A:3O-count-accomplish 3S_A-say
 '“There we're going to count them.”'
- (129) Bweenu, ma' chya'tztzak.
 bueno ma? y-ta?ç-çak
 good PERF 3A:3O-load-leave
 '“Good, we'll leave them piled up.”'

- (130) Ma' kej eech.
 maʔ Ø-keh ʔêč-D
 PERF 3S_B-appear be-NOM
 'He woke up.'
- (131) Jembe' shamaan ma' dyyaj.
 hembeʔ šama:n maʔ y-yah
 there week PERF 3A:3O-end
 'There the week ended.'
- (132) Ma' dyyajyaj pooy.
 maʔ y-yah-yah po:y
 PERF 3A:3O-finish-3PL mes
 'Months went by.'
- (133) Kyak wiñ pään.
 y-kak y-wêñ pi:ñ
 3A:3O-change 3S_A-REFL man
 'The man was changing.'
- (134) I ñyo't, ee kchye'eka'ya'ap?
 ʔi ny-yoʔt ʔe: ky-çeʔ-kaʔy-aʔ-p
 and 2PSR-clothes who 3A:2O -wash-INTENS-APPL-FUT
 '“And your clothes, who's going to wash them for you?”'
- (135) Njem tzaakä' nee nje'!
 nhem çak-iʔ ne: nheʔ
 there leave-IMP also 3PRO
 '“Leave that there too!”'
- (136) Njemesh ta mayka'ps dyim.
 njem-eš ta n-bay-kaʔps y-dim
 there-FUT INCL 1A:3O-count-accomplish 3S_A-say
 '“There we're going to count,” he says.'
- (137) Bweenu, pyatzzaka' dyyo't, dyyojkoy.
 bueno y-paç-çak=am y-yoʔt y-dohkoy
 good 3A:3O-throw-leave=IAM 3PSR-clothes 3PSR-pants
 'Well, he left his shirt, his pants.'
- (138) Kyak wiñ nee yoomä'.
 y-kak y-wêñ ne: yo:miʔ
 3A:3O-change 3S_A-REFL also woman
 'The woman changed too.'

- (139) I nyo't dyim, ee ktze'eka'ya'ap?
 ʔi n-yoʔt y-dim ʔee k-ʔeʔ-kaʔy-aʔ-p
 and 1PSR-clothes 3S_A-say who 3A:1O-wash-INTENS-APPL-FUT
 “‘And my clothes?’” (the girl) asks, “‘Who’s going to wash them for me?’”
- (140) Njem tzaakä'!
 nhem ʔak-iʔ
 there leave-IMP
 “‘Leave them there!’”
- (141) Njemesh ta mayka'ps dyim.
 nhem-eš ta n-bay-kaʔps y-dim
 there-FUT INCL 1A:3O-count-accomplish 3S_A-say
 “‘There we’ll take a count,” he says.’”
- (142) Aa, wää dyim.
 a: wi: y-dim
 ah good 3S_A-say
 “‘Ahh, that’s fine,” she says.’”
- (143) Ma' chyak.
 maʔ y-ʔak
 PERF 3A:3O-leave
 ‘She left it.’
- (144) Byumbe upche chyuup. Upche chyuup kya'ache'.
 y-bumbe ʔupa-če y-tu:p ʔupa-če y-tu:p
 3PSR-all now-LIM 3S_A-pile.up now-LIM 3S_A-pile.up
 y-kaʔačeʔ
 3PSR-utensils
 ‘Everything was piling up. The dishes were piling up.’
- (145) Upche chyuup.
 ʔupa-če y-tu:p
 now-LIM 3A:3O-pile.up
 ‘Now it was piled up.’
- (146) Jeksh pään dyyos'a'. Dyim,
 hekš pi:n y-yos-ʔaʔm y-dim
 now man 3A:3O-be.obliged-look 3S_A-say
 ‘Now the man looks. He says,’
- (147) Paa su gaayu, yä'äp eñdye shyun tze'ejo'oj!
 para su gallo yiʔip ʔeñdʲe y-sun
 for his rooster this NEG 3A:3O-want
 Ø-ʔeʔ-h-ʔoʔoh
 3S_B-wash-LIG-ANTIP:FUT
 “‘Gosh, this one doesn’t want to clean!’”

- (148) Eñdyee shyun chye'ep pälaat! dyim.
 ʔeñdʔe y-sun y-ʔeʔ-p pila:t y-dim
 NEG 3A:3O-want 3A:3O-wash-FUT plate 3S_A-say
 ‘‘She doesn’t want to wash the dishes,’’ he says (to himself).’
- (149) I nojkoy, ya ma' yaj nojkoy.
 ʔi n-dohkoy ya maʔ Ø-yah n-dohkoy
 and 1PSR-pants already PERF 3S_B-finish 1PSR-pants
 ‘‘And my pants! I have no more pants!’’
- (150) Ma' yajam nka'ache'.
 maʔ Ø-yah=am n-kaʔaʔeʔ
 PERF 3S_B-finish=IAM 1PSR-utensils
 ‘‘There are no more utensils.’’
- (151) Njem tuupde' ij!
 nhem Ø-tu:p-deʔ y-ʔêč
 there 3S_B-pile.up-STV 3S_A-be
 ‘‘There they are piled up!’’
- (152) Dyim, wää ich dyim,
 y-dim wi: y-ʔêč y-dim
 3S_A-say good 3S_A-be 3S_A-say
 ‘He says, ‘‘That’s fine,’’ he says.’
- (153) Joye kbej. Joye ish che' nwata'ap dyim.
 hoye k-beh hoye y-ʔêš
 tomorrow 1S_B-come:FUT tomorrow 3A:3O-see
 ʔeʔ n-wat-aʔ-p y-dim
 that 1A:3O-do-APPL-FUT 3S_A-say
 ‘‘Tomorrow I’ll come. Tomorrow she’ll see what I’m going to do,’’ he says.’
- (154) Tzaakä'!
 ʔak-iʔ
 leave-IMP
 ‘‘Leave it!’’
- (155) Ma' däk yoswaache'.
 maʔ dik Ø-yo:s-wat-eʔ
 PERF go_{AUX} 3S_B-work-do-DEP
 ‘He went to work.’
- (156) Ma' jiiikut chyujku', ma' däkam.
 maʔ y-hi:k-put y-tuh-kuʔ maʔ
 PERF 3A:3O-pull-exit 3PSR-shoot-INSTR.NOM PERF
 Ø-dik=am
 3S_B-go=IAM
 ‘He pulled out his gun out and went.’

- (157) Ku'kp jaa biñ.
 kuʔk-p ha: y-bêñ
 middle-ADJZ day 3S_A-come
 'At midday he came.'
- (158) Upa nwe'k, byeja.
 ʔupa n-wêʔk vieja
 now 1S_A-eat old.woman
 "Now I'm going to eat, wife."
- (159) Upa nwi'k?
 ʔupa ny-wêʔk
 now 2S_A-eat
 "Now you're going to eat?"
- (160) Upa nwe'k.
 ʔupa n-wêʔk
 now 1S_A-eat
 "Now I'm going to eat."
- (161) Dejde yä'äp jaa eñdye nsun ekä k'oota'ap.
 desde yiʔip haa ʔeñdye n-sun ʔeki k-ʔo:taʔ-p
 since this day NEG 1/3-want that 1A:3O-speak-FUT
 "From now on, I don't want (anyone) to speak to me."
- (162) Ootäpaapä', dyim, ntujka'ap.
 Ø-ʔo:taʔ-pa:=piʔ y-dim n-tuh-kaʔ-p
 3S_B-speak-NOM=REL 3S_A-say 1A:3O-shoot-INTENS-FUT
 "He who speaks," he says, "I will shoot them (or him/her/it)."
- (163) Pyatztzak chyujku'.
 y-paç-çak y-tuh-kuʔ
 3A:3O-shoot-leave 3PSR-shoot-INSTR.NOM
 'He left his gun (lying in front of him).'
- (164) Ootäpaapä' ntujka'ap.
 Ø-ʔo:taʔ-pa:=piʔ n-tuh-kaʔ-p
 3S_B-speak-NOM=REL 1A:3O-shoot-INTENS-FUT
 "He who speaks, I will shoot."
- (165) K'aañwejäpaapä' nee nje' ntujka'ap.
 k-ʔa:ŋweh-aʔ-pa:=piʔ ne: nheʔ
 3A:1O-shout-APPL-NOM=REL also 3PRO
 n-tuh-kaʔ-p
 1A:3O-shoot-INTENS-FUT
 "He who shouts at me, I will also shoot."

- (166) Eñchpä' yoswatp, nee nje' ntujka'ap.
 ?eñč=pi? Ø-yo:s-wat-p ne: nhe?
 NEG=REL 3S_B-work-do-FUT also 3PRO
 n-tuh-ka?-p
 1A:3O-shoot-INTENS-FUT
 '“He who doesn't work, I will also shoot.”'
- (167) K'wanäpaapä' nee nje' ntujka'ap.
 k-wan-a?-pa:=pi? ne: nhe? n-tuh-ka?-p
 3A:1O-sing-APPL-NOM=REL also 3PRO 1A:3O-shoot-INT-FUT
 '“Whoever sings to me, I will also shoot.”'
- (168) Eñche nsun ee meñ k'oota'.
 ?eñče n-sun ?e: mēñ k-?o:ta?
 NEG 1A:3O-want someone come_{AUX} 3A:1O-speak
 '“I don't want anyone to come speak to me.”'
- (169) Eñdyee nsun ni k'oota'ap, ni k'aanweja'ap nee eena',
 ?eñd'e: n-sun ni k-?o:ta?-p
 NEG 1A:3O-want NEG 3A:1O-speak-FUT
 ni k-?a:ŋweh-a?-p ne: ?e:-na
 NEG 3A:1O-shout-APPL-FUT NEG someone-still
 '“Nor do I want anyone to speak to me, nor shout at me,”'
- (170) poko ntujka'ap.
 poco n-tuy-ka?-p
 because 1A:3O-shoot-INTENS-FUT
 '“because I will shoot them.”'
- (171) Juuta! Jep ma' byatāŋ jepe' yoomä'.
 hu:ta hep ma? h-batiŋ hepe? yo:mi?
 EXCL this PERF 3A:3O-hear this woman
 'Oh my goodness! The woman heard this.'
- (172) Poytzūŋ njem.
 Ø-poy-çūŋ nhem
 3S_B-run-rise there
 'There she ran.'
- (173) Pyuuta' pilaat.
 y-put-Da? y-pila:t
 3A:3O-exit-CAUS 3PSR-dishes
 'She took out her dishes.'
- (174) Ma'te chye'tze'ka'y.
 ma?te y-çe?~çe?-ka?y
 PERF=INC 3A:3O-DISTR~wash-INTENS
 'She began to wash.'

- (175) A'y eñch k'yoswatp dyim, ktujka'ap yä'äp.
 ?a?y ?eñč k-yo:s-wat-p y-dim k-tuh-ka?-p
 if NEG 1S_B-work-do-FUT 3S_A-say 3A:1O-shoot-INT-FUT
 yi?ip
 this
 "‘If I don’t work,’ she says, “this one is going to shoot me.”’
- (176) K'yaka'ap' dyim.
 k-yaka?-p y-dim
 3A:1O-kill-FUT 3S_A-say
 "‘He is going to kill me,’ she says.’
- (177) Jekshejekshe chye'tze'ka'y chye'tze'ka'y.
 hekšehekše y-če?~če?-ka?y
 rapid 3A:3O-DISTR~wash-INTENS
 y-če?~če?-ka?y
 3A:3O-DISTR~wash-INTENS
 ‘Quickly, she washed (and) she washed.’
- (178) Ma'y wi'k pään.
 ma?=ya y-wê?k pi:ñ
 PERF=already 3S_A-eat man
 ‘The man finished eating.’
- (179) Putam.
 Ø-put=am
 3S_B-exit=IAM
 ‘He left.’
- (180) Jeksh upche dyyos'a', dyim.
 hekš ?upa-če y-yos-?a?m y-dim
 now now-LIM 3A:3O-be.obliged-look 3S_A-say
 ‘Now he’s looking at her, he says,’
- (181) Ya be jepe' shyun dyim.
 ya ve hepe? y-sun y-dim
 already see:IMP this 3A:3O-want 3S_A-say
 “‘You see, this is what he wants,’ he says.’
- (182) Entonse eñch wää ta naks yoomä' dyim.
 entonces ?eñč wi: ta n-daks yo:mi?
 then NEG be.able_{AUX} INCL 1A:3O-hit woman
 y-dim
 3S_A-say
 “‘One is not supposed to hit a woman,’ he says.’

- (183) Njune'ep naks? dyim.
 nhune?e-p n-daks y-dim
 how-FUT 1A:3O-hit 3S_A-say
 "How could I hit her?"
- (184) Jwasilitu dyim, pa ta nwatp dyim.
 facilito y-dim pa ta n-wat-p y-dim
 easy 3S_A-say to INCL 1A:3O-do-FUT 3S_A-say
 "It's easy to do," he says.'
- (185) Ta numwatp dyim.
 ta n-duumu?-wat-p y-dim
 INCL 1A:3O-straight-do-FUT 3S_A-say
 "We're going to straighten her out," he says.'
- (186) Jwasilitu ta numwatp tum pään dyim.
 facilito ta n-du:mu?-wat-p tum pi:ñ y-dim
 easy INCL 1A:3O-straight-do-FUT one man 3S_A-say
 "It's easy to straighten out a man," he says.'
- (187) Tum yoomä', tum pään, byumbe ta numwatp dyim.
 tum yo:mi? tum pi:ñ y-bumbe ta
 one woman one man 3PSR-all INCL
 n-du:mu?-wat-p y-dim
 1A:3O-straight-do-FUT 3S_A-say
 "A woman, a man, everyone can be straightened out," he says.'
- (188) Wää ij.
 wi: y-?êč
 good 3S_A-be
 'That's fine.'
- (189) Limpiu ma' tzä'y kya'ache'.
 limpio ma? Ø-çi?y y-ka?ače?
 clean PERF 3S_B-stay 3PSR-utensils
 'The kitchen utensils ended up clean.'
- (190) Pyetpyetka'y chik.
 y-pet~pet-ka?y y-tik
 3A:3O-DISTR~sweep-INTENS 3PSR-house
 'She swept the house there.'
- (191) Njem byumbe chyak.
 nhem y-bumbe y-çak
 there 3PSR-all 3A:3O-leave
 'She left it all there.'

- (192) Ma' tãkeñ jojo.
 maʔ Ø-tãkeñ hoho
 PERF 3S_B-enter inside
 'He entered.'
- (193) Upa nwe'kp.
 ʔupa n-wêʔk-p
 now 1S_A-eat-FUT
 '“Now I'm going to eat.”'
- (194) Aa, wää.
 a: wi:
 ah good
 '“Ah, that's good.”'
- (195) Ma'te tze'jo'oye'.
 maʔ=te Ø-ʕeʔ-h-ʔoʔy-eʔ
 PERF=INC 3S_B-clean-LIG-ANTIP-DEP
 '“Now she's going to clean.”'
- (196) Chye'ejo'y.
 y-ʕeʔ-h-ʔoʔy
 3S_A-clean-LIG-ANTIP
 '“She's cleaning.”'
- (197) Ma' chyak chye'eko' njem, ma' dāk boy dyyakwe'k dyya'aŋ.
 maʔ y-ʕak y-ʕeʔ-koʔ nhem
 PERF 3A:3O-leave 3PSR-wash-INSTR there

 maʔ dik boy y-yak-wêʔk
 PERF go_{AUX} go.and.return_{AUX}:PERF 3A:3O-CAUS-eat
 y-daʔaŋ
 3PSR-masculine
 '(Later) she left her washing (and) went to feed her husband.'
- (198) Ma'ye wi'k njem.
 maʔ=ya y-wêʔk nhem
 PERF=already 3S_A-eat there
 'There he began to eat.'
- (199) Put ma' dāk weeche'.
 Ø-put maʔ dik Ø-wêč-eʔ
 3S_B-leave PERF go_{AUX} 3S_B-walk-DEP
 'He left to go for a walk.'

- (200) Aoor si dyim, nuuñe' upam dyyoswat dyim.
 ahora sí y-dim n-du:ñe? ?upa=am y-yo:s-wat
 now yes 3S_A-say 1PSR-woman now=IAM 3S_A-work-do
 y-dim
 3S_A-say
 '“Now, yes,” he says, “my wife works,” he says.'
- (201) Aa, kiñse diia ma' dyyaj.
 a: quince día ma? y-yah
 aa fifteen day PERF 3A:3O-finish
 'Fifteen days passed.'
- (202) Ma' du'k 'yoom yomsuutu'.
 ma? Ø-du?k y-?o:m yo:mi?•su:tu?
 PERF 3S_B-arrive 3PSR-father woman•young
 'The father of the young woman arrived.'
- (203) Chi' nwyat, mä'ät?
 či? ny-wat n-bi?it
 what 2A:3O-do 1PSR-son.in.law
 '“What are you doing, son-in-law?”'
- (204) Che' dāk nwat? dyim.
 če? dik n-wat y-dim
 what go_{AUX} 1A:3O-do 3S_A-say
 '“What am I going to do?” he says.'
- (205) Yä'ä k'ech npaakdas dyim.
 yi?i k-?êč n-pa:k-das y-dim
 here 1S_B-be 1S_A-cold-PASS 3S_A-say
 '“Here I am refreshing myself,” he says.'
- (206) Aa, ma' kyakpak wiñ pään.
 a: ma? y-kak-pak y-wêñ pi:ñ
 aa PERF 3A:3O-change-have 3PSR-SELF man
 'Ah, the man is well-dressed.'
- (207) Dyaanche yä'äp mä'ät dyim, kyakpak wiñ.
 dʔa:nçe yi?ip n-bi?it y-dim
 wow this 1PSR-son.in.law 3S_A-say
 y-kak-pak y-wêñ
 3A:3O-change-have 3PSR-SELF
 '“Wow, this son-in-law of mine,” he says, “he’s dressed himself well.”'

- (208) Ätz asta njunu n'ech dyim.
 ʔiç hasta nhunu n-ʔêč y-dim
 1PRO until how 1S_A-be 3S_A-say
 “Me, now (look) how I am,” he says.’
- (209) Asta ke eñdya k'wää dyim.
 hasta que ʔeñdʔa k-wi: y-dim
 until that NEG 1S_B-good 3S_A-say
 “I’m not (doing) well,” he says.’
- (210) Dyim, mä'ät, ma'y kyak wiñ dyim.
 y-dim n-biʔit maʔ-ya y-kak
 3S_A-say 1PSR-son.in.law PERF-already 3A:3O-change
 y-wêñ y-dim
 3PSR-REFL 3S_A-say
 ‘He says, “My son-in-law has changed himself,” he says.’
- (211) N'a'mka' chiko'o.
 n-ʔaʔm-kaʔm y-tik-oʔo
 1A:3O-look-enter 3PSR-house-LOC
 “I looked in his house.’
- (212) Ya ma'ye pyetpyetjo'y nyombaa.
 ya maʔ=ye y-pet~pet-hoʔy n-yo:miʔ-ba:
 already PERF=already 3S_A-DISTR~sweep-AND 1PSR-woman-DIM
 “My daughter has gone about sweeping.’
- (213) Njune' ma' wyat, dyim, yä'äjä?
 nhuneʔ maʔ y-wat y-dim yiʔihiʔ
 how PERF 3A:3O-do 3S_A-say this
 “How did he do this?” he says (to himself).’
- (214) Bweenu, bä'ät dyim, njune' ma' nwyat dyim, ekä nyombaa ke
 yoswatpʔ dyim.
 bueno biʔit y-dim nhuneʔ maʔ ny-wat
 good son.in.law 3S_A-say how PERF 2A:3O-do
 y-dim ʔeki n-yo:miʔ-ba: que Ø-yo:s-wat-p
 3S_A-say that 1PSR-woman-DIM that 3S_B-work-do-FUT
 y-dim
 3S_A-say
 “Well, son-in-law,” he says, “how did you do this, that my
 daughter is a worker?” he says.’
- (215) Pero njune'ep maas dyim.
 pero nhuneʔe-p mas y-dim
 but how-FUT more 3S_A-say
 “But how?” he asks.’

- (216) Kreo ma' ñyaksam.
 creo ma? ny-daks=am
 believe:1SG:PRES PERF 2A:3O-hit=IAM
 "I think you hit her."
- (217) No dyim. Njune'ep naks? dyim.
 no y-dim nhune?e-p n-daks y-dim
 no 3S_A-say how-FUT 1A:3O-hit 3S_A-say
 "No," he says. "How could I hit her?" he asks.'
- (218) Yomta' eñch dakstaj dyim.
 yo:mi?-ta? ?eñč Ø-daks-tah y-dim
 woman-PL NEG 3S_B-hit-PASS 3S_A-say
 "Women shouldn't be hit."
- (219) Ke no bes ke kuchay toj? dyim.
 que no ves que kučay Ø-toh y-dim
 that no see:2SG:PRES that whip 3S_B-hurt 3S_A-say
 "Don't you see that the whip hurts?" he says'
- (220) Si dyim, pero yä'äp ma' ñyaks dyim.
 sí y-dim pero yi?ip ma? ny-daks y-dim
 yes 3S_A-say but this PERF 2A:3O-hit 3S_A-say
 "Yes," he says, "but this one, you hit," he says.'
- (221) Je'ktoo kki'η dyim.
 he?kto: ky-ki?η y-dim
 for.this 2A:3O-fear 3S_A-say
 "That's why she fears you," he says.'
- (222) No dyim, njune'ep ñyaks yoomä'? dyim.
 no y-dim nhune?e-p ny-daks yo:mi? y-dim
 no 3S_A-say how-FUT 2A:3O-hit woman 3S_A-say
 "No," he says, "how could I hit a woman?" he asks.'
- (223) Npikta'am mala kostumbre ñyaksta'am yoomä' dyim.
 ny-pik-ta?m-D mala kostumbre ny-daks-ta?m-D
 2A:3O-take-2PL-FUT bad habit 2A:3O-hit-2PL-FUT
 yo:mi? y-dim
 woman 3S_A-say
 "You are going to pick up bad habits, if you hit a woman," he says.'
- (224) Njune'ep ñyaks? dyim.
 nhune?e-p ny-daks y-dim
 how-FUT 2A:3O-hit 3S_A-say
 "How are you going to hit her?" he says.'

- (225) Yoomä' eñch wää ñyaks dyim.
 yo:mi? ?eñč wi: ny-daks y-dim
 woman NEG be.able_{AUX} 2A:3O-hit 3S_A-say
 '“You can't hit a woman,” he says.'
- (226) Jepe' yoswachaj dyim.
 hepe? Ø-yo:s-wat-yah y-dim
 this 3S_B-work-do-3PL 3S_A-say
 '“They work,” he says.'
- (227) Eñdyee shyun dyima'ap neecheena'.
 ?eñd'ye: y-sun y-dim-a?-p ne:če:na?
 NEG 3A:3O-want 3A:3O-say-APPL-FUT nothing
 'The (son-in-law) didn't want to tell (the father-in-law) anything
 (about how he got the girl to work).'
- (228) Ya, pero njune' ma' nwyat? dyim.
 ya pero nhune? ma? ny-wat y-dim
 ya but how PERF 2A:3O-do 3S_A-say
 '“But how did he do it?” he says (to himself).'
- (229) Pero njune' maas? dyim, ñyombaa dyyoswat dyim.
 pero nhune? ma:s y-dim ny-jo:mi?-ba:
 but how more 3S_A-say 2PSR-woman-DIM
 y-yo:s-wat y-dim
 3S_A-work-do 3S_A-say
 '“But how?” he says (to his father-in-law). “Your daughter
 works,” he says.'
- (230) Chye'tze'ka'y byumbe pilaat.
 y-če?~če?-ka?y y-bumbe pila:t
 3A:3O-DISTR~wash-INTENS 3PSR-all plate
 '“She washes all the dishes.'
- (231) Däk a'mpuutä'!
 dik ?a?m-put-i?
 go_{AUX} see-leave-IMP
 '“Go see!”'
- (232) Ma' täkeñ joktäko'om.
 ma? Ø-tikeñ ho:k-tik-o?o-m
 PERF 3S_B-enter smoke-house-LOC-LOC
 'He entered the kitchen.'
- (233) 'Ya'mkput kya'che' 'yoom.
 y-?a?m-k-put y-ka?ače? y-?o:m
 3A:3O-look-CINF-leave 3PSR-utensils 3PSR-father
 'He looks at the dishes, her father.'

- (234) Ke wää kya'ache' byumbe limpiu echaj!
 que wi: y-ka?ače? y-bumbe limpio Ø-êč-yah
 that good 3PSR-utensils 3PSR-all clean 3S_B-be-3PL
 'How beautiful these utensils, everything is clean!'
- (235) Byumbe.
 y-bumbe
 3PSR-all
 'Everything.'
- (236) Nee dyyojkoy dyye'pkpakyaj njem.
 ne: y-dohkoy y-ye?p-k-pak-yah nhem
 also 3PSR-pants 3A:3O-hang-CINF-have-3PL there
 'He also had his pants hanging there.'
- (237) Ya be mä'ät dyim.
 ya ve n-bi?it y-dim
 already see:IMP 1PSR-son-in-law 3S_A-say
 '“So you see, my son-in-law” he says.'
- (238) ke wää njune' ich dyim.
 que wi: nhune? y-?êč y-dim
 that good how 3S_A-be 3S_A-say
 '“How nice it is,” he says.'
- (239) Pero njune' ma' Wyatt? dyim.
 pero nhune? ma? y-wat y-dim
 but how PERF 3A:3O-do 3S_A-say
 '“But how did he do it?” he asks (himself).'
- (240) Ma'te eeche', ma' dāk chikā.
 ma?=te ?êč-e? ma? Ø-dik y-tik-i
 PERF=INC be-DEP PERF 3S_B-go 3PSR-house-LOC
 'There he was, later he went to his house.'
- (241) Ma' du'k chikā, eñch eeche ma' dyima' dyyuuñe'.
 ma? Ø-du?k y-tik-i ?eñč ?e:če ma?
 PERF 3S_B-arrive 3PSR-house-LOC NEG nothing PERF
 y-dim-a? y-du:ñe?
 3A:3O-say-APPL 3PSR-woman
 'He arrived at his house and didn't say anything to his wife.'
- (242) Nee nje' njumbu' kañcheñ.
 ne: nhe? nhumbu? Ø-kañcheñ
 also 3PRO very 3S_B-lazy
 'She was also very lazy.'

- (243) Ma' du'k chikä.
 maʔ Ø-duʔk y-tik-i
 PERF 3S_B-arrive 3PSR-house-LOC
 'He arrived at his house.'
- (244) Ma'te we'eke' ya.
 maʔ=te Ø-wêʔk-eʔ ya
 PERF=INC 3S_B-eat-DEP already
 'He began to eat.'
- (245) Sänkej tunjak jaa.
 Ø-sij-keh tunjak ha:
 3S_B-sun-appear other day
 'He woke up the next day.'
- (246) Ma' däk chikä eepä', bi'it.
 maʔ Ø-dik y-tik-i ʔe:piʔ y-biʔit
 PERF 3S_B-go 3PSR-house-LOC other.time 3PSR-son.in.law
 'He went back to his son-in-law's house.'
- (247) Du'k 'yaaŋwa'k byumbe.
 Ø-duʔk y-ʔa:ŋwaʔk y-bumbe
 3S_B-arrive 3A:3O-ask 3PSR-all
 'He arrived and asked everything.'
- (248) Chi' nwyat maan? dyim.
 čiʔ ny-wat n-ba:n y-dim
 what 2A:3O-do 1PSR-child 3S_A-say
 "What are you doing, daughter?" he asks.'
- (249) Yä'ä k'ech n'oom.
 yiʔi k-ʔêč n-ʔo:m
 here 1S_B-be 1PSR-father
 "Here I am, father."
- (250) Wää ij.
 wi: y-ʔêč
 good 3S_A-be
 "That's good."
- (251) Bweenu, kdäma'ajä' njunu nwyat ekä nchye'tze'ka'y byumbe?
 dyim.
 bueno k-dim-aʔ-h-iʔ nhunu ny-wat ʔeki
 good 3A:1O-say-APPL-LIG-IMP how 2A:3O-do that
 ny-ʔeʔ~ʔeʔ-kaʔy y-bumbe y-dim
 2A:3O-DISTR~wash-INTENS 3PSR-all 3S_A-say
 "Good, tell me, how did you do it that you clean everything?"

- (252) No, n'oom dyim, a'y yä'äp päāñche a'yñich nchye'eka'aj,
 no n-ʔo:m y-dim ʔaʔy yiʔip pi:n-če
 no 1PSR-father 3S_A-say if this man-LIM

ʔaʔy-ʔeñč ny-čeʔ-kaʔah
 if-NEG 2A:3O-wash-INTENS:FUT

‘‘No, father,’’ she says, ‘‘this man, if you don’t wash,’’

- (253) jes dyu'u'k dyim,
 hes y-duʔk y-dim
 when 3S_A-arrive 3S_A-say

‘‘when he arrives,’’ she says,’’

- (254) yä'äp dyim nki'ŋ dyim.
 yiʔip y-dim ny-kiʔŋ y-dim
 this 3S_A-say 2A:3O-have.fear 3S_A-say

‘‘this one, he scares you,’’ she says.’

- (255) Chi'yoo wyat?
 čiʔjo: y-wat
 what.thing 3A:3O-do

‘‘What does he do?’’

- (256) Juu! dyim. Yä'äp maalu, dyim.
 hu: y-dim yiʔip malo y-dim
 INTER 3S_A-say this bad 3S_A-say

‘‘Whooh!’’ she says. ‘‘This one’s bad,’’ she says.’

- (257) Kä'änä', dyima' wiñ.
 kiʔŋ-iʔ y-dim-aʔ y-wêñ
 have.fear-IMP 3A:3O-say-APPL 3S_A-REFL

‘‘Fear him, he’s fierce.’

- (258) Bäkske dyim, dyima' wiñ dyim.
 biks-ke y-dim y-dim-aʔ y-wêñ y-dim
 much-INT 3S_A-say 3A:3O-say-APPL 3S_A-REFL 3S_A-say

‘‘He’s very fierce,’’ she said.’

- (259) ¿Como?
 ‘‘How?’’

- (260) Si, dyima' wiñ.
 sí y-dim-aʔ y-wêñ
 yes 3A:3O-say-APPL 3S_A-REFL

‘‘Yes, he’s fierce.’

- (261) Biiña' chyujku'. Njem chyak juchu wi'k.

y-bêñ-Da? y-tuh-ku? nhem y-çak
 3A:3O-come-CAUS 3PSR-shoot-INSTR.NOM there 3A:3O-leave

huč ?u y-wê?k
 where IMPF 3S_A-eat

‘‘He comes with his gun. There he leaves it where he eats.

- (262) Njem iicha'.

nhem y-?êč-Da?
 there 3A:3O-be-CAUS

‘‘There he has it.’

- (263) 'Yaañwejäpaapä' chyujka'ap.

y-?a:ŋweh-a?-pa:=pi? y-tuh-ka?-p
 3A:3O-shout-APPL-NOM=REL 3A:3O-shoot-INTENS-FUT

‘‘Whoever shouts at him, he'll shoot.’

- (264) Wyanäpaapä' chyujka'ap.

y-wan-a?-pa:=pi? y-tuh-ka?-p
 3A:3O-sing-APPL-NOM=REL 3A:3O-shoot-INTENS-FUT

‘‘Whoever sings to him, he'll shoot.’

- (265) Ya be dyim, jepe' jaa dyim, ma' du'k wokde' ich dyim.

ya ve y-dim hepe? ha: y-dim ma?
 already see:IMP 3S_A-say this day 3S_A-say PERF

Ø-du?k Ø-wok-de? y-?êč y-dim
 3S_B-arrive 3S_B-angry-STV 3S_A-be 3S_A-say

‘‘You see,’’ she says, ‘‘that day,’’ she says,’’ he came home very angry,’’ she says.’

- (266) Eñdyee shyun ootätajp.

?eñdʷe: y-sun Ø-?o:ta?-tah-p
 NEG 3A:3O-want 3S_B-speak-PASS-FUT

‘‘He didn't want to be spoken to.’

- (267) Eñdyee shyun aañwejätajp.

?eñdʷe: y-sun Ø-?a:ŋweh-a?-tah-p
 NEG 3A:3O-want 3S_B-shout-APPL-PASS-FUT

‘‘He didn't want to be shouted at.’

- (268) Eñdyee wanätajp.

?eñdʷe: Ø-wan-a?-tah-p
 NEG 3S_B-sing-APPL-PASS-FUT

‘‘He didn't want to be sung to.’

- (269) Eñdyee shyun neecheena'.
 ʔeñdʲe: y-sun ne:če:naʔ
 NEG 3A:3O-want nothing
 ‘‘He didn’t want anything.’
- (270) Poko chyujka’ap.
 porque y-tuy-kaʔ-p
 because 3A:3O-shoot-INT-FUT
 ‘‘Because he was going to kill (that person).’
- (271) Pobre kaydya’a dyim ma’ wan dyim,
 pobre gallo-daʔa y-dim maʔ Ø-wan y-dim
 poor rooster-AUM 3S_A-say PERF 3S_B-sing 3S_A-say
 ‘‘The poor rooster sang,’’ she said,’
- (272) i ma’ chyujka’ dyim.
 ʔi maʔ y-tuh-kaʔ y-dim
 and PERF 3A:3O-shoot-INT 3S_A-say
 ‘‘and he shot it,’’ she says.
- (273) Aa dyim, wää ich dyim.
 a: y-dim wi: y-ʔêč y-dim
 aa 3S_A-say good 3S_A-be 3S_A-say
 ‘‘Ah,’’ he says, ‘‘it’s fine,’’ he says.
- (274) Aa, wää ich dyim.
 a: wi: y-ʔêč y-dim
 aa good 3S_A-be 3S_A-say
 ‘‘Ah, it’s fine,’’ he says.’
- (275) Si dyim.
 sí y-dim
 yes 3S_A-say
 ‘‘Yes,’’ she says.’
- (276) Pobre kaydya’a dyim.
 pobre gallo-daʔa y-dim
 poor rooster-AUGM 3S_A-say
 ‘‘The poor rooster,’’ she says.
- (277) Pey’aap dyim, ma’ chyujka’, dyim,
 pollo-ʔa:p y-dim maʔ y-tuh-kaʔ y-dim
 chicken-FEM 3S_A-say PERF 3A:3O-shoot-INT 3S_A-say
 ‘‘The poor chicken he shot,’

- (278) *poko ma'che wan.*
 poco maʔ-če Ø-wan
 because PERF-LIM 3S_B-sing
 ‘‘Because he sang.’
- (279) *Eñdyee shyun wanätajp dyim.*
 ʔeñdʷe: y-sun Ø-wan-aʔ-tah-p y-dim
 NEG 3A:3O-want 3S_B-sing-APPL-PASS-FUT 3S_A-say
 ‘‘He didn’t want to be sung to,’’ she says.’
- (280) *Jes dyim, ma' chyujka' dyim.*
 hes y-dim maʔ y-tuh-kaʔ y-dim
 now 3S_A-say PERF 3A:3O-shoot-INT 3S_A-say
 ‘‘Now, he’ll shoot it,’’ she says.’
- (281) *Aa dyim, wää ich dyim, maan dyim.*
 a: y-dim wi: y-ʔêč y-dim n-ba:n y-dim
 ah 3S_A-say good 3S_A-be 3S_A-say 1PSR-child 3S_A-say
 ‘‘Ah,’’ he says, ‘‘that’s fine, daughter,’’ he says.’
- (282) *Yoswaate'! dyim.*
 Ø-yo:s-wat-eʔ y-dim
 3S_B-work-do-OPT 3S_A-say
 ‘‘She works!’’ he says.’
- (283) *Entonse ma' put da'appa'kshdya'a.*
 entonces maʔ Ø-put daʔappaʔkš-daʔa
 then PERF 3S_B-exit husband-AUGM
 ‘Then the husband left.’³
- (284) *Ma' däk chikä.*
 maʔ Ø-dik y-tik-i
 PERF 3S_B-go 3PSR-house-LOC
 ‘He left the house.’
- (285) *Du'k chikä njem.*
 Ø-duʔk y-tik-i nhem
 3S_B-arrive 3PSR-house-LOC there
 ‘He arrived there at his house.’
- (286) *Nee nje' ma' jiikbatzkak chyujku'.*
 ne: nheʔ maʔ y-hi:k-bač-kak y-tuh-kuʔ
 also 3PRO PERF 3A:3O-pull-take-REPET 3PSR-shoot-INSTR.NOM
 ‘He also grabbed his gun.’

³ The word *daʔappaʔkf* is composed of the root *daʔay* ‘husband’ and the unidentified root *paʔkš*. In this line, the word refers to the father-in-law.

- (287) Byeja meeña'ajä' k'we'kp! dyim.
vieja Ø-mên-Da?-h-i? k-wê?k-p y-dim
old.woman 3S_B-come-CAUS-LIG-IMP 1S_B-eat-FUT 3S_A-say
“‘Wife, bring it, I’m going to eat!’ he says.”
- (288) Asta yä'äp jaa dyim, eñdyee nsun ee k'aanweja'ap, dyim.
hasta yi?ip ha: y-dim ?eñdʷe: n-sun
until this day 3S_A-say NEG 1A:3O-want
?e: k-?a:ŋweh-a?-p y-dim
someone 3A:1O-shout-APPL-FUT 3S_A-say
“‘As of today, I don’t want anyone to shout at me,” he says.”
- (289) Aanwejpaapä' dyim, nyaka'ap.
Ø-?a:ŋweh-pa:=pä? y-dim n-yaka?-p
3S_B-shout-NOM=REL 3S_A-say 1A:3O-kill-FUT
“‘Whoever shouts,” he says, “I will kill.”
- (290) K'ootäpaapä' nyaka'ap.
k-?o:ta?-pa:=pi? n-yaka?-p
3A:1O-speak-NOM=REL 1A:3O-kill-FUT
“‘Whoever speaks to me, I will kill.”
- (291) K'wanäpaapä' nyaka'ap nee nje'.
k-wan-a?-pa:=pi? n-yaka?-p ne: nhe?
3A:1O-sing-APPL-NOM=REL 1A:3O-kill-FUT also 3PRO
“‘Whoever sings, I will also kill.””
- (292) I dyyuüne' eñdye 'yoota', upche byatäj.
?i y-du:ñe? ?eñdʷe y-?o:ta? ?upa-çe
and 3PSR-woman NEG 3A:3O-speak now-LIM
y-batiŋ
3A:3O-listen
‘And his woman did not speak to him, she just listened.’
- (293) Jesa byatäj ma' aanwejksaj tum burrubaa.
hesa y-batiŋ ma? Ø-?a:ŋwey-ksah tum burro-ba:
when 3A:3O-listen PERF 3S_B-shout-DF one donkey-DIM
‘When he listened, a donkey brayed.’
- (294) 'Yaanwej ich.
y-?a:ŋweh y-?êč
3S_A-shout 3S_A-be
‘It was there braying.’
- (295) Jnnk jnnk jnnk.
‘Hee haw hee haw hee haw.’

- (296) *¡Bueno!*” Y, “*¡Hijo de la chingada!* dyim.

“‘Good!’ And, ‘Ay, son of a bitch!’ he says.’

- (297) Yä'äp bäsbbäskburrdukuda'a, k'wat iḡsultar dyim.

yīḡip bis~bis-k-burro-tuku?-da?a k-wat
here DISTR~disgust-CINF-donkey-old-AUGM 3A:1O-do

insultar y-dim
insult 3S_A-say

“‘This disgusting donkey, he is insulting me,’ he says.’

- (298) Jiikput chyujku', njem chyujka'ajam.

y-hi:k-put y-tuh-ku? nhem
3A:3O-pull-exit 3PSR-shoot-INSTR.NOM there

y-tuh-ka?-h=am
3A:3O-shoot-INTENS-LIG=IAM

‘He took out his pistol (and) there he shot it.’

- (299) Chyujka'.

y-tuh-ka?
3A:3O-shoot-INTENS

‘He shot it.’

- (300) Ma'y chyujka', ma'te we'eke', ma'yaj.

ma?-ya y-tuh-ka? ma?=te Ø-wê?k-e?
PERF-already 3A:3O-shoot-INTENS PERF=INC 3S_B-eat-DEP

ma? Ø-yah
PERF 3S_B-finish

‘When he shot it, he began to eat, he finished.’

- (301) Ma'n'isham?

ma? ny-?êš=am
PERF 2A:3O-see=IAM

“‘You see?’”

- (302) K'aanḡwejäpaapä' ntujka'ap.

k-?a:ḡweh-a?-pa:=pi? n-tuh-ka?-p
3A:1O-shout-APPL-NOM=REL 1A:3O-shoot-INT-FUT

“‘Whoever shouts at me, I will kill.’

- (303) K'ootäpaapä' ntujka'ap.

k-?o:ta?-pa:=pi? n-tuh-ka?-p
3A:1O-speak-NOM=REL 1A:3O-shoot-INT-FUT

“‘Whoever speaks to me, I will shoot.’”

- (304) Dyyuñe' 'yoota',
y-du:ñe? y-ʔo:taʔ
3PSR-woman 3A:3O-speak
‘His wife told him,’
- (305) Bich njyaam.
bič ny-ha:m
2PRO 2A:3O-know
‘‘You know best.’’
- (306) I yoompu' burru ma' dāk boy jiikpokeñ.
ʔi y-ʔo:m-pu? burro maʔ dik
and 3PSR-owner-REL donkey PERF go_{AUX}
boy y-hi:k-pokeñ
go.and.return_{AUX}:PERF 3A:3O-pull-roll
‘And the donkey’s owner went to file charges.’
- (307) Dāk k'o'otja'ajä' yä'äp päāñ dyim. Ma' ktujkāja' murru.
dik k-ʔo:taʔ-h-aʔ-h-i? yiʔip pi:ñ
go_{AUX} 3A:1O-speak-LIG-APPL-LIG-IMP this man
y-dim maʔ k-tuh-kaʔ-h-aʔ n-burro
3S_A-say PERF 3A:1O-shoot-INT-LIG-APPL 1PSR-donkey
‘‘Go speak to this man for me!’’ he says. ‘‘He shot my donkey.’’
- (308) Che'ka'y? dyim.
čeʔkaʔy y-dim
because 3S_A-say
‘‘Why?’’ (the police) say.’
- (309) Pwe eñch n'eshp che'ka'y.
pues ʔeñč n-ʔêš-p čeʔkaʔy
well NEG 1A:3O-know-FUT why
‘‘Well, I don’t know why.’’
- (310) Upchi'k jyakdas murrubaa dyim.
ʔupa-čič y-hak-das n-burro-ba: y-dim
now-PAST 3S_A-pass-pass 1PSR-donkey-DIM 3S_A-say
‘‘My donkey was passing by,’’ he says.’
- (311) Njem ma' chyujka' dyim.
nhem maʔ y-tuh-kaʔ y-dim
there PERF 3A:3O-shoot-INTENS 3S_A-say
‘‘There he shot him.’’

- (312) Aa kabronj dyim.
 a: cabrón y-dim
 INTER jerk 3S_A-say
 ‘“Ah, the jerk,” he says.’
- (313) Pwes daksä' päkta'amä'.
 pues diks-i? Ø-pik-ta?m-i?
 well go-IMP 3S_B-bring-2PL-IMP
 ‘“Well, go, go get him.”’
- (314) Däksä' däk puuta'ajä' chiko'o.
 diks-i? dik Ø-put-Da?-h-i? y-tik-o?o
 go-IMP go_{AUX} 3S_B-exit-CAUS-LIG-IMP 3PSR-house-LOC
 ‘“Go get him from his house!”’
- (315) Däk puuta'ajä', meëña'ajä'.
 dik put-Da?-h-i? mēñ-Da?-h-i?
 go_{AUX} exit-CAUS-LIG-IMP come-CAUS-LIG-IMP
 ‘“Go get him, bring him!”’
- (316) Chiwä dyyaka' tum animal?
 čiwi y-yaka? tum animal
 why 3A:3O-kill one animal
 ‘“Why does he kill an animal?”’
- (317) Chi''yoota' si animal eñch n'ishp?
 či? y-?o:ta? si animal ?eñč y-?êš-p
 what 3A:3O-speak if animal NEG 3A:3O-know-FUT
 ‘“What’s it going to say if the animal doesn’t know?”’
- (318) Ma' meñaj pääñ.
 mā? Ø-mēñ-yah pi:ñ
 PERF 3S_B-come-3PL man
 ‘The men came.’
- (319) Du'kyaj taaksä'y.
 Ø-du?k-yah ta:ksi?y
 3S_B-arrive-3PL police
 ‘The police came.’
- (320) Por fabor dyim, bich ñiy Julaanu?
 por_favor y-dim bič ny-diy Julano
 please 3S_A-say 2PRO 2PSR-name Julano
 ‘“Please,” (the policeman) says, “Is your name is Julano?”’
- (321) Dyim, si dyim.
 y-dim sí y-dim
 3S_A-say yes 3S_A-say
 ‘He responds, “Yes,” he says.’

- (322) Tej! dyim.
 teh y-dim
 let's.go 3S_A-say
 '“Let's go!” he says.'
- (323) Pero che'ka'y?
 pero čekaʔy
 but why
 '“But why?”'
- (324) Tej, ma'y knäma'!
 teh maʔ=ya kn-dim-aʔ
 let's.go PERF=already 1A:2O-say-APPL
 '“Let's go, I tell you!”'
- (325) A'yñch kpyutp, näämä'!
 ʔaʔy-ʔeñč ky-put-p nim-iʔ
 if-NEG 2S_B-exit-FUT say-IMP
 '“If you're not going to leave, say so!”'
- (326) Njem jiikpuchaj chiko'o.
 nhem y-hi:k-put-yah y-tik-oʔo
 there 3A:3O-pull-exit-3PL 3PSR-house-from
 'There they drag him outside the house.'
- (327) Ma' dyiiksäyajam.
 maʔ y-diks-Daʔ-yah=am
 PERF 3A:3O-go-CAUS-3PL=IAM
 'They carried him off.'
- (328) Pyatzka'myaj dakshäko'o.
 y-pač-kaʔm-yah dakšik-oʔo
 3A:3O-throw-between-3PL jail-LOC
 'They throw him in jail.'
- (329) Pyatzka'myaj.
 y-pač-kam-yah
 3A:3O-throw-enter-3PL
 'They throw him inside.'
- (330) Ma' däk preso.
 maʔ Ø-dik preso
 PERF 3S_B-go imprisoned
 'He's imprisoned.'
- (331) *Ahora sí.*
 'Now, yes.'

- (332) Jeksh si ma' tãkeñ.
 hekš sí ma? Ø-tikeñ
 now yes PERF 3S_B-enter
 'Now, yes, he went in.'
- (333) Tunjak jaa ma' sãnjej.
 tunjak ha: ma? Ø-sin-keh
 other day PERF 3S_B-sun-appear
 'The next day he woke up.'
- (334) Chi'yoo nã'ãksja' dyim.
 či?yo: n-diks-Da?-h-a? y-dim
 what 1A:3O-go-CAUS-LIG-APPL 3S_A-say
 '“What do I owe?” he says.'
- (335) Njem k'yoota' tum pãã dyim.
 nhem ky-?o:ta? tum pi:ñ y-dim
 there 2A:3O-speak one man 3S_A-say
 '“There's a man (who wants) to speak to you.'
- (336) Ätz eñch n'esh chi' ma' nwyata' dyim.
 ?iç ?eñč n-?êš či? ma? ny-wat-a?
 1PRO NEG 1A:3O-know what PERF 2A:3O-do-APPL
 y-dim
 3S_A-say
 '“I don't know what you did to him,” he says.'
- (337) Dyim ma'm ñya'akja' byurru.
 y-dim ma?=m ny-yaka?-h-a? y-burro
 3S_A-say PERF=REP 2A:3O-kill-LIG-APPL 3PSR-donkey
 '“He says you killed his donkey.”'
- (338) Aa dyim.
 a: y-dim
 ah 3S_A-say
 '“Ah,” he says.'
- (339) Sta byeñ dyim.
 está bien y-dim
 be:3SG:PRES fine 3S_A-say
 '“That's fine,” he says.'
- (340) Ma' dāk njem.
 ma? Ø-dik nhem
 PERF 3S_B-go there
 'There he went.'

- (341) Chi' nshyun kopkpään? dyim.
 či? ny-sun kopik-pi:ñ y-dim
 what 2A:3O-want head-man 3S_A-say
 "What do you want, Mr. Mayor?" he says.'
- (342) Pwes ätz eñch eeche nsun.
 pues ?iç ?eñč ?e:če n-sun
 well 1PRO NEG nothing 1A:3O-want
 "Well, I don't want anything."
- (343) Yä'ä ech yä'äp pään dyim,
 yi?i Ø-?ëč yi?ip pi:ñ y-dim
 here 3S_B-be this man 3S_A-say
 "There's a man here," he says.'
- (344) dyim bich ma'm ñya'akja' dyim, byurru.
 y-dim bič ma?=m ny-yaka?-h-a? y-dim
 3S_A-say 2PRO PERF=REP 2A:3O-kill-LIG-APPL 3S_A-say
 y-burro
 3PSR-donkey
 "he says that you killed his donkey.'
- (345) Njem bich ma' ñya'akja' byurru.
 nhem bič ma? ny-yaka?-h-a? y-burro
 there 2PRO PERF 2A:3O-kill-LIG-APPL 3PSR-donkey
 "You killed his donkey there."
- (346) Dyim, si dyim, ätza' nyaka' dyim.
 y-dim sí y-dim ?iç=ma? n-yaka? y-dim
 3S_A-say yes 3S_A-say 1PRO=PERF 1A:3O-kill 3S_A-say
 'He says, "Yes," he says, "I killed it," he says.'
- (347) Pwe, jeksh ñyojp.
 pues hekš ny-yoh-p
 well now 2A:3O-pay-FUT
 "Well, now you're going to pay.'
- (348) Si no yä'ä eñch kpyutp dyim.
 si no yi?i ?eñč ky-put-p y-dim
 si no here NEG 2S_B-exit-FUT 3S_A-say
 "If not, you're not going to get out of here," he says.'
- (349) Yä'ä kntzakta'am dyim, wäsna' tukna' amche.
 yi?i kn-çak-ta?m-D y-dim wis-na? tuk-na?
 here 1A:2O-leave-1PL-FUT 3S_A-say two-NUMC three-NUMC
 ?amče
 year
 "We'll leave you (in) for two (or) three years.'

- (350) Kchi'ij yä'am dyim, pwe ñyojp burru dyim.
 ky-çĩĩh yiĩ-m y-dim pues ny-yoh-p
 2S_B-stay:FUT here-LOC 3S_A-say well 2A:3O-pay-FUT
 burro y-dim
 donkey 3S_A-say
 "You're going to stay here, (or) well, you're going to pay him
 for his donkey," he says.'
- (351) Che'ka'y ma' ñyaka?
 çe?ka?y ma? ny-yaka?
 why PERF 2A:3O-kill
 "Why did you kill it?"
- (352) Chi' ma' k'wyata?
 čĩ? ma? ky-wat-a?
 what PERF 2A:3O-do-APPL
 "What did he do to you?"
- (353) Si dyim, señor, eñch eeche ma' k'wata' dyim.
 sí y-dim señor ?eñč ?e:če ma? k-wat-a?
 yes 3S_A-say man NEG nothing PERF 3A:1O-do-APPL
 y-dim
 3S_A-say
 "Yes," he says. "Sir, he didn't do anything to me.'
- (354) Pääñ, eñch eeche ma' k'wata'.
 pi:ñ ?eñč ?e:če ma? k-wat-a?
 man NEG nothing PERF 3A:1O-do-APPL
 "Sir, he didn't do anything to me.'
- (355) Wäänää burru upchi'k jyakdas.
 wi:ni: burro ?upa=čĩ?k y-hak-das
 honest donkey now=PAST 3S_A-pass-pass
 "In all honesty, he was just passing by.'
- (356) Ma' ntujka' dyim.
 ma? n-tuh-ka? y-dim
 PERF 1A:3O-shoot-INTENS 3S_A-say
 "I shot him," he said.'
- (357) Pwe, jeksh dyim, ñyojp.
 pues hekš y-dim ny-yoh-p
 well now 3S_A-say 2A:3O-pay-FUT
 "Well, now you're going to pay."
- (358) Si dyim. Nyojp pwe.
 sí y-dim n-yoh-p pues
 yes 3S_A-say 1A:3O-pay-FUT well
 "Yes," he says, "Well, I'm going to pay."

- (359) Dāk nāma'ajä' mi byeja dyim,
 dik Ø-nim-a?-h-i? mi vieja y-dim
 toward.there 3S_B-say-APPL-LIG-IMP my old.woman 3S_A-say
 “Go tell my wife!”
- (360) ke biiña'aje' tumeeñ dyim.
 que y-bêñ-a?-h-e? tume:ñ y-dim
 that 3A:3O-come-APPL-LIG-DEP money 3S_A-say
 “to bring money,” he says.’
- (361) Ma' dāk.
 ma? Ø-dik
 PERF 3S_B-go
 ‘He went.’
- (362) Däksä', dāku'm a'amä' ñya'añ.
 diks-i? dik=u?m Ø-?a?m-i? ny-da?añ
 go-IMP go_{AUX}=REP 3S_B-see-IMP 2PSR-husband
 “Go, go see your husband!” (his wife is told).’
- (363) Däksa'ajä' tumeeñ.
 diks-Da?-h-i? tume:ñ
 go-CAUS-LIG-IMP money
 “Bring money!”’
- (364) Eñdyee knāma?' dyim.
 ?eñd'e: kn-dim-a? y-dim
 NEG 1A:2O-say-APPL 3S_A-say
 “Didn’t I tell you?” she says.’
- (365) Jyaam wiñ dyima' wiñ.
 y-ha:m y-wêñ y-dim-a? y-wêñ
 3A:3O-feel 3S_A-REFL 3A:3O-say-APPL 3S_A-SELF
 “He feels very brave,” she says.’
- (366) Dyyachknāma' wiñ, ma' du'k nte'keyaj.
 y-dač-ke-nim-a? y-wêñ ma? Ø-du?k
 3A:3O-very-INTENS-say-APPL 3S_A-REFL PERF 3S_B-arrive
 nte?keyah
 yesterday
 “He felt very brave (when) he arrived yesterday.’
- (367) Dyyachknāma' wiñ dyim.
 y-dač-ke-nim-a? y-wêñ y-dim
 3A:3O-very-INTENS-say-APPL 3S_A-REFL 3S_A-say
 “He felt very brave.’

- (368) Ma'm chyujkākak tum burru.
 maʔ=m y-tuh-kaʔ-kak tum burro
 PERF=REP 3A:3O-shoot-INTENS-REPET one donkey
 ‘‘They say he shot a donkey.’’
- (369) Chi'sh wyatākak?
 čeʔ-iš y-wat-aʔ-kak
 what-FUT 3A:3O-do-APPL-REPET
 ‘‘What was it going to do to him?’’
- (370) Eñdye k'yoota', jepe' jyakdas dyim.
 ʔeñdʷe ky-ʔo:taʔ hepeʔ y-hak-das y-dim
 NEG 2A:3O-speak this 3S_A-pass-pass 3S_A-say
 ‘‘It didn't say anything to you, it was (just) passing by,’’ she says.’
- (371) Pero bich ma' nchyujka'dyim.
 pero bič maʔ ny-tuh-kaʔ y-dim
 but 2PRO PERF 2A:3O-shoot-INTENS 3S_A-say
 ‘‘But you shot it,’’ she says.’
- (372) Ma' du'k njem.
 maʔ Ø-duʔk nhem
 PERF 3S_B-arrive there
 ‘She arrives there.’
- (373) Entonse chi' nwyat? dyim.
 entonces čiʔ ny-wat y-dim
 then what 2A:3O-do 3S_A-say
 ‘‘What are you going to do?’’ she says.’
- (374) Pwe yojä' burru dyim, ma'pu' ntujka' dyim.
 pues yoh-iʔ burro y-dim maʔ=puʔ
 well pay-IMP donkey 3S_A-say PERF=REL
 n-tuh-kaʔ y-dim
 1A:3O-shoot-INTENS 3S_A-say
 ‘‘Well, pay for the donkey that I shot!’’ he says.’
- (375) Eñdye knämaʔ dyim.
 ʔeñdʷe kn-dim-aʔ y-dim
 NEG 1A:2O-say-APPL 3S_A-say
 ‘‘Didn't I tell you?’’ she says.’
- (376) Kpya'da'aṁma bich dyim.
 ky-paʔ-daʔaṁma bič y-dim
 2S_B-coward-old=IAM 2PRO 3S_A-say
 ‘‘You old coward,’’ she says.’

- (377) Jeksh yojä' dyim.
 hekš yoh-i? y-dim
 now pay-IMP 3S_A-say
 "Now you pay!"
- (378) Yä'ä ech.
 yi?i Ø-?êč
 here 3S_B-be
 "Here it is."
- (379) Ma' dyyoj.
 ma? y-yoh
 PERF 3A:3O-pay
 'He pays.'
- (380) Tej! dyim.
 teh y-dim
 let's.go 3S_A-say
 "Let's go!" she says.'
- (381) Eepä' watkaakä' dyim, para wa'pa nwi'k yä'ap pooy dyim.
 ?e:pi? wat-kak-i? y-dim para wa?-pa
 again do-REPET-IMP 3S_A-say for IMP:NEG-FUT
 ny-wê?k yi?ip po:y y-dim
 2S_A-eat this month 3S_A-say
 "Do it again so you don't eat this month!" she says.'
- (382) Che' nesecidad yaj nchyumeeñ? dyim.
 če? necesidad Ø-yah ny-tume:ñ y-dim
 what need 3S_B-finish 2PSR-money 3S_A-say
 "Why do you need your money finished off?" she asks.'
- (383) Dyim, jepe' ätzchi'k nshyun knwyatp njunu ma' wattaj ñyombaa?
 dyim.
 y-dim hepe? ?iç=çi?k ny-sun kny-wat-p
 3S_A-say this 1PRO=PAST 2A:3O-want 2A:1O-do-FUT
 nhunu ma? Ø-wat-tah ny-yo:mi?-ba: y-dim
 how PERF 3S_B-do-PASS 2PSR-woman-DIM 3S_A-say
 "You wanted to do to me what was done to your daughter?" she asks.'
- (384) Pwe, ätz eñch knwyatp je'ye'e, dyim.
 pues ?iç ?eñč kny-wat-p he?ye?e y-dim
 well 1PRO NEG 2A:1O-do-FUT like 3S_A-say
 "Well, you're not going to do that to me," she says.'

- (385) Ya kduuñma. I a'y da'añma tum kuy, njusna' dāk ñyumwaate'
 dyim wo'kskă'da'ap,
 ya k-du:ñe?=ma ?i ?a?y da?añ=ma tum kuy
 already 1S_B-old=IAM and if old=IAM one stick
 nhu:sa-na? dik ny-du:mu?-wat-e? y-dim
 when-still go_{AUX} 2A:3O-straight-do-DEP 3S_A-say
 Ø-wo?ks-ki?da?a-pi?
 3S_B-crooked-ADJZ-REL
 ‘‘I am old already. And if a stick is old, how are you going to
 straighten what’s crooked,’’
- (386) a'y wăcheda'ajam?
 ?a?y Ø-wiče?-da?a-h=am
 if 3S_B-big-AUGM-LIG=IAM
 ‘‘if it’s already big?’’
- (387) Jepe' nje' jeschi'k jisăbaa jeschi'k ñyumwat.
 hepe? nhe? hes=čik y-hisi-ba: hes=čik
 this 3PRO when=PAST 3PSR-small-DIM when=PAST
 ny-du:mu?-wat
 2A:3O-straighten-do
 ‘‘This, when it was small is when you should have straightened it.’’
- (388) No jeksh dyim. Wăcheda'añma.
 no hekš y-dim Ø-wiče?-da?añ=ma
 no now 3S_A-say 3S_B-big-old=IAM
 ‘‘Not now,’’ she says, ‘‘Now it’s big already.’’
- (389) Dyim njune'ep ñyumwatp, dyim, wo'kskă'da'apă' dyim.
 y-dim nhune?e-pa ny-du:mu?-wat-p y-dim
 3S_A-say how-FUT 2A:3O-straight-do-FUT 3S_A-say
 Ø-wo?ks-ki?da?a=pi? y-dim
 3S_B-crooked-ADJZ=REL 3S_A-say
 ‘‘How are you going to straighten that which is crooked?’’ she asks.’
- (390) Eñdya du'umja'ap, dyim.
 ?eñd'ya Ø-du:mu?-h-Da?-p y-dim
 NEG 3S_B-straight-LIG-CAUS-FUT 3S_A-say
 ‘‘It won’t straighten,’’ she says.’
- (391) Jepe' du'umja'ap jes wă'ñwă'ñna' dyim.
 hepe? Ø-du:mu?-h-Da?-p hes Ø-wi?ñ~wi?ñ-na?
 this 3S_B-straight-LIG-CAUS-FUT when 3S_B-DISTR~little-still
 y-dim
 3S_A-say
 ‘‘This straightens when it is still little,’’ she says.’

- (392) Jeksh dyim, bich, njyaam dyim.
 hekš y-dim bič ny-ha:m y-dim
 now 3S_A-say 2_{PRO} 2A:3O-know 3S_A-say
 ‘‘Now,’’ she says, ‘‘you know.’’
- (393) Jeksh dyim, joye dāk yojä' dyim, jepe' nje' dyim.
 hekš y-dim hoye dik yoh-i? y-dim hepe?
 now 3S_A-say tomorrow go_{AUX} pay-IMP 3S_A-say this
 nhe? y-dim
 3_{PRO} 3S_A-say
 ‘‘Now, tomorrow go pay for this!’’ she says.’
- (394) Joye kdyikp kuyo'om.
 hoye ky-dik-p kuy-o?o-m
 tomorrow 2S_B-go-FUT uncultivated.land-LOC-LOC
 ‘‘Tomorrow you’re going to work (cultivate land).’’
- (395) Bweenu, pwe, wyokwoktet dyuuñe'.
 bueno pues y-wok~wok-tet y-du:ñe?
 good well 3A:3O-DISTR~anger-burst 3S_A-woman
 ‘So, his wife is scolding him.’
- (396) Ya ma' tzä'yam.
 ya ma? Ø-çiy=am
 already PERF 3S_B-stay=IAM
 ‘That’s where it ends.’

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