Appendix D

Xñek

(D.1) *wajali*   *'añ-bi*   *juñ-tyikil*   *x-ñek*
      before   EXT-REP   one-NC.people   CL-*ñek*
      'They say there once was a *xñek*.'

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

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

(D.4) *siete*   *semanas...*
      SP.seven   SP.weeks
      'Seven weeks...'

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

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

(D.7) *mi'*   *majl-el*   *tyi*   *'otyoty*   *tyi*   *matye'-el*
      IMPF.3E   3E-go-NOM   PREP   house   PREP   woods-NOM
      'He goes to houses in the woods.'

(D.8)   *mi   i-tsep-beñ-Ø   i-y-ak'...*
       IMPF   3E-cut-APP-3A   3E-EPN-tongue
       'He cuts out tongues...'

(D.9)   *cha'añ mi   i-ch'äm-beñ-Ø   majl-el   i-rey*
       for   IMPF   3E-receive-APP-3A   go-NOM   3E-SP.king
       'To give to his king.'

(D.10)   *pero   jiñi   x-ñek-i   ma'añ   mi   i-bä'ñañ-Ø pañämil*
       SP.but   DET   CL-ñek-PROX   NEG.EXT   IMPF   3E-fear-3A   world
       'That *xñek* isn't afraid of anything.'

(D.11)   *mi   i-majl-el   tyi   'otyoty jiñ-äch   chukiyes*
       IMPF   3E-go-NOM   PREP   house   DET-AFF   what-EPN-SP.is
       mi'   tyaj-Ø
       IMPF.3E   find-3A
       'He goes to the houses to see what he can find.'

(D.12)   *mi'   tyaj-Ø   aläl, jiñi   ches   mi'   tyaj-Ø   mi*
       IMPF.3E   find-3A   child   DET   what.SP.is   IMPF.3E   find-3A   IMPF
       i-päy   majl-el
       3E-take   go-NOM
       'He finds children and what he finds he takes away.'

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

(D.14)   *tyi   meru semanasanta jiñ-che' chäm-eñ-ix   i-ch'ujlel pañämil*
       PREP   very   SP.Easter   DET-so   die-NOM-ALR   3E-spirit   world
       'In that time of Easter when the spirit of the world (Jesus) had died.'

(D.15)   *mi'   lok'-el   tyäl-el   tyi   xämbal*
       IMPF.3E   go.out-NOM   arrive-NOM   PREP   wander
       'He goes out walking.'

(D.16)   *jiñ-che' kontento   che' ma'añ   i-ch'ujlel pañämil*
       DET-so   SP.content   so   NEG.EXT   3E-spirit   world
       'He is happy when the world doesn't have a spirit.'

(D.17) *porke*   *sajty-i-Ø*   *kristo*   *jesus*
        SP.because   die-VI-3A   SP.Christ   SP.Jesus
      'Because Jesus died.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(D.26) *porke*   *jiñ*   *mi'*   *k'ux-Ø*   *jiñi*   *rey*
        SP.because   DET.3E   IMPF   eat-3A   DET   SP.king
      'Because the king eats them.'

(D.27) *poreso*   *jiñ*   *cha'añ* *'añ*   *jiñi*   *x-ñek*
      SP.because.of.that DET   for   EXT   DET   CL-*ñek*
      'That's why there is a *xñek*.'

(D.28) *jiñi*   *x-ñek-i*   *wajal-ix*   *mach* *la-k-ña'tyañ-Ø*   *baki*
      DET   CL-*ñek*-PROX   before-ALR   NEG   PL-1E-know-3A   where
      ora
      SP.time
      'We don't know when the *xñek* existed.'

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

(D.30) *pero*   *wa'li* *tax*   *lajm-i-Ø*   *jiñi*   *x-ñek*
      SP.but   now   PERF.ALR   leave-VI-3A   DET   CL-ñek
      'But now there's no *xñek*.'

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

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

(D.33) *kabäl* *bäk'eñ* *kabäl* *lotyiñ-tyel*
      lots   fear   lots   lie-NOM
      'There was a lot of fear, and lots of lies.'

(D.34) *jiñ-äch*   *mi*   *y-äk'-Ø*   *i-bä*   *xibal*
      DET-AFF   IMPF   3E-give-3A   3E-self   demon
      'The devil was controlling them.' (lit.:'They gave themselves to the devil.')

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

(D.36) *tax*   *laj* *majl-i-Ø*
      PERF.ALR   all   go-VI-3A
      'They all left.'

(D.37) *jiñ-tyo*   *tyi'*   *ña'ty-ä-Ø*   *pañämil*   *kixtyañ-ob*
DET-STILL   PERF.3E   know-VT-3A   world   person-PL
'When the people of the world understood.'

(D.38) *tyi*   *ke*   *i-k'ajtyiñ-Ø-ob*   *jiñi*   *dios*   *tax*   *laj*
PERF   PROSP   3E-ask-3A-PL   DET   SP.God   PERF.ALR   all
majl-i-Ø   *xibal*
go-VI-3A   demon
'When the people began to pray to God, all the demons left.'

(D.39) *pero*   *weñ-äch*   *mi*   *laj*   *k'ajtyi-sañ-Ø*   *dyos*   *tyi*
SP.but   good-AFF   IMPF   PROSP?   ask-CAUS-3A   SP.God   PREP
ts'ijbuñ   *tyi*   *la-k-tyojl-el*
write   PREP   PL-1E-?-NOM
'It's good to pray to God, to write our (?).'

(D.40) *porke*   *si*   *mi*   *ma'añ*   *ke*   *i-päseñ-oñ-la*   *i-bä*
SP.because   SP.if   IMPF   NEG.EXT   PROSP   3E-show-1A-PL   3E-self
'Because if we don't he will begin to show himself to us.'

(D.41) *mi'*   *lok'-el*   *tyäl-el*   *jiñi*   *xibal*
IMPF.3E   come.out-NOM   arrive-NOM   DET   demon
'The demon will come out.'

(D.42) *poreso*   *jiñ*   *cha'añ*   *wajali*   *tyi*   *wiñ*   *lok'-i-Ø*   *tyäl-el*
SP.and.so   DET   for   before   PREP   lot   go.out-VI-3A   arrive-NOM
'That's why he came out a lot before.'

(D.43) *porke*   *wajali*   *ma'añ*   *che'*   *mi'*   *k'ajtyiñ-ob*   *i-ty'añ*
SP.because   before   NEG.EXT   so   IMPF.3E   ask-PL   3E-word
jesus
SP.Jesus
'Because before they didn't pray to God.'

(D.44) *wa'li*   *'añ-ix*   *kabäl*   *i-ty'añ,*   *baki*   *mi*   *la-k-ubiñ*   *i-ty'añ*
now   EXT-ALR   lot   3E-word   where   IMPF   PL-1E-listen   3E-word
jesus
3E-SP.jesus
'Now there is the word of God, places where we hear the word of Jesus.'

(D.45) *pero*   *wa'li*   *ma'ix*   *jiñ*   *xibal*
SP.but   now   NEG.ALR   DET   demon
'Now there are no demons.'

(D.46) *oñälix   jiñi   'añ-ix   tyempo*
      a.long.time.ago DET   EXT-ALR   SP.time
    'He lived a long time ago.'

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

(D.48) *bakibä   tiempo   tsajñ-i-Ø   tyi   xämbal   jiñi*
      where-REL   SP.time   go.and.come.back-VI-3A   PREP   wander   DET
    x-ñek
    CL-*ñek*
    'In what time the *xñek* wandered around.'

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

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

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

(D.52) *pero   mach   la-k   ña'tyañ-Ø baki   tyäl-em*
      SP.but   NEG   PL-1E   know-3A   where   arrive-NOM
    'We don't know where he wound up.'

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