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AYMARA

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Aymara (ISO aym) is spoken by about two million people, more than half of whom are Bolivian. The other half are mainly Peruvian, with small communities in Chile and Argentina. The Aymaran family (Aymara and Kawki/Jaqaru) is a language isolate, although the Quechuan family is erroneously believed to be related. The narrative presented here describes a human/bear hybrid known as “Juwaniku Bear.” It falls into the tradition of the Andean bear narratives. The narrative is told and transcribed by the co-author of this contribution, Edwin Banegas-Flores, likely the youngest fluent speaker of Muylaq’ Aymara, a variety of Aymara spoken by some 200 people in the lowlands of Moquegua, Peru.

- (1) Jichax ma kuwint kuwintajwaxax ma usutuqit.

hiča-x ma kuwint kuwinta-hwa-xa-x ma
now-TOP one story:ACC tell-BFR-1FUT-TOP one

usu-tuqi-t
bear-about-ABL

‘Now I will tell a story about a bear.’

- (2) Ma usuw uthiritaynax siw ma markan.

ma usu-w uth-iri-∅-tajna-x s-i-w
one bear-DECL exist-AG-COP.VBZ-3REM.PST-TOP say-3SIMP-DECL

ma marka-n
one village-LOC

‘It was a bear that once lived, they say, in a village.’

- (3) Uka usux wali phiyutaynaw siw.

uka usu-x wali phiju-∅-tajna-w s-i-w
that bear-TOP very bad-COP.VBZ-3REM.PST-DECL say-3SIMP-DECL

‘That bear was very bad, they say.’

- (4) Ukat ma imillanakax wisitt'aphiritaynaw siw utapar.
 uka-t ma imila-naka-x
 that-ABL one girl-PL-TOP
 wisit-t'a-ph-Ø-iri-tajna-w s-i-w
 visit-MOM-PL-AG-COP.VBZ-3REM.PST-DECL say-3SIMP-DECL
 uta-pa-r
 house-3POSS-ALL
 'Then, some girls visited, they say, his house.'
- (5) Uka usux, utapanx, wali suma utanitaynaw siw.
 uka usu-x uta-pa-n-x wali suma
 that bear-TOP house-3POSS-GEN-TOP very good
 uta-ni-Ø-tajna-w s-i-w
 house-ATT-COP.VBZ-3REM.PST-DECL say-3SIMP-DECL
 'That bear, his house, was a very good house they say.'
- (6) Liju t'ikanakan, suma t'ikanakan.
 lihu t'ika-naka-n suma t'ika-naka-n
 many flower-PL-GEN good flower-PL-GEN
 'With many flowers, beautiful flowers.'
- (7) Ukat imillanakax wisitt'apchix.
 uka-t imila-naka-x wisit-t'a-p-č-i-x
 that-ABL girl-PL-TOP visit-MOM-PL-CNJ-3SIMP-TOP
 'Then, the girls must have visited.'
- (8) Ukat q'al t'ikapanak k'ichirpayajwaphataynaw, siw.
 uka-t q'al t'ika-pa-nak
 that-ABL all flower-3POSS-PL:ACC
 k'iči-rpaja-hwa-pha-tajna-w s-i-w
 yank-MLT-BFR-PL-3REM.PST-DECL say-3SIMP-DECL
 'Then, they yanked out all his flowers, they say.'
- (9) Ukat usux kulirt'asisin lij katuñ munajwataynaw imillanaqh.
 uka-t usu-x kulir-t'a-si-sin lij
 that-ABL bear-TOP anger-MOM-REFL-SUBR much
 katu-ñ muna-hwa-tajna-w imila-nak-x
 trap-ANMZ want-BFR-3SUBJ:3OBJ:REM.PST-DECL girl-PL:ACC-TOP
 'Then, the bear got angry (and) really wanted to trap the girls.'
- (10) Ukat imillanakx wil chuktajwaphataynaw, siw.
 uka-t imila-nak-x wil
 that-ABL girl-PL:ACC-TOP much
 čuk-t'a-hwa-pha-tajna-w s-i-w
 run.as.group-MOM-BFR-PL-3REM.PST-DECL say-3SIMP-DECL
 'Then, the girls must have desperately run off, they say.'

- (11) Ukat usux ma imillx katujwataynax.
 uka-t usu-x ma imil-x katu-hwa-tajna-x
 that-ABL bear-TOP one girl:ACC-TOP trap-BFR-3REM.PST-TOP
 ‘Then, the bear trapped one girl.’
- (12) Ukat uka imillx apasijwataynaw siw.
 uka-t uka imil-x apa-si-hwa-tajna-w
 that-ABL that girl:ACC-TOP take-REFL-BFR-3REM.PST-DECL
 s-i-w
 say-3SIMP-DECL
 ‘Then, he took that girl, they say.’
- (13) Ma q’awaruw apasijwataynaw, siw.
 ma q’awa-ru-w apa-si-hwa-tajna-w
 one ravine-ALL-DECL take-REFL-BFR-3REM.PST-DECL
 s-i-w
 say-3SIMP-DECL
 ‘He took her to the ravine, they say.’
- (14) Ukar jist’antajwataynaw.
 uka-r his-t’a-nta-hwa-tajna-w
 that-ALL close-MOM-IW-BFR-3SUBJ:3OBJ:REM.PST-DECL
 ‘In there he closed her up.’
- (15) Ma qalamp jach’a qalamp jist’antajwataynax.
 ma qala-mp hač’a qala-mp
 one rock-COM big rock-COM
 his-t’a-nta-hwa-tajna-x
 close-MOM-IW-BFR-3SUBJ:3OBJ:REM.PST-TOP
 ‘With one rock, with one big rock he closed her in.’
- (16) Ukat imillax janiw mistañx puyrkataynat.
 uka-t imila-x hani-w mista-ñ-x
 that-ABL girl-TOP no-DECL leave-ANMZ-TOP
 pujr-ka-tajna-t
 can-NCPL-3REM.PST-NEG
 ‘Then, the girl could not leave.’
- (17) Ukaruw uthasijwataynax.
 uka-ru-w utha-si-hwa-tajna-x
 that-ALL-DECL exist-REFL-BFR-3REM.PST-TOP
 ‘She lived there herself.’

- (18) Ukat usux aliq markaruw sarajwataynax.
 uka-t usu-x aliq marka-ru-w
 that-ABL bear-TOP other village-ALL-DECL
 sara-hwa-tajna-x
 go-BFR-3REM.PST-TOP
 'Then, the bear went to other villages.'
- (19) Ukat ma markanakar:
 uka-t ma marka-naka-r
 that-ABL one village-PL-ALL
 'Then, in some villages,'
- (20) "akanakat manq'anak apaxax," sas.
 aka-naka-t manq'a-nak apa-xa-x sas
 this-PL-ABL food-PL:ACC take-1SUBJ:3OBJ.FUT-TOP said
 "from these places, I will take food," he said.'
- (21) "Imillajax manq'at jiwaskasphax."
 imiḷa-ha-x manq'a-t hiwa-ska-spha-x
 girl-1POSS-TOP food-ABL die-PROG-3INFR-TOP
 "My sister must be dying of hunger."
- (22) Ukat imillax janiw uka p'iyat mistañpuyrkataynat.
 uka-t imiḷa-x hani-w uka p'ija-t mista-ñ
 that-ABL girl-TOP no-DECL that hole-ABL escape-ANMZ
 pujr-ka-tajna-t
 can-NCPL-3REM.PST-NEG
 'Then, the girl could not escape from that hole.'
- (23) Ukat uka imillax, usurijwataynaw.
 uka-t uka imiḷa-x usu-ri-hwa-tajna-w
 that-ABL that girl-TOP be.sick-AG-BFR-3REM.PST-DECL
 'Then, that girl was pregnant.'
- (24) Ukat wawachasijwataynaw, ma isk'a usitu.
 uka-t wawa-ča-si-hwa-tajna-w ma isk'a
 that-ABL child-CAUS-REFL-BFR-3REM.PST-DECL one small
 us-itu
 bear-DIM
 'Then, she gave birth: a small bear cub.'

- (25) Ukat “Usu Juwanitu” sutichsusijwataynax uka imillax.
 uka-t usu huwan-itu
 that-ABL Bear Juan-DIM.MASC
 suti-č-su-si-hwa-tajna-x
 name-CAUS-UW-REFL-BFR-3SUBJ:3OBJ:REM.PST-TOP
 uka imiḷa-x
 that girl-TOP
 ‘Then, that girl named him “Juanitu Bear.”’
- (26) Isk’a usitux jach’achawjwiw, siw.
 isk’a us-itu-x hač’a-ča-whw-i-w s-i-w
 small bear-DIM-TOP big-CAUS-BFR-3SIMP-DECL say-3SIMP-DECL
 ‘The little bear became big, they say.’
- (27) Ukat ma, “Uka qal mukt’ajwajaw,” sas.
 uka-t ma, uka qal
 that-ABL one that rock:ACC
 muk-t’a-hwa-ha-w sas
 push-MOM-BFR-1SUBJ:1OBJ.FUT-DECL said
 ‘Then, “I will push that rock,” he said.’
- (28) Janiw puyrkataynat, sinti isk’achataynaw.
 hani-w pujr-ka-tajna-t sinti
 no-DECL can-NCPL-3REM.PST-NEG too.much
 isk’a-ča-∅-tajna-w
 small-DIM-COP.VBZ-3REM.PST-DECL
 ‘He couldn’t, he was too small.’
- (29) Ukat uka usuchak jach’awjchix.
 uka-t uka usu-ča-k jač’a-∅-wh-č-i-x
 that-ABL that bear-DIM-DIM big-COP.VBZ-BFR-CNJ-3SIMP-TOP
 ‘Then, that little bear became big.’
- (30) Wali jach’ajwataynaw.
 wali jač’a-∅-hwa-tajna-w
 very big-COP.VBZ-BFR-3REM.PST-DECL
 ‘He was very big.’
- (31) Ukat mukt’ajwataynaw qalx.
 uka-t muk-t’a-hwa-tajna-w qal-x
 that-ABL push-MOM-BFR-3SUBJ:3OBJ:REM.PST-DECL rock:ACC-TOP
 ‘Then, he pushed the rock.’

- (32) Mamalapamp iskapasijwataynaw.
 mamala-pa-mp iskapa-si-hwa-tajna-w
 mother-3POSS-COM escape-REFL-BFR-3REM.PST-DECL
 'He escaped with his mom.'
- (33) Ukat wal jalapchix.
 uka-t wal jala-p-č-i-x
 that-ABL much run-PL-CNJ-3SIMP-TOP
 'Then, they must have run a lot.'
- (34) Ma q'awanak, ma pampanak pasjajwapchix.
 ma q'awa-nak ma pampa-nak
 one ravine-PL:ACC one pampa-PL:ACC
 pas-ha-hwa-p-č-i-x
 pass-UW-BFR-PL-CNJ-3SIMP-TOP
 'They must have passed over some ravines, some pampas.'
- (35) Ukat ma utaruw purt'ajwaphataynaw, siw.
 uka-t ma uta-ru-w
 that-ABL one house-ALL-DECL
 pur-t'a-hwa-pha-tajna-w s-i-w
 arrive-MOM-BFR-PL-3REM.PST-DECL say-3SIMP-DECL
 'Then, they arrived at a house, they say.'
- (36) Uka utanx ma umbriw uthataynax siw, ma kura.
 uka uta-n-x ma umbri-w utha-tajna-x
 that house-LOC-TOP one man-DECL exist-3REM.PST-TOP
 s-i-w ma kura
 say-3SIMP-DECL one priest
 'In the house, lived one man, they say, one priest.'
- (37) Uka warmix sawjchix kurarux,
 uka warmi-x sa-wh-č-i-x
 that woman-TOP say-BFR-CNJ-3SUBJ:3OBJ:SIMP-TOP
 kura-ru-x
 priest-ALL-TOP
 'That woman must have said to the priest,'
- (38) "Aka wawax jaythajwamama saschix."
 aka wawa-x hajtha-hwa-mama
 this child-1POSS:ACC leave-BFR-1SUBJ:2OBJ:FUT
 sa-s-č-i-x
 say-REFL-CNJ-3SIMP-TOP
 "I leave you my child," she must have said.'

- (39) “Nax sarawjwajaw.”
 na-x sara-whwa-ha-w
 I-TOP go-BFR-1FUT-DECL
 “I will go.”
- (40) “Janiw aka wirax natakix uthit.”
 hani-w aka wira-x na-taki-x uth-i-t
 no-DECL this life-TOP I-BEN-TOP exist-3SIMP-NEG
 “This life is not for me to live.”
- (41) Ukat uka kurax, “ya akaruk jaythaskam,” sas.
 uka-t uka kura-x ja aka-ru-k
 that-ABL that priest-TOP well this-ALL-DL
 hajtja-ska-m sas
 leave-PROG-2SUBJ:3OBJ:IMP said
 ‘Then, that priest said, “Well, leave him just here.”’
- (42) Ukat uka usitux kuramp kirasiwjchix.
 uka-t uka us-itu-x kura-mp
 that-ABL that bear-DIM-TOP priest-COM
 kira-si-wh-č-i-x
 stay-REFL-BFR-CNJ-3SIMP-TOP
 ‘Then, that little bear must have stayed with the priest.’
- (43) Uka kurax uywasijwataynaw, siw.
 uka kura-x ujwa-si-hwa-tajna-w
 that priest-TOP raise-REFL-BFR-3SUBJ:3OBJ:REM.PST-DECL
 s-i-w
 say-3SIMP-DECL
 ‘That priest raised him, they say.’
- (44) “Ya jumax wakanak awatir saraskam.”
 ja huma-x waka-nak awat-ir sara-ska-m
 well you-TOP cow-PL:ACC pasture-AG go-PROG-2IMP
 “You will go pasture the cows.”
- (45) “Jumax wawajjamajwataw.”
 huma-x wawa-h-hama-hwa-hata-w
 you-TOP child-1POSS-COMP-BFR-2FUT-DECL
 “You will be as my child.”
- (46) Ukat ma urux uka usitux wakanak khartapijwataynaw, siw.
 uka-t ma uru-x uka us-itu-x
 that-ABL one day-TOP that bear-DIM.MASC-TOP
 waka-nak khar-tapi-hwa-tajna-w s-i-w
 cow-PL cut-CC-BFR-3SUBJ:3OBJ:REM.PST-DECL say-3SIMP-DECL
 ‘Then, one day that little bear totally slaughtered the cows, they say.’

- (47) Q'al wakanak khartapijwataynaw, siw.
 q'al waka-nak khar-tapi-hwa-tajna-w
 all COW-PL:ACC cut-CC-BFR-3SUBJ:3OBJ:REM.PST-DECL
 s-i-w
 say-3SIMP-DECL
 'He totally slaughtered all the cows, they say.'
- (48) Lip'ichanakat uka lasunak lurajwataynaw, siw.
 lip'iča-naka-t uka lasu-nak
 hide-PL-ABL that lasso-PL:ACC
 lura-hwa-tajna-w s-i-w
 make-BFR-3SUBJ:3OBJ:REM.PST-DECL say-3SIMP-DECL
 'From hides he made those lassos.'
- (49) Lasunaka, uka wiskanak lurajwataynaw, siw.
 lasu-naka uka wiska-nak lura-hwa-tajna-w
 lasso-PL that rope-PL:ACC make-BFR-3SUBJ:3OBJ:REM.PST-DECL
 s-i-w
 say-3SIMP-DECL
 'Lassos, he made those ropes, they say.'
- (50) Ukat kawallirux wal mulistasijwataynax jupampix.
 uka-t kawałiru-x wal
 that-ABL gentleman-TOP much
 mulitasi-hwa-tajna-x hupa-mpi-x
 annoy-BFR-3SUBJ:3OBJ:REM.PST-TOP he-COM-TOP
 'Then, the gentleman was very annoyed with him.'
- (51) "Aka lluqallax janiw walikit."
 aka λuqaλa-x hani-w wali-∅-k-i-t
 this boy-TOP no-DECL good-COP.VBZ-NCPL-3SIMP-NEG
 "“This boy is no good.”"
- (52) "¿Jichax kun lurajast?" uka kuras sasch.
 jiča-x kun lura-ha-st uka kura-s sas-č
 now-TOP what do-1FUT-INT that priest-AD say-CNJ:3SIMP
 "“Now what will I do?” the priest must have said.'
- (53) "Ukat aka lluqallx aliq chiqaruw khitaxax," sas.
 uka-t aka λuqaλ-x aliq čiqa-ru-w
 that-ABL this boy:ACC-TOP other place-ALL-DECL
 khita-xa-x sas
 send-1FUT-TOP said
 "“Then I'll send this boy to another place,” he said.'

- (54) Ukat ma umbrix saschix,
 uka-t ma umbri-x sas-č-i-x
 that-ABL one man-TOP say-CNJ-3SIMP-TOP
 ‘Then, some man must have said,’
- (55) “Ma markanx ma liwunaw manq’askix taqiruw manq’askix,” sas
 awischix.
 ma marka-n-x ma liwuna-w
 one town-LOC-TOP one lion-DECL
 manq’a-s.k-i-x taqi-ru-w
 eat-PROG-3SUBJ:3OBJ:SIMP-TOP all-ALL-DECL
 manq’a-s.k-i-x sas awis-č-i-x
 eat-PROG-3SUBJ:3OBJ:SIMP-TOP said tell-CNJ-3SUBJ:3OBJ:SIMP-TOP
 “‘In a town, a lion is eating everything, he is eating,” they say, he
 must have told him.’
- (56) Ukat kurax pinsajwataynaw siw, “Akaruw apayaxax,” sas.
 uka-t kura-x pinsa-hwa-tajna-w s-i-w
 that-ABL priest-TOP think-BFR-3REM.PST-DECL say-3SIMP-DECL
 aka-ru-w apa-ja-xa-x sas
 this-ALL-DECL take-CAUS-1SUBJ:3OBJ:FUT-TOP said
 ‘Then, the priest thought, they say, “I will sent him there,” he said.’
- (57) Ukat kurax ya sawjchix lluqallarux,
 uka-t kura-x ja sa-wh-č-i-x
 that-ABL priest-TOP well say-BFR-CNJ-3SUBJ:3OBJ:SIMP-TOP
 luqała-ru-x
 boy-ALL-TOP
 ‘Then, the priest, well, must have said to the boy:’
- (58) “Lluqalla uka mark sarawjwam.”
 luqała uka mark sara-whwa-m
 boy that town:ACC go-BFR-2IMP
 “‘Boy, go to that town!’”
- (59) “Ukat law apt’aniwjwam.”
 uka-t law ap-t’a-ni-whwa-m
 that-ABL wood:ACC take-MOM-CIS-BFR-2IMP
 “‘Then bring back wood.’”
- (60) Ukat lluqallax “¡Ya!” sawjchix.
 uka-t luqała-x ja sa-wh-č-i-x
 that-ABL boy-TOP sure say-BFR-CNJ-3SIMP-TOP
 ‘Then, the boy must have said, “Sure!’”

- (61) Ukat sarawjwataynaw asnunakamp.
 uka-t sara-whwa-tajna-w asnu-naka-mp
 that-ABL go-BFR-3REM.PST-DECL donkey-PL-COM
 'Then, he went with donkeys.'
- (62) Ukat purt'ch.
 uka-t pur-t'-č
 that-ABL arrive-MOM-CNJ:3SIMP
 'Then, he must have arrived.'
- (63) Jani kunas . . . kuna lawas uthajwataynat, siw.
 hani kuna-s kuna lawa-s utha-hwa-tajna-t
 no what-AD what wood-AD exist-BFR-3REM.PST-NEG

 s-i-w
 say-3SIMP-DECL
 'Nothing—there was no wood, they say.'
- (64) Ma ch'akanakakiw ukanx jaqtatajwataynax, siw.
 ma č'aka-naka-ki-w uka-n-x
 one bone-PL-DL-DECL that-LOC-TOP

 jaq-ta-ta-∅-hwa-tajna-x s-i-w
 fling-UW-RSLT-COP.VBZ-BFR-3REM.PST-TOP say-3SIMP-DECL
 'Just some bones were strewn about there, they say.'
- (65) "¿Kun akanakans pasjix?" sas.
 kun aka-naka-n-s pas-j-i-x sas
 what this-PL-LOC-AD happen-CPL-3SIMP-TOP said
 "What happened around here?" he said.'
- (66) Ukataw ma liwunanakaw jutajwataynaw, siw.
 uka-ta-w ma liwuna-naka-w juta-hwa-tajna-w
 that-ABL-DECL one lion-PL-DECL come-BFR-3REM.PST-DECL

 s-i-w
 say-3SIMP-DECL
 'So then some lions came, they say.'
- (67) Ukat q'al asnunakx manq'antajwataynax, siw.
 uka-t q'al asnu-nak-x
 that-ABL all donkey-PL:ACC-TOP

 manq'a-nta-hwa-tajna-x s-i-w
 eat-IW-BFR-3SUBJ:3OBJ:REM.PST-TOP say-3SIMP-DECL
 'Then, they ate all the donkeys, they say.'

- (68) Jupax iskapasijwataynaw, siw.
 hupa-x iskapa-si-hwa-tajna-w s-i-w
 he-TOP escape-REFL-BFR-3REM.PST-DECL say-3SIMP-DECL
 ‘He escaped, they say.’
- (69) Mayampiw jutajwataynax utatuqir, kuran utapar.
 Maja-mpi-w huta-hwa-tajna-x uta tuqi-r
 one-COM-DECL come-BFR-3REM.PST-TOP house side-ALL
 kura-n uta-pa-r
 priest-ATT house-3POSS-ALL
 ‘Again, he came until the house, to the priest’s house.’
- (70) Ukata kurax sawjchix, “¿Kawk asnunakast?” sas.
 uka-t kura-x sa-wh-č-i-x kawk
 that-ABL priest-TOP say-BFR-CNJ-3SIMP-TOP where
 asnu-naka-st sas
 donkey-PL-INT said
 ‘Then, the priest must have said, “Where are the donkeys?” he said.’
- (71) “Ma liwunanakaw manq’antajwix.”
 ma liwuna-naka-w manq’a-nta-hw-i-x
 one lion-PL-DECL eat-1W-BFR-3SIMP-TOP
 “‘Some lions ate them up.’”
- (72) Wal kurax kulirt’asijwataynaw siw.
 wal kura-x kulir-t’a-si-hwa-tajna-w
 much priest-TOP anger-MOM-REFL-BFR-3REM.PST-DECL
 s-i-w
 say-3SIMP-DECL
 ‘The priest was very angry, they say.’
- (73) “Aka lluqallax sintirakiw,” sas.
 aka λuqaλa-x sinti-raki-w sas
 this boy-TOP too.much-AD-DECL said
 “‘This boy is too much,” he said.’
- (74) Ukata ma kawallirux awisch.
 uka-t ma kawalliru-x awis-č
 that-ABL one gentleman-TOP tell-CNJ:3SUBJ:3OBJ:SIMP
 ‘Then, the gentleman must have told him something.’

- (75) Mayamp awisch, “Ma markanx ma kuntinawuw q’al jaqinak
manq’araskix,” sas.
maja-mp awis-č ma marka-n-x ma
one-COM tell-CNJ:3SUBJ:3OBJ:SIMP one village-LOC-TOP one
kuntinawu-w q’al jaqi-nak manq’a-ra-sk-i-x
ghost-DECL all person-PL:ACC eat-MLT-PROG-3SIMP-TOP
sas
said
‘Again, he must have told him, “In a village there is a ghost eating
all the people.”’
- (76) Ukat kuras mayamp saschix, “lluqalla uka mark sarawjwam,
kasamintunak kuntaractanim,” sas.
uka-t kura-s maja-mp sas-č-i-x luqaḷa uka
that-ABL priest-AD one-COM said-CNJ-3SIMP-TOP boy that
mark sara-whwa-m kasamintu-nak kuntarakta-ni-m
village:ACC go-BFR-2IMP marriage-PL contract-CIS-2IMP
sas
said
‘Then, the priest again must have said, “Boy, go to that village,
find a wife,” he said.’¹
- (77) Ukat lluqallax, “ya sarajaw,” sas.
uka-t luqaḷa-x ja sara-ha-w sas
that-ABL boy-TOP sure go-1FUT-DECL said
‘Then, the boy said, “Sure, I’ll go.”’
- (78) Sarawjchix.
sara-wh-č-i-x
go-BFR-CNJ-3SIMP-TOP
‘He must have gone.’
- (79) Kawallunx liju silljatat sarawjchix.
kawaḷu-n-x lihu siḷ-hata-t sara-wh-č-i-x
horse-LOC-TOP all seat-above-RSLT go-CPL-CNJ-3SIMP-TOP
‘Nicely seated on horseback, he must’ve gone.’
- (80) May purtchi jani kunas uka markanx liju ch’akanakakiw
uthataynax.
maj pur-t’-č-i hani kuna-s uka
one arrive-MOM-CNJ-3SIMP no what-AD that
marka-n-x lihu č’aka-naka-ki-w utha-tajna-x
village-LOC-TOP all bone-PL-DL-DECL exist-3REM.PST-TOP
‘When he must have arrived, there was nothing in that village;
there were only bones.’

¹ The priest does this in order to earn some money for himself. He would charge to officiate a wedding.

- (81) Ukata jupax pinschi “¿Kha kun akanakans paschix?” sas.
 uka-t hupa-x pins-č-i kha kun
 that-ABL s/he-TOP think-CNJ-3SIMP yonder what
 aka-naka-n-s pas-č-i-x sas
 this-PL-LOC-AD happen-CNJ-3SIMP-TOP said
 ‘Then, he must have thought, “Yonder what in even these parts
 must have happened?” he said.’
- (82) Ukata janiw, ma ut mantanch, jani kunas, ch’akanakakiw ukan
 willtatataynax.
 uka-t hani-w ma ut manta-n-č hani
 that-ABL no-DECL one house:ACC enter-CIS-CNJ:3SIMP no
 kuna-s č’aka-naka-ki-w uka-n wiłta-ta-tajna-x
 what-AD bone-PL-DL-DECL that-LOC toss-RSLT-3REM.PST-TOP
 ‘Then, no, he must have entered a house, nothing, just bones tossed
 in there.’
- (83) Ukata mayamp sarchix ma utar jani kunas.
 uka-t maja-mp sar-č-i-x ma uta-r hani
 that-ABL one-COM go-CNJ-3SIMP-TOP one house-ALL no
 kuna-s
 what-AD
 ‘Then, again, he must have gone into a house—nothing.’
- (84) Ukata kutiwjchix.
 uka-t kuti-wh-č-i-x
 that-ABL return-BFR-CNJ-3SIMP-TOP
 ‘Then, he must have returned.’
- (85) “¿Kun lurajast akanst?” sas.
 kun lura-ha-st aka-n-st sas
 what do-1FUT-INT here-LOC-INT said
 ‘“What will I do here?” he said.’
- (86) “Jani khitis.”
 hani khiti-s
 no who-AD
 ‘“Nobody.”’
- (87) Ukata ma inglisaruw, “Akarukiw jalaqtaxax,” sas.
 uka-t ma inglisaru-w aka-ru-ki-w
 that-ABL one church-ALL-DECL here-ALL-DL-DECL
 hala-q-ta-xa-x sas
 run-DW-UW-1FUT-TOP said
 ‘Then, in a church, “I’ll stay right in here,” he said.’

- (88) Ukar ikiwjchix.
 uka-r iki-wh-č-i-x
 that-ALL sleep-BFR-CNJ-3SIMP-TOP
 'He must have slept in there.'
- (89) May arumax ꞑch'ititititis!
 maj aruma-x č'ititititis
 one night-TOP ONO
 'Suddenly at night, ch'ititititis!'
- (90) "ꞑKawkis jaqina?" saschix.
 kawki-s jaqi-na sas-č-i-x
 where-IRR person-LOC said-CNJ-3SUBJ:3OBJ:SIMP-TOP
 '"Where is your master?" he must have said.'²
- (91) Uka Usu Juwanikux, "ꞑJan arxayistat!" saschi.
 uka Usu Huwaniku-x han arxa-j-ista-t
 that Bear Juwaniku-TOP no annoy-CAUS-2:SUBJ:1OBJ:SIMP-NEG
 sas-č-i-x
 said-CNJ-3SUBJ:3OBJ:SIMP-TOP
 'That Juwaniku Bear must have said, "Don't make me annoyed!'"
- (92) May kuintinawux saschix, "Nax kuwintinawutwa," sas.
 maj kuintinawu-x sas-č-i-x na-x
 one ghost-TOP said-CNJ-3SIMP-TOP I-TOP
 kuwintinawu-Ø-t-wa sas
 ghost-COP.VBZ-1SIMP-DECL said
 'Suddenly the ghost must have said, "I am a ghost," he said.'
- (93) Ukat mayamp sawjchix usujwanikux, "ꞑJan arxayistat!" sas.
 uka-t maja-mp sa-wh-č-i-x Usu
 that-ABL one-COM say-BFR-CNJ-3SUBJ:3OBJ:SIMP-TOP Bear
 Huwaniku-x jan arxa-j-ista-t sas
 Juwaniku-TOP no annoy-CAUS-2SUBJ:1OBJ:SIMP-NEG said
 'Then, again, Juwaniku Bear must have said, "Don't annoy me!'"
- (94) Mayakiw kuintinawux jalaqtanijwataynaxa, siw.
 maja-ki-w kuintinawu-x
 one-DL-DECL ghost-TOP
 hala-q-ta-ni-hwa-tajna-xa s-i-w
 run-DW-UW-TRANSLOC-CPL-3REM.PST-TOP say-3SIMP-DECL
 'Suddenly the ghost fell down, they say.'

² The expected response to this question (the wording of which is rather antiquated, and used almost exclusively by ghosts in narratives) is to provide one's name.

- (95) “Akax amparajawa, akax kayujawa” sas.
 aka-x ampara-ha-wa aka-x kaju-ha-wa sas
 this-TOP hand-1POSS-DECL this-TOP foot-1POSS-DECL said
 “‘This is my hand, this is my foot’ he said.’
- (96) Q'al jalaqtanijwataynax.
 q'al hala-q-ta-ni-hwa-tajna-x
 all:ACC run-DW-UW-CIS-CPL-3DIS-TOP
 ‘It all fell.’
- (97) Ukar Usu Juwanikux katujwataynax siw.
 uka-r Usu Huwaniku-x
 that-ALL Bear Juwaniku-TOP
 katu-hwa-tajna-x s-i-w
 trap-BFR-3SUBJ:3OBJ:REM.PST-TOP say-3SIMP-DECL
 ‘Juwaniku Bear trapped him there, they say.’
- (98) Mayampirak kuran utaparux ukham purtchix utaparux.
 maja-mpi-rak kura-n uta-pa-ru-x
 one-COM-AD priest-GEN house-3POSS-ALL-TOP
 uk-ham pur-t-č-i-x uta-pa-ru-x
 that-COMP arrive-MOM-CNJ-3SIMP-TOP house-3POSS-ALL-TOP
 ‘Again, to the priest’s house thus he arrived to his house.’
- (99) Ukat kurax wal warakjasijwataynax, siw.
 uka-t kura-x wal warakja-si-hwa-tajna-x
 that-ABL priest-TOP very surprise-REFL-BFR-3REM.PST-TOP
 s-i-w
 say-3SIMP-DECL
 ‘Then, the priest was very surprised, they say.’
- (100) “¿Kunjamarak aka lluqallast?”
 kun-hama-Ø-rak aka λuqaλa-st
 what-COMP-COP.VBZ-AD this boy-INT
 “‘What kind of boy is this?’”
- (101) “Wali qullqimpi, kunampi kutt'aniwjchix.”
 wali quλqi-mpi kuna-mpi
 much money-COM what-COM
 kut-t'a-ni-wh-č-i-x
 return-MOM-CIS-BFR-CNJ-3SIMP-TOP
 “‘He must have returned with a lot of money and stuff.’”

- (102) “¿Janiw kuintinawux kun lurawjchitix?” sas.
 hani-w kuintinawu-x kun
 no-DECL ghost-TOP what
 lura-wh-č-i-ti-x sas
 do-BFR-CNJ-3SUBJ:3OBJ:SIMP-NEG-TOP said
 ‘“Didn’t the ghost do something to you?,” he said.’
- (103) “Aka lluqallax janiw walikit,” sas.
 aka λuqaλa-x hani-w wali-∅-k-i-t sas
 this boy-TOP no-DECL good-COP.VBZ-NCPL-3SIMP-NEG said
 ‘“This boy is not good,” he said.’
- (104) Ukat kurax sawjschi, “lluqalla jumax jach’awjtaw.”
 uka-t kura-x sa-wh-s-č-i λuqaλa
 that-ABL priest-TOP say-BFR-REFL-CNJ-3SUBJ:3OBJ:SIMP boy
 huma-x hač’a-∅-wh-ta-w
 you-TOP big-COP.VBZ-BFR-2SIMP-DECL
 ‘Then, the priest must have said to him, “Boy, you are big.”’
- (105) “Jumax wiram thaqasir sarawjwam,” sas.
 huma-x wira-m thaqa-s-ir sara-whwa-m sas
 you-TOP life-2POSS search-REFL-AG go-BFR-2IMP said
 ‘“You go search for your life,” he said.’
- (106) Uka lluqallax ukham sarawjchix.
 uka λuqaλa-x uk-ham sara-wh-č-i-x
 that boy-TOP that-COMP go-BFR-CNJ-3SIMP-TOP
 ‘That boy thus must have went.’
- (107) “Ukham” tatala sas.
 uk-ham tatala sas
 that-COMP father said
 ‘“So it will be,” the father said.’
- (108) Ukham sarawjchix.
 uk-ham sara-wh-č-i-x
 that-COMP go-BFR-CNJ-3SIMP-TOP
 ‘Thus he must have gone.’
- (109) “Nax sarawjawajaw,” sas.
 na-x sara-whwa-ha-w sas
 I-TOP go-BFR-1FUT-DECL said
 ‘“I will go,” he said.’

- (110) Ukham uka kurax, ma lasu wajt'ajwataynax, uka qullqimpi, ma kuchillumpi.
 uk-ham uka kura-x ma lasu
 that-COMP that priest-TOP one lasso:ACC
 wah-t'a-hwa-tajna-x uka quλqi-mpi
 give-MOM-BFR-3SUBJ:3OBJ:REM.PST-TOP that money-COM:ACC
 ma kučilu-mpi
 one knife-COM:ACC
 'Thus, that priest gave him a lasso, that money and a knife.'
- (111) Ukham khitawjchix.
 uk-ham khita-wh-č-i-x
 that-COMP send-BFR-CNJ-3SUBJ:3OBJ:SIMP-TOP
 'Thus, he must have sent him.'
- (112) "Sarawjwam," sas.
 sara-whwa-m sas
 go-BFR-2IMP said
 "'Go on," he said.'
- (113) Ukham lluqallax sarawjwataynax siw.
 uk-ham λuqaλa-x sara-whwa-tajna-x s-i-w
 that-COMP boy-TOP go-BFR-3REM.PST-TOP say-3SIMP-DECL
 'Thus, the boy went, they say.'
- (114) Ukat ma lluqallanakampiw jikisijwataynax siw, ma q'awar, ukar.
 uka-t ma λuqaλa-naka-mpi-w
 that-ABL one boy-PL-COM-DECL
 hiki-si-hwa-tajna-x s-i-w
 meet-REFL-BFR-3SUBJ:3OBJ:REM.PST-TOP say-3SIMP-DECL
 ma q'awa-r uka-r
 one ravine-ALL that-ALL
 'Then, he must have met with some boys, they say, in a ravine there.'
- (115) Ukanakampiw sarajwataynax.
 uka-naka-mpi-w sara-hwa-tajna-x
 that-PL-COM-DECL go-BFR-3SUBJ:3OBJ:REM.PST-TOP
 'He went with them.'
- (116) Ukat ma qulluruw sarajwataynax siw.
 uka-t ma quλu-ru-w sara-hwa-tajna-x
 that-ABL one ravine-ALL-DECL go-BFR-3REM.PST-TOP
 s-i-w
 say-3SIMP-DECL
 'Then, they went to a ravine, they say.'

- (117) Ukan ma p'iyataynaw.
 uka-n ma p'ija- $\emptyset$ -tajna-w
 that-LOC one hole-COP.VBZ-3REM.PST-DECL
 'There was a hole in there.'
- (118) Uka p'ianx manqhataynaw siw, manqhi.
 uka p'ija-n-x manqha- $\emptyset$ -tajna-w
 that hole-LOC-TOP below-COP.VBZ-3REM.PST-DECL
 s-i-w manqhi
 say-3SIMP-DECL deep
 'In that hole it was down there, they say, deep.'
- (119) "¿Ukat aka kunarakisphast?" saschix.
 uka-t aka kuna-raki- $\emptyset$ -spha-st sas-č-i-x
 that-ABL this what-AD-COP.VBZ-3INFR-INT said-CNJ-3SIMP-TOP
 "'Then what could this be?" they must have said.'
- (120) "¿Ukat khit mantañ puyrist?" saschix ma lluqallax.
 uka-t khit manta-ñ pujr-i-st
 that-ABL who enter-ANMZ can-3SUBJ:3OBJ:SIMP-INT
 sas-č-i-x ma luqała-x
 said-CNJ-3SIMP-TOP one boy-TOP
 "'Then who can enter it?" one boy must have said.'
- (121) "Naw," sas.
 na-w sas
 me-DECL said
 "'Me!" he said.'
- (122) Ukat uka lasunakampiw lluqallx, ma lluqallx
 mukhuntajwaphataynaw siw.
 uka-t uka lasu-naka-mpi-w luqał-x ma
 that-ABL that lasso-PL-COM-DECL boy:ACC-TOP one
 luqał-x mukhu-nta-hwa-pha-tajna-w
 boy:ACC-TOP push-IW-BFR-PL-3SUBJ:3OBJ:REM.PST-DECL
 s-i-w
 say-3SIMP-DECL
 'Then, with those lassos they pushed in one of the boys, they say.'
- (123) Ukat ña chikaruchixall puyrkataynat mantañx.
 uka-t ña čika-ru- $\emptyset$ -č-i-xał
 that-ABL nearly middle-ALL-COP.VBZ-CNJ-3SIMP-CNJ
 pujr-ka-tajna-t manta-ñ-x
 can-NCPL-3REM.PST-NEG enter-ANMZ-TOP
 'Then he must've been roughly in the middle and he could not enter.'

- (124) Ukat “¡Waysuphita, waysuphita!” sas.
 uka-t waj-su-ph-ita
 that-ABL pull.with.rope-OW-PL-2SUBJ:1OBJ:IMP
 waj-su-ph-ita sas
 pull.with.rope-OW-PL-2SUBJ:1OBJ:IMP said
 ‘Then, “Pull me out, pull me out!” he said.’
- (125) Ukham waysujwapchix.
 uk-ham waj-su-hwa-p-č-i-x
 that-COMP pull.with.rope-OW-BFR-PL-CNJ-3SUBJ:3OBJ:SIMP-TOP
 ‘Thus they must have pulled him out.’
- (126) Aka lluqallax janiw puyrkit, saschix usu jwanikux.
 aka luqaɬa-x hani-w pujr-k-i-t
 this boy-TOP no-DECL can-NCPL-3SIMP-NEG
 sas-č-i-x Usu Huwaniku-x
 said-CNJ-3SIMP-TOP Bear Juwaniku-TOP
 ‘“This boy cannot” Juwaniku Bear must have said.’
- (127) “Nay mantaja,” sas.
 naj manta-ha sas
 I:ACC enter-1FUT said
 ‘“I will enter,” he said.’
- (128) Jupax mantawjchix.
 hupa-x manta-wh-č-i-x
 he-TOP enter-BFR-CNJ-3SIMP-TOP
 ‘He must have entered.’
- (129) Ukat janiw axsarikataynat siw.
 uka-t hani-w axsari-ka-tajna-t s-i-w
 that-ABL no-DECL fearful-NCPL-3REM.PST-NEG say-3SIMP-DECL
 ‘Then, he was not fearful, they say.’
- (130) Ukhamakiw mantajwix.
 uk-hama-ki-w manta-hw-i-x
 that-COMP-DL-DECL enter-BFR-3SIMP-TOP
 ‘And just like that, he entered.’
- (131) Manqhirux wali utanakataynaw, siw, uka qullunx.
 manqhi-ru-x wali uta-naka-tajna-w
 inside-ALL-TOP much house-PL-3REM.PST-DECL
 s-i-w uka quɬu-n-x
 say-3SIMP-DECL that mountain-LOC-TOP
 ‘There were many houses, they say, in that mountain.’

- (132) Ukat ukan, mamalaparuw kathajwataynax siw.
 uka-t uka-n mamala-pa-ru-w
 that-ABL that-LOC mother-3POSS-ALL-DECL
 katha-hwa-tajna-x s-i-w
 find-BFR-3SUBJ:3OBJ:REM.PST-TOP say-3SIMP-DECL
 ‘Then, in there he found his mother, they say.’
- (133) “¿Mamala kun akan lurastast?” sas.
 mamala kun aka-n lura-s-ta-st sas
 mother what this-LOC do-PROG-2SIMP-INT said
 “‘Mom, what are you doing here?’” he said.’
- (134) “Akanakan, aka qulluw inkantajwitux,” sas.
 aka-naka-n aka quļu-w
 this-PL-LOC this mountain-DECL
 inkanta-hw-itu-x sas
 enchant-BFR-3SUBJ:1OBJ:SIMP-TOP said
 “‘This mountain in these here parts has bound me with spell,” she said.’
- (135) “Jichax sipan sarawjwatan,” saschix.
 hiča-x sipan sara-whwa-tan sas-č-i-x
 now-TOP thus go-BFR-1INCL.FUT said-CNJ-3SIMP-TOP
 “‘Now, thus, we will go,” he must have said.’
- (136) Ukat ma yawlunakax, wal mistanijwapchix.
 uka-t ma jawlu-naka-x wal
 that-ABL one devil-PL-TOP much
 mista-ni-hwa-p-č-i-x
 leave-CIS-BFR-PL-CNJ-3SIMP-TOP
 ‘Then, some devils must have left.’
- (137) Ukat usujwanik katuñ munajwaphataynaw.
 uka-t Usu Huwanik katu-ñ
 that-ABL Bear Juwaniku:ACC catch-ANMZ
 muna-hwa-pha-tajna-w
 want-BFR-PL-3SUBJ:3OBJ:REM.PST-DECL
 ‘Then, they wanted to catch Juwaniku Bear.’
- (138) Jupax jupanakamp nuwasijwataynax, siw.
 hupa-x hupa-naka-mp nuwa-si-hwa-tajna-x
 he-TOP he-PL-COM:ACC hit-REFL-BFR-3SUBJ:3OBJ:REM.PST-TOP
 s-i-w
 say-3SIMP-DECL
 ‘He fought with them, they say.’

- (139) Wal churt'asijwaphataynaw siw.
 wal čur-t'a-si-hwa-pha-tajna-w
 much give-MOM-REFL-BFR-PL-3SUBJ:3OBJ:REM.PST-DECL
 s-i-w
 say-3SIMP-DECL
 'He gave it to them, they say.'
- (140) Usu Juwanikux atipajwataynaw siw.
 Usu Huwaniku-x atipa-hwa-tajna-w
 Bear Juwaniku-TOP defeat-BFR-3SUBJ:3OBJ:REM.PST-DECL
 s-i-w
 say-3SIMP-DECL
 'Juwaniku Bear defeated them, they say.'
- (141) Ukat "Jichax," sawjchix, "luk aka qull awripham," sas.
 uka-t hiča-x sa-wh-č-i-x luk aka
 that-ABL now-TOP say-BFR-CNJ-3SIMP-TOP quickly this
 quł awri-pha-m sas
 mountain:ACC open-PL-2IMP said
 'Then, "Now," he must have said, "quickly remove the
 enchantment from this mountain," he said.'
- (142) Uka yawlunakax uka qull, uka qull jist'arajwaphataynaw, siw.
 uka jawlu-naka-x uka quł uka quł
 that devil-PL-TOP that mountain:ACC that mountain:ACC
 his-t'a-ra-hwa-pha-tajna-w
 close-MOM-REV-BFR-PL-3SUBJ:3OBJ:REM.PST-DECL
 s-i-w
 say-3SIMP-DECL
 'Those devils removed the enchantment from that mountain, that
 mountain, they say.'
- (143) Ukat usujwanikux mamalapamp mistajwaphataynaw siw.
 uka-t Usu Huwaniku-x mamala-pa-mp
 that-ABL Bear Juwaniku-TOP mother-3POSS-COM:ACC
 mista-hwa-pha-tajna-w s-i-w
 leave-BFR-PL-3SUBJ:3OBJ:REM.PST-TOP say-3SIMP-DECL
 'Then, Juwaniku Bear left with his mom, they say.'
- (144) Ukat sarajwapchix.
 uka-t sara-hwa-p-č-i-x
 that-ABL go-BFR-PL-CNJ-3SIMP-TOP
 'Then they must have went.'
- (145) "Jichax ut kutijwatana," sachix.
 hiča-x ut kuti-hwa-tana sa-č-i-x
 now-TOP house:ACC return-BFR-1INCL.FUT say-CNJ-3SIMP-TOP
 '“Now let's go home,” he must have said.'