

NAHUATL FOLK TALES FROM ZONGOLICA, VERACRUZ

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as narrated by FERMÍN TLAXCALA XICALHUA

The stories

I tape recorded these seven Nahuatl folk tales in Zongolica, Veracruz in June of 1988, and transcribed and translated them over a period of years. The narrator is Fermín Tlaxcala Xicalhua, from San Martín Atlahuilco, the cabecera of the municipio of Atlahuilco, Veracruz. He was 24 years old at the time he told the stories. His assistance was also indispensable in the final stage of the translations.

Three of the stories have water as the main theme. Both “The Woman and the Water” and “San Isidro the Farmer” are allegories about the importance of sharing water, while “The Two Children” describes the miraculous origin of a spring.

“San Martin the Horseman” describes the disgraceful treatment of a saint. “The Coyote and the Possum” is a humorous and tragic animal story. “The Golden Stone” is the story of good luck followed by bad luck in the city. Finally, “The End of the World” incorporates a wise rabbit and a variation on the biblical flood theme.

The transcriptions

These are phonetic transcriptions in a practical orthography. I have tried to record as much of the phonetic variation and details as was practical. The Nahuatl transcriptions adopt some Spanish spelling conventions. The sequences *qu*, *gu* and *hu* followed by a vowel are pronounced as [k], [g] and [w], and the letters *c* before *e* or *i* and *z* are pronounced as [s]. Apostrophes are used as in English contractions to indicate a missing sound. Stress is normally penultimate in Nahuatl. When stress is not penultimate in a multisyllabic word, the stressed vowel has an accent mark. Long vowels are indicated by a colon (:) after the vowel. Vowel length in the transcriptions reflects my own listening judgements.

Dialect features

The Nahuatl spoken in the Sierra de Zongolica has some interesting features. Examples of these are noted in the stories, especially in “The Woman and the Water”.

1. Deletion of word-final /n/ is very common in Zongolica, as in many modern dialects.

2. Both /w/ and /k/ have phonetic variants which occur between vowels. Intervocalic /w/ is often an unrounded voiced bilabial stop or fricative, represented in the transcriptions by *b*. For example, *ibuan* ‘and’ is often written as *iban* to indicate that the /w/ is unrounded.

Similarly, intervocalic /k/ is often pronounced as a voiced velar stop or fricative, represented by *g*. An example is *xiguita* ‘look!’.

3. Certain verbs take a *-qui* past tense singular suffix, parallel to the much more common *-que* past tense plural suffix. The examples below are taken from the texts:

<i>mócuepqui</i>	‘it turned into something’
<i>otlanqui</i>	‘it ended’
<i>onébnenqui</i>	‘he walked’
<i>oquitlábtlanqui</i>	‘he asked for it’
<i>oquítequi</i>	‘he cut it’
<i>ocuálanqui</i>	‘he became angry’

4. As the above examples show, past tense singular *-qui* is often accompanied by antepenult stress. Antepenult stress also occurs frequently with the absolutive suffixes *-tli* and *-li* (but not *-tl*) and the plural noun suffix *-ti(n)*. Rarely, antepenult stress occurs with the *-meh* noun plural suffix, the *-que* past tense plural suffix and the *-ni* and *-qui* nominalizing suffixes:

<i>tlámantli</i>	‘thing’
<i>pinoitlábtolli</i>	‘foreign language’
<i>macébaltib</i>	‘common people’
— the <i>-tin</i> plural noun suffix often becomes <i>-ti(b)</i>	
<i>cámobtín</i>	‘sweet potatoes’
<i>nó:chimeb</i>	‘prickly pear fruits’
<i>onébnenque</i>	‘they walked’
<i>técuaní</i>	‘coyote’
<i>tiópíxqui</i>	‘saint, priest’

These stress changes are at least sometimes optional. A single talker can pronounce a word with antepenult, and at other times with penultimate stress.

5. Word-final [e] is sometimes raised to [i]. This can be confusing, especially when the vowel in the *-ke* past tense plural suffix is raised to *-ki*, which is the same as the past tense singular suffix.

6. When it occurs at the end of a syllable, /w/ is devoiced. When the devoiced /w/ retains the bilabial feature, it sounds almost like [f], and is spelled *ub*, as in *xiubyo* 'leaves'. The /w/ in this environment is also commonly reduced to [h].

Devoicing of /w/ also occurs in the *-huan* suffix of the three pronouns *tebbhuan* 'we', *nomebbhuan* 'you plural' and *yebbhuan* 'they'. The first *b* in the spelling is pronounced [h], while the following *bu* is a bilabial devoiced /w/. Note that the spelling of these three words does not indicate the devoicing.

There are a few examples of an unusual sound change involving word-final [w]. The singular past tense forms of the verbs *cabua* 'remain' and *chihua* 'make, do' would be expected to end in a bilabial devoiced *w* (*omocaub* and *oquichiub*) or [h]. While the word-final segment of these words is often [h], it is never a bilabial devoiced *w*. Infrequently the past tense forms are *omocan* and *oquichin*, suggesting that word-final /w/ becomes [n]. The rarity of this sound change could be due to the strong tendency to delete word-final *n*. Indeed, a third form with no final consonant (*omoca* and *oquichi*) occurs more frequently than *omocan* and *oquichin*. This sound change occurs elsewhere.¹

¹ R. Joe Campbell, "Underlying /ŋʷ/ in Hueyapan Nahuatl", *International Journal of American Linguistics*, vol. 42 (1976), pp. 46-50.

THE WOMAN AND THE WATER

1. Nica² nochi cristiánote macé:baltih³ quemanian nochi motlacobiquibe 'n Tequila, o Zongolica, ibah oc cegui⁴ yabih hasta Orizaba, pero amo miac.
Aquí toda la gente, la gente común, a veces todos vienen para comprar a Tequila, o Zongolica, y otros van hasta Orizaba, pero no muchos.
 Here all of the common people, sometimes everyone comes to shop in Tequila, or Zongolica, and others go to Orizaba, but not many.
2. Iban otlacobaquibe tehluan⁵ nica, pues quemman amo miac tomin ticpiah.
Y vienen para comprar, nosotros aquí, pues aunque no mucho dinero tenemos.
 And they come to shop, we who are from here, but sometimes we don't have much money.
3. Zan ticualiga itlah cómati,⁶ itlah xoctzintzi, itla áhpazti, o xoctzitzintzi.
Solamente llevamos tal vez comales, tal vez ollas, tal vez jicaras, u ollitas.
 We just bring things like comals, pots, bowls or small pots.
4. Oc cigui tlámantli titlabaligah, iban ticpatlah i:ga e:tl, i:ca tlé:yolli, i:ca tzahpotl, i:ca xo:gotl, miac ce: tlapatla.
Otras cosas llevamos, y los cambiamos por frijoles, por maíz, por plátanos, por fruta, uno trueca mucho.
 We bring other things, and we trade them for beans, for corn, for bananas, for fruit, we trade a lot.
5. I:toca 'n pinotláhtolli 'toca 'trueque', pero tehluan tiquilia 'tlapátlalli'.
Se llama, en lengua extranjera se llama 'trueque', pero nosotros decimos 'tlapátlalli'.
 In Spanish it's called 'trueque', but we say 'tlapátlalli'.

² Nica is derived from *nican* 'here'. Word-final /n/ is often deleted.

³ Macé:baltib is derived from *macebualtin* 'common people'. Intervocalic /w/ becomes unrounded [b]. Word-final /n/ is not deleted, but is reduced to [h] instead. Antepenultimate stress is associated with the *-ti(n)* plural suffix.

⁴ From *cequi(n)* 'some'. Intervocalic /k/ becomes voiced [g].

⁵ This is pronounced [tehwan], with a bilabial devoiced /w/.

⁶ In *cómati*, the antepenultimate stress is associated with the *-ti(n)* suffix.

6. Zan ticpatlah i:tlah tlámantli.
Solamente trocamos algunas cosas.
 We just trade some things.

7. Nochi domingo temoba 'n cristiánoti in tlen tlapac chanchibah i'ch tepeyo.
Todos los domingos se baja la gente que vive arriba en la sierra.
 Every Sunday the people who live up in the mountains go down.

8. Huehue cha:cábilli chanchibah, nochi temobah para ma tlagoba yibe 'n ompa 'n domingo tonal.
En un bosque grande viven, todos se bajan para comprar, van allá el día domingo.
 They live in a large forest, everyone goes down to shop, they go there on Sunday.

9. Iban ce: tonal ote:moc⁷ ce: ci:batl, miac otemo:ge 'ban ce cibatl omotlagobigo 'n Tequila.
Y un día se bajó una mujer, muchos se bajaron, y una mujer vino de compras en Tequila.
 And one day a woman went down, lots of people went down, and a woman came to Tequila to shop.

10. Iban ompa nehnemi ohtli.
Y allá camina en el camino.
 And she walks down the road.

11. Pero para Atlahuilco.
Pero para Atlabuilco.
 But to Atlahuilco.

12. Pero áyimo 'gatah carretera.
Pero ya no había carretera.
 But there still wasn't any highway.

⁷ The *o-* past tense marker is usually attached to the beginning of the verb, but is sometimes omitted.

13. Zan ohtli pitzactic ogatca, zan ohpitzactzih zan para tehua otinehnemia, iba cequi yolcameh como quemi búrroti, múlati, cabáyoti.
Sólo un camino angosto había, sólo un camino muy angosto, sólo para que caminamos, con unos animales como burros, mulas, caballos.
 There was only a narrow road, just a narrow road, only for us to walk, with some animals like burros, mules or horses.

14. Pero a:mo calaquia 'n tépoztlí, o se' amo calaquia 'n camió.
Pero no entraba (carro de) metal, o sea no entraba camión.
 But vehicles don't get on it. That is, buses and trucks don't enter.

15. Oc cemi cibatl ompa nehnemi i'ch in ohtli iba tlatotonia, p's a:miqui.
Otra vez la mujer camina allá en el camino, y hace calor; pues quiere agua.
 Once again, the woman walks down the road, and it's hot, so she's thirsty.

16. Miac tlatotonia.
Hace mucho calor.
 It's very hot.

17. Quemi diciembre, enero, febrero iba marzo iban abril, iban oc cequi mayo, tlatotonia chigabac in quemaniah.
Como en diciembre, enero, febrero y marzo y abril, y también mayo, hace calor fuerte en ese entonces.
 Around December, January, February, March and April, and also May, it is extremely hot at that time.

18. Pero chigabac tlatotonia.
Pero hace calor fuerte.
 It's terribly hot.

19. Amunca miac a:tl i'ch in ohtli.
No hay mucha agua en el camino.
 There's not much water along the road.

20. Iba 'n cibatl ompa nehnemi para Atlahuilco iba amunca can quitlahtlaniz a:tl.
Y la mujer camina allá para Atlahuilco y no hay en donde pedir agua.
 And the woman walks there toward Atlahuilco and there's no place to ask for water.

21. Oquixicozqui' hasta ahciz i:galihitic, i:chah.
Lo aguantaba hasta llegar en su casa, su bogar.
 She was bearing it until she could get home to her house.
22. Iban iman ce:h ompa nehnemi, ompa nehnemi iba, oquitac ce: calli ompa gahque.
Y entonces allá camina ella, allá camina, y vio una casa que allá estuvo.
 And then she keeps walking, walking, and she saw a house there.
23. Ompa oquittac, moquetoc⁸ ce: cibatl.
Allá vio una mujer parada.
 She saw a woman standing there.
24. Iban quiliah, oquili, quilia, "Xicchiuhtia, nimitztlatlauhtia⁹ cequi a:tzintli tech-tliocoli, nia:miqui miac."
Y dice, dijo, dice, "Hazme un favor, le pido, deme agua, muero de sed."
 And she says, she said, she says, "Do me a favor, I ask you, give me some water, I'm dying of thirst."
25. Iban cibatl tlen cahqui i:galihitic oquili, quilia, "¿A:tl? ¿A:tl? Niga a:tl amunca. Nica a:tl ce: quico:ba."
Y la mujer que estaba en su casa dijo, dice, "¿Agua? ¿Agua? Aquí no hay agua. Aquí el agua se compra."
 And the woman who is in her house said, she says, "Water? Water? There's no water here. Here you buy water."
26. Iban cibatl tlen nehnemi moyolcoco miac.
Y la mujer que camina era muy triste .
 And the woman who was walking was very sad.
27. Omoteguiacho. Quemi oquineguia cho:caz .
Se entristeció. Como que quería llorar.
 She became really sad. Like she wanted to cry.

⁸ *Moquetoc* is derived from *moquetztoc*. The *tz* + *t* consonant cluster is reduced to *t*. The usual *o-* past tense prefix is not present.

⁹ Both *xicchiubtia* (from *chibua* 'make, do') and *nimitztlatlaubtia* (from *tlaubtia* 'ask') contain examples of syllable-final bilabial devoiced /w/, spelled *ub*.

28. Porque a:miqui za panoba iba itlamamal ompa nehnemi ohtli.
Porque tiene mucha sed, solamente pasó con su bulto, allá camina por el camino.
 Because she was thirsty she just continues on with her baggage, she walks down the road.
29. Iban chicabac tlatotonia.
Y hace muchísimo calor.
 And it is extremely hot.
30. Iba onéhnenqui¹⁰ canáh eyi ciento metro o menos, iban oahcic ce: tientahtzin tlanamaga ompa refresco. Ompa oquittac in tiópixqui, ompa conitoc ce: limonada o refresco.
Y anduvo como trescientos metros o menos, y llegó a una tienda, se vende allá refrescos. Allá ella vio al sacerdote, allá tomaba una limonada o un refresco.
 And she walked three hundred meters or so, and came to a stand where a man was selling soft drinks. There she saw the priest, drinking a lemonade or a soft drink.
31. Quilia, “Neh, nia:miqui.”
Dice, “Yo estoy muriendo de sed.”
 She says, “I’m very thirsty.”
32. Quilia, “¿Tlen timochiba?”
Él dice, “¿Qué te pasa?”
 He says, “What’s the matter?”
33. Quilia, “Neh, nia:miqui.”
Ella dice, “Estoy muriendo de sed.”
 She says, “I’m very thirsty.”
34. “Ah,” quilia, “Xiballa, nocone. Xibala.”
“Ah”, dice, “Venga, mi niña. Venga.”
 “Ah,” he says, “Come, my child. Come.”
35. Iba oquibigac cana veinte metro o menos iban oahcoc in tiópixqui ce: tetl.
Y la llevó como veinte metros, más o menos, y levantó el sacerdote una piedra.
 And he brought her about twenty meters or so, and the priest lifted up a stone.

¹⁰ The antepenultimate stress is associated with the *-qui* past tense singular suffix.

36. Iban ompa oquizqui cequi a:tl. Miac a:tl. Hasta xoxobic.
Y allá vino saliendo agua. Mucha agua. Hasta azul.
 And some water came pouring out from there. A lot of water. Blue water.
37. Iban popozocatoc in a:tl, ompa oquizqui, mo:mo:lo:ca.
Y el agua fue hirviéndose, allá salió, burbujea.
 And the water went boiling out from there, billowing up.
38. Iban quilia, "Xiconi a:tl," oquihto 'n tiópixqui.
Y dice, "Tome agua", dijo el sacerdote.
 And he says, "Drink the water," said the priest.
39. Iban cibatl oconic in a:tl cuando oc cequi cibame ompa balaya motlatoba.
Y la mujer tomó el agua, cuando otras mujeres llegaron allá, hablándose.
 And the woman drank the water, when some other women came up, talking among themselves.
40. Iban can cibatl oquitláhtlanqui 'n a:tl, 'n ihquin cibatl ompa balmotlaloba, quilia tiópixqui, "Neh igual nicnegui a:tl."
Y donde la mujer pidió el agua, así esta mujer corre allá y dice al sacerdote, "Yo también quiero agua."
 And where the woman asked for water, this woman also comes running and says to the priest, "I want water too."
41. Quilia, "¿Teh?". Quilia, "Teh, a:mo." Quilia, "Omehhuan a:mo. Zan yeh 'n cibatl iba a:mo oc achi."
Él dice, "¿Ud.?" Dice, "Ud., no." Dice, "Uds., no. Solamente ella, esta mujer, y ninguna otra."
 He says, "You?" He says, "You, no." He says, "None of you. Only her, this woman, and no one else."
42. Iban ompa omogahque ome yolgogohque ciba:me, a:mo guimagac in a:tl in tiópixqui.
Y entonces quedaron tristes las dos mujeres, el sacerdote no les dio el agua.
 And then the two women were sad that the priest didn't give them any water.

43. Tiópixqui oguihto, quilia, "A:mo. Zan ye ye: 'n cibatl, za ce: cibatl. Omehhua, a:mo. Níon teh, a:mo." Ihcón.
El sacerdote dijo, dice, "No. Solamente ella misma, la mujer, solamente una mujer. Uds., no. Ni Ud., no." Así.
 The priest said, he says, "No. Only her, the woman, only one woman. All of you, no. Not you either, no." Like that.
44. Ompa cibatl cualtzi omoyoloce:bih oconic in a:tl, iba oquito:gac in iohhui para i:chah.
Entonces la mujer se satisfizo bien, tomó el agua, y siguió su camino para su casa.
 Then the woman drank the water until she was completely satisfied, and followed the road to her house.
45. Iba oc cequi cibame ihcón omogahque omoyolcocoque, y pero achto quit-lahtlani cibatl, quilia, "¿Aquin teh?"
Y las otras mujeres así estaban, tristes, pero primero una mujer le pregunta, dice, "¿Quién es Ud.?"
 And the other women were sad like this, but first a woman asks him, she says, "Who are you?"
46. Quilia, "¿Neh?" Quilia, "Neh, nitiópixqui."
Dice, "¿Yo?" Dice, "Yo, soy sacerdote."
 He says, "Me?" He says, "I am a priest."
47. "Ah, titiópixqui. Ah," quilia, "tlazocamati."
"Ah, Ud. es sacerdote", dice, "Muchas gracias."
 "Ah, you are a priest", she says, "Thank you."
48. Iban ompa cibatl oyahqui para i:galihc.
Y allá la mujer fue a su casa.
 And then the woman went to her house.

THE COYOTE AND THE POSSUM

1. Ce:mi omonamiqueh o:me yo:lcameh, ce: te:cuani iban tlacuatzi omonamiqueh, iban onénhenqueh i'ch in a:caba:llo cuando oquizatoc cecan can' oncah miac tlatogal tzopello.

Una vez se encontraron dos animales, un coyote y un tlacuache se encontraron, y anduvieron en el campo, entonces salieron juntos donde hay un campo sembrado de nopal.

Once two animals met, a coyote and a possum met, and they walked in the countryside, then they came out together in a field where there are many plantings of sweet fruits.

2. Huan ompa omotlalihe yitoqueh huan ocahciqueh nica nohpallo iban miac nó:chimeh.

Y allá se sentaron, se pusieron y llegaron en el lugar de los muchos nopales y muchas tunas.

And then they sat down, put themselves down; they arrived here at the prickly pear cactuses and fruits.

3. Huan ompa quilia, o:quili in tlacuatzi, quilia, "Xiquita coyote," oquihto tlacuachi.

Y entonces dice el tlacuache, dijo, "Mira, coyote", dijo el tlacuache.

And then the possum says, he said, "Look, coyote," said the possum.

4. Quihtoba, "Xiquita coyote, xiquita mi:ac nohpallo. Miac nó:chimeh oncate."

Dice, "Mira coyote, mira los muchos nopales. Muchas tunas hay."

He says, "Look coyote, look at all the prickly pear cactuses. There are a lot of fruits."

5. Quilí, quihtoba 'n coyote, quihtoba, "Que:mah." Quihtoba, "Miac oncate."

Dice el coyote, dice, "Sí." Dice, "Hay muchas."

He says, the coyote says, he says, "Yes." He says, "There are a lot."

6. Quihtoba, "¿Mach mitzpa:ctia?" oquitlahtlani in coyote.

Dice, "¿Tal vez te gustan?", le preguntó al coyote.

He says, "Maybe you like them?" he asked the coyote.

7. Quihtoba 'n coyote, 'toba, "Que:ma, ne:chpa:ctia." Toba, "Ne:chpa:ctia miac."

Dice el coyote, dice, "Sí, me gustan." Dice, "Me gustan mucho."

The coyote says, he says, "Yes, I like them." He says, "I like them a lot."

8. "Buenoh" oquihto in tlacuatzin, quihtoba, "Ompa, ompa xi:mochia, ompa xi:mochia nictequi ce:, ma: nicxi:pebas, ihuan ticmace:biz, ticcua:z."
"Bueno", dijo el tlacuache, dice, "Allá, allá espera, allá espera mientras yo corto uno, yo lo pelaré, y lo beberás, lo comerás."
 "Okay", said the possum, he says, "There, wait there, wait there, while I cut one, let me peel it, and you'll enjoy it, you'll eat it."

9. Quihtoba 'n coyote, "Mmm hmm."
El coyote dice, "Mmm hmm."
 The coyote says, "Mmm hmm."

10. Tlacuatzi yoquixi:pe no:chtli iban, huan oquili, "Coyote," quilia, "Xiquintzacua mi:xtelolobah hua xictla:pohto mocamac."
El tlacuache peló la tuna y dijo, "Coyote", dice, "Cierra los ojos y abre la boca."
 The possum peeled the prickly pear fruit and said, "Coyote," he says, "Close your eyes and open your mouth."

11. Oquili, quilia, "Xi:hcopi, ibá xi:ctlapo mocamac."
Dijo, dice, "Cierra los ojos y abre la boca."
 He said, he says, "Close your eyes and open your mouth."

12. Quihtoba 'n coyote, "Ahá." Iban oquitla:lili 'n no:chtli i:camac.
El coyote dice, "Ahá." Y le puso la tuna en la boca.
 The coyote says, "Aha." And he put the fruit in his mouth.

13. "Tzope:lic". Quihtoba 'n coyote, 'quihto, "Ah," quihtoba, "Hue:lic mi:ac."
"Dulce". Dice el coyote, dice, "Ah", dice, "Muy sabroso."
 "Sweet". The coyote says, he says, "Ah," he says, "Very delicious."

14. Quihtoba 'n tlacuatzi, quihtoba, "De veras." 'Toba, "Que:ma. Ne:lli hue:lic miac."
Dice el tlacuache, dice, "De veras." Dice, "Sí. En verdad muy sabroso."
 The possum says, he says, "Really." He says, "Yes. Really very delicious."

15. Quilia, "¿Oc ce: ticnequi?" Quilia, quihtoba in coyote, quihtoba, "Que:ma. Oc ce: nicnequi."
Dice, "¿Otro quieres?" Habla, dice el coyote, dice, "Sí. Quiero otro."
 He says, "Do you want another?" He says, the coyote says, "Yes. I want another."

16. Quihtoba 'n tlacuatzi, quihtoba, "Xi:mochia. Orita. Oc ce: nictequiz."
Dice el tlacuache, dice, "Espera. Aborita. Voy a cortar otro."
 The possum says, he says, "Wait. Just a second. I'll cut another."
17. Hua tlacuatzi oyahqui 'ba oc ce: oquítequi no:chtli, iban oquili goyote, quilia,
 "Xi:hco:pto, iban ximocama:tlapo." Quili 'ba, "Nimitzmacaz in tzope:lic."
Y el tlacuache fue y cortó otra tuna, y dijo al coyote, dice, "Cierra los ojos y abre la boca." Y dice, "Te daré la (fruta) dulce."
 And the possum went and cut another fruit, and he said to the coyote, he says, "Close your eyes, and open your mouth." And he says, "I'll give you the sweet fruit."
18. Ne:lli coyote oquitlapo 'n i:camac iban i:hcopitoca.
De veras el coyote abrió la boca y cerró los ojos.
 The coyote really did open his mouth and close his eyes.
19. Ibá tlacuatzin oquitlalili 'n no:chtin nochi 'ban ibi:tzoh.
Y el tlacuache puso las tunas todas con sus espinas.
 And the possum put in all the prickly pear fruits with their thorns.
20. Ibán, huan tlacuatzi omo:tlaloh, oyahqui .
Y el tlacuache corrió, se fue .
 And the possum ran away, he left.
21. Oyahqui asta oahcito i'ch cequi téco:chtli.
Anduvo hasta que llegó en un llano.
 The coyote walked until he arrived in a plain.
22. Ompa oquimahcic cequi tzohpilomeh ompah, ompa quintlahtoc.
Allá se acercó a unos zopilotes allá, allá los miró.
 There he came near some buzzards that were there, and looked at them.
23. Ibá, mientras que coyotih yi ompa mocamata:taca ica 'n bi:tztlí, quicocoba miac in icamac.
Y mientras tanto el coyote allá se rasca la boca con las espinas, le duele mucho la boca.
 And while the coyote is there scratching his mouth with the thorns, his mouth hurts a lot.

24. Ompa tipitzi yopahtic icamac ibán coyote opéh nehnemi, nehnemi, nehnemi miac. Nehnemi miac ibá.
Luego se mejoró un poco la boca y el coyote comenzó a caminar, caminar, caminar mucho. Y camina mucho.
 Then his mouth healed a little and the coyote began to walk, walk, walk a lot. And he walks a lot.
25. Hasta ce:pan ihqui omp' ocahcito in tlacuatzih i'ch tégochtli ca:n tlahpixtoc ican totolimeh.
Hasta así llegó junto al tlacuache en el llano donde estaba cuidando los guajolotes.
 Until in this way he arrived there near the possum in the plain where he was tending the turkeys.
26. “Bueno, 'mpa,” quihto, quihtoba, “Ah,” quihtoba, “Ne:can tlacuatzi,” quihtoba, “Ye nega,” quihtoba.
“Bueno, allá está”, dijo, dice, “Ab”, dice, “Allá está el tlacuache”, dice, “Él está allá”.
 “Good, there he is,” he said, he says, “Ah,” he says, “There is the possum,” he says, “He’s there.”
27. “Securo que ye ne:ca. Ne:lli. Ye ne:ca.”
“Seguro que él está allá. En verdad. Él está allá.”
 “He is certainly there. Really. He is there.”
28. Huan ompa o:cahcito omotoqui¹¹ i:nabac ibá o:quili, quilia, “Teh,” quilia, “Teh, tlacuatzi,” quilia, “ote:chi:ztlacabi.”¹²
Y entonces lo alcanzó y se acercó a él, siguió cerca de él y dijo, dice, “Tú”, dice, “Tú, tlacuache”, dice, “Me engañaste.”
 And then he reached him, came up to him and said, he says, “You,” he says, “You, possum,” he says, “You tricked me.”
29. Huan quihtoba in tlacuatzi, tlana:nquilia, quihtoba, “Neh,” quihtoba, “Amo ne:lli neh.”
Y el tlacuache dice, contesta, dice, “¿Yo?” dice, “Yo no, en verdad.”
 And the possum says, he answers, he says, “Me?” he says, “Not me, really.”

¹¹ From *toca* ‘follow’. The *-qui* is the past tense singular suffix mentioned in the introduction.

¹² The *tech-* prefix can be used instead of the *ti- nech-* subject and object prefixes.

30. Quihtoba, "A la mejor nocniba, notahhua, o oc cequin miac nocniba. A:mo neh."
Dice, "A lo mejor mis hermanos, mis parientes, o otros de mis muchos hermanos. Yo no."
 He says, "Maybe my brothers, my parents, or some of my many other relatives. Not me."
31. Quihtoba, "Tu que:ma, yen teh." Quihtoba, "Teh ote:chtla:lili 'n no:chtli noca-mac iba o:tlanc' onimo:tzohtzopiti. Onétzohpiti no:xtli."
Dice, "Sí, tú. Eres tú." Dice, "Tú me pusiste la tuna en la boca y resultó (que) me piqué muchas veces. Me picó la tuna."
 He says, "Yes, you. It's you." He says, "You put the prickly pear fruit in my mouth and I ended up pricking myself a lot. The fruit pricked me."
32. Quihtoba 'n tlacuatzi, "A:mo neh. A:mo neh." Quihtoba, "Ne:lli, a:mo neh."
Dice el tlacuache, "Yo, no. Yo, no." Dice, "De veras, yo no."
 The possum says, "Not me. Not me." He says, "Really, not me."
33. Quihtoba 'n coyote, "Ne:lli que:ma, yen teh, nimitzi:xmati."
Dice el coyote, "En verdad sí, eres tú, te conozco."
 The coyote says, "Really yes, it's you, I know you."
34. Quihtoba, "¿Pero que:n techi:xmati si mi:ac nocniba' niguimpiya?"
Dice, "¿Pero cómo me conoces si tengo muchos hermanos?"
 He says, "¿But how do you know me if I have a lot of relatives?"
35. Huan o:quihto 'n tlacuatzi, quihtoba, "A:mo xi:cualani."
Y el tlacuache dijo, dice, "No te enojas."
 And the possum said, he says, "Don't get mad."
36. Quihtoba 'n coyote, "¿Quen a:mo nicualaniz?" quihtoba, "si one:chtzopiti miac in ican no:chtli."
Dice el coyote, "¿Cómo no me voy a enojar?" dice, "si me picó mucho la tuna."
 The coyote says, "How am I not going to get mad," he says, "since you pricked me a lot with the prickly pear fruit?"
37. Ihuan ompa: quilia, "A:mo ximalo," quilia, "Te:xibili ce favor."
Y entonces dice, "No seas malo", dice, "Hazme un favor."
 And then the possum says, "Don't be bad," he says, "Do me a favor".

38. Quilia, “¿Tle:n favor?”
Dice, “¿Qué favor?”
 He says, “What favor?”
39. Quilia, “Pos neh nia:pizmiqui miac, iban nicnequi xiguimpixto nototolibah, iba' neh ma: nitlacuati. Huan a:mo nibehcabaz, za:n niman nibitz. Zan rápido nibitz.”
Dice, “Pues tengo mucha hambre, y quiero que cuides mis guajolotes, y mientras yo vaya para comer. Y no me voy a demorar, ahorita vengo. Rápido vengo.”
 He says, “Well, I’m really hungry, and I want you to watch my turkeys and let me go eat. And I won’t be gone long, I’ll come back soon. I’ll come back quickly.”
40. Huan oquihto coyotih, quihtoba, “Pero neh nihqui napizmigui.”
Y dijo el coyote, dice, “Pero yo también tengo hambre.”
 And the coyote said, he says, “But I’m hungry too.”
41. Oquihto tlacuatzi, “Pero,” quihtoba, “Oc achi miac napizmiqui. Iba za: no:ntlacuati iban nima' nibitz.”
Dijo el tlacuache, “Pero”, dice, “Yo tengo más hambre. Y voy allá solamente para comer y entonces vengo.”
 The possum said, “But,” he says, “I’m hungrier. And I’ll go there just to eat, and then I’ll come back.”
42. Huan 'dos oquihto goyotih, quihtoba, “Que:ma.”
Y entonces dijo el coyote, dice, “Sí.”
 And then the coyote said, he says, “Okay.”
43. Oquili 'n tlacuatzi, guili', “Ah,” quilia, “Xiguitá. Tla tia:pizmiqui, cua:ltiz ticuaz ce:n noto:to:li. O o:me. O za:n tlen ticneguiz.”
Dijo el tlacuache, dice, “Ah”, dice, “Mira. Si tienes hambre, puedes comer un guajolote. O dos. O cuantos quieras.”
 The possum said, “Ah,” he says, “Look. If you’re hungry, you can eat a turkey. Or two. Or just as many as you want.”
44. Hua yi nell' omogan, omocan¹³ te:cuani ompa. Mo:chixtoc 'i:mpixtoc in to:tolimeh.
Y en verdad se quedó, se quedó el coyote allá. Miraba, cuidaba los guajolotes.
 And so he did stay there, the coyote remained there. He was watching, looking after the turkeys.

¹³ Following the loss of word-final *a* in /kawa/ in the preterite, final /w/ changes to /n/ as discussed under (6) in the “Introduction”.

45. Ihua tlacuhtzi oyahqui o:tlacuato. Pero a:mo nell' otlacuato, ye za:n oyahqui, oyahqui.

Y el tlacuache se fue, fue para comer. Pero no verdaderamente fue para comer, sino solamente se fue, se fue.

And the possum left, he went to eat. But he didn't really go to eat, he just left, went away.

46. Huan te:cuani yo:mochia horas iban horas quichixtoc iban. Tlacuatzi a:mo ehco.

Y el coyote esperó, horas y horas estaba esperándole. El tlacuache no llega.

And the coyote waited, for hours and hours he waited for him. The possum doesn't arrive.

47. Quihtoba 'n te:cuani, 'toba, "Axan itlen nicchibaz?, na:pizmiqui miac. Huan tlacuatzi viejo a:mo bitz. Neh na:pizmiqui." Quihtobá:, oquihto te:cuani, quihtoba, "tla na:pizmigui ma: nicua 'n ce: to:tolin o o:mi."

Dice el coyote, dice, "Ahora ¿qué voy a hacer?, tengo mucha hambre. Y el tlacuache viejo no viene. Yo tengo hambre." Dice, dijo el coyote, dice, "si tengo hambre que yo coma un guajolote o dos."

Says the coyote, he says, "Now what will I do, I am very hungry. And the old possum isn't coming. I'm hungry." Says the coyote, he says, "Since I'm hungry I should eat one or two turkeys."

48. Hua yi nelli te:cuani opeh guinguitzquiá, quihtoba, "¿Quiquitzquiz ce:n to:toli? A:mo cualti. Opátlanqui. ¿Quiquitzquiz oc ce:? A:mo cualti. Igual opatlan."¹⁴ Oc ce quiquitzquiz, ihuan a:mo cualti. Nochi opátlanque."

Y en verdad el coyote comenzó a agarrarlos, dice, "¿Agarrar un guajolote? No es posible. Voló. ¿Agarrar otro? No es posible. También voló." Trató de agarrar otro, pero no pudo. Todos volaron."

And so the coyote began to catch them, he says, "Catch a turkey? It's impossible. It flew away. Catch another one? It's impossible. It flew away too." He tried to catch another, but he couldn't. They all flew away.

49. Hasta que nochi opatlanc' ibá a:mo ce: oquitzquizqui.

Hasta que todos volaron y no agarró uno.

Until they all flew away and he didn't catch one.

¹⁴ It is interesting that two different 3rd person singular past tense forms of *patlani* are used in this passage.

50. Iban te:cuani yeh apizmigui miac. Huan ocuálanqui miac.
Y el coyote tenía mucha hambre. Y se enojó mucho.
 And the coyote is very hungry. And he became very angry.
51. Ocuálanqui miac iba, porque nochi oyahqui in to:tolime o:pa:tlanqui.
Se enojó mucho por eso porque todos los aves se volaron.
 And he became very angry about this because all the birds flew away.
52. Porque onéhnenci in tecuani, onehnenc, onehnenc, onehnenqui miac.
Por eso caminó el coyote, caminó, caminó, caminó mucho.
 So the coyote walked, he walked, walked, walked a lot.
53. Huan hasta oahcito ca:n ce: tla:yimpan.
Y por fin llegó en un chapeo para milpa.
 And finally he arrived in a place cleared for a cornfield.
54. Iban ompa pano:tibitz in tla:yimpa' ihquí.
Y entonces pasó en el chapeo rápidamente, así.
 And then he passed into the cleared area quickly, like this.
55. Hua tlatlahco quihtoba, “¿Nica a:quin?” quihtoba. “¿Nica a:qui?” Toba, “Ne:ca ye: 'n tlacuatzi.”
Y en el centro del chapeo para milpa dice, “¿Quién está aquí?”, dice, “¿Quién está aquí?” Dice, “Allá está, el tlacuache.”
 And in the middle of the cleared area he says, “Who is here?” he says, “Who is here?”
 He says, “There he is, the possum.”
56. Hua nell' ompa oquitac iban oahcito, quilia, quilia, “Teh,” quilia, “Teh, nimitzixmati.”
Y en verdad allá lo vió y fue para agarrarlo, y dice, dice, “Tú”, dice, “Tú, te conozco.”
 And indeed there he saw him and went to grab him, and he says, says he, “You,” he says, “I know you.”
57. Quilia, “Teh ote:chiztlagabic. Tiquihtoba to:tolimeh ma: niguimpia.”
Dice, “Tu me engañaste. Me pediste cuidar los guajolotes.”
 He says, “You tricked me. You told me to watch over the turkeys.”

58. Quihtoba in tlacuatzi, quihtoba, “¿Neh?” quihtoba, “Neh, a:mo nelli. Ne,” quihtoba, “de por si nica nicha:nti.” Quihtoba, “Ne de por si nica nicha:nti. A:mo neh.”
El tlacuache dijo, dice, “¿Yo?”, dice, “Yo, no es cierto que yo”, dice, “De todos modos, vivo aquí.” Dice, “De todos modos yo vivo aquí. Yo no.”
 The possum said, he says, “Me?”, he says, “Me, it really wasn’t me,” he says, “Besides, I live here.” He says, “Besides, I live here. Not me.”
59. Quihtoba, “Tehhuan nican yohuehca nican ticha:ntih.”
Dice, “Aquí estamos lejos, vivimos aquí.”
 He says, “Here we are far away, we live here.”
60. Oquilihque in te:cuani, quilia, “Ximotla:li, te:cuani. Ximotla:li.”
Dijeron al coyote, dicen, “Siéntate, coyote. Siéntate.”
 They said to the coyote, they say, “Sit down, coyote, sit down.”
61. Quihtoba in tecuani, quihtoba, “A:mo. Porque nicualani miac.”
Dice el coyote, dice, “No. Porque estoy muy enojado.”
 The coyote says, he says, “No. Because I’m very angry.”
62. Quilia, “¿Tleca ticualani? A:mo xicualani. Ximotla:li huan titlacuazque.”
Dicen, “¿Por qué te enojas? No te enojas. Siéntate y comeremos.”
 They say, “Why are you angry? Don’t be angry. Sit down and we’ll eat.”
63. Quihtoba tecuani, “Neh a:mo nitlacuaz. A:mo niapizmiqui. Porque neh ya yi nia.”
Dice el coyote, “No comeré. No tengo hambre. Porque ya me voy.”
 The coyote says, “I won’t eat. I’m not hungry. Because I’m leaving now.”
64. Quihtoba in tlacuatzi, quilia, “Te:cuani, a:mo xia. Ximotlali, ma titlacuaca.”
Dice el tlacuache, dice, “Coyote, no te vayas. Siéntate, vamos a comer.”
 The possum says, he says, “Coyote, don’t go. Sit down, let’s eat.”
65. Quihtoba, “A:mo.”
Dice, “No.”
 He says, “No.”
66. Quihtoba, “O, ximotla:li. Ma titlacuaca. Moba titlacuazque.”
Dice, “Oh, siéntate. Vamos a comer. Contigo comeremos.”
 He says, “Oh, sit down. Let’s eat. We will eat with you.”

67. Quihtoba 'n coyote, "Hueno," quihtoba, "Pos ma titlacuacah."
Dice el coyote, "Bueno", dice, "pues, vamos a comer."
 The coyote says, "Okay," he says, "Let's eat then."
68. Huan ompan nochiyo tlacuahque y' ompa motlapobiya, motlapobitoque, huan quili, ompa niman oquihto tlacuatzi, quilia, "Axan teh, tecuani," quilia, "Axan nigan timocabas nogalihtic."
Y allá en la nopalera comieron, y allá hablan, charlaron, y dijo, entonces dijo el tlacuache, dice, "Abora tú, coyote", dice, "Abora aquí te quedarás en mi casa."
 And there in the prickly pear field they ate, and there they talked, they talked and he said, then the possum said, he says, "Now you, coyote," he says, " Now you will stay here in my house."
69. Quilia iban, "A:mitla mitzpoloz," quilia, "Nigan ximocaba."
Y dice, "No perderás nada", dice, "Quédate aquí."
 And he says, "You won't miss anything," he says, "Stay here."
70. Oquihto tecuani, quihtoba, "A:mo," quihtoba, "Neh yi nia."
Dijo el coyote, dice, "No", dice, "Ya me voy."
 The coyote said, he says, "No," he says, "I'm going now."
71. 'Toba, "A:mo xia." Quihtoba 'n tlacuatzi, quihtoba, "A:mo xia. Nica ximogaba.
Dice, "No te vayas." Dice el tlacuache, dice, "No te vayas. Quédate aquí."
 He says, "Don't go." The possum says, he says, "Don't go. Stay here."
72. Quihtoba 'n técuani, "Bueno, ma: nimocaba nica."
Dice el coyote, "Bueno, me quedo aquí."
 The coyote says, "Okay, I'll stay here."
73. Quihtoba 'n tlacuatzi, quihtoba, "A:mo itla mitzpoloz. Cuiltiz nican titlacuaz. Zan tlen mitzpa:ctiz. Cuiltiz titlacuaz."
Dice el tlacuache, dice, "Nada perderás. Podrás comer aquí. Lo que te guste. Podrás comer."
 The possum says, "You won't miss anything. You will be able to eat here. Just whatever you please. You'll be able to eat."
74. Quihtoba 'n tecuani, "Bueno, que:ma," quihtoba.
Dice el coyote, "Bueno, sí", dice.
 The coyote says, "Okay, yes," he says.

75. Quilia, quihtoba, "Porque tehhuaxcan ilbitl ticpiazque axca neh noolbiuh, iban bitze tlatzotzonque, iba miac cuétetin quintoponizque. Miac tiquincacabazque in cuétetin."

Dice, dice, "Porque ahora nosotros tendremos una fiesta, ahora es mi fiesta, y van a venir músicos, y tronaremos muchos cobetes. Vamos a tirar muchos cobetes."

He says, he says, "Because now we will have a party, now it's my party, and musicians will come, and we'll set off lots of fireworks. We'll shoot off lots of fireworks."

76. "Cuando oticaquiz tlatohotoni, teh tipebas titzihtzicuiz, timihtotiz, iban tehhuax tibalazque nican porque tlatzotzonazque ican violin, ican guitarra, tlatzotzonazque cualtzi. Iban miac in cuétetin tiquincacabazque."

"Cuando oyes el ruido, tú comenzarás a saltar, a bailar, y nosotros vendremos aquí porque tocarán el violín, la guitarra, tocarán bien. Y tronaremos muchos cobetes."

"When you hear the booming, you'll start to jump and dance, and we'll come here because they'll play the violin and the guitar, they'll play well. And we'll set off lots of fireworks."

77. Quihtoba, "En cuanto ticaquiz tlatohotoni, entonces xitzi:tzicuini 'hua ximih-toti,' quilia.

Entonces dice, "Cuando oyes que truenan, entonces que saltes y bailes", dice.

Then he says, "When you hear the crackling sound, then jump around and dance," he says.

78. Quihtoba in tecuani, quilia, "Que:ma. Ihcón nicchibas."

Dice el coyote, dice, "Sí, lo haré así."

Says the coyote, he says, "Yes. That's what I'll do."

79. Hua nelli oyahque in tlacuatzin iba icniban oyahque.

Y en verdad se fueron, el tlacuache con sus hermanos, se fueron.

And so they left, the possum and his relatives, they went away.

80. Entós in tláintli oquixotlaltihque ihquín nochi tlamalacachol. Nochi tlamalagachol.

Entonces encendieron la hierba seca, así todo alrededor. Todo alrededor.

Then they set fire to the dry weeds, all around like this. All around.

81. Iban cuando ya cerca yi tlatlatibitz in calli, yehhuan tlacuatzin iba icniban oyahque.
Y cuando ya viene quemando cerca de la casa, el tlacuache y sus hermanos se fueron.
 And when the dry weeds come burning close to the house, the possum and his relatives went away .
82. Iban ompa ihcon otlatlac in tecuani.
Y entonces así se quemó el coyote.
 And then the coyote burned up like that.
83. Yeh oquihto, “Nelli ilbitl,” como ttitl quichiba miac.
El tlacuache dijo, “Verdaderamente una fiesta”, como se hizo mucho fuego.
 The possum said, “A real party,” since they made so much fire.
84. Totopocato, “Poom, poom, poom.”
Tronó, “Poom, poom, poom.”
 It popped, “Boom, boom, boom.”
85. Tlatohtoponi miac en cuanto tlatla in tláintli, o sea tláhzolli
Truena mucho cuando se quema la hierba seca, o sea basura.
 It pops a lot when it burns, the dry weeds, or trash.
86. 'Tonces ompa omoca hua nelli tzihtzicuini in tecuani, pero ðtlen quichibaz?, nochi 'ca poctli, ixmiqui, hasta choca ica miac poctli.
Entonces allá se quedó y en verdad salta el coyote, pero ¿qué va a hacer?, hay humo en todas partes, él llora, hasta que grita por tanto humo.
 Then so it was, and the coyote really jumps around, but what can he do? Everything is smoke, it's dark, he's ready to scream because of all the smoke.
87. Ompa omomiquili¹⁵ itlahco tláintli tecuantzi.
El pobre coyotito allá se murió en medio de la basura.
 The poor coyote died there in the midst of the dry weeds.

¹⁵ This is an honorific form with a benefactive suffix.

88. Hua tlacuatzi yeh nelli oyahqui, huan ompa ihcón otlanqui in tlapobáitzli de o:me de tecuani iban in tecuatzi. Ihcón otlanqui.

Y el tlacuache en verdad se fue, y ahora así termina la historia de dos, del coyote y el tlacuache. Así termina.

And the possum really went away, and so now ends the story of two, of the coyote and the possum. So it ends.

89. Cualtzi omotlahtlapobihque iba oquiztlacobihque in tecuani.

Bien hablaron entre sí y lo engañaron al coyote.

They talked to each other well and tricked the coyote.

90. Ompa omicqui. Y omicqui 'ca tilitl.

Enonces se murió. Y murió por fuego.

Then he died. And he died by fire.

SAN ISIDRO THE FARMER

1. Ce:mi oahcic ce: ta:tah quimbi:ga i:toróhhua, i:yo:lcaba. Iban oahcic. A:mo nicma:ti tle:ga ihcó otlamo:chi miac ompan A:tlahuilco.
Una vez llegó un hombre con sus toros, sus animales, y llegó. No sé por qué así sucedió todo eso en Atlahuilco.
 Once a man came bringing his bulls, his animals. And he arrived. I don't know why all of this happened in Atlahuilco.

2. Neh nicma:ti que: inon ta:ta i:toga San Isidro Labrador.
Yo sé que aquel hombre se llama San Isidro Labrador.
 I know that that man is called San Isidro the Farmer.

3. Pues onéhnnenqui de Tequila ibá opanoc A:tlahuilco.
Pues anduvo de Tequila y pasó para Atlahuilco.
 So he walked from Tequila and went to Atlahuilco.

4. Iban ompa can' cahqui 'n age:ncia, o sea tiquihuahca:pan, ompa ce:ntro in Atlahuilco, ompa oquimitac o:me ciba:me tlapa:ca, iban oquimili, quimilia, "¿Na-name, tlen onquichibah?"
Y allá donde está la presidencia municipal, o sea presidencia, allá en el centro de Atlahuilco, allá vio dos mujeres que lavaban, y les dijo, les dice, "Señoras, ¿qué hacen allá?"
 And there where the municipal building is, that is, the president's building, there in the center of Atlahuilco, there he saw two women who were washing, and he said to them, he says, "Ladies, what are you doing there?"

5. Quilia, "Te:chtlaneti¹⁶ moxi:cal," quilia, "Hua' niguimaca cequi a:tl noyol-ca:bah."
Dice, "Préstenme su jícara", dice, "y les daré agua a mis animales".
 He says, "Loan me your bowl," he says, "and I will give some water to my animals."

¹⁶ The *tech-* prefix can be used instead of the *xi-* *nech-* imperative and object prefixes.

6. Huan oquihtoqueh 'n ciba:meh, 'tobah, "¿A:tl? ¿Tiguimagas in atl yolcabah? Ti-quita nica:n a:mo o:ncah miac."
Y dijeron las mujeres, dicen, "¿Agua? ¿Va Ud. a dar agua a los animales? Ud. ve (que) aquí no hay mucha."
 And the women said, they say, "Water? You'll give water to animals? You see there isn't much here."

7. Iban Señor San Isidroh, o ce:n Ta:ta 'n San Isidro, a:mitlah oquihto.
Y Señor San Isidro, o sea Padre San Isidro, no dijo nada.
 And Señor San Isidro, that is, Father San Isidro, said nothing.

8. Zan omote:ncah.
Sólo se calló.
 He just remained silent.

9. Iban niman oquihua:liqui i:yolcaban iban oquima:gac in a:tl iyolcaban por ce:ce, iban oyahque.
Y entonces lo llevó a sus animales y les dio el agua a sus animales uno a la vez, y se fueron.
 And then he brought his animals one at a time and gave them water, and then they left.

10. 'Ba' niman ciba:meh oguitaque in a:tl, a:mitlah oncah a:tl.
Y entonces las mujeres miraron el agua, no había agua.
 And then the women looked at the water, there was no water.

11. Oba:qui cemi.
Se secó de una vez.
 It dried up all at once.

12. Ompah nima' nicmati omoyo:lcocohque ciba:me.
Entonces yo sé que estaban tristes las mujeres.
 Then I know the women were sad.

13. Omotiguipachohque tle:ga oba:ctíguizqui¹⁷ 'n a:tl.
Y estaban tristes porque el agua se secó de repente.
 And they were sad because the water suddenly dried up.

¹⁷ This past tense form with the *-qui* singular suffix and the associated antepenultimate stress is also an example of the use of the *-ti-* ligature followed by *quizá* to mean 'suddenly'.

14. Si cualli oqui:ztoca.
Si bien iba saliendo.
 Since it had been running a lot.
15. Inon ta:tah za' niman, pues cualtzi itoga, cegui itoca, momát' itoca San Isidro Labrador, mero ye: inebian totahtzi.
Ese hombre sólo entonces, pues se llama bonito, así se llama se sabe que se llama San Isidro Labrador, él mero jefe dios.
 That man only then, his name is beautiful, his name is this, it is known that his name is San Isidro Labrador, he himself the chief god.
16. Huan inon onéhnenqui canah nabi ciento me:tro, iban oquitac ce: calli cahqui, iban oquitac ce: cibatl.
Y ese hombre anduvo como cuatrocientos metros, y vio (que) hay una casa, y vio una mujer.
 And that man walked about four hundred meters, and he saw there is a house, and he saw a woman.
17. Oquili, quilia, "Na:na, nimitzlahtlanilia ce: favor. Te:chtli:ogoli cegui a:tl para noyo:lcaban."
Dijo, dice, "Señora, le pido un favor. Présteme agua para mis animales."
 He said, he says, "Ma'am, I ask you for a favor. Lend me some water for my animals."
18. Huan oquihto 'n cibatl, quilia, "iA:tl! Nica 'muncah a:tl. Nican a:tl ce: quico:ba."
Y la mujer dijo, dice, "¡Agua! Aquí no hay agua. Aquí agua se compra."
 And the woman said, she says, "Water! Here there's no water. Here you buy water."
19. Iban ta:ta San Isidro a:mo omoyolcoco.
Y el Señor San Isidro no estaba triste.
 And Señor San Isidro wasn't sad.
20. O:néhnenqui nochí ce:ntro de Atlahuilco.
Anduvo por todo el centro de Atlahuilco.
 He walked clear through the center of Atlahuilco.
21. Ipan oahcic ce a:ltepetl i:toga Xo:xo:cotla .
Entonces llegó en un pueblo llamado Xoxocotla.
 Then he came to a town called Xoxocotla.

22. Oahcic canah o:me hora tio:tlac.
Llegó como a las dos de la tarde.
 He arrived around two in the afternoon.
23. Huan ompa o:moce:bi, ihquín ipan xiuhyo, iban iyolcaban ogingah ca ma:
 tlahuahcuahtocan.
Y allá se descansó, así debajo de las hojas, y dejó sus animales apacentar.
 And there he rested, like this underneath the leaves, and he left his animals to graze.
24. Huan oquittac ce cibatl, quilia, “Nanah,” quilia, “Cequi a:tl te:chmotliyeoguili¹⁸
 para niguimagaz in noyo:lcabah.”
*Y vio una mujer, dice, “Senora”, dice, “Présteme agua para que yo la de a mis ani-
 males.”*
 And he saw a woman, he says, “Ma’am,” he says, “Lend me some water so I can give it
 to my animals.”
25. Nima cihua:tl omotla:lo, iban oquibaligac ce: cobe:ta 'n a:tl.
Entonces la mujer corrió, y llevó una cubeta de agua.
 Then the woman ran and brought a bucket of water.
26. Huan oquimác' in¹⁹ ta:ta San Isidro, quilia, “Nigan cahqui.”
Y lo dio al Señor San Isidro, dice, “Aquí está.”
 And she gave it to Señor San Isidro and says, “Here it is.”
27. Huan ta:ta: oquimác' in a:tl 'n i:yo:lcaba.
Y el hombre dio el agua a sus animales.
 And the man gave the water to his animals.
28. Hua' nima oquili ciba:tl, yeh quilia, quilia, “Na:na. Xiguimili mocnibah ma:quima:-
 chibacan incalba' nica barranca. Mo:ztla tlane:ciz. Onca ce: hue:yi a:tl.”
*Y entonces dijo a la mujer, él dice, dice, “Señora. Dícales a tu gente que quiten sus
 casas aquí en la barranca. Mañana va a aparecer. Hay un río.”*
 And then he said to the woman, he says, he says, “Ma’am. Tell your people to prepare
 their houses here in the ravine. Tomorrow it will appear. There is a river.”

¹⁸ This is an honorific form with a benefactive suffix.

¹⁹ This is *oquimacqui in*, an example of the *-qui* past tense singular suffix.

29. Hua na:na oquihto, quihtoba, “¿A:tl?” Quilia, “¿A:quin teh?”
Y la señora dijo, dice, “¿Agua?” Dice, “¿Quién es Ud.?”
 And the woman said, she says, “Water?” She says, “Who are you?”
30. Quilia, “¿Neh?” oquihto San Isidro, 'toba, “¿Neh? Neh a:mo ni:ca. Neh za nimitz-mo:lbilia que: xigunabati mocni:bah, ma: guima:chibagan incalba porque mo:ztla pa:notoz in a:tl ni:cah.”
Dice, “¿Yo?”, dijo San Isidro, dice, “¿Yo? Yo no estoy aquí. Solamente le digo a Ud. que les pida a sus hermanos que preparen las casas porque mañana el agua pasará aquí.”
 He says, “Me?” said San Isidro, he says, “Me? I am not here. I am just telling you to ask your people to prepare the houses because tomorrow the water will go running through here.”
31. Ta:ta ompa omoce:bi ce: calli oquimacaqueh, ompa ogochqui, iban i:yo:lcaban ompa oquimilpi cerca ma: tlacuahcuahtocah.
El hombre se descansó allá en una casa que le dieron, allá durmió, y ató sus animales allá cerca para que apacentaran.
 The man rested there in a house that they gave him, there he slept, and he tied his animals there nearby so they could graze.
32. Hua yi nelli oc cé tonal o:tlane:zqui, cualtzi otlane:zqui.
Y de veras al día siguiente apareció, apareció bonito.
 And when the next day dawned, it dawned beautifully.
33. Za pa:quiliztli ó:tlanezqui 'ba.
Y la felicidad apareció con él.
 And happiness appeared with it .
34. Oquitaque ce: hue:yi a:tl pano:toc. Xoxo:bic y cualtzi.
Vieron que un río pasaba. Verde y bonito.
 They saw that a river was passing by. Blue and beautiful.
35. Ba entonces oquitác' in cristiánotin, quihtobah, “Ha, tle:ca axcan uncah a:tl.”
 O:pa:queh miac.
Y cuando la gente lo vio, dicen, “Ah, ¿por qué hay agua ahora?” Estaban muy felices.
 And when the people saw it, they say, “Ah, why is there water now?” They were very happy.

36. Iban quemanian omotiguipachohque tipitzi, quihtobah, “¿A:quin o:quitla:li inon a:tl? ¿A:quin o:quitla:li?”
Y cuando se preocuparon un poco, dicen, “¿Quién puso aquel agua allá? ¿Quién la puso allá?”
 And when they became a little troubled, they say, “Who put that water there? Who put it there?”
37. Iba 'n cibatl o:quihto, quihtoba, “Pos ye: 'n ta:tah tle:n ya:la oehcoc nica, i:toca San Isidro Labrador. Iban quibaliga i:toróhhua, i:yo:lcabah.”
Y la mujer dijo, dice, “Pues era él, el hombre que ayer llegó aquí, se llama San Isidro Labrador. Y lleva sus toros, sus animales.”
 And the woman said, she says, “Well, it was him, the man who arrived here yesterday, his name is San Isidro Labrador. And he brings his bulls, his animals.”
38. Iban ompa: o:moca 'n ta:tah omp' o:guichi:bilihque 'n i:tiopan.
Y allá donde se quedó el hombre, allá le construyeron su iglesia.
 And there where the man stayed, there they constructed his church for him.
39. Ompa oquitlachihchibilihque cualtzi 'n i:tio:pan.
Allá le decoraron bien su iglesia.
 There they decorated his church for him beautifully.
40. Huan ompa omocah. Me:ro ye: 'n te:gotl.
Y allá se quedó. Él mismo es el Santo Patrono.
 And there he remained. He himself is the patron saint.
41. Mero ye: 'n ta:ta o:mpa tlanabatia a:xca Xoxocotlah.
Allá él mismo, el padre, gobierna Xoxocotla.
 There he himself, the father, rules Xoxocotla.
42. Iban i:ilbiuh ca:da cáxto:lli tó:nalli quilbitiliyah de ma:yo, cada xibitl quichi:ba 'n i:ilbiuh, cada xibitl, cada i:pan cáxto:lli tó:nalli de ma:yo ompa quichiba in ilbitl.
Y su fiesta cada quince de mayo lo celebran por él, cada año hacen su fiesta cada año, el quince de mayo allá hacen la fiesta.
 And his saint's day they celebrate in his honor every fifteenth of May, every year they have his celebration, every year, on every fifteenth day of May, then they have the celebration.

43. Miac cri:stiánotin bi:tzeh quitlahpaloqui:be ompa Xoxoco:tla mero 'n i:ilbiuh.
Mucha gente viene para visitar Xoxocotla para la fiesta.
 Many people come to visit Xoxocotla for the celebration.
44. Bi:tzeh de Tehuipa:ngo, Tlaqui:lpan, Astaci:nga, de ni:ca nochi, de San Juan Texhuaca, de nica de Zongolica, de ompa ne:pa de Temazcala:pan, de Mi:xtla, para tla:ni nica nica nochi yabe, quitlahpaloti:beh, de Tequila, nochi inon cristiánoti yabe ompa.
Vienen de Tehuipango, Tlaquilpan, Astacinga, todos de aquí, de San Juan Texhuacan, de aquí de Zongolica, de allá de Temazcalapan, de Mixtla, aquí para abajo todos van, van para visitarlo, de Tequila, todas esas personas van allá.
 They come from Tehuipango, Tlaquilpan, Astacinga, everyone from here, from San Juan Texhuacan, from here from Zongolica, from there from Temazcalapan, from Mixtla, from here they all go down, they go visit it, from Tequila, all those people go there.
45. Quitlahpalotibeh i:pan cá:xtolli de ma:yo.
Lo visitan el quince de mayo.
 They visit it on the fifteenth of May.
46. Í:lbibibah cualtzi miac.
Sus fiestas son muy bonitas.
 His festivals are very beautiful.
47. Inon a:tl ompo oguite:magac zam para yehhuan, zan para Xoxo:cotla, o se' i:toga 'n cristiánoti yoxoxocotéroti.
Esa agua allá les dio solamente para ellos, solamente para Xoxocotla, o sea el nombre de la gente es 'yoxoxocotéroti'.
 That water he gave them there, only for them, only for Xoxocotla, that is, the name of the people is 'yoxoxocotéroti'.
48. Zan para l'unicament' zam para yehhua.
Solamente para sólo ellos.
 Only for them, just them.

49. Iban inon oquichi 'n tahtah, inon a:tl oyezquia A:tlahuilco, pero comoh qui-tlazohtlaque 'n San Isidro, omp' oyahc' hasta Xoxo:cotla.

Y eso hizo el hombre, aquel agua que habría estado en Atlahuilco, pero como no lo amaban, o sea no amaban a San Isidro, allá fue para Xoxocotla.

And the man did that, that water that went to Atlahuilco, but because they loved San Isidro, it went there to Xoxocotla.

50. 'Ban ompa: ... oquimagac ce: tla:xtla:bili:ztli i:can a:tl.

Y entonces... él dio un pagamiento de agua.

And then... he gave a payment of water.

51. A:m' oc céc' oquimagac. L'unico a:tl para... a:mo que:manian quimpoloba.

Nada más dio. El único era agua para... nunca se les pierde.

Nothing more did he give. The only thing was water for... it will never fail them.

52. Mazqui tlatoto:nia mi:ac. Mazqui tle:n tlamochi:ba.

Aunque hace mucho calor. Aunque algo se hace.

Even if it is very hot. Even if something is done.

53. Pero a:tl siempre oncah. Siempre oncah.

Pero el agua siempre está. Siempre está.

But the water is always there. Always there.

THE TWO CHILDREN

1. Ce:mi oquimita:que o:me coco:ne ma:huiltitoque ompan ihquin Atlahuilco i'ch in altepetl, omp' oquimitague quimabiltitoque calla.
Una vez se vieron dos niños que llegaron para jugar así en el pueblo de Atlahuilco. Allá los vieron iban jugando cerca de una casa.
 Once they saw two children who came to play like this in the town of Atlahuilco. They saw them there where they came to play near a house.
2. Oquizqui ce: cihuatl ihuan oquimili, quimilia, "Piltomi, òtlen nican anquichiba? Xibian omogalihtic. ¿Tle:ga nigan ancate?"
Salió una mujer y les dijo, les dijo, "Niños, ¿qué hacen aquí? Váyanse a su casa. ¿Por qué están aquí?"
 A woman came out and said to them, she said to them, "Children, what are you doing here? Go home. Why are you here?"
3. Iban onxipetzihque.
Y estaban desnudos.
 And they were naked.
4. Xipetzihque, amo quimpia itzohtzol, ihcón xipetzitzinti, ce: tecotzi iba ce: chogotzi.
Estaban desnudos, no tenían su ropa, así estaban desnudos, una niña y un niño.
 They were naked, they didn't have their clothes, so they were naked, a girl and a boy.
5. Hua' niman coco:ne omoyo:lcoohque, iban ocholohque nima ihquí, ba omo-tolohque tipitzi.
Y entonces los niños se sintieron tristes, y corrieron así, y así inclinaron sus cabezas un poco.
 And then the children felt sad, and then they ran away like this, and they bowed their heads down a little.
6. Iban onehnenque cana eyi o nabi cientoh metro.
Y anduvieron como tres o cuatrocientos metros.
 And they walked about three or four hundred meters.

7. Huan ompa oc cemi omoguetzque ite:mpan ohtli, iban ompa tlapiazotoque im-ome:xti.
Y allá otra vez se pararon al lado del camino, y allá iban orinando los dos.
 And again there they stood by the side of the road, and there they urinated, the two of them.

8. Iban ce cibatl oquizqui ompah, ce cibatl oquizqui ompa iba oquitzo:ntec ce:tla:cotl iban ouimpahchili miac.
Y una mujer salió allá, una mujer salió allá y cortó un palo y los golpeó mucho.
 And then a woman came out, then a woman came out and cut a stick and beat them a lot.

9. Oquimpa:chili, pero miac.
Los golpeó, pero mucho.
 She beat them a whole lot.

10. Ihuan ce:pa ompa goco:ne omochohquilihque.
Y juntos los pobres niños lloraron.
 And the children cried together pitifully.

11. Omoyolcohque miac.
Estaban muy tristes.
 They were very sad.

12. Iban cuando cibatl tipitzi otlachiac oc ceca, coconeh ocholohque.
Y cuando la mujer miró a otro lugar por un rato, los niños buyeron.
 And when the woman looked somewhere else for a moment, the children fled.

13. Cibatl amo quimitac can' oyahque 'n cocone.
La mujer no vio a donde fueron los niños.
 The woman didn't see where the children went.

14. Cuand' oguihto, "¿Ba axcan canin cateh? Hmm. Hmm. Huan ompa amonca."
Entonces dijo, "Y ahora ¿dónde están? Hmm. Hmm. Y no están allá."
 Then she said, "And now where are they? Hmm. Hmm. And they aren't there."

15. Amo 'quima 'n cibatl aquin 'iman yehhua.
Entonces no sabía la mujer quienes eran.
 The woman didn't know then who they were.

16. Cox totahtzitzintih, cox cualquiera cocone.
Tal vez dioses, tal vez algunos niños.
 Maybe gods, maybe just some children.

17. A:mo quimati.
No sabe.
 She doesn't know.

18. Hua ino cocone ohualahque nica i'ch in tepetl Tlatzcayo, iban ompa omocahque.
Y esos niños llegaron aquí en el cerro Tlatzcayo, y allá se quedaron.
 And those children arrived here at Tlatzcayo Hill, and they stayed there.

19. Ompa hualtlapiazotoque.
Allá vinieron para orinar.
 They came there to urinate.

20. Tlapiazotoque es que mach tlapíaztli, sino que a:tl, chipa:bak a:tl, ompa qui-
 mimilotoque para tla:ni, para nicam, pa tlachixtoque para Zongolica.
Orinaron, es que no era orina, sino agua, agua limpia, allá regaron hacia abajo,
para aquí, miraron para Zongolica.
 They urinated not urine, but water, clean water, they came to spill it down below,
 toward here, they looked toward Zongolica.

21. Bueno, iquím para tlani tlachixtoque.
Bueno, así para abajo miraban.
 Well, like this they were looking down.

22. Hua cepa amo 'n quimatia cristiánotin, pero niman cequi tochtocaque ompa
 opanohque.
Y primero la gente no sabía (que estaban allá los niños), pero entonces algunos
vinieron para cazar y pasaron por allá.
 And at first the people didn't know (that they were there), but then some men came
 to hunt, and they went by there.

23. Iban ompa oquimitaque in coconeh .
Y allá vieron a los niños.
 And they saw the children there.
24. Ompa manto que imome:xti.
Allá quedaron parados los dos.
 There the two of them stood.
25. Huan 'quihto, "¿Aquin négateh?"
Y dijeron, "¿Quiénes son?"
 And they said, "Who are they?"
26. Zan oguimita:ya iban coco:neh omo:tla:tia:ya .
Tan pronto como los vieron, los niños se desaparecieron.
 As soon as they saw them, the children disappeared.
27. Huan oc cem' opanohque, iban oc cem' oquimita:hque .
Y otra vez aparecieron, y otra vez los vieron.
 And again they appeared, and again they saw them.
28. Quihtoba, "Pos ne:c' ¿aquinime?"
Dijeron, "Pues ¿quiénes son aquellos allá?"
 They said, "Well, who are those two over there?"
29. Huan oc cemi motla:tia in coco:neh.
Y otra vez se desaparecieron los niños.
 And again the children disappeared.
30. Tetahme tlen to:chtocaqui, ompa panoba quihtoba, "Ah," quihtoba ne:ga,
 "Ne:cate, ne:cate totahtzitzinti."
Los hombres que cazaban, allá pasaban dice, "Ah", dice ese, "Aquellos, aquellos son dioses."
 The men who were hunting pass by there and say, "Ah," says one of them, "Those, those are gods."
31. "Ah, totahtzitzinti."
"Ah, dioses."
 "Ah, gods."

32. Entonces, yehhuan a:tl ompa quimimilotoque in tla:ni.
Entonces, ellos allá echaron agua para abajo.
 Then, they spilled water there, down below.
33. Iban inon tepetlatzcayo, pues hamo asta huehcapan, zan cerca.
Y aquel cerro Tlatzcayo, pues no está lejos, sino cerca.
 And that hill Tlatzcayo, well, it isn't far, it's very close.
34. Cahqui entre Tequila iban Zongolica.
Está entre Tequila y Zongolica.
 It's between Tequila and Zongolica.
35. Iban ompa ce nehnemi, cuando ce nehnemi por Reyes, ompa ce: panoba cerca 'n Tlatzcayo.
Y allá uno camina, cuando uno camina por Reyes, allá uno pasa cerca de Tlatzcayo.
 And you walk there, when you walk through Reyes, there you pass by Tlatzcayo.
36. Iban a:tl ehco asta San Juan Atlancan.
Y el agua llega hasta San Juan Atlancan.
 And the water reaches San Juan Atlancan.
37. Nochipa tlaquiabiltitoque
Siempre ellos están regando el agua.
 They are always spilling the water.
38. Iban cegui panoba hasta tla:ni in a:tl.
Y el agua está pasando hacia abajo.
 And the water flows down below.
39. Entonces, amo quemán quimpoloba 'n a:tl, in tetahme, nochi 'n San Juan Atlanca, ompa ihcón quihtoque.
Entonces, nunca se les pierde el agua a la gente, todos en San Juan Atlanca, allá así dijeron.
 So, the water is never lost to the people, the men, everyone in San Juan Atlanca, so they said there.

40. Quemanian mazqui... tlhuaqui mazqui, por ejemplo diciembre, enero, febrero, y marzo, y abril.
Aun cuando... aunque se seque, por ejemplo en diciembre, enero, febrero, y marzo, y abril.
 Even when... even if it's dry, for example in December, January, February, March and April.
41. Nochi tlatotonia. Miac tlatotonia.
Totalmente hace calor. Hace mucho calor.
 It's extremely hot. It's very hot.
42. Pero inon a:tl, amo quemianiam baqui.
Pero esa agua, nunca se seca.
 But that water, it never dries up.
43. Amo quemania. Nochipa temo:toc.
Nunca. Siempre está cayéndose.
 Never. It is always falling.
44. Mazqui tlatotonia pero a:tl temo:toc mazqui... tziqiotzi.
Aun cuando hace calor el agua está cayéndose, aunque... poquito.
 Even when it's hot the water is falling, although... very little.
45. Iban amo queman polibi.
Y nunca falta.
 And it never stops.
46. Po inon a:tl ahci asta... nigan itoga Ate:mpan. De Zongolica para Nepopoalco.
Pues ese agua llega hasta... aquí se llama Atempan. Entre Zongolica y Nepopoalco.
 Well, that water goes as far as... here it is called Atempan. Between Zongolica and Nepopoalco.
47. Para tla:ni cana cáxtolli minuto para ahciz itoca Ate:mpan.
Hacia abajo aproximadamente quince minutos para llegar, se llama Atempan.
 Going down about fifteen minutes to get there, it is called Atempan.
48. Hua' Ate:mpa' cahqui como quemi ce: lagunah .
Y en Atempan hay como una laguna .
 And in Atempan there is something like a small lake.

49. Pero xoxo:bic in a:tl, cualtzi, chipa:huac, iban miac cecec.
Pero azul el agua, bonita, limpia, y muy fría.
 But the water is blue, pretty, clean and very cold.
50. Huan cualtis ompa ce: gonis, o ompa ce: moa:ltis, ce: ma:temas.
Y se puede beber allá, o allá uno nada, uno se baña.
 And there you can drink, or there you swim or you bathe.
51. Neli miec chipabac in a:tl, iban cualtzi.
En verdad está limpia el agua, y bonita.
 The water is very clean and nice.
52. Miec bitze in cristiánotin, hasta de behca bitzeh, ompa panobah, quimi tlen paxialoquibeh, ompa quitatibeh in a:tl, pero cualtzih miec.
Mucha gente viene, hasta desde lejos vienen, pasan allá, como los que vienen paseándose, allá están mirando el agua, pero muy bonita.
 Many people come, they even come from far away, they pass by, like those who stroll by, they look at the water, so very pretty.
53. Amo zan tehluan, sino que miac cristiánotin ompa yabih.^[20]
No solamente nosotros, sino que mucha gente va allá.
 Not just us, but many people go there.
54. Quitlapalotibe in a:tl.
Están hablando acerca del agua.
 They're talking about the water.
55. 'Huan nechpactia, ihcón cualtzi, tlen ce: quihtoba, iban amo queman polibi.
Y me gusta, es bueno así, lo que uno dice, y nunca falta.
 And I like it, it's nice like this, as people say, and it never runs out.

²⁰ This is an example of the raising of *e* to *i*, common in Zongolica and described in the introduction.

SAN MARTÍN THE HORSEMAN

1. Ompa ce: totahtzin oncah. Itoga San Martín Caballero.
Allá bay un santo. Se llama San Martín Caballero.
 There is a saint there. He is called San Martín the Horseman.
2. Pero inon totahtzi oquitaqueh miac cristiánoteh i'ch in tepe:tl, nican itoca
 Tlatzca:yo.
Pero mucha gente vio a ese santo en el cerro que aquí se llama Tlatzcayo.
 But many people saw this saint on the hill, which is called Tlatzcayo.
3. Que:mi 'n achto onimitziliaya.
Como yo le decía a Ud. primero.²¹
 As I was telling you before.²²
4. Iban ompa quitaque que:mi ce: te:tl ihquí moque:toc iban i:yo:lca.
Y allá lo vieron como si fuera una piedra puesto de pie así con su animal.
 And there they saw him as a rock, standing like this with his animal.
5. Huan iman omotla:tlalbihque in cristiánotih iban oquite:mobi:to.
Y entonces la gente lo escarbó, y fueron para bajarlo.
 And then the people dug him up, and they went to carry him down.
6. Iban oquibigahqueh para ce:ntro de A:tlahuilco, ompa a:ltepe:tl.
Y lo llevaron al centro de Atlahuilco, allá en el pueblo.
 And they carried him to the center of Atlahuilco, there in the town.
7. Ompa oquibicahqueh, huan ompah oquicalaquihque ce: calihtic, huan oquihto-
 que ompa ye:toz.
Allá lo llevaron, y allá lo pusieron en una casa, y dijeron que allá permanecerá.
 They carried him there, and then they put him in a house, and they said that there he
 will remain.

²¹ Fermín relató anteriormente que había una piedra en el cerro Tlatzcayo con la apariencia de San Martín y su caballo.

²² Fermín explained earlier that there was a rock formation on Tlatzcayo Hill which looked like San Martín and his horse.

8. Quemih a:xca omp' oquitla:lihqueh, omp' o:quicha:ntihque.
Pronto lo pusieron allá, hicieron su casa allá
 They soon put him there, there they made his home.

9. Iban quimih moztla cualca:, a:m' ompa: gahqui San Martín Caballero.
Y temprano la siguiente mañana, San Martín Caballero no está allá.
 And early the next morning, San Martín Caballero isn't there.

10. Pos quihtoba 'n cristiánoteh, quihtobah, “¿A:xcan ca:tlín 'n totahtzi? A:mo cahqui nica:. ¿Ca:nin cahqui?”
Entonces la gente dice, dice, “¿Ahora dónde está el santo? No está aquí. ¿Dónde está?”
 So then the people say, they say, “Now where is the saint? He isn't here. Where is he?”

11. Ibá oc cen otlehcoque 'n tlatzcayote:petl, huan ompa oc cem' ogahcito ompa gahqui.
Y otra vez subieron el cerro Tlatzcayo, y allá otra vez fueron para agarrarlo, allá donde estaba.
 And again they went up Tlatzcayo hill, and again they went to seize him there, there where he was.

12. Iban oc cemi oquihualigaqueh. Iban oc cem' oquicha:ntalihqueh.
Y de vuelta lo trajeron. Y otra vez lo pusieron en la casa.
 And they brought him back again. And they put him in the house again.

13. Nelli:, a:mo omp' omocah.
En verdad, no se quedó allá.
 The truth is, he didn't stay there.

14. Quemih oguicuito tiotlac quemih can' a las once de la mañana, oquitemobito oc cemi.
Fueron allá a traerlo algo tarde, como a las once de la mañana fueron a bajarlo otra vez
 They went to get him there rather late, around eleven in the morning they went to bring him down again.

15. Iban oguicha:ntlaligoh ompa:n A:tlahuilco.
Y lo pusieron en la casa en Atlahuilco.
 And they came and put him in the house there in Atlahuilco.

16. Ihua que moztla tlánezcui o:c cemi a:mo pagahqui.
Y cuando el próximo día amaneció otra vez estuvieron tristes.
 And when the next day arrived, again they were unhappy.
17. Pos quihtoba 'n cristiá:notin, tehtame guihtoba, “¿Ca:ni cahqui 'n totahtzi?”
 ¿Cani cahqui 'n San Martín Caballero?
Entonces la gente dice, los hombres dicen, “¿Dónde está el santo? ¿Dónde está San Martín Caballero?”
 Then the people say, the men say, “Where is the saint? Where is San Martín Caballero?”
18. Oc cém oyahque 'n tepetl Tlatzcayo.
Otra vez fueron al cerro Tlatzcayo.
 Again they went to Tlatzcayo Hill.
19. Huan oc cém' oquitemoto, hasta canáh na:bi huelta oahcic, oquicui:toh.
Y otra vez fueron a bajarlo, como cuatro veces él llegó cuando fueron por él.
 And again they went to bring him down, about four times he arrived when they went to get him.
20. Entonces o:mp' omo:gah, ompan A:tlahuilco.
Entonces allá se quedó, allá en Atlahuilco.
 Then he stayed there, there in Atlahuilco.
21. Pero quitemohque ce: tla:gatl, ce: te:tah, ito:ca tia:chcatl, para oquitlapo:bih cua:ltzin.
Pero buscaron un hombre, un hombre bonrado, se llama 'tiachcatl', para rezarle bien.
 But they looked for a man, an honorable man, called 'tiachcatl',²³ to pray well to him.
22. Oqui:lih, “Ma: moca:ba.”
Dijo, “Que se quede aquí.”
 He said, “May he remain here.”
23. Ompa quitlazotlazque. Ompah quimalbi:zque.
Allá lo amarán. Allá lo cuidarán.
 There they will love him. There they will care for him.

²³ The *tiachcatl* organizes the patron saint day celebration.

24. A:mo quimaltratarozque. Quitlazotlazqueh ompah.
No lo maltratarán. Lo amarán allá.
 They will not mistreat him. They will love him there.
25. Tiachcatl es que ce: tatah a:quin quimati cua:ltzi motlapobiz iba totahtzi.
'Tiachcatl' es un hombre que sabe hablar bien con dios.
'Tiachcatl' is a man who knows well how to speak with God.
26. O iban oc ce cristiano.
O con otra persona.
 Or with another person.
27. Entos inón itoga ti:achcatl. O tlayécanqui también itoca.
Entonces aquél se llama 'tiachcatl'. O también se llama 'tlayécanqui'.
 So that one is called 'tiachcatl'. Or he is also called 'tlayécanqui'.²⁴
28. Pero entonces ompa omocan²⁵
Pero entonces se quedó allá el santo San Martín Caballero, allá en Atlahuilco.
 But then the saint, San Martín Caballero, remained there in Atlahuilco.
29. Por eso itoga quito:cayotia, quilia, inon Atlahuilco quiliah, San Martín A:tlahuilco.
Por eso se llama, le dan nombre, dicen, aquel Atlahuilco lo llaman San Martín Atlahuilco.
 For that reason it is called, they give it a name, they say, this Atlahuilco, they say San Martín Atlahuilco.
30. San Martín por totahtzi iban i:caballo, iban A:tlahuilco, de a:tl.
San Martín, el santo con su caballo, y Atlahuilco, de agua.
 San Martín, because he is the saint with his horse, and Atlahuilco, from water.
31. Pero amuncah a:tl, porque, pos, a:tl, tlen cahqui Xoxocotla, ompa yezquí 'n A:tlahuilco.
Pero no hay agua, porque, pues, el agua que está en Xoxocotla, iba allá para Atlahuilco.
 But there is no water, because, well, the water which is in Xoxocotla, was going there to Atlahuilco.

²⁴ The *tlayécanqui* organizes the food and drinks for the patron saint's day celebration.

²⁵ *Omocan* is another example of the change of a final /w/ to /n/, cf. note 13.

32. Pero pos, a:mo quitlazohtlahque totahtzi San Isidro, pos a:muncah a:tl.
Pero pues, no lo amaron al santo San Isidro, pues no hay agua.
 But then, they didn't love the saint, San Isidro, so there's no water.²⁶
33. Si, amuncah a:tl.
Sí, no hay agua.
 Yes, there is no water.
34. Nelli, zan por allí 'hcón quitoga:yotia quilia San Martín A:tlahuilco, pero a:-
 muncah a:tl.
En verdad sólo lo nombran, le dicen San Martín Atlahuilco, pero no hay agua.
 Actually it is named, they say San Martín Atlahuilco, but there's no water.
35. Porqué a:tl, tlen oquitlali 'n totahtzi San Isidro, zan nehnemi zan quemí, Tez-
 huacan para quimih niga 'n Zongolica nebá.
*Porque el agua que el santo San Isidro puso, solamente corre así aproximadamente
 la distancia de Tezhuacan para cerca de aquí, Zongolica, por allá.*
 Because the water which the saint San Isidro put there, only runs about the distance
 from Tezhuacan to near Zongolica, over there.²⁷
36. Ompa tla:lác' in a:tl, iban a:m' oc nehnemi.
Allá se entierra el agua, y ya no corre.
 There it goes underground, and no longer runs.
37. A:mo ehco A:tlahuilco.
No llega hasta Atlahuilco.
 It doesn't reach Atlahuilco.
38. Inon como quemih ocuá:lanqui miac totahtzin San Isidro.
Eso porque nuestro santo San Isidro se enojó mucho.
 This is because our saint San Isidro got very angry.

²⁶ This refers to the story of San Isidro the Farmer, in which San Isidro causes a brook to move from Atlahuilco to Xoxocotla because people in Atlahuilco wouldn't give him water for his animals.

²⁷ Meaning that the length of the creek that appeared in Xoxocotla is a little less than the distance from Texhuacan to Zongolica.

39. Quihtoba, "A:tlahuilco a:mo niguimmacaz in a:tl."

Él dice, "No daré el agua a Atlahuilco."

He says, I won't give water to Atlahuilco

40. Zan yehhua Xoxocotla. Iban a:mo 'c achi.

Solamente ellos de Xoxocotla. Y otros no.

Only to those in Xoxocotla. And no others.

41. Huan ihcón o:tlamoeh.

Y así sucedió.

And so it was done.

THE END OF THE WORLD

1. Ce to:nal ce te:tahtzin tlen icha:nti 'n i'ch in altepe:tl.
Un día había un hombre que vivía en un pueblo.
One day there was a man who lived in town.
2. Nochi cualca:n yabi tocati in i'ch in i:mi:lloh.
Todas las mañanas va para sembrar en su milpa.
Every morning he goes to plant his cornfield.
3. Nochi to:ca, tiquipano:ba, ica asalon, ic' i:mu:ru:na.^[28]
Siembra todo, trabaja, con azadón, con su machete.
He plants everything, he works with his hoe, his machete.
4. Omp' oquitó:gaqui ceque mi:lli, iban después yopá:nguizqui ya yi huehhue:yitzi.
Allá sembró unas milpas, y después brotó, se puso grande rápidamente.
There he planted some fields, and later it sprouted and grew quickly.
5. Toz nochipa quiapiya:ti, nochipa quiapiya:ti, tlachiyati in ompan i:mi:lla.
Entonces siempre va para cuidarla, siempre va para cuidarla, va para vigilar allá su milpa.
Then he always goes to tend it, always goes to tend it, he goes and watches over his field there.
6. Iban ce to:nal oquitac in i:mi:lo nochi ya yi tlá:n:ctli.
Y un día vio que toda su milpa ya era completamente cortada por dientes.
And one day he saw that his field was suddenly all chewed up.
7. Oquihto, “¿Tle:ca ihcón? ¿A:quin quicua nomilo? ¿A:quin? Nicmatizquía a:qui.”
Dijo, “¿Por qué está así? ¿Quién come mi milpa? ¿Quién? Yo quisiera saber quién.”
He said, “Why is it like this? Who is eating my field? Who? I would like to know who.”
8. Iba omógo:pqui icalihtic oc cemi.
Y volvió a su casa otra vez.
And he returned to his house again.

²⁸ *Moruna* is listed in Francisco J. Santamaría (1959), *Diccionario de Mejicanismos*. First edition. México: Porrúa, p. 740, as a local Veracruz word meaning *machete*.

9. Ibam oquili, i:ci:ba quilia, "Tomil quicuah miac."
Y dijo, a su esposa dice, "Nuestra milpa, la comen mucho."
 And he said, he says to his wife, "They're eating our field a lot."

10. Nimah oc cé to:nal, oc cé cua:lca, oc cemi tlachiyati.
Entonces el próximo día, la mañana siguiente, otra vez va para mirarla.
 Then the next day, the next morning, again he goes to tend it.

11. Ibah oc cequi yoquicuahqueh im mi:lli, nochi quitectibi.
Y otra vez comieron la milpa, completamente van cortándola.
 And again they ate the field, they're completely tearing it up.

12. Oquihta, "¿Tle:ca ihcón? Quicua nomil. Nicmatizquía i a:quin quicua nomil. Za nochi tehte:pontic."
Dijo, "¿Por qué es así? Comen mi milpa. Yo quisiera saber quién está comiendo mi milpa. Está completamente despuntado."
 He said, "Why is it like that? It's eating my field. I would like to know who is eating my field. The tips are all blunted.

13. Iba omógo:pqui oc cemi te:tahtzi, oc cemi igalihtic omógo:pqui tepitzi ocuálanqui.
Y volvió otra vez el hombre, otra vez a su casa volvió, un poco se enojó.
 And the man returned again, returned again to his house, he got a little angry.

14. Iba oc cé to:nal, oc cém' oyahqui.
Y el próximo día, otra vez fue.
 And the next day he went again.

15. Iba oc cem' otlachi:yac, miac yoquicuahque 'n imi:llo.
Y otra vez fue a ver, mucho comieron su milpa.
 And when he looked again, they ate a lot of his field.

16. Ibah ocuálanqui.
Y se enojó.
 And he got angry.

17. Quihtoba, “¿Tle:ca ihcón? Miac quicuahtibi nomi:llo.”
Dice, “¿Por qué es así? Está comiendo mi milpa mucho.”
 He says, “Why is it like this? It’s eating a lot of my field.”
18. 'Ba ompa oc cemi omógo:pqui 'galihc.
Y entonces otra vez volvió a su casa.
 And then he returned to his house again.
19. Iban hasta nabi to:nal oc cém' oyahqui hasta nabi huelta oyahqui ompa ocahcic in ce tla:coto:chi.
Y hasta el cuarto día fue otra vez, hasta cuatro veces fue allá, y prendió un conejo.
 And at last on the fourth day he went again, four times he went there, he caught a rabbit.
20. Ompa guicuahtoc in mi:lli, quite:ctoc.
Allá comía la milpa, la cortaba.
 There it was eating the corn field, cutting it.
21. Oquilia, “Ah, to:chconejo”, quilia, “teh nochi ticua nomi:llo. Teh ticuahtoc nochi nomi:lla, ahá.”
Dijo, “Ah, conejo”, dice, “tú comes toda mi milpa. Estás comiendo toda mi milpa, ajá.”
 He said, “Ah, rabbit,” he says, “you are eating all of my field. You are eating all of my field, aha.”
22. Quilia, “Nimitzmi:ctiz.”
Dice, “Te voy a matar.”
 He says, “I’ll kill you.”
23. Iban to:chi, to:chconejo, omógo:pqui iba omóguitzqui 'quim i:maba, quilí, “A:mo techmictiz,” quilí, “Xiguita,” quilia, “Yi mero tlamiz in xibitl. Ya yi timiguizque tinochti. Nochi tla:came, nochi nana:me, nochi te:tahme, nochi timiquizque.”
Y el conejo volvió, y se paró con las manos así, dice, “No vas a matarme”, dice, “Mira”, dice, “Muy pronto va a acabarse, muy pronto va a acabarse el año (mundo). Entonces nosotros todos vamos a morir. Todos los hombres, todas las mujeres, todas las personas, todos vamos a morir.”
 And the rabbit turned, and held his paws like this, he says, “You will not kill me,” he says, “Look,” he says, “Very soon the year (world) will end. Then we will all die. All men, all women, all people, we will all die.”

24. Quilia, "¿A:quin guicuaz in motlato:cal? Mientras axan ticate, tehluan ma ticua:can. Ma nicua momil. Porque nochtí timiquizque."
Dice, "¿Quién comerá tu sembrado? Mientras ahora existimos, vamos a comer. Que yo coma tu milpa. Porque todos vamos a morir."
 He says, "Who will eat your planted field? While we exist now, let's eat. Let me eat your field. Because we will all die."
25. Oquihto 'n tla:gatl, quihtoba, "Teh, to:chconejo, ¿Tle:n ticmatiz? Teh, a:mo ticmate."
Dijo el hombre, dice, "Tú, conejo, ¿Qué sabes tú? Tú no sabes."
 He said, the man, he says, "You, rabbit, what do you know? You don't know."
26. Oquihto 'n to:chin, tlacoto:ch' oquihto, c'toba, "Quen a:mo neh cualtiz nicmatiz, huan teh cualtiz ticmatiz, huan nochi cualtiz ticmatizque."
Dijo el conejo, el conejo dijo, dice, "¿Cómo que no puedo saber, cuando tú puedes saber, y nosotros todos podemos saber?"
 Said the rabbit, the rabbit said, he says, "How could I not be able to know, when you can know, and we all can know."
27. Oguihta 'n tla:gatzi, guihtoba, "A:mo melabac. Amo nelli, amo nelli tlen tiguhtoba, to:chconejo, teh amo tihmatiz tleno."
El hombre dijo, dice, "No es cierto. No es verdad, no es verdad lo que dices, conejo, tú no sabes nada."
 The man said, he says, "Not true. Not true, not true what you say, rabbit, you don't know anything."
28. Quilia, "Que:ma, neh cualtiz nicmatiz, neh cualtiz nihmatiz."
Dice, "Sí, yo puedo saber, yo puedo saber."
 He says, "Yes, I can know, I can know."
29. Quilia, "Porque za: polibi za: inin semana, za: inin semana ya yi. Ya yi titlamizque. Yi titlamizque nochi xibitl, noxtin titlamizque."
Dice, "Porque sólo falta esta semana, sólo esta semana ya. Pronto ya nos vamos a acabar. Ya vamos a acabar con todos los años, nosotros todos vamos a acabar."
 He says, "Because it only lacks this week, just this week now. Soon we will perish. Then we will finish with all the years, we all will perish."

30. Iba ocuálanqui 'n tetahtzi, quilia, "Mach ne:lli, amo melahca tlen tiguhtoba."
Y se enojó el viejito, dice, "Tal vez es verdad, o tal vez no es verdad lo que dices."
 And the man got angry, he says, " Perhaps it is true, or perhaps it is not true, what you say."
31. Iban tohcconejo oguihto, quihtoba, quilia in tetahtz', quilia, "A:mo xicualani."
Y el conejo dijo, dice, dice al hombre, dice, "No te enojas."
 And the rabbit said, he says, he says to the man, he says, "Don't get mad."
32. Quilia, "Neh nimitziliz tle:n ticchi:baz," quilia.
Dice, "Yo te diré qué vas a hacer," dice.
 He says, "I will tell you what you will do," he says.
33. Quilia, "Ximotlatlauhti ce cajón", quilia, "Ximotlatlauhti ce cajón ma: michi:bi-lica. Iba miac, miac, miac me:gatl, miac arriata xico:ba o xictlahtla:ni, hua nimitziliz tle:n ticchi:baz."
Dice, "Pida un cajón", dice, "Pida un cajón, que lo bagan. Y mucho, mucho, mucho mecate, mucha arriata, cómpralo o tómallo prestado, y que yo te diga qué vas a hacer."
 He says, "Ask for a box," he says, "Ask for a box, let them make it. And lots, lots, lots of rope, lots of cord, buy it or borrow it, and I'll tell you what you'll do."
34. Quilia, "Porqué pe:baz in atl," quilia, "Miac, miac, miac quiabiz. Miac quiabiz."
Dice, "Porque el agua va a comenzar", dice, "Mucho, mucho, mucho va a llover. Mucho va a llover."
 He says, "Because the water will begin," he says, "It will rain a lot, a lot, a lot. It will rain a lot."
35. Iban quilia, "Nochi te:miz in a:tl hasta i:lbigac ahci:tin."
Y dice, "Todo va a llenarse, el agua va llegando hasta el cielo."
 And he says, "Everything will fill up, the water goes to reach to the sky."

36. Entonces quilia, "I:'ch ce hueyi cuabitl tiquilpiz in megatl, iban ompa ticalaquiz i:'ch i' mocajo. Iban tiquilpiz in mocajo, iba ma: mitzbiga 'n atl, ma: mitzbiga, ma: mitzbiga, ma: mitzbiga, hasta caní ticaquiz titicuica —quihtoznequi ya yotihcic in ilbigac."

Entonces dice, "En un árbol grande amarrarás el mecate, y entonces te vas a meter en tu cajón. Y amarrarás el cajón, y que el agua te lleve, que te lleve, te lleve, te lleve, hasta donde oyes un tocado —quiere decir que ya llegaste en el cielo."

Then he says, "You will tie the rope to a big tree, and then you will get in your box. And you will tie your box and let the water carry you, carry you, carry you, carry you, until you get to the place where you hear a bang —it means you reached the sky."

37. Iban nelli íhcon oquichin²⁹ tla:gatzih. Tetahtzi 'hcon oquichi.

Y de veras el bombrecito hizo eso. El viejito hizo eso.

And the man did just that. The man did that.

38. Ocalac i:'ch icaajo, oguilpi megatl i:'ch in tronco, iba ompa omótzahui ocalac i:ban i:tzcuintzi i:'ch in cajo.

Se metió en su cajón, amarró el mecate al tronco, y entonces se encerró, se metió con su perra en el cajón.

He got in his box, tied the rope to the tree trunk, and then got in and closed himself and his dog in the box.

39. 'Ba ompa quibigac ini i:tlacual oquibigac in cahfen, oquibiga' cec' ahuardiente, cequi tláxcalli, miac tlámantli oquibigac i:'ch in icostal.

Y llevó su comida allá, llevó café, llevó aguardiente, unas tortillas, muchas cosas llevó en su bolsa.

And he brought his food there, he brought coffee, he brought some cane liquor, some tortillas, many things he brought in his bag.

40. Iban omp' ocalac in i:'ch in i:cajo i:ba i:tzcuí.

Y entró en su cajón allá con su perra.

And he got in his box there with his dog.

²⁹ As explained in note 13, here a final /w/ becomes /n/ in Zongolica, in this case, *oquichin* is from the verb *chibua*.

41. Iba nell' oyahc' ihquini hasta cuand' opéh quiabitl, miac quiabi, quiabi, quiabi.
Y de veras se quedó así hasta cuando comenzó la lluvia, mucho llueve, llueve, llueve.
 And he really did stay like this until the rain began, lots of rain, rain, rain.
42. Omozcalti miac in atl.
Creció mucho el agua.
 The water rose very high.
43. 'Ba hasta ilbigac oahcic.
Y hasta el cielo llegó.
 Until it reached the sky.
44. Para nochi ma: migigan cristiánote, nochi yo:lcameh, nochi ma: migica.
Que mueran todos: la gente, todos los animales, que mueran todos.
 Let everything die: the people, all the animals, let everything die.
45. 'Ba nelli, nel' ihcón otlamocho.
Y de veras, de veras así sucedió.
 And indeed it happened like that.
46. Pero tla:gatl, a:mo omicqui.
Pero el hombre no murió.
 But the man didn't die.
47. Oahcic in ilbigatl i:ban igajo, huan iba i:tzcuintzi, iban cuanto o:temoc in a:tl, temoc, otemoc, otemoc, hasta oc cé'm' oba:cqui, otla:ngi a:tl.
Llegó en el cielo con su cajón y su perra, y cuando se bajó el agua, se bajó, se bajó se bajó, hasta que otra vez se secó, se acabó el agua.
 He reached the sky with his box and his dog, and when the water went down, down, down, until it dried up again, the water went away.
48. Oc cé'mioh, como oc cecan obetzqui toz i'ch me:gatl omotilantia, motilantia, hast' oahcito 'n ca:ni, i:chah, 'sta can' igalihtic.
Otra vez, como otra vez se cayó, entonces con el mecate tiró, tiró, hasta que llegó donde estaba su casa, hasta donde estaba su hogar.
 Once again, since it went back down, then he pulled and pulled at the rope until he got to where his house was, to where his home was.

49. Ompa i:galihtic oahcic, 'c cemi oyahqui otigippanoto iba 'n i:tzcuintzi oquica:l-tzac in ca:lihtic oguicahti.

Allá en su casa llegó, otra vez fue para trabajar, y su perra la encerró en la casa, la obligó a quedar en la casa.

He arrived there at his house, again he went to work, and he closed his dog up in the house, and made her stay inside.

50. Huan te:tahtzi otiguippanoto para tlato:caz itla: tleyol, oc cemi etl, cegui tlámanti tlato:gaz.

Y el hombre fue para trabajar, para sembrar unas matas de maíz, otra vez frijol, varias cosas sembrará.

And the man went to work planting some corn, more beans, he'll plant various things.

51. Iban tiótlaqui cuando ahcigui, ya y' onca 'n tlaxcal, cequi cahfe, cequi chí:lmolli, cequi tláxcalli, oc cequi tlámantli onca, oc cequi tlámantli onca.

Y en la tarde cuando viene volviéndose, ya hay tortillas, café, chilmole, tortillas, otras cosa hay, otras cosa hay.

And in the evening when he comes back, there are already tortillas, some coffee, some chili sauce, some tortillas, there are other things, there are some other things.

52. Iban oquihito in tlagatl, guihtoba, “¿Ni? ¿A:guin oguichih? ¿A:guin oguicabaco?”

Y dijo el hombre, dice, “¡Este! ¿Quién lo hizo? ¿Quién vino para dejarlo?”

And the man said, he says, “Huh? Who did it? Who came and left it?”

53. Ni modos, otlacuah iban otlaco:nic 'ban oc cé omoce:bi, ibah oc cé to:nal oc cemi o:tiguippanoto.

De todos modos, comió y bebió y otra vez se descansó, y el próximo día otra vez fue para trabajar.

Anyway, he ate and drank and rested again, and the next day he went to work again.

54. Huan 'c cemi ehcoc, oc cemi y' oncan tláxcalli, y' onca cen chí:lmolli, tlaxcal-tzintli toto:nic, huan cuant' ehco' quihtoba, “Hueno, pos, ¿a:quin oballa? ¿Si nochí yomicque? L'único neh nica.”

Y otra vez llegó, otra vez ya hay tortillas, ya hay chilmole, tortillas calientes, y cuando llegó dice, “Bueno, pues, ¿Quién vino? ¿Si todos ya murieron? El único aquí soy yo.”

And again he arrived, again there were already tortillas, there was already some chili sauce, hot tortillas, and when he arrived he says, “Well then, who came here? If every-one has died? I'm the only one here.”

55. Totóz “íA:guin ogucabaco in tláxcalli, cahfe, chí:lmolli, i:statl, a:guin oquicabaco, a:quin oguichi?”
Entonces dirá, “¿Quién vino para dejar tortillas, café, chilmore, sal, quién vino para dejarlo, quién lo hizo?”
 Then he says, “Who came to leave the tortillas, coffee, chili sauce, salt, who came and left it, who did it?”
56. Iban oc cemi in tla:gatl oc cem' otlacuah.
Y otra vez el hombre comió otra vez.
 And once again, again the man ate.
57. Iban i:tzcuintzin ihual oquitlamagac.
Y a su perrita también le dió algo.
 And he also gave some to his dog.
58. Iban omocebihque iban oc cé tonal oc cé motiguipanoto iban cuando eyi tonal i:pa, oehcoc.
Y se descansaron y el próximo día fue otra vez para trabajar y a las tres llegó.
 Then they rested, and the next day he went to work again, and at three o'clock he arrived home.
59. Zan omocuepató cualca:, iban ompa quitibitz i:calihtic, quihtoba, “íA:quin tlapo-po:tza ya?: Yoguichihque in tlitl iba. Quimih icah tlaxcalmana ihqui.”
Sino que vino volviéndose temprano, y entonces vino mirando su casa, dice, “¿Quién hace el humo? Ya hicieron el fuego también. Parece que hace tortillas con él.”
 He just came home early, and when he came to his house, he says, “Who is making the smoke already? And they already made the fire. As if someone is making tortillas with it.”
60. Cuanto yolihtzi ocalac in galihtic iba oquitac ce: cibatzintli 'quin, ompa tiztoc ompa tlacualchiba in cocina iban oquíztahztzili³⁰ i:tzcuintzi, quilia, “Ahhh,” quilia, “Tehhuatzí,” guilí, “Teh, notzcui,” quilí, “Teh.”
Entonces despacito entró en la casa y vio una mujer así, allá baciendo tortillas, allá hace comida en la cocina, y le gritó a su perra, dice, “Ahhh”, dice, “Tú”, dice, “Mi perra”, dice, “Tú.”
 Then he went very slowly into the house and saw a woman like this, making tortillas there, she was making food there in the kitchen, and he shouted to his dog, he says, “Ahhh,” he says, “You,” he says, “You, my dog,” he says, “You.”

³⁰ This example of primary stress on the ante-antepenultimate syllable is very unusual, although

61. Iban itzcuintli omotlaloizquí calte:ncuitlapah, ayicmó cualtic oquimotla:lili i:ye:-
bayotzih.
Y la perra corrió al umbral trasero, ya no pudo ponerse su piel.
And the dog ran to the back door threshold, she could no longer put her skin on.
62. Ihuan mejor omoca ihcón ce: cibatl, ihuan amo i:tzcuintli.
Y mejor quedó así una mujer y no una perra.
And she remained better like that, a woman, and not a dog.
63. 'Co mócuepqui ce: cibatl, omotlazohtlaque i:ban i:te:co.
Así se convirtió en una mujer, se enamoraron, ella y su dueño.
Like that she became a woman, they loved each other, she and her owner.
64. Huan ompah totahtzi in sol, totahtzin tlen tla:bia, oquili 'n palo:max, después
quilia, "Teh", quilia, "Teh, palomax, xitlachiati nugan tlán'," quilia, "¿A:guin tla-
popo:tza? ¿Si neh nicmati que nochi yomicqueh? Áyecmo ihcah ompa yezqui."
*Y entonces nuestro padre el sol, nuestro padre que brilla, dijo a la paloma, luego le
dice "Tú", dice, "Tú, paloma, ve a ver allá abajo", dice, "¿Quién está haciendo humo?
¿Si sé que todos ya murieron? Ya no quedan parados allá, se fueron."*
And then our father the sun, our father who shines, said to the dove, later he says,
"You," he says, "You, dove, go look down below," he says, "Who is making smoke? If I
know that everyone died? They are no longer standing there, they are gone."
65. Iba nelli palo:max o:te:moc, otlachiato i:ban ipan e:ztli otlaccic in tlen,
omicque.
Y de veras la paloma se bajó, fue mirando, y pisó en la sangre de los que murieron.
And the dove did go down, it went looking, and walked on the blood of those who
died.
66. Ompa tlagazoc, huan oc cem' otlehcoc.
Allá perforó a la gente, y otra vez subió.
There he pierced the people, and he went up again.

there is secondary stress on the penultimate. It may be that Fermín stresses *qui* to emphasize that the dog/woman is the recipient of the shouting.

67. Cuando otlehcoc, oquili 'n totahtzi, quilia, "Que:ma, yonitlachiato. Ompa cha:ntih."
Cuando subió, le dijo a nuestro padre, dice, "Sí, fui allá y miré. Allá viven."
 When he went up, he said to our father, he says, "Yes, I went and looked around. They are living there."
68. Quilia, "Áyicmo nimitznequi," quilia, "Teh, xia, iba o:mpa ximogaban. Noga-tla, tla:lpah. Áyicmo nimitznegí nica, porque otie:ssobac in mocxiban", quilia, "Ompa ximogaba."
Dice, "Ya no te quiero", dice, "Tú, vete, y allá quédate. Allá abajo en la tierra. Ya no quiero que estés aquí, porque te ensangrentaste las patas", dice, "Quédate allá."
 He says, "I don't love you any more," he says, "You, go, and stay there. Down below, on the earth. I no longer want you here, because you bloodied your feet," he says, "Stay down there."
69. Ya omp' ihcón otla:nqui tlapó:balli porqué cua:ltzi tlapohua porqué itoga otla:ngui: xibitl, nohti yotimique. Nohti tla:mi, timiguih. Hua ompa ihcón tla:-mi.
Ahora así se acabó la historia porque bien se relata, porque se llama "El fin del mundo", todos se murieron. Todos se acaban, morimos. Y entonces así se acaba.
 And then the story ended like that because it is well told, because its name is "The End of the World", everyone died. Everything ends, we die. And then it ends like that.

THE GOLDEN STONE

1. Ce:mi canah máhtlactli iban o:me xibitl nicmati i:toga ce: altepetl Tlaquilpan.
Una vez hace como doce años yo conozco un pueblo llamado Tlaquilpan.
 Once about twelve years ago I know a town called Tlaquilpan.
2. Ce: ta:tah ompa. Iba nima' tlapobi:toc i:calihtic.
Había un hombre allá. Y entonces estaba platicando en su casa.
 There was a man there. And then he was talking in his house.
3. Miac tigipanoba ca:nin i:tlalpan, i:tiquipan can tlato:ca milli, etl, cámohtin, oc cigui cosas.
Trabaja mucho en su terreno, su lugar de trabajo donde siembra maíz, frijol, papa, otras cosas.
 He works a lot where his field is, his work place where he plants corn, beans, sweet potatoes, other things.
4. Ihuan o:me tla:lme quimpiya, huan tiguipano:ba.
Y tiene dos terrenos, y trabaja.
 And they have two fields, and he works.
5. Huan i:ciba quipalebia tiguipanoti. Quemih axcan onca miac milli, iban i:ciba tlachiyati in imi:lla.
Y su esposa le ayuda, va para trabajar. Como ahora hay muchas milpas, con su esposa cuida su milpa.
 And his wife helps him, she goes to work. Since now there are many fields, with his wife he goes to care for their fields.
6. Iba yeh 'n ta:tah oc ce:can tiguipanoti.
Y él, el hombre, otra vez va para trabajar.
 And he, the man, goes to work again.
7. Huan oquihto, “¿Quen, nana?”. Cibatl oquitac ompa milla, quihtoba, “Nican iquin otlachcuaque”
Y dijo, “¿Cómo, mamá?” La mujer miró allá en la milpa y dice, “Aquí así escarbaron.”
 And he said, “What is it, mother?” The woman looked over at the field and says, “Someone dug holes like this here.”

8. Quihtoba, “¿Tle:ca nican otlachcuahque nomilla? ¿A:guin nigan otlachcuac?”
Amitla oquihto nana.
Dice, “¿Por qué aquí escarbaron en mi milpa? ¿Quién aquí escarbó?” la mujer [no] dijo nada.
He says, “Why did they dig holes here in my field? Who dug holes here?” The woman said nothing.

9. Hua obala ichah.
Y llegó en su casa.
And he arrived at his house.

10. Hua oquili ta:ta, quilia, “Tomilla,” quilia, “ompa otlachcuahque.”
Y dijo al hombre, dice, “En nuestra milpa”, dice, “allá escarbaron.”
And the man said, he says, “Our field,” he says, “They dug holes there.”

11. Quihtoba in ta:ta, quihtoba, “¿Tle:ga?” Iban ompa amitla oquihtoque.
Dice el hombre, dice, “¿Por qué?” Y entonces nada dijeron.
The man says, he says, “Why?” And then they said nothing more.

12. Iban ompa omocebihque, o sea otlacuahqueh. Yobac, iban omocebihque.
Y entonces se descansaron, o sea comieron. Se anocheció y comieron.
And then they rested; that is, they ate. It got dark and they rested.

13. Huan oc ce tonal ta:tah oc cemi otiguiapanoto itla:lla, iba nana oc cemi otla-chiato imi:lla.
Y el día siguiente el hombre otra vez fue para trabajar en su milpa, y la mujer otra vez fue para cuidar su milpa.
And the next day the man went to work in his field again, and the woman went again to care for her field.

14. Iban ompa nanah otlachia, quihtoba “Tle:ga nican otlachcuahque,” quihtoba, “Miac oguitzincuepque mi:llo.”
Y entonces la mujer miró, dice, “¿Por qué aquí escarbaron?”, dice, “Mucho escarbaron en la milpa.”
And then the woman looked, and she says “Why did they dig here?”, she says, “They plowed up the field a lot.”

15. Iba ompa nana tipitzi ihquín otlachcuac iba ompa ce: tetl cualtzin ogahcic, iqui:n xo:tlatoc, quemi inin tlitl iqui, cualtzin, cualtzin, za panoba.
Y entonces la mujer así escarbó y entonces una piedra bonita agarró, así estaba brillando, como este fuego así, bonita, bonita, muy hermosa.
 And then the woman dug a little, like this, and then she picked up a beautiful stone, shiny like this fire, pretty, pretty, very beautiful.
16. Iba inon i:toca oro ogahcic in cibatl. Ompa ocacic iba cen tipitzi ihquín otlachcoc,³¹ iquín tipitzi ocatca.
Y eso se llama oro, lo que agarró, y escarbó un poco, así, un poco era.
 And that is called gold, what the woman picked up. There she took it and dug a little, like this, it was just a little.
17. Iba ompa oquibaligac para igalihcic. Iban oquitla:ti in nana.
Allá lo llevó para su casa. Y lo escondió la mujer.
 And then she carried it to her house. And the woman hid it.
18. Iba cuando ehcoc in i:teta, quilia, "Tata," quilia, "Xiquita nican cahqui, xiquita onicahcic."
Y cuando llegó su esposo, dice, "Esposo", dice, "Mira, aquí está, mira lo que ballé."
 And when her husband arrived, she says, "Father," she says, "Look, here it is, look, I picked it up."
19. Oquipiyaya canáh, neci canah eyi, nabi kilo.
Tenía aproximadamente, parece como tres, cuatro kilos.
 It was approximately, it seems around three or four kilos.
20. Hua nelli ompa oquitaqui, quihtoba, "Tlen cualtzi miac inin tetl."
Y cuando entonces lo vió de veras, dice, "¡Qué bonita es esta piedra!"
 And when he really saw it, he says, "How very beautiful this stone is."
21. Quihtoba, "Inin nelli que tomi."
Dice, "Éste es verdaderamente oro."
 He says, "This is real gold."

³¹ This is a variant of *tlachcua*.

22. Iban ompa oquiquimilohque, oquite:tzilohque ica cóstalli, iba oquitlatihque ah-copan.

Y entonces lo envolvieron, lo envolvieron en un costal y lo escondieron arriba.

And then they wrapped it, they rolled it up in a sack and they hid it up high.

23. Huan oc cemi opanoc canah cáxtolli cana cempoal tónalli.

Y otra vez pasaron como quince, como veinte días.

And approximately another fifteen or twenty days went by.

24. Tatah, oconan te:bac iban oquibigoc Orizaba.

El hombre tomó su piedra y lo llevó a Orizaba.

The man took his stone and carried it to Orizaba.

25. Huan opanoc ompa, itoga ce lugarcito itoca Jalapilla, opanoc iban ompa, tiendero quilia, "Xiquita, tatah," quilia, "Nimitznamaquiltia inin te:tl."

Y fue allá, se llama un lugarcito que se llama Jalapilla, fue allá, y al tiendero dice, "Mira, hombre", dice, "Le venderé esta piedra."

And he went there, it's called, a little place called Jalapilla, he went there with it, and he said to the owner of the store, he says, "Look, mister," he says, "I would like to sell you this stone."

26. Iban oquihto 'n tientero, quihtoba, "Aaa," quihtoba, "Cualtzi."

Y dijo el tiendero, dice, "Aaa", dice, "Bonito."

And the shop owner said, he says, "Ahh," he says, "Pretty."

27. Quihtoba, "Xiquita, ta:ta," quilia, "ma titlapatlacan," quilia, "Nican cahqui notienta, iban noco:chih, calla cahqui," quilia, "nimitzmaga no:chi. Nocal, iba noco:chih, iban notienda," quilia, "Nochi ximocabi, por inin te:tl," quilia, "Neh niqitaz can niaz," quilia.

Dice, "Mira, hombre", dice, "Troquemos", dice, "Aquí está mi tienda, y mi coche, está en casa", dice, "le doy todo. Mi casa, y mi coche, y mi tienda", dice, "Quédate con todo por esta piedra", dice, "Veré a dónde iré", dice.

He says, "Look, mister", he says, "let's trade", he says, "Here is my store, and my car, it's at the house", he says, "I'll give you everything. My house, and my car, and my store", he says, "Take everything for this stone", he says, "I will see where I will go", he says.

28. Huan tos in ta:ta 'n tlen quibiga 'n tetl, o sea 'n cualtiz ce guihtoz que inon tomi quibiga, quihtoba, "Neh, amo nicnequi calli, amo nicnequi tépoztlí." Quihtoba, "Neh, nicnequi tomi."

Y entonces el hombre que lleva la piedra, o sea el que se puede decir que lleva oro, dice, "Yo, no quiero casa, no quiero carro." Dice, "Yo quiero dinero."

And then the man who is carrying the stone, that is, the one who it can be said is carrying money, says, "Me, I don't want a house, I don't want a car." He says, "I want money."

29. Quilia, "Bueno," quilia, "Xiquita. Xiquita can tiaz," quilia, "Porque neh amo nicpia miac tomi, pero nimitztlanilhuilia notienda, nogalihtic, iba notepoz."

Dice, "Bueno", dice, "Mira. Mira a donde irás", dice, "Porque yo no tengo mucho dinero, pero te ofrezco mi tienda, mi casa, y mi coche."

He says, "Okay", he says, "Look. Look where you will go", he says, "Because I don't have much money, but I am offering you my store, my house and my car."

30. Quilia, "Amo, neh nicnequi tomi."

Dice, "No, yo quiero dinero."

He says, "No, I want money."

31. "Ah, bueno," quilia, "Pos ni modos," quilia, "Amo nicpia tomi," quilia, "Neh nimitzmagaz ino."

"Ah, bueno", dice, "Pues ni modos", dice, "No tengo dinero", dice, "Te daré eso."

"Ah, well", he says, "anyway", he says, "I don't have money", he says, "I'll give you that."

32. Quilia, "Pos amo."

Dice, "Pues no."

He says, "Well, no."

33. "Bueno," quilia pos oc cecan. "Xiquita teh a:gui mitzmagaz tomi."

"Bueno", dice otra vez. "Vas a ver quién te dará dinero."

"Okay," the other says again, "See who'll give you money."

34. Ba ompa inon ta:tah oyahque, oquibigac in itlama:mal, oquibigac ibán oyahcaz al centro Orizaba, o sea i'ch in altepetl oyahqui.

Y entonces ese hombre se fue, llevó su bulto, lo llevó y fue al centro de Orizaba, o sea a la ciudad fue.

And then that man went away, he carried his package, he carried it and went to the center of Orizaba, that is, he went to the city.

35. Huan oahcic ce: cantina, itoca Bombilla, ne niquixmati 'n cantina, cani quina-maga 'n cerveza, cigui co:pas, cec' aguardiente, miac tlámantli tlanamaca.
Y llegó en una cantina, se llama Bombilla, yo conozco la cantina, donde venden cerveza, varios licores, aguardiente, muchas cosas venden.
 And he arrived at a bar, it's called Bombilla, I know the bar, where they sell beer, various liquors, aguardiente, they sell many things.
36. Huan ocalac in cantina iban oquili in cantinero, quilia, "Xiquita, ta:tah," quilia, "Nicualiga inin tlamámalli. ¿Que:ch techmagaz?"
Y entró en la cantina y dijo al cantinero, dice, "Mira, hombre", dice, "Traigo este bulto. ¿Cuánto me dará Ud.?"
 And he went into the bar and said to the bartender, he says, "Look, mister," he says, "I'm carrying this package. How much will you give me?"
37. Huan ihcón quima:ma in icostaltzi, quilia, "A ver," quilia, "teh ti:chtec," quilia, "¿inín can oticuito?"
Y así lleva el costal, dice, "A ver", dice, "Eres ladrón", dice, "¿A dónde fuiste para agarrarlo?"
 And like this he picks up the bag, and he says, "Look," he says, "You are a thief. Where did you go to take it?"
38. Quilia, "Ni neh naxca," quilia.
Dice, "Es mi propiedad", dice.
 He says, "It's my property," he says.
39. Quilia, "Niga xicualiga gal iban."
Dice, "Llévalo aquí a la casa."
 He says, "Here, bring it in the house."
40. Iban tos in cantinero oquitlanqui 'n bolsa, oquicuili, iban oquitla:ti in bolsa el cantinero, iban otlatzac in itienda. De una vez otlatzac.
Y entonces el cantinero agarró la bolsa, lo tomó, y el cantinero escondió la bolsa y cerró su tienda. De una vez lo cerró.
 And then the bartender pulled at the bag, took it from him, the bartender hid the bag, and closed his store. All of a sudden he closed it.

41. Quilia, “Xia,” quilia, “Xia. Tlamó nicno:tzaz im policéa ma mitzbiga, porque teh tiíchtequi.”
Dice, “Vete”, dice, “vete. Si no, llamaré a la policía que te lleven, porque tú eres ladrón.”
 He says, “Go away,” he says, “go away. If not, I’ll tell the police to take you away, because you are a thief.”
42. Tos ompa ta:tah omocah³² nion ce peso, amo 'quítlanqui ino.
Entonces al hombre no le quedó ni un peso, no recibió dinero por él.
 Then not even a peso remained for the man, he didn’t get any money for it.
43. Omoyolcoco miac. Iba xiguita achto oquimacaya. Achto oquimacaya tienda, calli, iban cen co:chih. Iban amo quiniqi.
Estaba muy triste. Y mira, antes le daban algo. Antes le daban una tienda, una casa, y un coche. Y no lo quiso.
 He was very sad. And look, before he was giving something. Before he was giving him a store, a house and a car. And he didn’t want it.
44. 'Ban cuando cantina oyahqui, fiero omochih. Biero omochih miac.
Y cuando se fue de la cantina, se enojó mucho. Se enojó mucho.
 And when he left the bar he became very angry. He became extremely angry.
45. Porque amo quimagaque non ce: peso omoguimagaqui.
Porque no le dieron, ni un peso se lo dieron.
 Because they didn’t give him, not even a peso was given to him.
46. Iba oguichtequilihque in ico:stal, iban nochi ica 'n te:tl.
Y se lo robaron su costal y todo, con la piedra.
 And they robbed him of his bag and everything, with the rock.
47. Huan ihcón omochih. Fiero, ihuan ompa ta:tah oehcoc, zan ohualnéhnenqui de Orizaba 'n hasta Tlaquilpa, ompa i'ch in i:pueblo.
Y así se hizo. Enojado, y entonces el hombre llegó, sólo anduvo de Orizaba hasta Tlaquilpa, allá a su pueblo.
 And it happened like that. He was angry, and then the man arrived at home, he just walked from Orizaba to Tlaquilpa, there to his town.

³² *Omocah* is a reflexive form of *cabua* ‘remain’, which lacks the final [a] in the past tense. The resulting word-final /w/ becomes *b*.

48. Huan a:mitla oquitlanqui tomi.

Y nada de dinero ganó.

And he got no money.

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Resumen

William Mills nos presenta siete relatos en náhuatl, grabados en Zongolica, Veracruz, en junio de 1988. El narrador fue Fermín Tlaxcala Xicalhua, quien en ese tiempo contaba con 24 años y era originario de San Martín Atlahuilco, cabecera municipal de Atlahuilco, Veracruz. Tomó varios años tanto la transcripción como la traducción de los textos, y resultó indispensable la ayuda de Fermín en las etapas finales de esta última. De acuerdo con Mills, el compilador, tres de las historias manejan la temática del agua, como "La mujer y el agua" y "San Isidro Labrador", que son alegorías acerca de la importancia de compartir el agua, y "Los dos niños", que relata el origen milagroso de un manantial; las demás tratan temas diversos: "San Martín Caballero" aborda la actitud vergonzosa respecto a un santo, "El coyote y el tlacuache" representa una historia animal trágica y a la vez divertida, "La piedra dorada" es un cuento de la buena suerte seguida de la mala suerte en la ciudad, y en "El fin del mundo" se incorpora un conejo sabio a una variación del relato bíblico de la inundación. En la transcripción de los textos Mills presenta observaciones relativas a la variación dialectal del náhuatl de la Sierra de Zongolica, además de la traducción al español y al inglés.