

HUAUTLA NAHUATL TEXTS

Barbara Edmonson

The texts which follow were obtained over a period of two months from a native speaker of Nahuatl from the vicinity of Huautla, Hidalgo, Mexico. The first three texts were dictated; the remaining three were tape-recorded. The transcriptions were checked with the informant and she gave a full Spanish translation. Although she did not learn Spanish until she was twelve, she has worked in Mexico City and is fully fluent in Spanish.

The orthography used is a standard one except that **λ** is written tl. It consists of the vowels a, e, i, o; semi-vowels y and w; and consonants č, h, k, l, m, n, p, s, š, t, ç, and tl. In Spanish words b and r are also used. Stress is regular, always falling on the penultimate syllable. Vowel length is not indicated.

This work would not have been possible without the dedicated collaboration of Antonia Osorio. I owe a great debt to her ability, industry and intelligence, and an even greater one to the patience with which she led me stumbling through the intricacies of the Nahuatl verb. It was marvelous fun.

I would also like to thank my professors, Dr. Francesca Merlan and Thomas Smith-Stark for their aid and advice. They had no hand in preparing the final text; the deficiencies are mine.

I. FIRST EXPERIENCES IN SCHOOL

Nahuatl Text

1. Kemah iyohyok niyahki ni tlamačtiloni ašnihnekiyaya niyas welis pampa ašnihmatiyaya tlake ki'itosneki. Nopa kampa ietok tlamačtihketl. Kemah ačtowi se tonal niyahki tlamačtiloni nimakasiyaya nopa tlamačtihketl. Kemañih ašnihwikayaya no ama, kemañih ašnihwikayaya notlakwilol. Kiya nopa panoyaya se tonal ašnitlakwilowayaya. Kemañih nečtlatlaniyaya nopa tlamačtihketl parantleh ašnihwika noama wan notlakwilol. Iyohyok aštlahke nihwikayaya tlen ika nitlakwiloskiya. Nečkowitoya notata se pisara ya. Nopa nihtekiwiya ašnihmatiyaya kenihkaça nihtekiwis. Nikitayaya temi notlakwilol. Ayok nitlakwilowayaya.

2. Kemañih nikisayaya kaltenoh. Kemah nečtemowayaya nopa tlamačtihketl na nimawiltiya kaltenoh. Kemañih nečtlatlaniyaya ika se nomih wan ya

Translation

1. When I first went to school I didn't want to go, perhaps because I didn't know what it was all about. There was a teacher there. The first day I went to school I was afraid of that teacher. Sometimes I didn't bring my papers, sometimes I didn't bring my pencils. And so it happened that I didn't write. Sometimes the teacher asked me why I didn't bring my notebook and pencils. At first I didn't even bring something to write on. My father bought me a slate. I used it but I didn't know how to use it. I saw that it was filled by my chalk. I stopped writing on it. (That is, she didn't understand that the slate could be erased.)

2. Sometimes I went outside. While the teacher was looking for me, I played outside. Sometimes he asked my

onasiyaya nočah nečtlateilwiyaya ika notata, pampa na san nimawiltitinemi. Teipah ayok nihnekiyaya niyas pampa na nihnekiyaya nimawiltis nočah. Kemančih nečahwayaya notata ašnihneki niyas nopa tlamačtiloni. (Ki)ya nopa kemančih nimotlatiyaya kemah nihmatiyaya yasa nomih nopa tlamačtiloni. Kemančih nečtilantiyawiyaya ipan nomah wan na nihkawačahčiyaya ašnihnekiyaya niyas nopa tlamačtiloni.

3. Kiya nopa panok se šiwitl. Welis na ašnihmati tlahke panok nopa šiwitl. Teipah welis ači nimoskalti; wahka nikičtiyaki parantleh monekih timomačtisen. Ome šiwitl wahka ninelkitak nopa sekinok ičpokameh; nikinitayaya yehwantih miyak iniama, ininmoštin. Wahka na no nihnekiyaya nihkwaikpowitinemis nočikih temi ika nopa amatinih ipah nočikih. Teipah kemah na nikišmatitiyakiya nihkamatiyaya manečpanoltikan ipan nopa kampa ihkatok se wapali kampa kimpanoltiyah momačtiani. Kimpanoltiyayah pa ki'itas nopa tlamačtihketl ahkeya ači weli wan ahkeya ačtowī tlamī.

brother about me, and he came to my house to accuse me to my father because I only liked to play. Then I no longer wanted to go because I wanted to play at my house. Sometimes my father scolded me because I didn't want to go to school. For this reason sometimes I hid myself when I knew that my brother was going to school. Sometimes he hauled me by the hand as we were going and I yelled that I didn't want to go to that school.

3. A year passed. I probably wasn't aware of anything that happened that year. Then perhaps I grew up a little, for then I realized why it was necessary for us to study. In my second year I noticed these other girls; I saw them with their many books and notebooks. Then I also wanted to go along carrying a basket filled with books on my head. Then when I already knew that I wanted them to promote me, there was a platform there where the students passed in review. They were passing in review so that the teacher could see who was more able and who finished first. For this reason I began to

Kiya nopa nihkamatiyahki nimomačtis pampa teipah noselti nikitayaya ašowi pa niyolmatis tlen nopa tečmačtiyayan.

4. Ikah eyi šiwił nopa tlamačtihketl kemah tlailwikištiyayah ipah nopa mahtlaktli wan čikwaseh septiembreh nečmakayaya se amatl pa manihkamatis ininišpah nopa miyak tepašaloanih. Noh nečtlaliyaya nimihtotis ininwaya nopa sekinok ičpokameh pampa nanoh kwali nečilwiyyah noči tlen kinimačtiyayah ičpokameh pa mihtotilisti. Wahka nanoh nihnelpakiyaya pampa nikitayaya nel yehyekčih. Ti'ipankisayayah ininišpah nopa miyak tlamačtianih mosekotiliiyayah ipan se ilwił. Kiya nopa nikitak na noselti nelkwali tlen nopa nikišmatitihahki ipah nopa tlamačtilonih.

5. Kemah na ači niweyiskiya nopa tlamačtihketl nečikneliyaya pampa ya nečitak kwali nočontekoh nihpiya. Santlahke nečilwiyya maniyolmati nimančih ničontekohmatiyaya. Wan ya kitak na nihkamati nimomačtis. Wahka nimančih na nelkwali nimomačtihketl

like to study, because I saw that it was easy to learn by heart what they taught us.

4. Three years later while they were getting the fiesta things ready for the sixteenth of September that teacher gave me a paper to recite before the many visitors. He also chose me to dance with those other girls because I was well spoken of by those who taught the girls to dance. I was very pleased; it seemed beautiful to me. We went out before the many teachers who had come from other places for the fiesta. And so I realized that all that I came to know in school was very good.

5. When I was a little older the teacher loved me a lot because he saw that I had a good head. Whatever he told me to memorize, very soon I knew it by heart. And he saw that I liked to study. Then very soon I became a good student and I caught up with the others. When the teacher realized that I had a good head he wanted me to go to study there where they

nikinasik nopa sekinok. Teipah kemah nopa tlamačtihketl ki'itak na nelkwali noçontekoh nihpiya kinekiyaya maniya manimomačtiti kampah nopa nelkwaltlaliyah pa eliseh tlamačtianih. Ki'ito ya nečpalewiski ya pa manimomačtiti; nečilihki na manihyolmelawa notata wan notata aškinekiyaya kikakis tlen na nikiliyaya. Wahka na ayok tlahke nikilihki. Teipah nopa tlamačtihketl sampa nečtlatlaniyaya kenihki ki'ihitohtoya notata. Na nikiliyaya aškinehki maniya. Kihtowa pampa na nisiwatl, ašwelis nikistinemis kampah weli. Wahka nopa tlamačtihketl kinočki notata kiyolmelawas manečkawili niyas nopa wei tlamačtiloni. Iyon pampa ya miyak tonati ki'ilnamikiliyaya ipanima notata aškinehki; iwan nopa tlamačtihketl moyolkokohki pampa notata ašnečkawili yas.

6. Nopa tlanki tlamačtiloni; nopa tlamačtihketl yahki ičah mosiyakowato. Teipah nopa tlamačtihketl ayok mokwepki. Kemah tihmatkeh kimihtitoyah. Kiya nopa na ayok welki nihčiwas tlahke pa nimomačtis pampa notata aškinekiyaya manikisa kampa weli. Kiya nopa nimokahki. Ipan ome šiwitl ayok nimomačti.

train teachers. He said that he could help me to study there; he told me to tell my father about it, but my father didn't want to listen to what I was saying. So I didn't discuss it with him further. Then the teacher asked me again what my father had said. I told him that he didn't want me to go. He said that because I was a woman I would not be able to go there where I wanted. Then the teacher called on my father to advise him that he should permit me to go to that superior school. Not even he succeeded because though many days had passed my father was convinced that he did not want it; the teacher was heartbroken because my father would not permit me to go.

6. School ended; the teacher went home to rest. But he never returned. Then we heard that he had been killed. So I was no longer able to do anything about further study because my father didn't want me to go where I wished. So I stayed home. After two years I no longer studied.

II. "TELL ME ABOUT YOUR MOTHER"

Nahuatl Text

1. Nonana kemah iknotiški mokahki ika ome pilikniwah. Kipiyayaya ipih ya monamiktoyaya. Wahka nonana mokahki ika ome ipilikniwah; kinmokwilawiyaya itata. Mokahki kwalli teipah, ašwehkahki, noh mihki. Nonana ya kinmokwitlawiyaya ipilikniwah; nopa seyok ači weyiya eltoya.

2. Teipah nonana ki'ismatki notata. Notata noh iknoçih eltoya. Mo'išmatkih ome, mowikaltikeh iknoçih. Noh wahka nonana kinmokwitlawih napanoh pa ome ikniwah. Teipah nopa seyok monamikti. Mokahki sanse keman nonana monamikti. Kipiyayaya mahtlaktli wan makwilli. Ome mosekotilihkih iknoçih, notatawah. Aštlahke kipiyayah kemah mosekotilihkih; pilteiknoçih eltoyah. Wahka notata pehki tekiti pa ki'itas iteki.

Translation

1. When my mother was orphaned she was left with two little sisters. She had one older sister who was married. Then my mother was left with her two little sisters; her father cared for them. She was truly bereft then, for he did not survive; he also died. My mother cared for her little sisters; the other one was already grown up.

2. Then my mother got to know my father. My father was also an orphan. They got acquainted, those two; the orphans paired off. At that time my mother was caring for her two sisters. Then one married. One was left when my mother married. She was fifteen. Those two orphans, my parents, they got together. They had nothing when they got together; they were little orphans. Then my father began to work hard so his work would show.

3. Teipah kipiški ačtowi se ininkoneh nopa seyok iknih nonana tlen eltoya nelkwekweçih. Sampa ya monamikti nopa i'ikniwah. Ačtowi mihki se i'iknih kikatehki ome siwapilmeh nopa iknih. Ačtowi ehketl kinkatehki ome i'ičpokawah noh. Kiya nopa nonana aškemah welki kinitas i'ikniwah ači. Miyak šiwitl namah nopa ome i'ikniwah ininkonewah sansese iničpokawah. Içtoke nopa teipanewah noh monamiktito; kinpiya eyi ikonewah. Nopa seyok imačkoneh kinpiya makwilmeh ikonewah.

4. Ya nopa nonana ičtowalahki ika miyak tlamantli. Nonana kinpiški čikweyi ikonewah; eyi mihkih, makwilmeh kinpišto nonana. Ačtowi kipanoyaya nelowi. Miyak tlamantli panotiwalahki pampa ačiowi kitlaniyaya tomih. Nonana kemah kiniskalti ikonewah kipalewiyaya notata ika tekiti. Kwali kinmokwitlawiyaya ikonewah. Amah nonana ayok tekiti. Nopa ikonewah kikneliyah pampa weweliškehyah wan ya noh piltenançiya.

5. Nohah kilnamiki kenihki panotiwalahki kemañih.

3. Before any of her own children my mother raised that one sister who was very young. Eventually she married. Before she died one of her sisters left my mother two little girls. The older sister had previously left two daughters also. So my mother was never able to see her sisters again. After many years today the children of those two sisters of hers each has daughters. There was the younger one who finally got married; she has three children. Her other niece has five children.

4. Life was very full for my mother. She had eight children; three died, five remain to her. At first life was very difficult for her. There were many problems because it was hard to earn money. After my mother had raised her children she helped my father with his work. She cared for her children very well. Now my mother no longer works. Her children love her because they are grown and also because she is now a little old lady.

5. She still remembers how it used to be. She remembers

Kilnamiki aškipiyayaya tlen ika mokowis se ači yoyomitl. Ya nopa kemañih kitowa močokiliyaya pampa ačtowi nelowi kenihki motlakwaltisen. Kemañih aškiasiliyayan kwali kenihki tečtlakwaltis. Ipanima mokwatotoniyyaya kitayaya tohwantih aštihmatiyayah tlah ašonka tlen tikwaseh. Kiya nopa nonana kemañih mokwesowayaya, kemañih močokiliyaya.

that she didn't have even a little to buy herself some clothing. She sometimes told me about this crying because at first it was very hard for them to support themselves. Sometimes my father was not given enough to maintain us. He was always preoccupied because he saw that we did not know what to do if there wasn't anything to eat. So my mother sometimes mortified herself and sometimes she cried.

III. CHILDBIRTH IN HUAZALINGUILLO.

Nahuatl Text

1. Kenihki mokoneskaltiyah nopa kwasalinkomeh kemah tlanemiltiyah.¹ Se siwatl ašmosiyakawa noči tonal meçtli kipiya tlanemiltiya. Mokwakowiliya motlačikweniya moatlakwiliya motišiliya. Kiya nopa nemih kemah tlanemiltiyah.

2. Kemançih se siwatl kipiya çikwaseh o çikome meçtli, kimaçiliya kençih mopasmaka wahka kiyolmelawa iteta makinoçati nopa temapaçohketl.² Kinoça yawi nopa temapaçohketl. Onasi içah ki'iliya mamokeça. Ipan se petlatl moteka. Wahka pewa kišišitowa ika imah,

Translation

1. How they grow their babies, these Huazalinguillas, when they are pregnant. A woman does not rest the entire time she is pregnant. She goes to gather wood, she washes, she carries water, she grinds corn. This is what they do when they are pregnant.

2. Sometimes when a woman is six or eight months pregnant she feels a little sick; then she tells her husband to go call the midwife. He tells the midwife to come. She arrives at the woman's house and tells her to get out of bed. She lies down on a petate. Then she begins to massage her with her hand; she warms her. She says again that she has come to

¹ tlanemiltiyah. tla = something; nema = to be; l = causative; tiya = to go along (doing something); i.e., to-go-along-making-something-be, to be pregnant.

² tema = to put many things one by one; paçowa = to press down gently; ketl = nominalizer. In reference to the fact that the midwife repetetively presses and massages the pregnant woman's stomach.

kitotoniya. Sampa ilwiya kikwaltlalikiya nopa pilkoneçih. Kinilwiya pampa tlanečkaltetiwala.

3. Pano seyok meçtli; sampa kimaçiliya; sampa yawi kinoça nopa tešišitohketl. Noh kitemowa seki inintepahtikah. Kemah moçikawas nopa tlanemiltihketl, mapalewise ika nopa tešišitohketl.

4. Asi čiknawi meçtli nopa tlanemiltihketl kitokiliya ika iteki. Ašmosewiya, motišiliya motlačikweniya noči kičiwa ininteki. Kemah ayamo kašani, kemah kimaçiliya ači čikawak ikokowa ayok weli nehnemi wahka tlayolmelawa makinoçati nopa tešišitohketl.

5. Yehwantih momatokehya mokašanihya ininčaça pampa ašonka kalli kampa moçikawaseh. Wahka noči nopa masewalçiçih kašanih, kemah kipiayah se pilkoneçih, kipiayah ininçah.

6. Kemah asi tonal moçikawasehya kinoçah nopa tešišitohketl. Yawi nopanoh kičiya kema kašanis. Wahka

settle the little baby. She tells them this because her time is coming closer.

3. Another month passes; she feels sick again and again her husband goes to call the midwife. He also looks for the curandero who will console the pregnant woman in order to help the midwife.

4. Even at the ninth month the pregnant woman continues with her work. She doesn't sit around; she grinds corn, she washes things, she does all her woman's work. When she hasn't yet given birth but when she feels her time is near and she can no longer walk, she tells him to go call the midwife.

5. They customarily give birth at home because there is no hospital. All those Indian women when they give birth, when they have a little baby, they have it at home.

6. When the day they are going to deliver arrives, they

nopa tešišitohketl temapačowa ipah i'iti wan kipalewiya iteta nopa aki močikawa. Kemah tlakati pilkonečih kitlaliliya se ači yoyomitl; nopanoh kikawa wečto. Ačtowi kišikteki wan kičiya mapano nopa isiwayo. Kemah panoka noči wahka kitlalana pilkonečih kipopowa kwali ika yoyomitl; kikimilowa ika ači yoyomitl tilawak. Wahka inana kipanoltiya ipan se petlatl ičonteko ika se tlakemitl. Kemah kitekahya nopa siwatl wahka kitlalana nopa tešišitohketl. Yawi atenoh ontlapapaka tlen nopa kisokiwi.

7. Kiya nopa siwatl ašnimančih tlakwa pampa ašweli mokeča pa yas kaltenoh. Pano ači tlahkotonal, ači tiotlak. Wahka kikwitlawiltiyah matlakwa pampa tlah aškineki kikwastlahke aškipiyas miyak iyahayo pa ki'oniltis ipilkoneh.

8. Kiya nopa asi čikweyi tonal; aštlahke kičiwa pampa ya nopa momati. Kaštoli tonatih nohah ayi pewa kwakwawi pampa welis motlanawise. Kipiya se mečtli wahka pewa kičiwa nopa tekittl čikawak.

call the midwife. She goes there and awaits the birth. Then the midwife kneads her stomach and the husband helps the woman who is giving birth. When the little baby is born she puts him on a little cloth and leaves him lying there. First she cuts the umbilicus and then she waits for the placenta to pass. When it has all passed she picks up the little baby and washes him well with a cloth; she wraps him up in a thick cloth. Then she puts his mother on a petate with a pillow and a cover. When she has put the woman to bed, then the midwife picks up. She goes to the river and there she thoroughly washes everything that was dirtied.

7. The woman doesn't eat anything yet because she is not able to get up to go outside. In a little while it is midday, in a little while afternoon. Then they go to urge her to eat something because if she doesn't want to eat she will not have enough milk for her baby.

8. A week passes; she does nothing because that is the custom. Even after a fortnight she does not start to gather

9. (Ki)ya nopa pilkoneçih kimaçtiya. Kemançih kinwiwiyoçiwiliyah kinkoçtekah napanoh wan kemançih pilkoneçih aškwalı kimaçiliya wahka aškineki weçtos. Wahka kitlalana inana motlaliliya ikwitlapa; momamaltiya ika imamatl. Kiya nopa kiçiwa iteki. Kimamatinemi kiçitinemi noçi tlen ya kiçiwa ipah iteki kaliktik.

10. Kemah pilkoneçih kimaçiliya i'ti kwakwalo innnana kimolonyah açi anis; kimakah ika ikamah. Kiya nopa kinimaçtitiyawih pilkoneçiçih, kinimakah ika ininkamah innnana. Kemah kimaçiliya pilkoneçih kwaltitoka, wahka sampa pewakiteka ipa iwiyo. Kiya nopa kiniskaltitiyawih pilkonemeh.

11. Kemah kipiya çikwaseh meçtli pewah kinimaçtiyah mosewıseh. Kintetonyah ika ikpaltinih; ika se yoyomitl kinilpiyah mosewihiya; kiya nopa kinimaçtitiyawih mosewıseh. Kemah kipiya çikweyi meçtli

wood because she might hurt herself. It is a month before she begins to do any difficult work.

9. She teaches the little baby. Sometimes they make swings for them and put them to sleep there but sometimes the little baby does not feel good and then he does not want to lie down. Then his mother picks him up and puts him on her back; she carries him in her shawl. She does her work this way. She usually carries him while she does her housework.

10. When the little babies' stomachs hurt their mothers boil a little anise and put it in their mouths. This way they go along teaching their little babies; their mothers put something in their mouths for them. When the little baby feels good again, she puts him back to bed in his swing. In this fashion they go about rearing little babies.

11. When they are six months old they begin to teach them to sit up. They brace them with log benches; they fasten them with a cloth in a sitting position; this is how they go about teaching them to sit up. When they are eight months

kinimačtiyah makikwakah tlaškali. Kinimakah mimiltik; kiptiyak istatl. Kiya nopa kinimačtitiyawih miyak tlamantli makikwakah kokok; kinimakah tlakwali kokok. Kiya nopa kinimačtiyah makikwakan noči, pilkonečcih. Kinimačtitiyawih noči.

12. Se šiwiłl kipiayah kišmatihya noči kikwaseh tlen mokwah. Sanke welih makah tlen nopa mokwah: teksistli kinimakah tlamontli; kemañih kiçoyoniliyah; lalaš kinimakah ika ipaço; kwali kimatih; yehwantih kičičinoh. Kwašilotl kinimakah. Kiya nopa kikwatinemih; ašmonekih kinmokwitlawiseh kenihki kikwaseh; san kikišteliyah ipetlayo. Kiya nopa kinimakah pilkonemeh sampaktokoh. Kikwatinemih tlen nopa kinimačtiyah ininselti makikwakah.

13. Ome šiwiłl yehwantih noči kwali kikwah. Kiya nopa kinimačtiyah kininenemiltiyah. Tonališ kiniwikah mila, atenoh tlačikweniti inana, tetlamakati³ inana. Kiya

old they teach them to eat tortillas. They give them to them rolled up and salted. In this manner they go about teaching them about the many spicy things to eat; they give them spicy food. This way they teach the little babies to eat everything. They continue to teach them everything.

12. When they are a year old they already are acquainted with everything edible. This is what they give to them of what is edible: they give them eggs boiled, and sometimes stewed; they give them oranges divided into sections; they like this; they suck it. They give them bananas. They are accustomed to eating them; the (mothers) don't want to have to concern themselves about how they will eat them; they only remove the skins. This way they make the little babies content. They get used to eating what their mothers themselves have taught them they may eat.

13. By age two they eat everything very well. Then they

³ te-tla-maka-ti. A form combining the terms for someone-something-carry-directional. It is the idiom always used for the daily task of the wife to carry midday food to her husband in the milpa. It is a major daily chore, since sometimes the woman has to walk several miles to a distant field.

nopa kinimačtiyah; kinkištiyah kampa yawih ininnana kemah ašaki ahkeya kinmokwitlawis. Kiya nopa kinmačtiyah noči konemeh.

teach them to go about walking on their feet. During the day their mothers carry them to the milpa; or to the river when they go to wash; or when they go to deliver the midday food. They teach them this way, and if there is no one to take care of them, their mothers carry them wherever they go. All the children are taught this way.

IV. PRAYERS DURING CHILDBIRTH

Nahuatl Text

1. Kemah se siwatl kipiya ipilkoneh napanoh iĉtok se tepahtihketl. Kemah nopa teitaketl kitlaĉilihtok nopa siwatl pa matlakatis ipilkoneh napanoh iĉtok noh tepahtihketl. Kemah ayi tlakati ipilkoneĉih tepahtihketl pewa kamati ika itlatol kenihki yehwantih momatih momaihtowah,¹ pewa kamati kenihki yehwantih kamatih tlatlatlatiyah.²

2. Kitowa: "Totekoh ſihpalewi ni mokoneh, amo matlaihyowi mamopanoti ika ni pilkoneĉih. Totekoh, na nimomaihtowa moiſpah; ſihpalewi maki'ita ni pilkoneĉih. Amo ſihtlaihyowilti. Na yeka nimomaihtowa moiſpah ma'aſtlaihyowi. Matihpalewukah ni tokoneh amanĉih

Translation

1. When a woman has a baby a curer is present. While the midwife was seeing to the baby's birth a curer was also there. Before the little baby is born the curer begins, he prays in the way they are accustomed to lift their hands in prayer, he begins to speak in the way they usually speak when they are praying.

2. He says: "Our grandfather, help this child of yours, that she not suffer, that nothing happen to this little baby. Our grandfather, I lift my hands before you, help her to see this little baby. Don't bring suffering to her. I lift my hands in prayer to you, that she not suffer. Let us help this child of

¹ mo = reflexive; ma = hand; ihtowa = to say something; i.e., to lift one's hands in prayer.

² tlatlatlatiya. From tlatiya 'burn'. It refers specifically to the act of swinging the censer during prayers so that the incense burns.

tlaihyowiya. Na nimiçtlatlaniya šihpalewi, matihpalewikah. Totekoh, tonançih, šihpalewi matlakati ni pilkoneçih, maaštlaihyowi inana, matihpalewikan. Nikah na nimoışpantiya ika se kantelah; ika açi winoh nimiçtlaçikwiniltiya. Tohwantih nikah timomaihtoticateh ika ta, a titeçtlaçlihtok, titeçpalewiya, noçi mokonewah. Tikimaihtowah.

3. "Šiteçpalewi ika ni tlaihyowili, amo šihtlaihyowilti ni tokoneh. Na nimiçtlateliya ika se kantelah. Nimiçtlapopoçwiliya nikanoh. Nimomaihtowa moişpah. Amo šihtlaihyowilti ni tokoneh. Mamopanolti ika ni pilkoneçih, matlakatikwali nikah. Na nimomaihtowa moişpah amo šihtlaihyowilti. Na nimiçtlaçikwiniltiliya, nimiçtlapopoçwiliya nikah. Nimomaihtowa ika açi tlaçikwintli, na nimiçtlatlaniliya ni maihtolli. Totekoh, šiteçpalewi, šihpalewi ni tokoneh ma'aštlaihyowi napanoh, mamoçikawa, maki'ita ipilkoneh.

4. "Ipan ni tlaltikpaktli tohwantih timoişpantiyah ika

yours who is suffering now. I beg you to help her, let us help her. Our grandfather, our mother, help her to bear this little baby without suffering; let us help her. Here I stand before you with a candle, with a little aguardiente I am toasting you. We here lift our hands again and again to you; you have interceded for us, you help us, all your children. We beseech you.

3. "Help us alleviate this suffering; don't cause your child to suffer. I attract you with a candle. I offer you incense here. I lift my hands to you. Do not bring suffering to your child. Let her bring forth this little baby; let it be born easily here. I beseech you, don't cause her suffering. I toast you, I offer you incense. I lift my hands in a toast, I am begging you with uplifted hands. Our grandfather, help us, help her, your child, help her not to suffer, let her deliver it and see her little baby.

4. "From this earth we lift our faces to you. Help us;

ta. Šitečpalewi amo šitečtlaihyowilti. Yeka tohwantih timoišpantiyah moišpah. Timomaihtowah timiçtlaçikwiniliyah nikah tlaišpantenoh; nopa tlaltikpaktini³ noçi mamonečkawikan, maki'itakan, makipalewikah, ni tokoneh, ma'aštlaihyowi. Na nimomaihtowa nikah moišpah makwalli mopanolti ika ne ipilkoneh.

5. "Tašihlawili, ta šihpalewi. Tonançih, totioçih, nikah nitlatlaniliya, nikah nimomaihtowa moišpah; šitečpalewi, šihpalewi ni tokoneh ma'aštlaihyowi. Na nimiçtlateliya nikah, motlawil. Matihpalewikah. Šihpalewi, šihlaneštli nikah ika se tlaneštli, mamopanolti kwali; ma'aštlaihyowi. Amo šitlaihyowilti. Yeka na nimomaihtowa nikah moišpah mamopanolti kwali ika ni pilkoneçih."

don't cause us to suffer. For this reason we lift our faces to you. We lift our hands to you. We toast you here beside the altar; permit those others to approach, let them see it, let them help her, this child of yours, so that she doesn't suffer. Here I lift my hands before you to beg that everything go well with this little baby.

5. "Enlighten her, help her. Our mother, our God, I am begging here, I lift my hands to you. Help us, help your child, so that she doesn't suffer. I attract you, your light, here. Let us help her. Help her, enlighten her with brightness, so that it all goes well, so that she doesn't suffer. Don't bring suffering to her. For this purpose I lift my hands before you; let everything go well with this little baby."

³ tlaltikpaktini. The implication here is that the curandero is calling on the spirits of the departed villagers, who are assumed to stay around the village after death, and who are assumed to have a vaguely beneficent effect in trying circumstances, such as childbirth.

V. CURING CEREMONY AFTER CHILDBIRTH

Nahuatl Text

1. Tlakatkiya pilkoneçih, nopa te'itaketl kitlalana pilkoneçih, kipopowa ika se yoyomitl; kikimilowa, kiteka ipah petlatl. Kemah panohkah inana noçi nopa iteçyo, kiwika kaltenoh, kitlalpaçowa. Teipah mokwepa nopa te'itaketl. Kiteka inana pilkoneçih. Wahka yawi atenoh tlaçikweniti tlen nopa yoyomitl kisokiwihki. Kiwika atenoh kiçikweniti. Kiya nopa çikweyi tonal yawi ontlaçikweniya. Kiya nopa kikištiti yoyomitl sokiyok nopa kokošektl; kiçikweniliya, nopa tetlaçikwenihketl, iyoyo.

2. Teipah kemah çikweyi tonal kipiyya mokeça, nopa tetlaçikwenihketl noçi kitlalana: petlatl, yoyontinih, tlen kitekiwih nopa siwatl tlen kipiški ipilkoneh. Kitlalentewa tetlaçikwenihketl, kiwika atenoh kompapaka petlatl,

Translation

1. When the little baby has been born the midwife picks it up and cleans it with a cloth; she wraps it up and puts it to bed on a petate. When the mother has passed all the placenta, she carries it outside and buries it. Then she returns and she puts the baby's mother to bed. Then she goes to the river to wash the dirtied clothing. She carries it to the river to wash it. For the next week she does the washing. That cleanser takes the clothing the invalid has dirtied and washes it for her.

2. When a week has passed the woman gets up and the cleanser picks everything up: the petate, her clothing, whatever the woman used when she had her little baby. After picking it up the cleanser leaves and takes it all to the river where she thoroughly washes the petate, the blanket and the clothing which the woman wore when she had her baby.

tlakemitl, iyoyowah, tlen kitekiwiki nopa siwatl kemah kipiški ipilkoneh.

3. Čikweyi tonal aškičiwatlahke iteki ači čikawak. Kaštoli tonatih pewa motišiliya, moatlakwiliti, tlačpana ičah. Ika se mečtli pewaya mokwakwawiliti. Yawi tlačikweniti, kwakwawiti. Kemah kipiya se mečtli wahka pewa kičiwa ya etik tekitl. Kemančih toawimeh momatih kimamah ininpilkonewah kemah yawih onatlakwih, kemah yawih ontetlamakah, kemah yawih tlačikweniyah. Kemah ičtokeh motišiliyah ininčah kimamah ipilkonewa.¹ Kiya nopa kičiwah, nopa toawimeh. Noh momahtokehyah kimamahtinemih ni pilkonewah.

4. Noh momahtokehyah welis momačtikeh ika totlaimeh tlen ači wehkaya ičtoyah tlamačtitokeh nopa tlamantli. Seki momatih kemah kipiayah pilkonečičih nawi mečtli, čikwaseh mečtli, ki'ilnamikih ki'ahaltiseh² nopa

3. Even after a week has passed the woman doesn't do any hard work. After a fortnight she begins to grind corn, to carry water, and to sweep the house. After a month she begins to carry wood again. She goes to do the washing and she gathers wood. After a month, then, she begins to do her heavy work. These women are accustomed to carry their babies on their backs when they go to fetch water, or when they go to deliver the midday food, or when they go to do the washing. When they are in their houses grinding corn they carry their children. This is the way these women do it. They are used to carrying their children about with them.

4. They also have a custom, which perhaps they learned from their forebears; perhaps their ancestors taught them about these things. It happens that when the little baby is four to six

¹ Even though the reference here is to women carrying their children, the singular possessive pronoun *i-* and the singular object pronoun *ki-* are used. Perhaps this has to do with the impossibility of carrying more than one child on your back at the same time.

² This refers to a ritual bathing of the child. It must be done not so much for the child's sake, as for the sake of the midwife. If the ceremony is not performed the midwife will get sick.

pilkoneçih, pampa noh kineki mopatis nopa te'itaketl pampa momatokeyyah. Se pilkoneçih tlakati monekih kiahaltiseh ika nepatl.

5. Kemah kilnamikih ki'ahaltiseh monekih, kipiaseh se çikwaseh piyomeh, çikweyi piyomeh. Kemah kilnamikih ki'ahaltiseh nopa pilkoneçih kiyolmelawah nopa tetlaçikwenihketl pampa moneki ya kiseliti nopa itamal wan kitlaştlawiseh. Ya noh moneki momaitekis.

6. Wahka kemah kiçiwahya, kiçiwah se wei tamali. Momati noh kemah se siwatl kipiya ipilkoneh seki tokaltenoh yehwantih momatih kiwikah seki çiltlaşkali, seki kiwikah ayokatl, tlaşkaltotonik konkawiliyah tlen kipiya ipilkoneh.

7. Wahka kemah kiçiwan nopa pahtli mosekotiliyah ipah nopa tonal kemah tetlaçikwenihketl ya kiahaltiti nopa pilkoneçih, nopa pilkoneçih tlen ki'itak tlaçikwenihketl. Ya kiahaltiti içah kemah kiçiwa nopa pahtli. Kemah eltoka

months old they decide to ritually bathe the little baby, because it is necessary for the midwife to cure herself this way; this is the custom. When a little baby has been born it is necessary to bathe it with nopal water.

5. When they decide to have the ceremonial bathing of the little baby they need six or eight chickens. When they decide to ceremonially bathe the little baby they invite the cleanser because she must receive her tamale that they will pay for. It is also necessary for her to ritually wash her hands.

6. Then when they are preparing for the ceremony they make a big tamale. It is also necessary when a woman has had a baby that some of her neighbors bring some enchiladas; some bring bean stew; they leave hot tortillas there for the new mother.

7. When they have the curing ceremony they get together on the day when the cleanser will bathe the little baby, the little baby that she watched over. When she performs that

nopa e (wei) tamali, kišolewah kališpah nopanoh ičtokeh
nopa teišmatkawah, kinimamakaseh ahači nopa wei tamali.

8. Mišamiya, mo'ikšipapaka, tetlačikwenihketl.
Motlakoahaltiya ika nopa anepalatl. Wahka pewa ya
momaihtowa kampah kišoletohkeh nompā tamali wan
kampah kitohkeh nopa itečyo pilkonečih. Nopanoh yawi
onmomaihtowa wan noh pewa kamati ika itlatol kitowa
nikanih: "Nimotlisewiya, nimomaihtowa, tohwantih
tikinkawilikeh ni itečyo, makitlalanakah, totlaltikpak
yehwantih."

9. Mokwepa kampah eltok wei tamali šoletok, nohkiya
momaihtowa, kihtowa: "Nikah nimomasewiya,
nimomaihtowa. Kemah na nimoišpanti mačikahki ni
tokoneh, nihpalewihki, na nitlalanki nopa yoyomitl sokiyok.
Amah nimomasewiya ika ni išpantli. Timosekotilitokeh
tlisewiyah ni tliitl, kemah tinečkawikeh tlatki pilkonečih."
Nopanoh pewa tlakopočwiya, kitlatiya kantelah nopanoh
içtok nopa tepatihketl.

curing ceremony she goes to its house to bathe it. When the
big tamale is ready they open it up in the patio where all the
friends and relatives are assembled; they pass around pieces of
the big tamale to everyone.

8. The cleanser washes her face and her feet. She washes
her torso with nopal water. Then she begins to lift her hands
in prayer where the tamale has been opened, and also where
the baby's placenta had been buried. She goes there to lift her
hands in prayer, and she also begins to pray. She says: "I
quench the light, I lift my hands in prayer, we leave this
placenta for our departed ones of the earth to pick up."

9. She returns to the place where the big tamale is opened
up and there also she lifts her hands in prayer. She says:
"Here I offer my hands, I lift my hands in prayer. When I
went to her to help her, this child of ours, I helped her; I
picked up that dirty clothing. Now I lift my hands before
you. We have joined together to put out this light as we

10. **Pewa kamati sampayanoh. Kemah tlamis kinimamaka ahači tamali nopa tlen mosekotilitokeh. Mišamiya, momatekiya, mo'ikšipapaka ika nopa nepalatl. Kiya nopa momatih kemah se pilkonečih tlakati.**

11. **Kemah tlamiyah momaihtotehuah nopa tetlačikwenihketl, tepatihketl, kinimamakah ome kantelah se boteyah winoh. Se mahtlaktli pesoh o kaštoli pesoh kemañih tlainamah. Kiya nopa momatih kemah tlakati se pilkonečih wan kemah momaihtowah nopa tepatihketl, tetlačikwenihketl, mopahtiyah. Noh kininočah mamomatekitih. Kiya nopa momatih yehwantih. Mopahtiyah kemah ki'itah se pilkonečih o kemah ki'itah se siwatl kipiya ikoneh.**

approach the place where the little baby was born." She begins to wave the incense burner there and to light a candle where the curer is.

10. She begins to speak again. When she has finished she passes around pieces of tamale to those who have assembled. She washes her face, her hands and her feet with nopal water. This is the custom when a little baby has been born.

11. When they are finished praying the cleanser and the curer pass around two candles and a bottle of aguardiente. Sometimes they collect ten or fifteen pesos. This is the custom when a little baby is born and when the curer and the cleanser pray and perform a curing. They have been called to ritually wash their hands. This is the custom. They perform a curing when they see the little baby or when they see a woman who has had a child.

VI. HOW TO MAKE CEREMONIAL TAMALES

Nahuatl Text

1. Kemah kičiwah tamali nopa masewalčičih, ačtowī kitekih papatlak iswatl. Teipah kipanoltiyaḥ ipan tlītl pa mamokawah yemanik. Kemah kičiwah tamali tiših, kiompawiyah pa mamokawah tamali kwali tlapapatlatleh. Ačtowī kitiših čili, čili kitekiliyah atl. Noh kitišiliyah kominoh, klavoh, ahoh.

2. Kemah kimiktiyah pičo ačtowī kimanah atl molonih. Kemah eltoka atl tlamolontli kimiktiyah pičo. Kemah kimiktikehya kitekiliyah atl molontok. Kiwawanah; teipah kišteliyah ikwetlašo ika ičonteki, i'ohomiyo, i'ohomiyotipa. Teipah kikištiliyah ičiyahka, kičoyoniyah ičiyahka. Teipah kičiwah čačaroh.

3. Kemah eltoka tištli kipapatlawah papatlak tlen nopa kitlipanoltihtokeh pa welis kičiwaseh nopanoh tamali.

Translation

1. When Indian women make tamales first they cut flat leaves. Then they pass them over the fire so they will soften. When they make tamales they grind the corn twice, so the tamales can be smoothly flattened. First they grind chile and add water to it. They also grind in cumin, cloves, and garlic.

2. When they have killed the pig, first they put water on to boil. When it has boiled they kill the pig. After it is killed they throw boiled water on it. They scrape it, and afterwards they remove the skin from its head, its body and its legs. Then they take the fat off and fry it. Then they make cracklings.

3. When the masa is ready they spread it out on the flat leaves which they had already softened in the fire so that they

Kemah kičiwah tamali ačtowi kikatiliyah čili. Ipan se wei kašitl naka tlaçəontektli kimanalowah ika čili. Teipah nopanoh kikwitiyawih. Kemah kičiwah tamali ačtowi kipapatlawah tištli. Teipah kitlaliliyah čili i'iško. Teipah kitlaliyah nakatl. Sampa kitekiliyah ači čili ipan se kampah kipapatlahtokeh tištli; nopanoh kitekiliyah čili. Teipah kikimilowah; ika papatlak šiwitl kikimilowah, kitatakatowah.

4. Kemah kitlamičihkehya se čačapali noh kimantokehya ipan tlišihtli. Ki'išyeyekowah kenihki kiašilis molonis, nopa tamali. Kitlaliliyah se kwawitl ičintla nopa čačapali pa ma'aštlatla tlah ayok tlami nopa čačapali. Kemah kitlalikehya nopa kwawitl ipan čačapali wahka kitemahya nopa tamali tlen kikimilohtokeh. Teipah kitlaliliyah i'iško ači papatlak. Teipah kitlaliyah se komali. Pewa moloni atlahko tlišitli. Kitlalihtokeh nopa čačapali mamoloni. Kiya nopa kičiwah inintamal. Noči tlen kipiktiyawih kitlaliyah ipan čikiwitl. Kemah tlamihyah

could make the tamales there. When they make tamales, first they mix chile with water. They mix meat cut in pieces with chile on a large platter. They mix it together thoroughly. When they make tamales first they spread the masa out. Then they put chile on top of it. Then they add the meat. Again they add some chile to spread out masa. There they add chile. Then they wràp it up; they wrap it up with a flat leaf and tie it.

4. When they have finished making them they put them in a deep pot on the fire. They calculate how long those tamales should boil. They put a piece of wood in the bottom of the deep pot so that it won't scorch if there is no more water. After they have put this piece of wood in the deep pot then they put in the wrapped up tamales. Then they put some flat leaves on top. Then they put on a comal. The pot with water begins to boil on the hearth. They have put that deep pot where it should boil. That is the way they make their tamales. They put into a basket all those they have gone about wrapping up. When they have finished making tamales they

tamalčiwah, kitlalanah noči tlasoli tlen kitekiwiyah. Ayok kitekiwiyah kitepewah.

5. Kemah kičiwah inintlakwal nohkiya tlah kimiktiyah se piyo, se totoli, kinehkih kičiwaseh piyotlakwali. Kemah kičiwah čiltetik nohkiya kikakaçowa ačtowi nopa čili. Teipah kimanah ipan se čačapali, kimolonyah ači nopa kemah kititiših ipan metlatl aščikawak pampa kemah aškimoloniya nopa čili tlaličtik, ašwelih motišihkwali. Wahka kemah toka molonik, kitiših ipah metlatl. Tlaliliyah kominoh, kitlaliliyah ašoš, šonakatl, kominoh; sasekoh kitišiliyah. Kemah kwali kitišiltokehya nopa ahwiyak.

6. Wahka kiatiliyah ipah se kašitl kemah kinekih kičiwaseh čiltetik. San ika i'ayo nopa nakatl ki'ateliyah, tekiliyah ači tlačiyahkayotl. Kemah kitlatihtokehya nopa tlačiyahkayotl kitekiliyan napanoh čili. Kiatiliyah ači kitekiliyah ačiyok i'ayonakatl. Napanoh kitemiliyah alahwenoh. Kiya nopa kemah motlakwalčiwah nopa toawimeh. Momatokehya kemah kinekih kičiwaseh inintlakwal.

pick up all the trash that they have made. When it is no longer useful, they throw it out.

5. When they cook, if they kill a chicken or a turkey they will make a chicken dinner. When they make mole first they toast the chile. Afterwards they put it in a large pot and boil it a little so that when they grind it on the metate it will be soft, because if it is not boiled the chile will be leathery and they won't be able to grind it well. When it has been boiled they grind it on a metate. They put in cumin; they add garlic, onion and cumin; they grind them up together. When they have been ground together they smell very good.

6. Then they mix this all with water in a casserole when they wish to make mole. They mix the meat and its broth with water and add a little lard. When they have heated the lard they add the chile. They mix it with a little water and add a little meat broth. They add mint to this. This is what these women do when they cook. This is the way they are used to doing it when they make their meals.

Resumen

Es ésta una interesante colección de textos en náhuatl, según se habla esta lengua en las cercanías de Huautla, estado de Hidalgo. La informante que los proporcionó, Antonia Osorio, habla de sus primeras experiencias en la escuela y de una serie de momentos particularmente significativas en su vida familiar: los quehaceres de su madre, el nacimiento y la crianza de los niños, ceremonias para obtener la curación y preparación de tamales para las fiestas. Incluye asimismo algunas oraciones que, de algún modo, son recuerdo lejano de los antiguos *huehuetlatolli*.