# HOW THE MOTHER OF COTTON WAS STOLEN

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This Ozumacín Chinantec myth relates a conflict between the practitioners of witchcraft of Ozumacín and those of Ojitlan over a mermaid named 'Mother of Cotton.' The Chinantec translated here as 'mother' also is used with the connotation of 'source,' and presumably this personage was responsible for there being cotton in the area. Tradition says there used to be cotton grown in the area, and this likely true. Oddly enough, the story teller imputes to this person powers of protection over the maize and beach crops and says nothing about cotton. The implicit insight that there once were more practitioners of witchcraft is correct.

The myth was dictated and recorded on magnetic tape in October, 1966. The informant was Perfecto Angulo Guatemala, a native of Ayotzintepec, Oaxaca.

## TEXT

1. hą<sup>2</sup> čó<sup>1</sup> ho<sup>2</sup> ma<sup>1</sup>kyą́<sup>2</sup> he<sup>1</sup>hwï<sup>2</sup> ma<sup>2</sup> hï<sup>1</sup> ča<sup>2</sup>hó<sup>2</sup>. 2. sa<sup>3</sup>ma<sup>1</sup><sup>2</sup>ae i<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>ŋyí<sup>3</sup> he<sup>1</sup>hwï<sup>2</sup>ba<sup>1</sup>. 3. ý 3 ma<sup>1</sup><sup>2</sup>la<sup>2</sup> ko<sup>2</sup>

### INTERLINEAR TRANSLATION

1. a Mother of Cotton was-lying town Ozumacín before. 2. notwas-she herself in town. 3. far-away was a lagoon wherein was-she.

#### FREE TRANSLATION

A long time ago a mermaid called the "Mother of Cotton" lived in a lagoon on the plains of Ozumacín. She saw to it that the corn yielded good hmi<sup>2</sup>ŋü<sup>2</sup> he<sup>1</sup> hą<sup>2</sup> ma<sup>1</sup>?ąe<sup>1</sup>. 4. ?e<sup>2</sup> hą<sup>2</sup> na<sup>2</sup> ma<sup>1</sup>kwa<sup>3</sup> fuerte kwi<sup>2</sup> kí?<sup>2</sup> za<sup>2</sup> he<sup>1</sup> ma<sup>1</sup>?ąe<sup>1</sup>. 5. ?e<sup>2</sup> hą<sup>2</sup> na<sup>2</sup> ma<sup>1</sup>za<sup>2</sup>kyą<sup>3</sup> za<sup>2</sup> hi<sup>2</sup>na<sup>2</sup><sup>1</sup> za<sup>2</sup> čą<sup>2</sup> he<sup>1</sup>hwi<sup>2</sup> hyó?<sup>3</sup>. 6. ?į<sup>2</sup> ma<sup>1</sup>kų?<sup>2</sup> čó<sup>1</sup> ho<sup>2</sup> ?é<sup>3</sup>.

7.  ${}^{9}e^{2}hq^{2}na^{2}ma^{19}la^{2}kq^{2}hmi^{2}hii^{2}kq^{2}$  he  ${}^{1}hq^{2}$ ma ${}^{19}qei^{1}ma^{1}ha^{1}kq^{2}hma^{2}kyq^{2}zye^{3}$ . 9.  ${}^{2}mi^{2}$  fuerte hmá<sup>2</sup>. 10.  ${}^{9}e^{2}hq^{2}na^{2}hae^{2}za^{2}ma^{2}hi^{1}$ , pero puro za ${}^{2}hi^{2}na^{2}ba^{1}$ , ma ${}^{2}hen^{1}kq^{2}ce^{1}hq^{3}e^{3}co^{1}ho^{2}hnaen^{31}ma^{2}te^{2}za^{2}$ .

11. hmá<sup>92</sup> ga<sup>2</sup>náe i<sup>2</sup>, ga<sup>2</sup>náe <sup>2</sup> puro za<sup>2</sup> hi<sup>2</sup>na<sup>91</sup>. 12. ga<sup>2</sup>náe i<sup>2</sup> la<sup>2</sup>kyę<sup>2</sup> sa<sup>2</sup><sup>9</sup>ya<sup>31</sup> pero puro za<sup>2</sup> hi<sup>2</sup>na<sup>91</sup>ba<sup>1</sup>. 13.ča<sup>2</sup> hwë<sup>3</sup>ba<sup>1</sup> ga<sup>3</sup>hei<sup>1</sup> za<sup>2</sup> go<sup>2</sup><sup>9</sup>wï<sup>n,1</sup> kyą<sup>91</sup> čó<sup>1</sup> ho<sup>2</sup>. 14. ga<sup>3</sup>nae i<sup>31</sup> he<sup>1</sup> hą<sup>2</sup> ga<sup>3</sup>té i<sup>2</sup>. 15. ga<sup>3</sup>té i<sup>2</sup>. 16. hmá<sup>92</sup> hą<sup>2</sup> sa<sup>3</sup>ga<sup>3</sup>li<sup>92</sup> za<sup>2</sup> go<sup>2</sup><sup>9</sup>wí<sup>1</sup>. 17. <sup>9</sup>e<sup>2</sup> hą<sup>2</sup> na<sup>2</sup> ma<sup>1</sup> ga<sup>3</sup>hnáe<sup>2</sup> na<sup>2</sup>hö<sup>1</sup> <sup>9</sup>ma<sup>2</sup> <sup>2</sup>i<sup>2</sup> na<sup>2</sup>tu<sup>31</sup> <sup>9</sup>ma<sup>2</sup>. 18. <sup>9</sup>e<sup>2</sup> hą<sup>2</sup> <sup>2</sup>i<sup>21</sup> hŋyu<sup>2</sup> ka<sup>1</sup>zye<sup>2</sup> za<sup>2</sup> he<sup>1</sup> na<sup>2</sup>če<sup>31</sup> <sup>9</sup>ma<sup>2</sup>.

4. for that reason yielded much corn of people where existed she.5. for that reason went-to-get witches people there are towns other.6. these ate Mother of Cotton that.

7. then existed a lagoon big. 8. there was-in-it-she when-came a rain with wind. 9. hard very rain. 10. then say people of Ozumacín, but just witches, "let's-see once if it-isn't Mother of Cotton our carried (by) people."

11. then went-they, went just witches. 12. went-they taking women but just witches. 13. on the way found-they people of Ojitlán with Mother of Cotton. 14. went-they where fought-they. 15. fought-they. 16. and did-not-win people of Ojitlán. 17. when it-dawned are-broken trees and are-fallen tress. 17. is-hung scalps of people where are-split trees.

crops, and in return for this, the practitioners of witchcraft in Ozumacín went to surrounding towns to capture people for her to eat.

One day, when the Mother of Cotton was in her lagoon, there arose a heavy storm with driving wind and rain, the witches in Ozumacín said to each other, "let's see if this doesn't mean that someone is carrying off our Mother of Cotton."

Then they went to see. All of them, both men and women who knew how to do witchcraft, went. No one else was allowed to go. On the way they found the practitioners of witchcraft from Ojitlán carrying away their Mother of Cotton. Then there followed a great battle, which the Ojitlán witches lost. When dawn came the battlefield was strewn with uprooted trees and broken branches. Scalps hung from split trees.

#### How the Mother of Cotton Was Stolen

19. hmá<sup>92</sup> hạ<sup>2</sup> na<sup>2</sup> háei<sup>93</sup> ga<sup>3</sup>të i<sup>2</sup> čó<sup>1</sup> ho<sup>3</sup>. 20. na<sup>1</sup>hạei<sup>32</sup> kọ<sup>2</sup> kọ<sup>2</sup>láe<sup>93</sup>. 21. na<sup>1</sup>hạei<sup>32</sup> he<sup>1</sup> ma<sup>1</sup><sup>9</sup>ạe i<sup>1</sup> ča<sup>1</sup> hmi<sup>2</sup> ŋü<sup>2</sup>. 22. <sup>9</sup>e<sup>2</sup> hạ<sup>2</sup> za<sup>2</sup>kyá i<sup>2</sup> bí<sup>92</sup> za<sup>2</sup> he<sup>1</sup>hwi<sup>2</sup> hyó<sup>93</sup> <sup>9</sup>i<sup>2</sup> kų<sup>92</sup>.

23. hạ<sup>2</sup> na<sup>2</sup> ma<sup>1</sup> ga<sup>3</sup>hų́<sup>2</sup> ga<sup>2</sup>čą́<sup>2</sup>ga<sup>1</sup> mi<sup>9</sup>ga<sup>1</sup>. 24. ka<sup>3</sup>mi<sup>92</sup> la<sup>2</sup>hą<sup>2</sup>ga<sup>1</sup> ma<sup>1</sup> ga<sup>3</sup>zą́ i<sup>2</sup>. 25. ga<sup>3</sup>hų́<sup>2</sup> za<sup>2</sup> hi<sup>2</sup>na<sup>91</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>hi<sup>1</sup>. 26. mo<sup>3</sup>sa<sup>3</sup>čą<sup>2</sup> ?į́<sup>2</sup> mo<sup>2</sup>lí?<sup>3</sup> hŋyá?<sup>3</sup>. 27.hmá?<sup>2</sup> hą<sup>2</sup> na<sup>2</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>hë<sup>32</sup> za<sup>2</sup> go<sup>2</sup>?wi<sup>n.1</sup>. 28. ma<sup>2</sup>zą́ i<sup>2</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>hų́ i<sup>1</sup>. 29. hmá?<sup>2</sup> hą<sup>2</sup> na<sup>2</sup> hą<sup>2</sup>ga<sup>1</sup> ye<sup>2</sup>náe<sup>2</sup> za<sup>2</sup> go<sup>2</sup>?wi<sup>2</sup>. 30. ya<sup>2</sup>te<sup>3</sup> ?į́<sup>2</sup> čó<sup>1</sup> ho<sup>2</sup> ?é<sup>3</sup>. 31. ma<sup>1</sup>lą́ i<sup>1</sup> ko<sup>2</sup> ?ná i<sup>1</sup> sa<sup>1</sup>?ŋyu<sup>2</sup>, ko<sup>2</sup> ?ná i<sup>1</sup> ma<sup>1</sup>lą́ i<sup>1</sup> sa<sup>1</sup>?ya<sup>31</sup>. 32. ?nó<sup>1</sup> ta<sup>2</sup>?mi<sup>2</sup> ma<sup>1</sup>lą́ i<sup>1</sup> sa<sup>1</sup>?ŋyu<sup>2</sup>. 33. ta<sup>2</sup> mi<sup>1</sup>zyei<sup>1</sup> ma<sup>1</sup>lą́ i<sup>1</sup> sa<sup>1</sup>?ya<sup>31</sup>. 34. ta<sup>2</sup> go<sup>2</sup>?wi<sup>n.1</sup> ta<sup>2</sup> hą<sup>3</sup>ba<sup>1</sup> ?ąe i<sup>1</sup> ná<sup>2</sup>. 35. ma<sup>1</sup> ya<sup>3</sup>?ë<sup>n.</sup>i<sup>2</sup> he<sup>1</sup> ma<sup>1</sup>?ąe i<sup>2</sup> ča<sup>1</sup> hmi<sup>2</sup>ŋü<sup>2</sup>, hmá?<sup>1</sup> ga<sup>3</sup>la<sup>3</sup>kį́?<sup>3</sup> ko<sup>2</sup> te<sup>32</sup> hmi<sup>2</sup>ŋü<sup>2</sup>. 36. mo<sup>3</sup>sa<sup>3</sup>ča<sup>2</sup> hmi<sup>2</sup>ŋü<sup>2</sup> hą<sup>2</sup> ná<sup>2</sup> he<sup>1</sup> hą<sup>2</sup>

19. then, say they, carried they Mother of Cotton. 20. went they to leave (her) again. 21. went they to leave her where had been she in lagoon. 22. then went they to bring people towns other which eats she.

23. then when had-died (Ozumacín witches) were-left-more, a-fewmore. 24. a few thus finished-they-all. 25. died witches Ozumacín. 26. no-longer-are-there those who can-do witchcraft. 27. then werewatching people of Ojitlán. 28. Terminated-they-all, died-they-all. 29. then afterwards came people of Ojitlán. 30. carried-away-they Mother of Cotton that. 31. was-she one-half fish, one-half women. 32. piece bottom was fish. 33. towards head-her was woman. 34. in Ojitlán there is-she now. 35. when left-she where had-been-she in lagoon, then dried-up at-once lagoon. 36. no longer-exists lagoon that now there flows river Cajonos today.

The Ozumacín witches returned the mermaid to her original lagoon and afterwards went to various villages capturing people to feed to their Mother of Cotton.

As time passed, many of the practitioners of witchcraft in Ozumacín died off little by little, until finally only a few were left. Eventually these died, and there was no longer anyone left in Ozumacín who knew how to do witchcraft. Meanwhile, the witches of Ojitlán were observing all this. After all of the witches had died in Ozumacín, those from Ojitlán came and carried away the Mother of Cotton. She is still in Ojitlán to this day. When she left her lagoon, it dried up at once. The Cajonos River flows where her lagoon used to exist.