

A Day in the Cornfields: A Western Otomi Narrative¹

Un día en la milpa: narrativa del otomí occidental

Gabriela De la Cruz-Sánchez²

Claudio De la Cruz³

Summary

This paper focuses on Western Otomi, a Mexican native language spoken in the municipality of Temoaya in the State of Mexico (ISO 639-3 ott). Speakers recognize themselves as *dri ñatbo*, which means 'I still speak' and differentiate themselves from people who only speak Spanish, even though they belong to the same community, as *i ñamfo* 'they speak Spanish'. This variety is underdocumented, mainly transmitted by oral tradition and spoken at home or with friends and neighbors. Hence, receptive speakers are common. Through this narrative from a Western Otomi speaker, we are offered a glimpse into what a day in the cornfields is like. In addition, this narrative gives us general insight into some features of the language. So, after introducing the cultural context of it, I present the narrative.

Keywords: Western Otomi, narration, memories, cornfields.

Resumen

Esta narración corresponde al otomí occidental, hablado en el municipio de Temoaya, Estado de México (iso 639-3 ott). Los hablantes se reconocen a ellos mismos como *dri ñatbo*, que significa 'todavía hablo', y se distinguen de los que solo hablan español, aunque vivan en la misma comunidad, refiriéndose a ellos como *i ñamfo* 'ellos hablan español'. Existen pocas investigaciones que hacen referencia a esta variante, la cual es de tradición oral y mayormente empleada en casa o con amigos y vecinos; tiene un buen número de hablantes únicamente receptivos. Gracias a esta historia de vida podemos tener una visión general de un día de trabajo en las milpas de maíz y una introducción a las características generales de la lengua. Después de introducir el contexto lingüístico

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² Presentation and analysis | University of Arizona | gabydelacruz@gmail.com

³ Narration | collaborator and speaker of Western Otomi

del otomí del occidente y el ambiente cultural en el que se desarrolla la historia de vida, se presenta la narración completa.

Palabras clave: otomí occidental, narración, maíz, memorias, milpas.

Introduction

Otomi is a native Mexican language that belongs to the Otopamean language family and to the Otomi-Mazahua subgroup (Palancar, 2009: 6-7). Otomi has at least 22 different varieties classified in groups. While there are different classifications of Otomi, in this work I follow the classification suggested by Palancar (2017: 2). The data analyzed in this paper comes from Temoaya Otomi which is part of the Western Otomi branch that consists of Temoaya Otomi (ISO 639-3 ott), San Felipe del Progreso Otomi and San Andrés Cuexcontitlán Otomi. Others classify Temoaya Otomi as belonging to the Central Otomi branch (INALI, 2013: 154-159). However, this is a broader classification because Central Otomi includes several varieties of Otomi spoken in the State of Mexico (*Hñäbñu*, *Ñöthó*, *Ñbató*, *Hñöthó* and *Ñóbnño*). Since some of these varieties are in closer contact with languages such as Mazahua or Nahuatl, the conclusions of this paper might vary in those cases.

The narrative presented in this paper took place in the municipality of Temoaya. This municipality is one of the areas with the most Otomi speakers in the State of Mexico (INEGI, 2009: 70). Otomi speakers refer to Temoaya as *Ñijni* 'town' or *Ntbejkutbe* 'where roads meet'. It is represented in the following glyph with footprints going down the hill as a result of small towns being located in the mountains, opposite to the downtown, located in the valley. Temoaya in Nahuatl means 'a place that is down the valley' (INAFED, 2010: 428).



Figure 1. Temoaya glyph
(INAFED, 2010: 428).

The title of the narrative presented here is “A day in the cornfields” and the main character of the narrative is a bilingual (Western Otomi-Spanish) male in his late 60s. He was born and raised in Temoaya and worked in cornfields for several years during his youth as most of the locals did. The events of the narrative took place in the 80s, in a cornfield located in a small village called San José Buenavista, located 10 km away from downtown Temoaya. This narrative was recorded using Zencastr, Inc⁴ (2021) during an online session, transcribed and translated in 2021 using ELAN.

This narrative provides an insight into the challenges faced by farmers in their everyday lives as well as the way in which work and friendship are built in the community. It tells us the story of a man who wants his corn crops to grow healthy and be productive. Hence, after he plants corn, he visits the plantation regularly to water and fertilize the crops. However, he notices that pigs have been around destroying the plantation and there is no way the owners can fix it since they are nowhere to be found. So, one day he goes to the plantation and catches the pigs destroying it. He is advised by a neighbor from the area to take one of the pigs as compensation for the destruction, and as a warning for the pig owners. He does so and later he realizes the pig belongs to a friend and worker who used to help him during the harvest season. Rather than arguing about the matter, they accept they both did wrong and the pig’s death in the house of the farmer becomes a funny anecdote. Their friendship and professional relationship remain intact, and they keep working together for the coming years.

As the narrative progresses, we can identify the three characters and some of the language features described in this paper.

Language background

Otomi is a tonal language with low, high, and rising tones with some differences among varieties. In this article, I use an adapted version of the *Norma de escritura de la lengua m̄ābñu* suggested by INALI (2014). Hence, /h/ is written as j. Since /x/ is not phonemic it isn’t considered in this variety. Aspirated /p^h/, /t^h/ and /k^h/ are spelled as ph, kh and th. Further details such as tone are not marked unless phonemic. The spelling may vary in other varieties since it reflects the speaker’s utterance.

Otomi is a pro-drop language, verb-initial and head-marking. Verbs take a prefix to inflect for subject, tense, aspect, mood, and a suffix to mark person and number. Hernandez-Green (2015) recognizes four different verbal inflection groups in Acapulco Otomi.

⁴ I would like to thank Meg Harvey for recommending Zencastr, Inc.

These verbal inflection groups differ in the allomorphs of the tense-aspect-mood proclitics they select for, and in the type of stem they have in their paradigm but not by transitivity (Hernandez-Green, 2019: 278).

Palancar (2004: 275) discusses two inflectional types of verb forms in San Idelfonso Otomi: a free and a bound form. The free form is used when the verb precedes a clausal boundary or a prosodic pause since it can be uttered in isolation while the bound form is used when the verb occurs intraclausally.

In Temoaya Otomi, we can identify a prefix and a suffix attached to the verb *ts'its'i* as shown in (1).

- (1) Ya ji do ts'its'ibi karo zakhua.
 ja hij do-t̃s'its'i-bi ka-ro zak^hua
 ADV NEG 1SG.PST-bring.back-3SG DEM.SG-3SG.POSS pig
So, I didn't bring him back his pig.
 (“A day in the cornfields”, line 57)

In example (1), the prefix *do-* marks person and tense and the suffix *-bi*, attached to the base verb *ts'its'i*, indicates a third person singular indirect object. The negative form *ji* precedes the person and tense prefix. As for subjects, they can be omitted when inferred by the speakers or when the topic is known by the listener (VO). Hence, the first person singular subject pronoun *nugo* is not uttered in this example.

When there are two verbs in the construction, the suffix *-bi* attaches to the first verb *ne*, as in (2), but it could be omitted as in (3).

- (2) Ji mi ne bi di be ka ro tsi.
 hi mi-ne-bi di-be ka-ro-t̃si
 NEG 3SG.IPFV-want-3SG SVJB-miss DEM.SG-3POSS-pulque
He didn't want to miss his pulque.
 (“A day in the cornfields”, line 13)

Not only is the suffix *-bi* which is attached to the verb *ne* in (2) optional but so is the stem formative of the verb *be(di)* ‘to lose’ as in (3).

- (3) Ji mi ne di be(di) ka ro tsi.
 hi mi-ne di-be(di) ka-ro-t̃si
 NEG 3SG.IPFV-want SVJB-miss DEM.SG-3POSS-pulque
He didn't want to miss his pulque.

The suffixes attached to the verbs are optional unless they are marked for number like in (4). Number categories in Western Otomi include dual exclusive *-be*, dual inclusive *-wi/-ge wi*, plural exclusive *-je* and plural inclusive *ju*.

- (4) Pi ndi pebe na nzoya mi imbi bi foxkigi,
 pi ndi-pe-be na nzoya mi-im-bi bi-fojki-gi
 also 1SG.IPFV-go-DU.EXCL IND.SG man 3SG.IPFV-say-OBJ 3SG.PST-help-1SG
Also, I used to go with a man who helped me,
 (“A day in the cornfields”, line 10)

The dual exclusive suffix is used in (4) since it includes the speaker and someone else. Suffixes such as the reflexive *-se* ‘self’ can be optional and in some cases they are redundant, such as in (5). The first person singular suffix *-go* in (5), attached to *mejti*, is optional too because the person is already marked by the first person singular possessive prefix *ma-*. There are three prefixes that mark possession. When they refer to multiple possessors, the plural suffix, either the inclusive or exclusive, is attached to the possessed nominal.

- (5) “Jä, ma mejtigo(se) ka”.
 hä ma-mehti-go-(se) ka
 AFF 1SG.POSS-own-(1SG)-(REFL) DEM.SG
“Yes, that is mine”.
 (“A day in the cornfields”, line 46)

In the narrative presented in this paper we see that the suffix *-gi* is attached twice to the verb in (6). The second *-gi* has an emphatic function, hence it is a suffix that only appears in the appropriate context.

- (6) Ingi(gi) ka na nzoya, “tsu, penti ka zakhua.
 in-gi-(gi) ka na nzoya tsu penti ka zak^hua
 tell-1SG-EMPH DEM.SG IND.SG man catch grab DEM.SG pig
The other man tells me, “catch [it], grab the pig.
 (“A day in the cornfields”, line 36)

Word Order in Western Otomi

In the narrative analyzed here VO word order is the most common although there are some cases where the SVO structure can be observed, probably to emphasize the subject, such as in (7).

(7) (Nugo) ya ji ndi ne wa ode.

nɔgo	ja	hi	ndi-ne	wa-əde
I	ADV	NEG	1SG.IPFV-want	1SG.SVJB-hear

I didn't want to hear [it] anymore.

(“A day in the cornfields”, line 74)

As for the order of syntactic objects, they can be preverbal OV(S) as shown in (8).

(8) “Nuka ri zakhua nin do tsa ni”

nɔka	ri	zak ^h ua	niŋ	do-t̪s̪a	ni
DEM.SG	2SG.POSS	pig	not.even	1SG.PST-eat	also

“I didn't even eat your pig”

(“A day in the cornfields,” line 60)

Another word order present in the narrative is VS as in (9). Palancar (2017: 405) indicates that VS order is more frequent and includes a wider number of semantic subjects than SV.

(9) Bi dajta deni ka nzoya.

bi-dahta-deni	ka	nzoja
3SG.PST-a.lot-laugh	DEM.SG	man

The man laughed a lot.

(“A day in the cornfields”, line 64)

Noun phrases in Western Otomi

Noun phrases can be either an argument of the main predicate, usually a verb, or can themselves be the main predicate of a clause. They are constructed with a common noun that refers to an entity (mass or count) or they can refer to a specific subject, using proper nouns or pronouns. Headless noun phrases are permitted in the language (noun ellipsis). Nouns do not inflect for number; they are marked with a prefix that functions as a determiner⁵ or a numeral. Nouns do not inflect for gender. They either have different lexical entries or are preceded by *mé* (mother) or *tá* (father), with adjectival features according to the case. In the following diagram we can see the relative ordering of elements in the noun phrase.

⁵ From now on I will use the term *demonstrative* (DEM) to refer to either determiners or articles.

Table 1. Ordering of elements in Western Otomi NP

[Element 1]	(Element 2)	(Element 3)	(Element 4)
Determiner/ Demonstrative (Number)	Possessive Number	Number Possessive	Diminutive Honorific Augmentative
(Element 5)	(Element 6)	[Radical(s)]	(Suffixes)
Adjective	Gender (male/ female)	Entity More than one, in the case of com- pounds *Subject pronouns.	(Emphatic) (Numeral) Object pronoun

In Table 1, the parenthesis show when the element is optional, which elements can co-occur, and the suffixes that can be attached to the noun. The required elements are shown in square brackets, including the head of the phrase, the radical, to form a noun phrase.

Nouns are mainly preceded by a demonstrative, but some are bare. In the narrative “A day in the cornfields” we can see that toponyms such as *Buenabista* in (10) are bare.

(10) Na biaje, bu ndi pa Buenabista.

na biahe bu ndi-pa buenabista
IND.SG time when 1SG.IPFV-go Buenavista
Once, when I went to Buenavista.

(“A day in the cornfields”, line 1)

However, at the end of the narrative the speaker refers to Buenavista again and this time it is preceded by *nu*. Although *nu* before a noun is glossed as a singular demonstrative, in this case it functions as the locative ‘there’ (11).

(11) bu ndo ma nu Buenabista do tsi ka zakhua.

bɣ n-do-ma nɣ buenabista, do-tsi ka zakhua
when LINK-1SG.PST-go LOC Buenavista 1SG.PST-bring DEM.SG pig
when I went to Buenavista I brought the pig.

(“A day in the cornfields”, lines 71-72)

The same happens in (12). The speaker uses *nu* and *a*⁶ ‘where’ to define the place he refers to. Some extra-linguistic information, such as gestures, pointing towards the place mentioned could accompany this construction.

⁶ I consider that *a* and *ja* ‘where’ are in complementary distribution.

(12) Ka nzoya ta bi buj nu bi kxanu, bi buj nu a ro Kosta.

ka nzoya ta bi-bʰh nʰ-bi-kʰa-nʰ bi-bʰh nʰ a-ro-kosta
 DEM.SG man till 3SG.PST-live LOC-3SG-exist-LOC 3SG.PST-live LOC where-SG-Costa
The man lived far away, lived by the Costa.

(“A day in the cornfields”, line 27)

In (12) the locative *nu* introduces a toponym (*Costa*) whereas in (13) the locative *nu* is anaphoric to a discourse referent that had been previously mentioned.

(13) Pexo tandi tse nu ta serka di uni las nuebe.

pefo ta ndi-tse-nʰ ta serka di-uni las nuebe
 but till 1SG.IPFV-arrive-LOC till almost SVJB-give ART nine
But I would get there almost at nine.

(“A day in the cornfields”, line 8)

Another use of *nu* is as a pronoun, as in (14). In this case *nu* is optional since the verb *ingi* does not require a theme argument and it is not part of the question.

(14) ingi “(nu) zo go chix ka ma zakhua?”

in-gi (nʰ) o go-tʃiʃ ka ma zakʰua
 say-1SG 2SG why 2SG.PST-take.away DEM.SG 1SG.POSS pig
he says to me: “you, why did you take away my pig?”.

(“A day in the cornfields”, line 44)

If the subject pronoun were to be inserted in the question presented in (14), it would be *nuke* ‘you’.

On the other hand, the demonstrative *nu* does not introduce nouns for the first time. For instance, in (15) *nzoya* is introduced by the indefinite singular *na*⁷ and then switched to *ka*.

(15) na nzoya mi im-bi mi foxki-gi, pero ka nzoya mbro Pedro ka

na nzoya mi-im-bi mi-foʃki-gi pero ka nzoya mbro pedro ka
 IND.SG man 3SG.IPFV-say-OBJ 3SG.IPFV-help-1SG but DEM.SG man 3SG.PST Pedro DEM.SG
a man who helped me. The man was Pedro.

(“A day in the cornfields”, line 10, 11)

⁷ *Na* is also the numeral one (*na* ‘one’, *yoyo* ‘two’, ...), so in the narrative it is glossed as IND.SG or as NUM ‘one’ according to what fits in the context.

The reason why *nu* does not precede *nzoja* in (15) is because it is an indefinite entity, not known by the listener and out of sight. The second time *nzoja* appears, it could take *nu* but since *nzoja* is out of speaker and listener's sight, *ka* is preferred. In addition, this example contains the demonstrative *ka* two times, once preceding the noun *nzoja* and another *ka* after the proper name, *Pedro*, anaphorically with an emphatic purpose.

Proper names tend to be preceded by a demonstrative. However, the proper noun *Pedro* is bare in (15) since it's in the predicate position and preceded by the proclitic *mbro*, making (16) unacceptable. So, predicate nominals preceded by *mbro* will always be bare.

- (16) *pero ka nsoja mbro ka Pedro
 pero ka nzoja mbro ka pedro
 but DEM.SG man 3SG.PST.be DEM.SG Pedro
(but) the man was Pedro

In (17), the first time that *zakhua* is mentioned in the narrative, an indefinite noun, is preceded by the plural demonstrative *ku*. However, this demonstrative is optional since *zakhua* doesn't refer to a specific bunch of pigs.

- (17) Pexo mbi dajta yo *ku* zakhua
 pefo mbi-dahta-jo kɾ zakhua
 but 3IPFV-a.lot-walk DEM.PL pig
But there were a lot of pigs walking

(“A day in the cornfields”, line 21)

Temoaya Otomi accepts bare nouns when they are non-definite. Such nouns can be interpreted as plural, as shown in (18).

- (18) Pexo mbi dajta yo zakhua
 pefo mbi⁸-dahta-jo zakhua
 but 3IPFV-a.lot-walk pig
But there were a lot of pigs walking

When the nominal *zakhua* is mentioned for the second time, the speaker reinforces the noun with the complex plural demonstrative *nu^{ku}* as seen in (19).

⁸ Both *mi* and *mbi* are acceptable as 3IMPV.

(19) *Nuku* zakhua ya, xo mi uxta joi.

nr-kr zakhua ja fo mi-uxta hoi
DEM-PL pig ADV so 3IPFV-dig land

[But] those pigs would dig the land.

(“A day in the cornfields”, line 24)

Another example where an entity, in this case *t’egi* ‘metal tool’, is mentioned for the first time is (20).

(20) *ndi* wantsi ko ka ro t’egi *ndi* e.

ndi-want^h ko ka ro-t’egi ndi-ε
1SG.IPFV-mix with DEM.SG SG-metal 1SG.IPFV-have

I would mix [the dirt] with the metal tool I had.

(“A day in the cornfields”, lines 4, 5)

In (20) the speaker defines the tool he had with the use of a relative clause. Providing this extra information allows him to use the definite demonstrative *ka* instead of the indefinite singular *na*. An example where we can see the indefinite singular *na* used to introduce an entity for the first time is in (21). In this case *reza* is preceded by *na*.

(21) Do penti na reza

do-penti na reza
1SG.PST-grab IND.SG bag

I grabbed a bag

(“A day in the cornfields”, line 35)

The permitted environments of bare nouns include when there is a list of nouns, when the noun is a plural indefinite, or when it’s a mass noun (De la Cruz-Sánchez, 2022). In (22) we have the case of *tsi* ‘pulque’. The first time *tsi* appears in the narrative, it’s not bare since it’s preceded by a demonstrative and a possessive, something quite common in the language, but the second time *tsi* is mentioned in (21), it appears as a bare mass noun.

(22) Ji mi ne bi di be ka ro tsi. Zai mi ne di zi tsi.

hi mi-ne-bi di-be ka-ro-t^hsi zai mi-ne di-zi t^hsi
NEG 3SG.IPFV-want-3SG SVJB-miss DEM.SG-3POSS-pulque always 3SG.IPFV-want SVJB-drink pulque

He didn’t want to miss his pulque. He always wanted to drink pulque.

(“A day in the cornfields”, line 13, 14)

Conclusions

In this brief sketch I introduced Western Otomi and presented some features of the Temoaya Otomi variety, through examples identified in the narrative “A day in the cornfields”. In addition, I provided some context of the area where this variety is spoken, the narrator of the text and the methodology used. According to the examples, nouns can be bare or preceded by a demonstrative. Bare nouns occur when referring to mass nouns, plural nouns, and toponyms. As for the verbs, they take prefixes that inflect for subject, tense, aspect, and mood and suffixes that mark person and number, some of which could be optional or emphatic.

Na mpa ja nū jüäjü

(1) Na biaje, bu ndi pa Buenabista. (2) Ndi pa ro thüjü. (3) Ndi pa ro jüäjü. (4) Ngu na tiempo ya, xo ndi ote ku jüäjü, ndi tso^mi, jä, ndi wantsi (5) ko ka ro t^eegi ndi e. (6) Pi gempia, bi dura, xkomo bi dura ndi yo nū, jin go wariji. (7) Komo ta ndi pa wa, xo wa nantsi nxuditho wa ma. (8) Pexo tandi tse nū ta serka di uni las nuebe. (9) Kha ndi tseni las ocho. (10) Pi ndi pebe na nzoya mi imbi mi foxkigi, (11) pero ka nzoya mbro Pedro ka. (12) Pero jin ga dura bi dengigi porke ka mi ne gege. (13) Ji mi ne bi di be ka ro tsi. (14) Zai mi ne di zi tsi. (15) Walo ya xi xatho do xifi ngupu xo do ntintho do ma. (16) Bi zū na ngo do pefi, do pefi, pi do wadi (17) Do pejnia, do thajti ku joi, do ote ra zo. (18) Miji pi do tux ka ro na pina t^eegi. (19) Pada wa fots’ ajoy ku yū detha (20) Jänta di te di imbi. (21) Pexo mi dajta yo ku zakhua. (22) Mi penti mi uxta joi, mi yote ku ndi ote go. (23) Imbi nū ta koxti ra zo ko ka za. (24) Nūku zakhua ya, xo mi uxta joi. (25) Do oni na nzoya. Di imbi: “zto yo mejti yū io wa? (26) Dei storbagi wa jabū di io” do ina. Bi ñin-gigi “ro Mateo”. (27) Ka nzoya ta bi buj nū bi khanū, bi buj nū a ro Kosta. (28) “A di konise ka nzoya porke zai ba i kua da foxkigi.” (29) Abese pox nū ro za xo pada kongi nū joi. (30) Ka nzoya Mateo, xo mi gusta wa ñobe ka, pexo binkhapiä. (31) Piya jin ga dura do ñobe. (32) Pi do ma na biaje. (33) Pi do ma kati ku ta pefi kha mi buj ra zo. (34) Pe mero do tsūdi mi yo ku zakhua ya, ka do kha: (35) Do penti na reza. (36) Ingigi ka na nzoya, “tsū, penti ka zakhua. (37) Walo gi ts’its’i jänta para da mo kio dueño. (38) Porke kio dueño jin gi kha nkaso”. (39) Nūgo xo do obediente. (40) Do penti ka zakhua. (41) Do pa da poxi na reza. (42) Nige ka mbro mejti ka zakhua genka Mateo, ka mbro mejti ka zakhua. (43) Ta bi zū kinse dia, beinte dia. (44) Pi do nthebe, ingi “nū zo go chix ka ma zakhua?”. (45) “zPoko ri mejti ge a ka?”. (46) “Jä ma mejtigo ka”. (47) “I la berda,

da bingo jin gri mejtigi a ka (48) porke bi xijkigi ka nzoya ina naño to mbro mejti na”. (49) “Nugo xo do ts’its’i. (50) Como mide mi muxti wa ja yo joi. (51) Mide mi phonti yo joi”, di i-mbi. (52) “¿Xia te go khajpia?” -xo ka zakhua xo ta bi bujnu ja ma ngu- di ina. (53) “¿Xo di khapu! (54) Pina biaje ya kada bu gi ne gi i gi pefi go ma foxkiki. (55) Pexo di khapu ya. (56) Ya jin go tsi ka zakhua”, ingigi ka Mateo. (57) Ya ji do ts’its’ibi karo zakhua. (58) Kada wa nthebe ka nzoya mi ingigi: (59) “Nu ¿te bi kha ka ma zakhua?” (60) “Nu ka ri zakhua nin do tsa ni (61) porke ka ri zakhua bi ñit’i xo bi du”, di imbi. (62) “¿Poko bi du ka zakhua?”. (63) “Já bi du, nin ga provechagigi ka zakhua”, di imbi. (64) Bi dajta deni ka nzoya. (65) Nu ka Mateo ina. (66) “Por eso jin gi tchix ku jin gri mejti. (67) Nu ya go ts’its’i nin ga duraki. (68) Ka zakhua bi pi du”. (69) “Ya pana biaje ya jin da nkhapu ya”, (70) di imbi ka Mateo. (71) Genka do pej ka na biaje, bu ndo ma nu Buenabista (72) do tsi ka zakhua. (73) Kada wa nthebe mi demi binbigi ka zakhua. (74) Nugo ya ji ndi ne wa ode. (75) Porke ta tsimpi ka ro zakhua.

A day in the cornfields

(1) Once, when I went to Buenavista. (2) I went to plant. (3) I went to fallow. (4) Like in this season, I used to work the land, I would dig, yes, I would mix [the dirt] (5) with the metal tool I had. (6) So I would be around the area for a while [because] I didn’t finish [the work] soon. (7) Since I departed from here, I had to wake up early to leave. (8) But I would arrive there almost at nine. (9) [Or] I would arrive at eight. (10) Also, I used to go with a man who helped me. (11) The man was Pedro. (12) But he didn’t continue following me because of what he wanted. (13) He didn’t want to miss his pulque. (14) He always wanted to drink pulque. (15) I better not tell him anything, so I hurried to go [by myself]. (16) I worked there for like a month before I finished. (17) I worked there. I removed the soil, I did it well. (18) I even brought another metal tool (19) to plough the corn. (20) So that it would grow, according to me. (21) But there were a lot of pigs walking [around]. (22) [They] would dig the land and destroy what I had done. (23) According to me, I had smoothed it over well with the stick. (24) [But] those pigs would dig the land. (25) I asked a man. I say to him: “who’s the owner of these ones here? (26) They bother me where I go,” I said. He told me, “[they’re] Mateo’s”. (27) The man lived far away, lived by the Costa. (28) “Ah, I know the man because he always comes here to help me.” (29) To clean the land because sometimes sticks come out. (30) Mr. Mateo liked to work with me but that happened. (31) He didn’t last long [working] with me. (32) So I went [back] once. (33) I went [back] to see if what I had done was good. (34) But I cau-

ght the pigs walking [in the field], what I did was: (35) I grabbed a bag. (36) The other man tells me, “catch [it], grab the pig. (37) You better take it so that the owners take care of them. (38) Because the owners don’t pay attention.” (39) I was obedient [and] (40) I grabbed the pig. (41) I went to wrap [it] in a bag. (42) It turns out that the pig’s owner was Mateo, he was the owner of the pig. (43) Until 15 [or] 20 days later (44) we met [and] he says to me: “you, why did you take away my pig?”. (45) “Is it really yours?”. (46) “Yes, that is mine.” (47) “Oh, to be honest I remember it wasn’t yours (48) because the man told me someone else was the owner”. (49) “So, I took it away. (50) Since it kept digging the soil here. (51) It was making a mess with the dirt”, I tell him. (52) “What do I do now? - the pig was at my house”- I say. (53) “[Leave] it like that! (54) Next time when you want to come to work, I am going to help you. (55) But leave it like that now. (56) Don’t bring the pig,” Mateo tells me. (57) So, I didn’t bring him back his pig. (58) Each time I met him, the man would tell me: (59) “You, what happened to my pig?” (60) “I didn’t even eat your pig (61) because your pig hung himself and died,” I say [to him]. (62) “Did the pig really die?” (63) “Yes, it died, I didn’t even take advantage of the pig,” I say [to him]. (64) The man laughed a lot. (65) [And] Mateo says: (66) “That’s why you shouldn’t take what’s not yours. (67) Now you took it away, and it didn’t even last for you. (68) The pig died.” (69) “Next time, it won’t happen again,” (70) I say to Mateo. (71) That’s what I did when I went to Buenavista. (72) I brought the pig. (73) Each time we met he reminded me about the pig. (74) I didn’t want to hear [it] anymore (75) because I had taken away his pig.

Un día en la milpa

(1) Una vez, cuando iba a Buenavista. (2) Iba a sembrar. (3) Iba a barbechar. (4) Como en esta temporada yo solía trabajar el campo, picaba, sí, revolví [la tierra] (5) con el fierro que tenía. (6) Andaba allí por un buen tiempo [porque] no terminaba rápido [el trabajo]. (7) Como me iba desde aquí, me levantaba temprano para irme. (8) Pero llegaba allá casi hasta que daban las nueve. (9) [O] llegaba a las ocho. (10) Además, me iba con un señor que según me ayudaba. (11) El señor era Pedro. (12) Pero no duró acompañándome por lo que quería. (13) No quería que le faltara su pulque. (14) Siempre quería tomar pulque. (15) Por eso ya mejor no le dije nada, me apuraba yo a irme. (16) Trabajé allí como por un mes y terminé. (17) Trabaje allí. Removí la tierra, lo hice bien. (18) Hasta llevé otro fierro (19) para cultivar el maíz. (20) Como para que [el maíz] creciera según yo. (21) Pero andaban muchos puercos. (22) Escarbaban la tierra y des-

truían todo lo que yo hacía. (23) Según yo lo había alisado bien con el palo. (24) [Pero] esos puercos escarbaban la tierra. (25) Le pregunté a un señor. Le digo: “¿De quién son estos que andan aquí? (26) Me estorban donde ando,” le dije. Me dijo, “son de Mateo.” (27) El señor vivía hasta por allá, vivía por la Costa. (28) “Ah, conozco al señor porque siempre viene aquí a ayudarme.” (29) Para limpiar porque a veces suben los palos de la tierra. (30) Al señor Mateo le gustaba trabajar conmigo, pero pasó eso. (31) No duramos mucho [trabajando] juntos. (32) Después, un día fui. (33) Fui a ver si mi trabajo estaba bien. (34) Pero encontré que allí andaban los puercos, entonces lo que hice fue: (35) agarré una bolsa. (36) El otro señor me dice, “alcánzalo, agarra el puerco. (37) Mejor te lo llevas para que los dueños los cuiden. (38) Porque los dueños no hacen caso”. (39) Yo muy obediente (40) agarré el puerco. (41) Fui a envolverlo en una bolsa. (42) [Y] resultó que el dueño del puerco era Mateo, él era el dueño del puerco. (43) Como 15 [o] 20 días después (44) nos encontramos [y] me dice, “Tú, ¿por qué te llevaste mi puerco?”. (45) “¿A poco ese es tuyo?”. (46) “Sí, es mío”. (47) “Mmm, la verdad recuerdo como que no era tuyo (48) porque el señor me dijo que era de alguien más”. (49) “Y yo me lo llevé. (50) Como se la pasaba aquí escarbando la tierra. (51) Se la pasaba regando la tierra”, le digo. (52) “¿Ahora qué hacemos? —el puerco estaba hasta mi casa—”, le digo. (53) “¿Que así se quede! (54) La próxima vez, cada que quieras venir a trabajar yo te voy a ayudar. (55) Pero ya que así se quede. (56) No traigas el puerco”, me dice Mateo. (57) Ya no le llevé su puerco. (58) Cada que me encontraba al señor me decía: (59) “Tú, ¿qué pasó con mi puerco?”. (60) “Ni me comí tu puerco (61) porque se ahorcó y se murió”, le digo. (62) “¿A poco se murió el puerco?”. (63) “Sí, se murió, ni me aprovechó el puerco”, le digo. (64) Le dio mucha risa al señor. (65) [Y] Mateo dice: (66) “por eso no te lleses lo que no es tuyo. (67) Ahora te lo llevaste y ni te duró. (68) El puerco se murió luego”. (69) “Ya la próxima vez no vuelve a pasar”, (70) le digo a Mateo. (71) Eso es lo que hice una vez que fui a Buenavista. (72) Me traje el puerco. (73) Cada que me lo encontraba me recordaba el puerco. (74) Yo ya no quería escucharlo (75) porque me había llevado su puerco.

A day in the cornfields

Glossed text

1. Na biaje, bu ndi pa Buenabista.

na	biahe	bu	ndi-pa	buenabista
IND.SG	time	when	1SG.IPFV-go	Buenavista

Once, when I went to Buenavista.

Una vez, cuando iba a Buenavista.

2. Ndi pa ro thüjü.

ndi-pa ro-t^hühũ

1SG.IPFV-go SG-plant

I went to plant.

Iba a sembrar.

3. Ndi pa ro jüäjü.

ndi-pa ro-hũähĩ

1SG.IPFV-go SG-fallow

I went to fallow.

Iba a barbechar.

4. Ngu na tiempo ya, xo ndi ote kũ jüäjü, ndi tso^{mi}, jä, ndi wantsi

ngu	na	tiempo	ja	fo	ndi-øte	kx	hũähĩ	ndi-tso ^{mi}
like	IND.SG	time	ADV	then	1.SG.IPFV-do	DEM.PL	land	1SG.IPFV-dig

hã ndi-wantsi

AFF 1SG.IPFV-mix

Like in this season, I used to work (lit. do) the land, I would dig, yes, I would mix [the dirt]

Como en esta temporada yo solía trabajar el campo, picaba, sí, revolvía [la tierra]

5. ko ka ro t'egi ndi e.

ko ka ro-t'egi ndi-ε

with DEM.SG SG-metal 1SG.IPFV-have

with the metal tool I had.

con el fierro que tenía.

6. Pi gempia, bi dura, xkomo bi dura ndi yo nũ, jin go wariji.

pi gempia bi-dura jkomo bi-dura ndi-jo-nx hiŋ

so then 3SG.PST-last like 3SG.PST-last 1SG.IPFV-walk-LOC NEG

go-wa-rihi

1COND-finish-quickly

So I would be around the area for a while [because] I didn't finish [the work] soon.

Andaba allí por un buen tiempo [porque] no terminaba rápido [el trabajo].

7. Komo ta ndi pa wa, xo wa nantsi nxuditho wa ma.

komo ta ndi-pa-wa fo wa-nantsi n̄judi-t^hõ wa-ma

since till 1SG.IPFV-go-LOC so 1SG.PFV-get.up early-EMPH 1SG.PFV-go

Since I departed from here, I had to wake up early to leave.

Como me iba desde aquí, me levantaba temprano para irme.

8. Pexo tandi tse
- ni
- ta serka di uni las nuebe.

pefo ta ndi-tse-nx ta serka di-uni las nuebe
 but till 1SG.IPFV-arrive-LOC till almost SVJB-give ART nine

But I would arrive there almost at nine.

Pero llegaba allá casi hasta que daban las nueve.

9. kha ndi tseni las ocho.

k^ha ndi-tseni las ofo
 ADV 1SG.IPFV-arrive ART eight

[Or] *I would arrive at eight.*

[O] *llegaba a las ocho.*

10. Pi ndi pebe na nzoya mi imbi mi foxkigi,

pi ndi-pe-be na nzoja mi-im-bi mi-fofki-gi
 also 1SG.IPFV-go-DU.EXCL IND.SG man 3SG.IPFV-say-OBJ 3SG.IPFV-help-1SG

Also, I used to go with a man who helped me.

Además, me iba con un señor que según me ayudaba.

11. pero ka nzoya mbro Pedro ka.

pero ka nzoya mbro pedro ka
 but DEM.SG man 3SG.PST pedro DEM.SG

The man was Pedro.

El señor era Pedro.

12. Pero jin ga dura bi dengigi porke ka mi ne gege.

pero hij ga-dura bi-deñ-gi-gi porke ka mi-ne-gege
 but NEG 3SG.PFV-last 3SG.PST-follow-1SG-EMPH because REL 3SG.IPFV-want-3SG

But he didn't continue (lit. last) following me because of what he wanted.

Pero no duró acompañándome por lo que quería.

13. Ji mi ne bi di be ka ro tsi.

hi mi-ne-bi di-be ka-ro-tsi
 NEG 3SG.IPFV-want-3SG SVJB-miss DEM.SG-3POSS-pulque

He didn't want to miss his pulque.

No quería que le faltara su pulque.

14. Zai mi ne di zi tsi.

zai mi-ne di-zi tsi
 always 3SG.IPFV-want SVJB-drink pulque

He always wanted to drink pulque.

Siempre quería tomar pulque.

15. Walo ya xi xatho do xifi ngupu xo do ntintho do ma.
 walo ja fi fatho do-fi-fi ngu-px fo do-ntintho do-ma
 better ADV so nothing 1SG.PST-tell-3SG like-LOC so 1SG.PST-hurry 1SG.PST-go
I better not tell him anything, so I hurried to go [by myself].
 Por eso ya mejor no le dije nada, me apuraba yo a irme.

16. Bi zu na ngo do pefi, do pefi, pi do wadi
 bi-zx na ngo do-pefi do-pefi pi do-wadi
 3SG.PST-reach one month 1SG.PST-work 1SG.PST-work then 1SG.PST-finish
I worked there for like a month before I finished.
 Trabajé allí como por un mes y terminé.

17. Do pejnia, do thajti ku joi, do ote ra zo.
 do-peh-nia do-thati kx hoi do-ote ra-zo
 1SG.PST-work-LOC 1SG.PST-remove DEM.PL soil 1SG.PST-do be-good
I worked there. I removed the soil, I did it well.
 Trabaje allí. Removí la tierra, lo hice bien.

18. Miji pi do tux ka ro na pina t'egi.
 mihi pi do-tuf ka-ro na pi-na t'egi
 also then 1SG.PST-bring DEM.SG-SG IND.SG plus-IND.SG metal
I even brought another metal tool
 Hasta llevé otro fierro

19. Pada wa fots' ajoi ku yu detha
 pada wa-fots' a-hoi kx-jx det^ha
 to 1SG.PFV-plough PREP-floor DEM.PL-PL corn
to plough the corn.
 para cultivar el maíz.

20. Jānta di te di imbi.
 hā-nta di-te di-im-bi
 AFF-RES SVJB-grow 1SG.PRS-say-OBJ
So that it would grow, according to me.
 Como para que [el maíz] creciera según yo.

21. Pexo mi dajta yo ku zakhua.
 pefo mi-dahta-jo kx zak^hua
 but 3IPFV-a.lot-walk DEM.PL pig
But there were a lot of pigs walking [around].
 Pero andaban muchos puercos.

22. Mi penti mi uxta joi, mi yote ku ndi ote go.
 mi-penti mi-ujta hoi mi-jote kɾ ndi-ote-go
 3IPFV-grab 3IPFV-dig land 3IPFV-destroy DEM.PL 1SG.IPFV-do-1SG
[They] would dig the land and destroy what I had done.
 Escarbaban la tierra y destruían todo lo que yo hacía.
23. Imbi nu ta koxti ra zo ko ka za.
 im-bi nɾ (go) ta-kofti ra-zo ko ka za
 say-OBJ I 1SG.PRF-smooth be-good with DEM.SG stick
According to me, I had smoothed it over well with the stick.
 Según yo lo había alisado bien con el palo.
24. Nuku zakhua ya, xo mi uxta joi.
 nɾ-kɾ zak^hua ja jo mi-ujta hoi
 DEM-PL pig ADV so 3IPFV-dig land
[But] those pigs would dig the land.
 [Pero] esos puercos escarbaban la tierra.
25. Do oni na nzoya. Di imbi: “¿to yo mejti yu io wa?”
 do-oni na nzoya di-im-bi to jo-mehti yɾ io-wa
 1SG.PST-ask IND.SG man 1SG.PRS-say-OBJ who 3POSS-owner DEM.PL walk-LOC
I asked a man. I said to him: “who’s the owner of these ones here?”
 Le pregunté a un señor. Le digo: “¿De quién son estos que andan aquí?”
26. Dei storbagi wa jabu di io” do ina. Bi ñingigi “ro Mateo”
 dei-storba-gi wa-ha-bɾ di-io do-ina bi-ɲiŋ-gi-gi ro-Mateo
 PROG-bother-1SG LOC-where-LOC 1SG.PRS-walk 1SG.PST-say 3SG.PST-say-1SG-EMPH SG-Mateo
They bother me where I go,” I said. He told me, “[they’re] Mateo’s”.
 Me estorban donde ando,” le dije. Me dijo, “son de Mateo”.
27. Ka nzoya ta bi buj nu bi khanu, bi buj nu a ro Kosta.
 ka nzoya ta bi-bɣh nɾ-bi-kha-nɾ bi-bɣh nɾ a-ro-Kosta
 DEM.SG man till 3SG.PST-live LOC-3SG-exist-LOC 3SG.PST-live LOC where-SG-Kosta
The man lived far away, lived by the Costa.
 El señor vivía hasta por allá, vivía por la Costa.
28. “A di konise ka nzoya porke zai ba i kua da foxkigi.”
 a di-konise ka nzoya porke zai ba-i-kua
 ah 1SG.PRS-know DEM.SG man because always 3SG-come-LOC

da-fojki-gi

3SG.FUT-help-1SG

“Ah, I know the man because he always comes here to help me.”

“Ah, conozco al señor porque siempre viene aquí a ayudarme.”

29. Abese pox nū ro za xo pada kongi nū joi.

abese	pəʃ	nɯ	ro-za	ʃo	pada	kongi	nɯ	hoi
sometimes	come.out	DEM.SG	SG-stick	so	to	clean	DEM.SG	land

To clean the land because sometimes sticks come out.

Para limpiar porque a veces suben los palos de la tierra.

30. Ka nzoya Mateo, xo mi gusta wa ñobe ka, pexo binkhapia.

ka	nzoja	Mateo	ʃo	mi-gusta	wa-ɲo-be	ka	pəʃo
DEM.SG	man	Mateo	so	3SG.IPFV-like	1PFV-walk-DU.EXCL	DEM.SG	but

bi-nkha-pia

3SG.PST-happen-ADV

Mr. Mateo liked to work with me but that happened.

Al señor Mateo le gustaba trabajar conmigo, pero pasó eso.

31. Piya jin ga dura do ñobe.

pi-ja	hiŋ	ga-dura	do-ɲo-be
then-ADV	NEG	3SG.PFV-last	1PST-walk-DU.EXCL

He didn't last long [working] with me.

No duramos mucho [trabajando] juntos.

32. Pi do ma na biaje.

pi	do-ma	na	biaje
so	1SG.PST-go	IND.SG	travel

So I went [back] once.

Después, un día fui.

33. Pi do ma kati kū ta pefi kha mi bui ra zo.

pi	do-ma-kati	kɯ	ta-pefi	kha	mi-byi	ra-zo
so	1SG.PST-go-see	DEM.PL	1SG.PRF-work	COND	3SG.IPFV-live	be-good

I went [back] to see if what I had done was good.

Fui a ver si mi trabajo estaba bien.

34. Pe mero do ts̄udi mi yo k̄u zakhua ya, ka do kha:

pe mero do-ts̄udi mi-jo k̄ɾ zak^hua ia ka do-k^hua
 but just 1SG.PST-catch 3IPFV-walk DEM.PL pig ADV REL 1SG.PST-do

But I caught the pigs walking [in the field], what I did was:

Pero encontré que allí andaban los puercos, entonces lo que hice fue:

35. Do penti na reza.

do-penti na reza
 1SG.PST-grab IND.SG bag

I grabbed a bag.

agarré una bolsa.

36. Ingigi ka na nzoja, “ts̄u, penti ka zakhua.

in-gi-gi ka na nzoja ts̄ɾ penti ka zak^hua
 tell-1SG-EMPH DEM.SG IND.SG man catch grab DEM.SG pig

The other man tells me, “catch [if], grab the pig.

El otro señor me dice, “alcánzalo, agarra el puerco.

37. Walo gi ts'its'i jānta para da mo kio dueño.

walo gi-ts'its'i hã-nta para da-mo kio dueño
 better 2SG.PRS-take AFF-RES so 3SVJB-take.care 3PL.POSS owner

You better take it so that the owners take care of them.

Mejor te lo llevas para que los dueños los cuiden.

38. Porque kio dueño jin gi kha nkaso.”

porque kio dueño hij gi-k^ha nkaso
 because 3PL.POSS owner NEG 3PRS-do attention

Because the owners don't pay attention.”

Porque los dueños no hacen caso.”

39. Nugo xo do obediente.

nygo ʃo do-obediente
 I so 1SG.PST-obedient

I was obedient [and]

Yo muy obediente

40. Do penti ka zakhua.

do-penti ka zak^hua
 1SG.PST-grab DEM.SG pig

I grabbed the pig.

agarré el puerco.

41. Do pa da poxi na reza.

do-pa da-poʃi na reza
 1SG.PST-go 1SG.AND-wrap IND.SG bag

I went to wrap [it] in a bag.

Fui a envolverlo en una bolsa.

42. Nige ka mbro mehti ka zakhua genka Mateo, ka mbro mehti ka zakhua.

nige ka mbro-mehti ka zak^hua gen-ka Mateo ka
 RES DEM.SG 3SG.IPFV-own DEM.SG pig REL-DEM.SG Mateo DEM.SG

mbro-mehti ka zakhua
 3SG.IPFV-owner DEM.SG pig

It turns out that the pig's owner was Mateo, he was the owner of the pig.

[Y] resultó que el dueño del puerco era Mateo, él era el dueño del puerco.

43. Ta bi zu kinse dia, beinte dia.

ta bi.zʷ kinse dia beinte dia
 till 3SG.PST.reach fifteen day twenty day

Until 15 [or] 20 days later

Como 15 [o] 20 días después

44. Pi do nthebe, ingi “nu ʒo go chix ka ma zakhua?”

pi do-n^tē-be iŋ-gi nʷ o go-tʃiʃ ka ma zakhua
 then 1SG.PST-meet-DUAL say-1SG 2SG why 2SG.PST-take.away DEM.SG 1SG.POSS pig

we met [and] he says to me: “you, why did you take away my pig?”

nos encontramos [y] me dice, “Tú, ¿por qué te llevaste mi puerco?”

45. “¿Poko ri mehti ge a ka?”

poko ri-mehti-ge a-ka
 really 2SG.POSS-own-2SG LINK-DEM.SG

“Is it really yours?”

“¿A poco ese es tuyo?”

46. “Jā ma mejtigo ka.”

hā ma-mehti-go ka
 AFF 1SG.POSS-own-1SG DEM.SG

“Yes, that is mine.”

“Sí, es mío”.

47. “I la berda, da bingo jin gri mejtigi a ka
 i la berda da-biŋ-go hiŋ g-ri-mehti-ge a-ka
 oh ART truth 1SG.AND-remember-1SG NEG LINK-2SG.POSS-own-2SG LINK-DEM.SG
“Oh, to be honest I remember it wasn’t yours
“Mmm, la verdad recuerdo como que no era tuyo
48. porke bi xijkigi ka nzoja ina naño to mbro mejti na”.
 porke bi-ŋihki-gi ka nzoja ina naño to mbro-mehti na
 because 3SG.PST-tell-1SG DEM.SG man say different who 3SG.IPFV-owner IND.SG
because the man told me someone else was the owner”.
porque el señor me dijo que era de alguien más”.
49. “Nūgo xo do ts’its’i.
 nŋgo ʃo do-ts’its’i
 I so 1SG.PST-take.away
“So, I took it away.
“Y yo me lo llevé.
50. Como mide mi muxti wa ja yo joi.
 komo mide-mi-muŋti wa-ha jo hoi
 since PROG-3SG.IPFV-dig LOC-where DEM.IND.PL soil
Since it kept digging the soil here.
Como se la pasaba aquí escarbando la tierra.
51. Mide mi phonti yo joi”, di im-bi.
 mide-mi-ph^honti jo hoi di-im-bi
 PROG-3SG.IPFV-mess DEM.IND.SG dirt 1SG.PRS-tell-3SG
It was making a mess with the dirt”, I tell him.
Se la pasaba regando la tierra”, le digo.
52. “¿Xia te go khajpia?” —xo ka zakhua xo ta bi bujnu ja ma ngu— di ina.
 ʃia te go-k^hah-pia ʃo ka zak^hua ʃo ta bi-byh-nŋ
 ADV what 1SG.FUT-do-ADV so DEM.SG pig so till 3SG.PST-live-LOC

 ha ma ŋgu di-ina
 where 1SG.POSS house 1SG.PRS-say
“What do I do now? —the pig was at my house—”, I say.
“¿Ahora qué hacemos? —el puerco estaba hasta mi casa—”, le digo.

53. “¡Xo di khapu!

fo di-k^ha pɾ
 so SVJB-stay that
 “¡[Leave] it like that!
 “¡Que así se quede!

54. Pina biaje ya kada bu gi ne gi i gi pefi go ma foxkiki.

pi-na biahe ja kada bɾ gi-ne gi-i gi-pefi
 plus-IND.SG travel ADV each when 2SG.PRS-want 2SG.PRS-come 2SG.PRS-work

go-ma-fojki-ki

1SG.FUT-go-help-2SG

Next time when you want to come to work, I am going to help you.

La próxima vez, cada que quieras venir a trabajar yo te voy a ayudar.

55. Pexo di khapu ya.

pefo di-k^ha pɾ ja
 but SVJB-stay that ADV

But leave it like that now.

Pero ya que así se quede.

56. Ya jin go tsi ka zakhua”, ingigi ka Mateo.

ja hij go-tsi ka zak^hua iŋ-gi-gi ka Mateo
 ADV NEG 2SG.PST-bring DEM.SG pig tell-1SG-EMPH DEM.SG Mateo

Don't bring the pig,” Mateo tells me.

No traigas el puerco”, me dice Mateo.

57. Ya ji do ts'its'ibi karo zakhua.

ja hij do-t̃s'its'i-bi ka-ro zak^hua
 ADV NEG 1SG.PST-bring.back-3SG DEM.SG-3SG.POSS pig

So, I didn't bring him back his pig.

Ya no le llevé su puerco.

58. Kada wa nthebe ka nzoya mi ingigi:

kada wa-n^he-be ka nzoja mi-iŋ-gi-gi
 each 1SG.PFV-meet-DU.EXCL DEM.SG man 3SG.IPFV-tell-1SG-EMPH

Each time I met him, the man would tell me:

Cada que me encontraba al señor me decía:

59. “N
- u
- ¿te bi kha ka ma zakhua?”

nɾ te bi-k^ha ka ma zak^hua
 2SG what 3SG.PST-happen DEM.SG 1SG.POSS pig

“You, what happened to my pig?”

“Tú, ¿qué pasó con mi puerco?”.

60. “N
- u
- ka ri zakhua nin do tsa ni

nɿka ri zak^hua niŋ do-t̃sa ni
 DEM.SG 2SG.POSS pig not.even 1SG.PST-eat also

“I didn’t even eat your pig

“Ni me comí tu puerco

61. porke ka ri zakhua bi ñit’i xo bi du”, di imbi.

porke ka ri zak^hua bi-pit’i ʃo bi-du di-im-bi
 because DEM.SG 2SG.POSS pig 3SG.PST-hang.REFL so 3SG.PST-die 1SG.PRS-say-OBJ

because your pig hung himself and died,” I say [to him].

porque se ahorcó y se murió”, le digo.

62. “¿Poko bi du ka zakhua?”

poko bi-du ka zak^hua
 really 3SG.PST-die DEM.SG pig

“Did the pig really die?”

“¿A poco se murió el puerco?”.

63. “Jä bi du, nin ga provechagigi ka zakhua”, di imbi.

hã bi-du niŋ ga-probetʃa-gi-gi ka zak^hua di-im-bi
 AFF 3SG.PST-die not.even 3SG.PFV-take.advantage-1SG-EMPH DEM.SG pig 1SG.PRS-say-OBJ

“Yes, it died, I didn’t even take advantage of the pig,” I say [to him].

“Sí, se murió, ni me aprovecho el puerco”, le digo.

64. Bi dajta deni ka nzoya.

bi-dahta-deni ka nzoja
 3SG.PST-a.lot-laugh DEM.SG man

The man laughed a lot.

Le dio mucha risa al señor.

65. N
- u
- ka Mateo ina

nɿka Mateo ina:
 DEM.SG Mateo say

[*And*] *Mateo says:*

[Y] *Mateo dice:*

66. “Por eso jin gi tchix ku jin gri mejti.

poreso hiŋ gi-tʃiʃ kɾ hiŋ g-ri-mehti
 that’s.why NEG 2SG.PRS-take DEM.PL NEG LINK-2SG.POSS-own
“that’s why you shouldn’t take what’s not yours.
 “por eso no te lleves lo que no es tuyo.

67. Nuya go ts’its’i nin ga duraki.

nɣ-ja go-ts’its’i niŋ ga-dura-ki
 DEM.SG-ADV 2SG.PST-take.away not.even 3SG.PFV-last-2SG
Now you took it away, and it didn’t even last for you.
 Ahora te lo llevaste y ni te duró.

68. Ka zakhua bi pi du”.

ka zak^hua bi-pi-du
 DEM.SG pig 3SG.PST-next-die
The pig died.”
 El puerco se murió luego”.

69. “Ya pana biaje ya jin da nkhapu ya”,

ja pa na biahe ja hin da-nk^ha pɾ ja
 ADV PREP IND.SG travel ADV NEG 3SG.SVJB-happen that ADV
“Next time, it won’t happen again,”
 “Ya la próxima vez no vuelve a pasar”,

70. Di imbi ka Mateo.

di-im-bi ka Mateo
 1SG.PRS-say-OBJ ART Mateo
I say to Mateo.
 le digo a Mateo.

71. Genka do pej ka na biaje, bundo ma nu Buenabista

geŋ-ka do-peh ka na biaje bɾ n-do-ma nɾ buenabista
 REL-DEM.SG 1SG.PST-do DEM.SG IND.SG travel when LINK-1SG.PST-go LOC Buenavista
That’s what I did when I went to Buenavista.
 Eso es lo que hice una vez que fui a Buenavista.

72. do tsi ka zakhua.

do-tʃi ka zak^hua
 1SG.PST-bring DEM.SG pig
I brought the pig.
 Me traje el puerco.

73. Kada wa nthebe mi demi binbigi ka zakhua.

kada wa-nt^he-be mi-demi-bin-gi-gi ka zak^hua
 each 1PFV-meet-DU.EXCL 3SG.IPFV-PROG-remind-1SG-EMPH DEM.SG pig

Each time we met he reminded me about the pig.

Cada que me lo encontraba me recordaba el puerco.

74. Nugo ya ji ndi ne wa ode.

nygo ja hi ndi-ne wa-ode
 I ADV NEG 1SG.IPFV-want 1SG.PFV-hear

I didn't want to hear [it] anymore

Yo ya no quería escucharlo.

75. Porke ta tsimpi ka ro zakhua.

porke ta-tsi-mpi ka ro zak^hua
 because 1SG.PRF-take away-3SG DEM.SG 3SG.POSS pig

because I had taken away his pig.

Porque me había llevado su puerco.

Abbreviations

1	first person	LOC	locative
2	second person	NEG	negative
3	third person	OBJ	object
ADV	adverb	PFV	perfective
AFF	affirmative	PL	plural
AND	andative	POSS	possessive
ART	article	PREP	preposition
COND	conditional	PRF	perfect
CONJ	conjunction	PROG	progressive
DEM	demonstrative	PRS	present
DU	dual	PST	past
EMPH	emphatic	REFL	reflexive
EXCL	exclusive	REL	relative
FUT	future	RES	resultative
IPFV	imperfective	SG	singular
IND	indefinite	SVJB	subjunctive
IPFV	imperfective	[]	contains information added for edition purposes
LINK	linker	()	contains optional information
LIT	literal meaning		

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