

SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS

PUBLICATIONS IN LINGUISTICS

Publication Number 58

Volume II

EDITORS

Irvine Davis
*Summer Institute
of Linguistics*

Virgil Poulter
*University of Texas
at Arlington*

ASSISTANT EDITORS

Alan C. Wares

Iris M. Wares

CONSULTING EDITORS

Doris Bartholomew
Pam Bendor-Samuel
Phyllis Healey
Robert E. Longacre

Eugene Loos
William R. Merrifield
Kenneth L. Pike
Viola Waterhouse

**DISCOURSE STUDIES
IN
MESOAMERICAN LANGUAGES**

Volume 2: Texts

Linda K. Jones, editor
Robert E. Longacre, project director

A PUBLICATION OF

THE SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS

and

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT ARLINGTON

1979

ISBN Volume II 0-88312-079-8
 Set 0-88312-080-1

Library of Congress Catalog Card No: 79-66353

Copyright © 1979 by Summer Institute of Linguistics, Inc.

Copies of this publication and other publications of
the Summer Institute of Linguistics may be obtained
from

Dallas Center Book Store
Summer Institute of Linguistics
7500 W. Camp Wisdom Road
Dallas, TX 75236

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface.	vii
<u>Aguacatec</u>	1
Three Thieves.	3
<i>Spanish translation</i>	10
<i>Abbreviations</i>	12
<i>Notes</i>	13
<u>Mazatec of Jalapa de Díaz</u>	15
About the Thunderman	17
<i>Spanish translation</i>	24
<i>Abbreviations</i>	26
<i>Notes</i>	27
<u>Coatzospan Mixtec</u>	29
Frog and Deer Story.	31
<i>Spanish translation</i>	34
Orange Tree Story.	35
<i>Spanish translation</i>	39
Rabbit and Coyote Story.	40
<i>Spanish translation</i>	58
<i>Abbreviations</i>	62
<i>Notes</i>	63
<u>Huasteca Nahuatl</u>	65
The House of Palms	67
<i>Spanish translation</i>	80
<i>Abbreviations</i>	83
<i>Notes</i>	84
<u>Western Tarahumara</u>	85
Domingo Morillo and the Fox.	87
<i>Spanish translation</i>	91
<i>Abbreviations</i>	92
<i>Notes</i>	93

	<u>Northern Totonac.</u>	95
The Boa.		97
<i>Spanish translation</i>		161
<i>Abbreviations</i>		177
<i>Notes</i>		178
	<u>Cajonos Zapotec.</u>	179
The Old Woman and the Town Authorities		181
<i>Spanish translation</i>		202
<i>Abbreviations</i>		207
<i>Notes</i>		208
	<u>Lachixio Zapotec.</u>	209
Rabbit, Coyote, and Skunk.		211
<i>Spanish translation</i>		214
When People Die.		215
<i>Spanish translation</i>		220
<i>Abbreviations</i>		222
<i>Notes</i>		223

PREFACE

This volume presents text materials from eight different languages indigenous to Mesoamerica. It is intended to serve as a companion volume to the papers presented in volume 1 (Discussion) of *Discourse Studies in Mesoamerican Languages*. However, it may also be used apart from volume 1. It will be of general interest to those interested in Mesoamerican language data, as well as those interested in studying for themselves the discourse structure of various non-Indoeuropean languages.

A common difficulty faced by linguists publishing on discourse research is how to adequately substantiate one's hypotheses with data, since frequently the data on which the analysis was based consists of one or many, sometimes lengthy, texts. Usually publication costs impose restrictions on how much data may be cited. Yet how, for instance, does a linguist support statements regarding the theme(s) of a text without giving the entire text? Or, how can a participant be tracked through a narrative without giving the entire narrative? These or similar problems are encountered by the discourse linguist in publishing his research.

With respect to the papers in volume 1, the present volume is a partial solution to these difficulties in that it gives a representative text or two for most of the languages discussed in volume 1. In every case, choice of text for inclusion here was made by the linguist(s) working in the particular language. For this reason, the texts vary considerably in length, subject matter, even in discourse type. Many are folktales, but some are historical narratives.

By providing a representative text for the languages discussed in the papers in volume 1, the reader may check for himself the accuracy and validity of the assertions made in the papers. Further, it is hoped that the two volumes will complement each other for pedagogical purposes.

The languages represented in the texts here comprise various linguistic stocks and families, including Mayan, Otomanguean, Utoaztecan, and Totonacan. Each text was individually analyzed by the field linguist studying that language. No attempt was

made by the editor to conform the individual analyses to a standard set of abbreviations, orthographical conventions, etc., and variation in these areas is to be expected. At the end of each text a table of abbreviations is provided, as well as explanations of orthography and notes on assorted matters such as number of speakers of the language, geographical location, etc. Each text has been analyzed into structural units (paragraphs, sections, etc.). Due to differences in criteria utilized for this purpose, there is variation in this area as well. For each text, morpheme-by-morpheme glosses in English are provided, as well as a running free translation in both English (at the end of each paragraph) and Spanish (at the end of each text).

The texts were analyzed into their present form at a field workshop held in the summer of 1978 in Ixmiquilpan, Hidalgo, Mexico, under the auspices of the Mexico branch of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The workshop was directed by Robert E. Longacre, to whom we are all grateful for his leadership, creativity, and hard work. Thanks is especially due to the native speakers who were the sources of these text materials. Also to be acknowledged is the tremendous work of each of the linguists participating in this project. They were responsible for transcribing and preparing the text materials for this volume. Preliminary editing was done by myself. John Alsop and Doris Bartholomew of the Mexico branch of the Summer Institute of Linguistics helped coordinate publication efforts. A special word of thanks to Louise Schoenhals for overseeing the actual typing and proofreading. She was assisted in her task by various members of the Mexico branch of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. To all these persons I am very grateful.

Linda K. Jones
Dallas, Texas

COATZOSPAN MIXTEC

FROG AND DEER STORY

ORANGE TREE STORY

RABBIT AND COYOTE STORY

FROG AND DEER STORY

COATZOSPAN MIXTEC

APERTURE

I. 1. Iha ntaa ntí un cuentu iña tzáhva
here POT/tell we/EXCL one story (SP) of frog
nī rchú.
with deer

I. 1. 'Here we tell a story about the frog and the deer.'

EPISODE P-2

II. 2. Xēe tī vi rei, ca-cahan tī. 3.
COMP/arrive it house king (SP) CONT-say it
Xēe rchú san ne ca-cahan tī ne. 4. Cahán
COMP/arrive deer that and CONT-say it COMP/say
reí san ne, é ntio ña é cunu tī
king (SP) that that CONT/want they that POT/run it
ne quítī quítī é cuvi vii. 5.
what animal animal that POT/be able POT/do
"Cuvi ni," cahan a tzáhvā san. 6. Ná tē
POT/be able ? COMP/say DIM frog that NEG if
nté caa diní tī ne.
how CONT/be happy it

II. 2. 'It arrived at the castle, it spoke. 3. That deer arrived, and it spoke. 4. That king said that he wanted them to run a race to see which animal would win. 5. "Okay," said that frog. 6. It was really happy.'

III. 7. A rchú san ne, ca-cahan tī e dōo
DIM deer that CONT-say it that very

vá inu ti ne. 8. Ōo í-tuví ntahxa a
 good CONT/run it very COMP/go-sit sad DIM
 tzáhvā sán ne, cuān ó ca-cahan ti. 9.
 frog that thus CONT/be CONT-say it
 Cú-nūhu a tzáhvā sán ne, cu-cōto ∅
 INC/go-return DIM frog that INC/go-look UN
 āmigu i ne.
 friend (SP) UN

III. 7. 'That deer, it said that it ran very well. 8. That frog got very sad when it said that. 9. That frog went home, it went to see its friends.'

EPISODE P-1

IV. 10. Ca-ecu uhun tevāa tzi nūhu ti
 CONT-cry five early just CONT/be in/PL it
 ca-tzi-ntūxi-tahan ti ne, a tzáhvā sán ne.
 CONT-put-buried-companion it DIM frog that

IV. 10. 'Right at five o'clock in the morning those frogs were there burying one another.'

PEAK EPISODE

V. 11. Xēē a tzáhvā san quidāā ne. 12. Dāha
 COMP/arrive DIM frog that then over
 cān e dī mī nūti ne. 13. Nā tē nté caa
 there that ? alone sand NEG if how COMP/be
 vá o.
 good COMP/be

V. 11. 'That frog arrived then. 12. There was nothing but sand there. 13. It was really beautiful.'

VI. 14. Ne ca-ecu uní iñintuhu inu ti ne.
 and CONT-cry three COMP/begin COMP/run it
 15. Cūvi de tzáhvā san. 16. (Ntá tzi ña
 COMP/be able COMP/do frog that but just NEG

te uun x-ti, tzí ña te da dñi ti. 17. Da
if one just-it because NEG if just few it when
entíta ti uun ti ne, tucu ti quene-ntita
COMP/jump it one it other it COMP/come out-jump
túcu ti ne. 18. Tzí te uun ti ne, e dñhna
again it because if one it already before
tzí-ntuxi-tahan ti.)
COMP/put-buried-companion it

VI. 14. 'The race began at three o'clock. 15. That frog won.
16. (But it wasn't just one; there were a whole lot of them.
17. When one of them finished jumping, another one would jump
out. 18. Because that one frog had earlier buried its compan-
ions (in the sand).')

VII. 19. Ne cūvi dé tzáhvā san. 20. Ne
and COMP/be able COMP/do frog that and
a rcuhú san ne, ña ni cúvi vīi Ø
DIM deer that NEG CTF COMP/be able POT/do UN
tzí uun tzi Ø. 21. Ne é dñhna tzáhvā
because one just UN and already before frog
san túvi ti dññi i cān dá xee a
that CONT/sit/SG it side UN there when COMP/arrive DIM
rcuhú san ne.
deer that

VII. 19. 'And that frog won. 20. And that deer, it didn't win
because it was only one. 21. And that frog was already at the
finish line when that deer arrived.'

CLOSURE

VIII. 22. Icān ntñhi cuentu iña tzáhva nī rcuhú.
there COMP/end story (SP) of frog with deer

VIII. 22. 'There ends the story about the frog and the deer.'

INTRODUCCION

I. 1. 'Vamos a contar un cuento de la rana y el venado.'

EPISODIO C-2

II. 2. 'Llegó al castillo y habló. 3. El venado llegó, y habló. 4. Este rey dijo que quería correr unas carreras a ver qué animal ganaba. 5. "Muy bien," dijo la rana, 6. y estaba muy contenta.'

III. 7. 'Pero el venado, el venado dijo que corría muy bien. 8. Y esta rana, la rana se puso muy triste cuando él dijo eso. 9. Y se fue a su casa, se fue a ver a sus amigos.'

EPISODIO C-1

IV. 10. 'Y a las cinco de la mañana, estas amigos andaban enterrándose en la arena.'

EPISODIO CLIMACTICO

V. 11. 'Entonces llegó la rana. 12. No había nada más que arena. 13. ¡Qué bonito!'

VI. 14. 'La carrera comenzó a las tres, 15. y la rana ganó. 16. (Pero no había una sola rana, había muchas. 17. Cuando una brincaba, luego otra saldría brincando. 18. Pues la rana había enterrado a sus compañeras (en la arena).'

VII. 19. 'Y la rana ganó. 20. Y este venado, este venado no ganó, porque sólo había uno. 21. Y cuando el venado llegó a la meta, la rana ya estaba allí.'

FINAL

VIII. 22. 'Y aquí se acaba el cuento de la rana y el venado.'

ORANGE TREE STORY

COATZOSPAN MIXTEC

APERTURE

I. 1. Iha ntaa nti un cuentu iña á
here POT/tell we/EXCL one story (SP) of DIM
na cudii na xée diqui utun ncõñũhu.
boy/MS merely boy/MS COMP/climb up head tree orange

I. 1. 'Here we tell a story about the boy who climbed up into the orange tree.'

EPISODE P-2

II. 2. Ēhñi na á tahan na tanu cudii
COMP/hit he/MS DIM sister his/MS girl merely
lũhntĩ. 3. Un vaha tzi écu tũn. 4. Quidãã ne,
small/SG one good just COMP/cry she then
ĩnu na ne. 5. (Ntã tzi dõo dutzi cuinf
COMP/run he/MS but just very low CONT/feel
dihĩ nã. 6. Tzi da nte co é
mother his/MS because when until POT/be that
nihi ña na cahñi ña na.)
POT/find they him/MS POT/hit they him/MS

II. 2. 'He hit his little sister. 3. She really cried.
4. So then, he ran away. 5. (But his mother was very angry. 6.
When she found him she was going to hit him.)'

EPISODE P-1

III. 7. Un ntuvi dõo iõ ncõñũhũ nã-xee
one day very CONT/be orange COMP/REP-arrive
na étzin nu víhi cãñ nt-uvi na eni
he/MS near face house there all-two he/MS brother

íca nā. 8. Dōō 'ca-caquīn na. 9. Tzī
 distant his/MS very CONT-be hungry he/MS because
 ñā ni xēhe dihi nā é cahxi na,
 NEG CTF COMP/give mother his/MS that POT/eat he/MS
 tzī dōō dutzī cuinī ñā. 10. Un vāha tzi
 because very low CONT/feel they one good just
 ca-caquīn na. 11. Ñā ni cūtfi na
 CONT-be hungry he/MS NEG CTF COMP/stand he/MS
 dōcō, ne cú-xēe na diqui utun ncōñūhu.
 hunger and INC/go-climb up he/MS head tree orange

III. 7. 'It was at a time when there were a lot of oranges
 when he and his cousin arrived back near the house. 8. He was
 very hungry. 9. For his mother hadn't given him anything to eat
 because she was so angry. 10. He was really hungry. 11. He
 couldn't stand it any longer, so he climbed up into the orange
 tree.'

PEAK EPISODE

IV. 12. Icān ntecú na ca-ehxī na ncoñūhú
 there CONT/sit on/SG he/MS CONT-eat he/MS orange
 san ne inī a tahan na tanu cudii tanu
 that and COMP/see DIM sister his/MS girl merely girl
 éhnī na. 13. Ca-can-vētē tún ni dihi tún,
 COMP/hit he/MS CONT-say-lie she with mother her
 "Ō mäh, icān ntecú tenu éhnī co!"
 hey mom, there CONT/sit on/SG boy/WS COMP/hit me
 cahan á tanu cudii san. 14. "Din diin tzi
 COMP/say DIM girl merely that quietly quietly just
 cu-tūví -n, na quihīn u quí-na-cāxī-vāhā
 POT/go-sit/SG you/SG HORT POT/go I POT/go-CAUS-hurt-good
 u ñā! 15. Tzī ducuan tzī coo ñā tē ñā
 I them because thus just POT/be they if NEG
 caxī-vahā ñā," cahan dihi nā. 16. Cuēhen
 POT/hurt-good they COMP/say mother his/MS INC/go
 ñā ne din diin tzi cu-xēe ñā diqui
 they and quietly quietly just INC/go-climb up they head
 tun ncōñūhú san.
 tree orange that

IV. 12. 'He was sitting up there eating those oranges, and his little sister, the one that he hit, saw him. 13. She tattled to her mother, "Hey Mom, that boy who hit me is sitting up there!" said that girl. 14. "Just keep quiet while I go give him a beating! 15. Because he'll go on being like this if he doesn't get a beating," said his mother. 16. She went and just quietly climbed up into that orange tree.'

V. 17. Ne da íni na ne, ná-cōhxó
 and when COMP/see he/MS COMP/CAUS-fall
 na cūñu nā cufni na. 18. Ican tzi
 he/MS flesh his/MS COMP/feel he/MS there just
 ca-ntído na diqui i cān. 19. Chamara nā
 INC/be-hung he/MS head UN there jacket (SP) his/MS
 ne, un ito tzi ntátzin Ø ni pantāluun na.
 one time just COMP/be torn UN with pants (SP) his/MS

V. 17. 'And when he saw her, he jumped down, he thought. 18. He got stuck right up there in the tree. 19. His jacket, it got all torn up, as did his pants.'

EPISODE P+1

VI. 20. Dā ná-xee úva nā ne,
 when COMP/REP-arrive father his/MS
 "Cu-nuu -n chamara o, tzi doó
 POT/go-be in/SG you/SG jacket (SP) your/SG because very
 vīhxin," cahan ña. 21. "Mīhi ntu quihxi cá
 cold COMP/say they where Q POT/come more
 chamará co? 22. Tzī un ito tzi ntatzin
 jacket (SP) my because one time just COMP/be torn
 Ø da éhni dihī có co, uvā," cahan na.
 UN when COMP/hit mother my me father COMP/say he/MS
 23. "Nté cui éhni ña o?" cahan uva
 how COMP/become COMP/hit they you/SG COMP/say father
 nā. 24. "Da xe éhni u ta Juana,"
 his/MS when that COMP/hit I girl Jane (SP)
 cahan na. 25. "Cuétzi mii ō ní," cahan
 COMP/say he/MS fault alone your/SG ? COMP/say

ñá ni nā.
they with him/MS

VI. 20. 'When his father got home, "Put your jacket on, it's cold out," he said. 21. "What jacket? 22. It got all torn up when my mother hit me," he said. 23. "Why did she hit you?" said his father. 24. "Because I hit Janie," he said. 25. "It's your own fault then," he said to him.'

CLOSURE

VII. 26. Iha nt̄hi cuentu iña ntahvi á
here COMP/end story (SP) of poor DIM
 na cudii na cohxo rqui tun ncóñuhu.
boy/MS merely boy/MS COMP/all head tree orange

VII. 26. 'Here ends the story about the poor boy who fell out of the orange tree.'

INTRODUCCION

I. 1. 'Vamos a contar el cuento del niño que se subió a un naranjo.

II. 2. Este niño le pegó a su hermanita, 3. y su hermanita de veras lloró, 4. por lo que tuvo que correr. 5. (Pero su mamá se puao muy enojada. 6. Cuando lo encontrara le iba a pegar.)'

EPISODIO C-1

III. 7. 'Era el tiempo de naranjas y su primo y él llegaron cerca de la casa. 8. El niño tenía hambre 9. pues su mamá no le había dado de comer de tan enojada. 10. Pero él tenía mucha hambre, 11. y ya no se podía aguantar, así que se subió al naranjo.'

EPISODIO CLIMACTICO

IV. 12. 'Estaba sentado en el árbol, comiendo naranjas, cuando su hermanita, a la que le había pegado, lo vio, 13. y le dijo a su mamá: "¡Mamá, el niño que me pegó está sentado allá!" dijo la niña. 14. "¡Quédate calladita mientras voy y le doy una buena! 15. Porque no se va a corregir si no le doy una buena," dijo la mamá. 16. Y se fue, y en silencio se subió al naranjo.'

V. 17. 'Y cuando el niño la vio quiso brincar para abajo. 18. Pero se atoró. 19. Y su chamarra y sus pantalones todos ae le rompieron.'

EPISODIO C+1

VI. 20. 'Cuando su papá volvió le dijo: "Ponte tu chamarra, está haciendo frío afuera." 21. "¿Cuál chamarra?" 22. Se me rompió todita cuando mi mamá me pegó," contestó. 23. "¿Y por qué te pegó?" le preguntó su papá. 24. "Porque le pegué a Juana," le contestó. 25. "Entonces tú tuviste la culpa," le dijo su papá.'

FINAL

VII. 26. 'Y aquí termina el cuento del pobrecito niño que se cayó de un naranjo.'

RABBIT AND COYOTE STORY

COATZOSPAN MIXTEC

APERTURE

I. 1. Iha ntaa ú un cuentu iña a tzídō
here POT/tell I one story (SP) of DIM rabbit
nté o dé ti ntuvi díhna da íca ti,
how CONT/be COMP/do it day before when COMP/walk it
un cuentu iña a tzídō quiti ehxi itú.
one story of DIM rabbit animal COMP/eat cornfield

I. 1. 'Here I tell a story about the rabbit, what it did long ago when it lived, a story about the rabbit that ate the cornfield.'

EPISODE P-3

II. 2. Ne tōho itú san ne, ñá ca-īnī
and owner cornfield that NEG CONT-see
tun xoó ca-ehxi i itú tun ne dōó dutzi
she who CONT-eat UN cornfield her and very low
cuiñī tun. 3. "Xoó ntu ca-ehxi i itú
CONT/feel she who Q CONT-eat UN cornfield
cō?" sá cahan tún da ná-xee tun nú
our/INCL so COMP/say she when COMP/REP-arrive she face
vīhi tún cān. 4. "Ntá tzi īo é víf ō
house her there but just CONT/be that POT/do we/INCL
dá nīhi co xoo é ca-ehxi i itú
then POT/find us/INCL who that CONT-eat UN cornfield
cō," sá cahan tún. 5. Ne quidāā ne,
our-INCL so COMP/say she and then
de-váha tún xume ñūñu vata caa un
COMP/make-good she wax wild bee like CONT/be one
ñaha, ne da í-x-tūví tun má
person and then COMP/go-put-sitting/SG she under

ĩtú tun cān.
cornfield her there

II. Stage: 2. 'And the owner of that cornfield, she didn't know who was eating her cornfield and she was very angry.

3. "Who is eating our cornfield?" she said when she got back home. 4. "But there is something we will do to find the one who is eating our cornfield," she said. 5. And so then, she made a figure out of beeswax, and then she went and left it in her cornfield.'

III. P-3: 6. Ne dā xeé a tzídō sán ne,
and when COMP/arrive DIM rabbit that
ca-tzixehē tĩ ĩ, "Nté o de -n cuān
CONT-ask it UN how CONT/be CONT/do you/SG thus
ó nuu -n íhā?" sá cahan tĩ.
CONT/be CONT/be in/SG you/SG here so COMP/say it
7. Ne ñā ni cāhan Ø, tzĩ ñā te ñaha ni
and NEG CTF COMP/say UN because NEG if person CTF
cui Ø, tzĩ cudii xúme cúvi Ø.
COMP/be made UN because merely wax COMP/be made UN
8. Ne ca-cahan túcu a tzídō san, "Buenos días!"
and CONT-say again DIM rabbit that good/PL day/PL (SP)
sá cahan túcu tĩ. 9. Ne ñā ni cāhan túcu
so COMP/say again it and NEG CTF COMP/say again
Ø. 10. Ne quidāā ne, ca-cahan tĩ, "Nté cui
UN and then CONT-say it how COMP/become
ca-cu-diin ntu -n?" sá cahan tĩ. 11. "Nté
CONT-become-fierce Q you/SG so COMP/say it how
cui ñā te ca-cāhan ntu -n é ca-cāhan
COMP/become NEG if CONT-say Q you/SG that CONT-say
ú ni ō?" sá cahan tĩ. 12. "Tzĩ té ñā ne,
I with you/SG so COMP/say it because if NEG
na-quĩhxi ú un nta cuaha có san ne un tzi
POT/CAUS-come I one hand right my that and one just
nte dáha can na-x-tüví u o!" sá
against over there POT/REP-put-sitting I you/SG so
cahan a tzídō san. 13. Ne ná-quĩhin ntĩhxe
COMP/say DIM rabbit that and COMP/CAUS-go truly

sá tzi Ø á ntaha i, ne ican tzi
 so just UN DIM hand UN and there just

tī-ntee á ntaha i.
 COMP/grab-against DIM hand UN

III. P-3: 6. 'And when that rabbit arrived, it asked it, "What are you doing in here?" it said. 7. And it didn't say anything, because it wasn't a person, because it was only made of wax. 8. And the rabbit said again, "Good morning!" it said again. 9. And again it didn't say anything. 10. And so then, it said, "Why are you getting angry?" it said. 11. "Why don't you answer what I say to you?" it said. 12. "Because if not, I'll punch you with my right hand and leave you sitting way over there!" said that rabbit. 13. And it really did punch it with its paw, and its paw stuck right there.'

IV. P-2: 14. Ne dōó dutzi cuinī a tzi dō san
 and very low CONT/feel DIM rabbit that

e tīin ntaha ti. 15. Ne ca-cahán sa ti,
 that COMP/grab hand it and CONT-say so it

"Nté cui ca-tīin ntu -n ntaha có?" sá
 how COMP/become CONT-grab Q you/SG hand my so

cahan ti. 16. "Tzi te ñá ne, na-quihxi ú un
 COMP/say it because if NEG POT/CAUS-come I one

dīhin dātzin có san, ne un tzi nte maa i can
 foot left my that and one just against below UN there

na-x-núú ú o!" sá cahan ti. 17. Ne
 POT/REP-put-in/SG I you/SG so COMP/say it and

ná-quihin ntīhxe sá tzi dīhin dātzin i, ne ican
 COMP/CAUS-go truly so just foot left UN and there

tzi tī-ntee túcu dīhin tī.
 just COMP/grab-against again foot it

IV. P-2: 14. 'And that rabbit was very angry that its paw stuck. 15. And it said, "Why are you grabbing my hand?" it said. 16. "Because if not, I'll kick you with my left foot and leave you way down in there!" it said. 17. And it really did kick it with its left foot, and its foot stuck right there.'

V. P-1: 18. Ne ca-cahan túcu ti, "Nté cui
 and CONT-say again it how COMP/become

ca-tiin ntu -n dñhin có?" sá cahan ti.
 CONT-grab Q you/SG foot my so COMP/say it
 19. "Tzi té nã ne, na-quĩhxi ú dñ cuãha có
 because if NEG POT/CAUS-come I foot right my
 san, ne un tzi nte dáha can na-cuĩtã u
 that and one just against over there POT/CAUS-pass I
 o!" sá cahan ti. 20. Ne nã-quĩhin ntfhxe sá
 you/SG so COMP/say it and COMP/CAUS-go truly so
 tzi dñ cuãha i, ne ican tzi tñ-ntee
 just foot right UN and there just COMP/grab-against
 túcu Ø.
 again UN

V. P-1: 18. 'And again it said, "Why are you grabbing my foot?" it said. 19. "Because if not, I'll kick you with my right foot and toss you way over there!" it said. 20. And it really did kick it with its right foot, and again it stuck right there.'

VI. Peak: 21. Ne ca-cahan ti, "Nté cui ca-tiin
 and CONT-say it how COMP/become CONT-grab
 ntu -n dñhin có?" sá cahan ti. 22. "Tzi
 Q you/SG foot my so COMP/say it because
 té nã ne, na-quĩhxi ú nta dãtzin có san, ne un
 if NEG POT/CAUS-come I hand left my that and one
 tzi nte maa i can na-cuĩtã u o!"
 just against below UN there POT/CAUS-pass I you/SG
 sá cahan ti. 23. Ne nã-quĩhin túcu sá tzi nta
 so COMP/say it and COMP/CAUS-go again so just hand
 dãtzin i, ne ican tzi tñ-ntee ntfhi ntaha
 left UN and there just COMP/grab-against all hand
 i. 24. Ne ican tzi tñ-nté canii quĩdaa.
 UN and there just COMP/grab-against whole then

VI. Peak: 21. 'And it said, "Why are you grabbing my foot?" it said. 22. "Because if not, I'll punch you with my left hand and toss you all the way down there!" it said. 23. And it did again punch it with its left paw, and all its paws stuck right there. 24. And finally the whole thing stuck right there.'

VII. P+1: 25. Ne cō da cā-cachu-ntāa Ø tuvī
and simply CONT-yell-straight UN CONT/sit
 Ø ma itū cān dā xēe tātū tō
UN under cornfield there when COMP/arrive girl owner
 itū san. 26. Ne dōo dinī tun é tūvī
cornfield that and very happy she that CONT/sit
 ti mā itū cān dā xēe tūn. 27.
it under cornfield there when COMP/arrive she
 Ne nā-cu-nīhi tūn ti cu-nū-nīhī tun ti
and COMP/REP-go-with she it INC/go-return-with she it
 nū vihi tūn cān.
face house her there

VII. P+1: 25. 'And it was there in the cornfield simply hol-
 lering when that girl who owned the cornfield arrived. 26.
 And she was delighted to find it there in the cornfield when
 she arrived. 27. And she picked it up and carried it home
 with her.'

EPISODE P-2

VIII. Stage: 28. Ne dā nā-xee tūn nu vihi
and when COMP/REP-arrive she face house
 tūn cān ne, x-nu-cutū tūn ti ini acū
her there COMP/put-in/SG-tight she it inside fence
 cān.
there

VIII. Stage: 28. 'And when she got back home, she locked it
 up in a cage.'

IX. P-1: 29. Ne icān nuu ti xēé a
and there CONT/be in/SG it COMP/arrive DIM
 xteé san ne ca-tzixehē Ø, 'Nté o de
coyote that and CONT-ask UN how CONT/be CONT/do
 -n cuān ó nuu -n íha?"
you/SG thus CONT/be CONT/be in/SG you/SG here
 sá cahan á xteé san. 30. "Iha nuu í
so COMP/say DIM coyote that here CONT/be in/SG I

sá cahan a tzídō san.
so COMP/say DIM rabbit that

IX. P-1: 29. 'And it was in there when that coyote arrived and asked, "What are you doing in here?" said that coyote. 30. "I'm in here working," said that rabbit.'

X. 31. Ca-tzixehē á xteé san ti, "Vāhā o
CONT-ask DIM coyote that it good CONT/be

ca-ntāhvi ña o?" sá cahan á xteé san.
CONT-pay they you/SG so COMP/say DIM coyote that

32. "Ca-ntāhvi vāha ñā cō," sá cahan a tzídō
CONT-pay good they me so COMP/say DIM rabbit

san. 33. "Ne dōo vā o ca-ito ña cō
that and very good CONT/be CONT-look they me

di," sá cahan ti. 34. "Daha cān dī ne, iha
also so COMP/say it over there also here

ca-cahan ña é cani-vihi ú ni dióco
CONT-say they that POT/leave-house I with daughter

ñā," sá cahan a tzídō san. 35. (Cudii dá
their so COMP/say DIM rabbit that merely just

ca-cahan ti dá ti cu-quií nima á xteé
CONT-say it until ? POT/go-go down in heart DIM coyote

san na-cu-nūu Ø cuenta iña ti.)
that POT/REP-get-in/SG UN account of it

X. 31. 'That coyote asked it, "Are they paying you well?" said that coyote. 32. "They're paying me well," said that rabbit. 33. "And they're looking after me very well," it said. 34. "Moreover, now they want me to marry their daughter," said that rabbit. 35. (It only said that so that that coyote would agree to get in in place of it.)'

11. 36. Sá cahan tí tzi ña xcúntení
so COMP/say it because NEG CONT/be pleased

ti é cani-vi-nihi ti dióco ña. 37.
it that POT/leave-house-with it daughter their

"Ntá tē dī divi ca cu ntō," sá cahan tí
but if only CONT/be more ? you/PL so COMP/say it

ñī á xteé san. 38. "Ntāa cahan -n?"
with DIM coyote that straight COMP/say you/SG

sá cahan á xteé san. 39. "Tē dī ca-intenī
so COMP/say DIM coyote that if only CONT-like

nto ne, na-cu-nūu nto cuenta iñá
you/PL POT/REP-get-in/SG you/PL account(SP) of

co," sá cahan a tzídō san. 40. (Tzi dōo
me so COMP/say DIM rabbit that because very

ca-ntinī i nté co na-cácu, ∅ e
CONT-worry UN how POT/be POT/REP-be born UN that

técu i é cāhan tūn é tāca fhni
COMP/hear UN that COMP/say she that poker hot

cāmi-nuu tūn etí i.)
POT/burn-on she bottom UN

XI. 36. 'It said that it didn't wish to marry their daughter.
37. "But if it were only you," it said to that coyote. 38.
"Are you telling the truth?" said that coyote. 39. "If you
like, get in here in my place," said that rabbit. 40. (Be-
cause it was very worried about how it was going to escape,
having heard her say that she was going to burn its bottom
with a hot poker.)'

XII. 41. Ne á xteé san, cú-quīi ntīhxe
and DIM coyote that, INC/go-go down in truly

sá tzi nima i na-cu-nūu ∅ cuenta iñá
so just heart UN COMP/REP-get-in/SG/ UN account(SG) of

tī. 42. (Tzi dōo dinī i é cāhan ti é
it because very happy UN that COMP/say it that

divi ∅ cani-vi-nihi ∅ dióco ña.) 43.
CONT/be UN POT/leave-house-with UN daughter their

Ne icān na-cácu tī ne cuēhen tī.
and there COMP/REP-be born it and INC/go it

XII. 41. 'And that coyote, it really did agree to get in in
place of it. 42. (Because it was really delighted that it
said that it should be the one to marry their daughter.) 43.
And there it escaped and took off.'

XIII. Peak: 44. Ne dā cuáa ne, ca-cahan
and when COMP-become-late CONT-say

túcu tún, "Nē ntu úra camí-núu o
again she what Q hour (SP) POT/burn-on we/INCL
tāca íhñī etī i é nuu ini acú
poker hot bottom UN that CONT/be in/SG inside fence
cān?" cahan tún. 45. Ne dā cū-duhva á
there COMP/say she and just COMP/become-thus DIM
xteé san da técu i é cāhan tún é
coyote that when COMP/hear UN that COMP/say she that
cami-nuu tún tāca íhñī etī i. 46. Ne quidāā
POT/burn-on she poker hot bottom UN and then
ne, dōo dé-cuenī i, "Nté coo ntu
very COMP/do-measure/inside UN how POT/be Q
é cuan coó?" sá cahan á xteé san. 47. "Duhva
that thus POT/be so COMP/run boy coyote that thus
ntū ó sa un ínu na i-núu
Q CONT/be so one COMP/run boy COMP/go-be in/SG
díhna?" sá cahan á xteé san. 48. "Viha ve ne,
before so COMP/say DIM coyote that now today
tahvi o vē ne dá ntii ō," sá
POT/break we/INCL today and then POT/go out we/INCL so
cahan á xteé san, 49. Ne tahvi ntíhxe tí
COMP/say DIM coyote that and COMP/break truly it
né dā ntíi tí.
and then COMP/go out it

XIII. Peak: 44. 'And when it got late, she again said, "What time shall we burn the bottom of that one that is in the cage with a hot poker?" she said. 45. And that coyote was astonished when it heard her say she was going to burn its bottom with a hot poker. 46. And so then, it thought very hard, "How can this be?" said that coyote. 47. "Is this why the fellow who was in here before ran away?" said that coyote. 48. "So now, we will break out and get out," said that coyote. 49. And it really did break out and get out.'

XIV. P+1: 50. Ne dā ntíi tí ne, dōó dutzi
and when COMP/go out it very low
cuiní tí. 51. Veví tzi cahxi tí a tzídō
CONT/feel it today just POT/eat it DIM rabbit

sán. 52. Ne ca-cahan ti, 'Viha ve ne,
that and CONT-say it now today

qui-na-ntúcu o ĩ ne dá cāhxi o
POT/go-REP-look for we/INCL UN and then POT/eat we/INCL
i!" sá cahan á xteé san. 53. Ne cuéhen ntihxe
UN so COMP/say DIM coyote that and INC/go truly
ti cu-na-ntúcu tĩ a tzídō san dá
it INC/go-REP-look for it DIM rabbit that then
cāhxi tĩ i.
POT/eat it UN

XIV. P+1: 50. 'And when it got out, it was really angry. 51. It wanted to eat that rabbit right now. 52. And it said, "So now, we will go look for it, and then we'll eat it!" said that coyote. 53. And it really did go looking for that rabbit so as to eat it.'

EPISODE P-1

XV. Stage: 54. Ne dā nā-nihi ti í ne,
and when COMP/REP-find it UN

é māstrú sa tzi ca-de Ø. 55. Nuu sá
already teacher so just CONT-de UN CONT/be in/SG so
Ø ca-na-cuahā Ø dá xee ti.
UN CONT-CAUS-read UN when COMP/arrive it

XV. Stage: 54. 'And when it found it, it was already pretending to be a school teacher. 55. It was inside teaching when it arrived.'

XVI. P-1: 56. Ne dā xee tĩ ne, ca-cahan ti,
and when COMP/arrive it CONT-say it

"Nté o de -n cuan ó nuu
how CONT/be CONT/do you/SG thus CONT/be CONT/be in/SG
-n iha?" sá cahan ti. 57. "Iha nuu ú
you/SG here so COMP/say it here CONT/be in/SG I
a," sá cahan a tzídō san. 58. Ne ca-cahan á
here so COMP/say DIM rabbit that and CONT-say DIM
xteé san, 'Viha ve ne, cahxi ú o ve!"
coyote that now today POT/eat I you/SG today

sá cahan ti. 59. Ne a tzídō sán ne, ca-cahan ti,
so COMP/say it and DIM rabbit that CONT-say it

"Nté cui cahxi ntó co?" sá cahan a
how COMP/become POT/eat you/PL me so COMP/say DIM

tzídō san. 60. "Te cā-caquin nto ne,
rabbit that if CONT-be hungry you/PL

na-cuāha nto na cuetzi sán, ne nā
POT/CAUS-read you/PL boy/MS small/PL that and HORT

quī-quihí u é cāhxi nto," sá cahan a tzídō
POT/go-get I that POT/eat you/PL so COMP/say DIM rabbit

san. 61. Ne á xteé san ne, ca-cahan ti, "Nāhā,
that and DIM coyote that CONT-say it no

tzí divī n é cahxi ú o," sá
because CONT/be you/SG that POT/eat I you/SG so

cahan ti. 62. "Nāhā!" sá cahan a tzídō san. 63.
COMP/say it no so COMP/say DIM rabbit that

"Na-cuāha nto na cuetzi san, nā
POT/CAUS-read you/PL boy/MS small/PL that HORT

quī-quihí u é cāhxi nto," sá cahan ti. 64.
POT/go-get I that POT/eat you/PL so COMP/say it

Ne cú-quī sa tzi nima á xteé san. 65.
and INC/go-go down in so just heart DIM coyote that

"Ntāa cahan -n?" sá cahan ti.
straight COMP/say you/SG so COMP/say it

XVI. P-1: 56. 'And when it arrived, it said, "What are you doing in here?" it said. 57. "Here I am in here," said that rabbit. 58. And that coyote said, "So now, I'm going to eat you now!" it said. 59. And that rabbit, it said, "Why are you going to eat me?" said that rabbit. 60. "If you're hungry, teach these children while I go get something for you to eat," said that rabbit. 61. And that coyote, it said, "No, because you're the one I'm going to eat," it said. 62. "No!" said that rabbit. 63. "You teach the children while I go get something for you to eat," it said. 64. And that coyote agreed to do it. 65. "Are you telling the truth?" it said.'

XVII. Peak: 66. Ne quīhi sá tzi á xteé san
and COMP/take so just DIM coyote that

regla ca-na-cuãha Ø na cuetzi san. 67. Ne
 ruler (SP) CONT-CAUS-read UN boy/MS small/PL that and

ca-cahãn sa Ø, "Atención, niños!" sã cahan á
 CONT-say so UN attention children (SP) so COMP/say DIM

xteé san. 68. Ne dõtó ca-ntétu tĩ né ura
 coyote that and in vain CONT-wait it what hour (SP)

na-xee a tzídō san é cū-na-quihĩ tĩ
 POT/REP-arrive DIM rabbit that that INC/go-REP-get it

é cãhxi á xteé san. 69. (Míhi ntu
 that POT/eat DIM coyote that where Q

cū-na-quihĩ tĩ? 70. Tzĩ cudii ínu cuehen
 INC/go-REP-get it because merely COMP/run completely

tĩ.)
 it

XVII. Peak: 66. 'And that coyote took the ruler (and started) teaching those children. 67. And it said, "Attention, children!" said that coyote. 68. And it waited in vain for that rabbit to get back from going to get that coyote something to eat. 69. (Where did it ever go get it? 70. For it simply ran away.)'

XVIII. P+1: 71. Ne dā ña ni na-xée
 and when NEG CTF COMP/REP-arrive

cuéhen tĩ ne, cuéhēn á xteé san
 completely it INC/go DIM coyote that

cu-na-ntúcu tĩ tĩ.
 INC/go-REP-look for it it

XVIII. P+1: 71. 'And when it didn't arrive back at all, that coyote went looking for it.'

PEAK EPISODE

XIX. Stage: 72. Ne dā ná-nihi tĩ a tzídō
 and when COMP/REP-find it DIM rabbit

sãn ne, e dīqui tun mīhnte tzĩ can
 that already head tree nopal just there

ntēcu a tzídō san.
 CONT/sit on/SG DIM rabbit that

XIX. Stage: 72. 'And when it found that rabbit, it was already sitting right up there on top of a cactus.'

XX. P-2. 73. Ne dā xee á xteé san ne,
and when COMP/arrive DIM coyote that
ca-cahan ti, "Nté o de -n cuān ō
CONT-say it how CONT/be CONT/do you/SG thus CONT/be
ntecu -n a?" sá cahan ti. 74. "Iha
CONT/sit on/SG you/SG here so COMP/say it here
ntecú u ca-ehxi ú quiti mihnté san," sá
CONT/sit on/SG I CONT-eat I fruit nopal that so
cahan a tzídō san. 75. "Viha ve ne,
COMP/say DIM rabbit that now today
nuu -n űuhu a dá cāhxi ú o!"
POT/come down you/SG ground here then POT/eat I you/SG
sá cahan á xteé san.
so COMP/say DIM coyote that

XX. P-2: 73. 'And when that coyote arrived, it said "What are you doing sitting up there?" it said. 74. "I'm up here eating these prickly pears," said that rabbit. 75. "So now, come down here so I can eat you!" said that coyote.'

XXI. 76. Ne ca-cahan a tzídō san, "Nté cui
and CONT-say DIM rabbit that how COMP/become
cahxi ntō co?" sá cahan ti. 77. "Ńa cāhxi
POT/eat you/PL me so COMP/say it NEG POT/eat
nto é ca-ehxi ú?" sá cahan a tzídō san.
you/PL that CONT/eat I so COMP/say DIM rabbit that
78. "Ńáhā, tzí divī -n é cāhxi ú o!"
no because CONT/be you/SG that POT/eat I you/SG
sá cahan á xteé san. 79. "Ńáhā, cahxi ca
so COMP/say DIM coyote that no POT/eat more
nto é ca-ehxi ú san ni!" sá cahan a tzídō
you/PL that CONT-eat I that ? so COMP/say DIM rabbit
san. 80. "Ńa dñī nto e dōo va ēhxi Ø?"
that NEG happy you/PL that very good CONT/taste UN

sá cahan a tzídō san. 81. "Nāhā, tzí divī
 so COMP/say DIM rabbit that no because COMP/be
 -n é cāhxi ú o!" sá cahan á xteé
 you/SG that POT/eat I you/SG so COMP/say DIM coyote
 san.
 that

XXI. 76. 'And that rabbit said, "Why are you going to eat me?"
 it said. 77. "Won't you eat what I'm eating?" said that rabbit.
 78. "No, because you're the one that I'm going to eat!" said
 that coyote. 79. "No, eat what I'm eating!" said that rabbit.
 80. "Aren't you glad that it really tastes good?" said that
 rabbit. 81. "No, because it's you that I'm going to eat!" said
 that coyote.'

XXII. P-1: 82. Ne ca-ehxí a tzídō san, ña
 and CONT-eat DIM rabbit that NEG
 ca-de ti cuenta. 83. Un tzi cú-cuehe
 CONT-do it account (SP) one just COMP/become-red
 xúhu ti ca-ehxi tñ quiti mihnté san. 84. Ne
 mouth it CONT-eat it fruit nopal that and
 ca-cahan ti, "Ñá tē nté caa vā ēhxi
 CONT-say it NEG if how CONT/be good CONT/be eaten
 é ca-ehxi ú san!" sá cahan a tzídō san. 85.
 that CONT-eat I that so COMP/say DIM rabbit that
 "Ña cāhxi ntíhxe ntú nto?" sá cahan tñ nī á
 NEG POT/eat truly Q you/PL so COMP/say it with DIM
 xteé san. 86. "Nāhā, tzí divī -n é
 coyote that no because CONT/be you/SG that
 veví tzi cahxi ú o, cuiní co!" sá cahan
 today just POT/eat I you/SG CONT/feel me so COMP/say
 á xteé san. 87. "Nāhā!" sá cahan a tzídō san.
 DIM coyote that no so COMP/say DIM rabbit that
 88. "Cahxí ca nto é ca-ehxi ú san ni!" sá
 POT/eat more you/PL that CONT-eat I that ? so
 cahan tñ nī á xteé san. 89. Ne
 COMP/say it with DIM coyote that and
 cú-quií nima á xteé san ēhxi Ø. 90.
 INC/go-go down in heart DIM coyote that COMP/eat UN

"Uun tzi Ø na-quĩhxi -n na cōto-nteé
 one just UN POT/CAUS-come you/SG HORT POT/look-against

u Ø ni," sá cahan á xteé san. 91. Ne
 I UN ? so COMP/say DIM coyote that and

nā-cōhxó ntihxe ti uun Ø éhxi á xteé
 COMP/CAUS-fall truly it one UN COMP/eat DIM coyote

san. 92. (Ntá tzi dihna de-váha ti iñu i
 that but just before COMP/make-good it thorn UN

dá xēhé ti ehxi á xteé san.)
 then COMP/give it COMP/eat DIM coyote that

XXII. P-1: 82. 'And that rabbit continued eating, not paying any attention. 83. Its mouth got all red from eating those prickly pears. 84. And it said, "These things I'm eating are really good!" said that rabbit. 85. "You really won't eat any?" it said to that coyote. 86. "No, because you're the one that I'm going to eat right now, I think!" said that coyote. 87. "No!" said that rabbit. 88. "You eat what I'm eating!" it said to that coyote. 89. And that coyote agreed to eat some. 90. "Throw me down just one, let me try it," said that coyote. 91. And it really did drop one for that coyote to eat. 92. (But first it removed its spines before giving it to that coyote to eat.)'

XXIII. Peak: 93. Ne ca-cahan túcu a tzídō san.
 and CONT-say again DIM rabbit that

"Cahxí ca nto!" sá cahan ti. 94. "Uun sá
 POT/eat more you/PL so COMP/say it one so

na-cuĩtá -n na cāhxi ú!" sá cahan á
 POT/CAUS-pass you/SG HORT POT/eat I so COMP/say DIM

xteé san. 95. Nā-cuĩtá ntihxe ti uun ca Ø.
 coyote that COMP/CAUS-pass truly it one more UN

96. (Ntá tzi ña ni de-váha cá ti iñu i.)
 but just NEG CTF COMP/make-good more it thorn UN

97. Ne ca-cahan ti, "Ntá tzi ña níhi cahxi
 and CONT-say it but just NEG POT/get POT/eat

ntō te na-cuĩtá u Ø. 98. Tzi sáha ne, un
 you/PL if POT/CAUS-pass I UN because this one

váha tzi itzi Ø. 99. Te na-cōhxó u Ø ne,
 good just ripe UN if POT/CAUS-fall I UN

dicán tzi cu-naa Ø," sá cahan tf
right there just POT/become-lost UN so COMP/say it

nĩ á xteé san. 100. "Ntĩcá nto xuhu
with DIM coyote that POT/open wide you/PL mouth

nto na na-cōxō-nuu ú Ø," sá cahan tf
you/PL HORT POT/CAUS-fall-into I UN so COMP/say it

nĩ á xteé san. 101. Ne ntĩcá ntihxe sá
with DIM coyote that and COMP/open wide truly so

tzi Ø xuhu i, ne dā na-cuīta-nuú ti xuhu
just UN mouth UN and then COMP/CAUS-pass-into it mouth

i quitĩ iñu san. 102. Ne ican tzi
UN fruit thorn that and there just

i-nú-tāhu Ø ini ducun i can. 103. Ne
COMP/get-in-tight UN inside neck UN there and

có da ca-na-tūvi Ø cúñu i cuēhen Ø máa i
simply CONT-CAUS-roll UN flesh UN INC/go UN under UN

cān. 104. Ne da nĩ nū né nehé
there and then while COMP/get down quickly quickly

ti iñu ti.
it COMP/run it

XXIII. Peak: 93. 'And again that rabbit said, "Eat another one!" it said. 94. "Toss me down just one more to eat!" said that coyote. 95. It really did toss another one down. 96. (But this time it didn't remove its spines.) 97. And it said, "But you won't get any of it to eat if I toss it down. 98. Because this one, it's really ripe. 99. If I drop it, it'll be ruined," it said to that coyote. 100. "Open your mouth wide, let me drop it in," it said to that coyote. 101. And it really did just open its mouth wide, and it tossed that spiny fruit into its mouth. 102. And it got stuck right there in its throat. 103. And it just went tumbling down the hill. 104. And meanwhile it quickly got down and ran.'

XXIV. P+1: 105. Ne dá ntē xee tzóco dā
and when until COMP/arrive ant then

nā-tavá ti quitĩ iñu san ducun á xteé
COMP/REP-take out it fruit thorn that neck DIM coyote

san. 106. Da quidāā nā-cāca Ø cuehen Ø.
that when then COMP/REP-walk UN COMP/go UN

XXIV. P+1: 105. 'And when at last the ants came along, then they removed that prickly pear from that coyote's throat. 106. Then finally it got loose and took off.'

XXV. 107. Ne ca-cahan túcu á xteé san, 'Nta
 and CONT-say again DIM coyote that straight
 vīha ve ne, cu-na-ntúcu o īña
 now today POT/go-REP-look for we/INCL possession
 co ve dá cāhxi o i!" sá cahan
 our/INCL today then POT/eat we/INCL UN so COMP/say
 á xteé san. 108. Ne cuéhen ntīhxe á xteé san
 DIM coyote that and INC/go truly DIM coyote that
 cu-na-ntúcu tī a tzídō san.
 INC/go-REP-look for it DIM rabbit that

XXV. 107. "And again that coyote said, "Now for sure we'll go look for our thing and we'll eat it!" said that coyote. 108. And that coyote really did go looking for that rabbit.'

EPISODE P+1

XXVI. Stage: 109. Ne dā ná-nihi tī a tzídō
 and when COMP/REP-find it DIM rabbit
 sán ne, é ican tzi nuu sá Ø difi
 that already there just CONT/be in/SG so UN side
 ntute cān.
 water there

XXVI. Stage: 109. 'And when it found that rabbit, it was already right there beside the river.'

XXVII. Peak: 110. Ne dā xee á xteé san
 and when COMP/arrive DIM coyote that
 ne, ca-tzixehē tī, "Nté o de -n cuān
 CONT-ask it how CONT/be CONT/do you/SG thus
 ó nuu -n íha?" sá cahan tī.
 CONT/be CONT/be in/SG you/SG here so COMP/say it
 111. Ne ca-cahan á xteé san, 'Viha ve ne,
 and CONT-say DIM coyote that now today

- cahxi ú o ve!" sá cahan ti. 112. "Nté
 POT/eat I you/SG today so COMP/say it how
- cui cahxi ntó co?" sá cahan a
 COMP/become POT/eat you/PL me so COMP/say DIM
- tzídō san. 113. "Nté cui éni-ntâhvī cu
 rabbit that how COMP/become COMP/leave-poor ?
- n có cuan?" sá cahan á xteé san. 114. Ne
 you/SG me thus so COMP/say DIM coyote that and
- ca-cahan a tzídō san, "Amá eni-ntâhvī u
 COMP-say DIM rabbit that whenever COMP/leave-poor I
- nto?" sá cahan a tzídō sán. 115. "Xú ne, ñá
 you/PL so COMP/say DIM rabbit that I NEG
- ĩní u cuan cahan ntó san," sá cahan
 CONT/know I thus COMP/say you/PL that so COMP/say
- a tzídō san. 116. "Vevī tzi cahxi ú o
 DIM rabbit that today just POT/eat I you/SG
- cuinī co!" sá cahan á xteé san. 117. "Náhā!"
 CONT/feel me so COMP/say DIM coyote that no
- sá cahan a tzídō san. 118. Ne cuéhen tzi a
 so COMP/say DIM rabbit that and INC/go just DIM
- tzídō san iní ntute san. 119. Ne ca-cahan ti, "Tē
 rabbit that inside water that and CONT-say it if
- ncho-cahxi ntó co ne, quihxi ntó vata
 CONT/want-POT/eat you/PL me POT/come you/PL like
- ō vehxi ú san! 120. Ne tē xe-ntiquin
 CONT/be INC/come I that and if POT/arrive-follow
- ntó co ne, dá cāhxi ntó co!" sá cahan a
 you/PL me then POT/eat you/PL me so COMP/say DIM
- tzídō san. 121. Ne cuéhen ntīhxe sá tzi á xteé
 rabbit that and INC/go truly so just DIM coyote
- san. 122. Ne ican tzi tēni á xteé san
 that and there just COMP/drown DIM coyote that
- nū ntute cān.
 face water there

XXVII. Peak: 110. 'And when that coyote arrived, it asked, "What are you doing in here?" it said. 111. And that coyote said, "So now, I'm going to eat you now!" it said. 112. "Why are you going to eat me?" said that rabbit. 113. "Why

did you deceive me?" said that coyote. 114. And that rabbit said, "When did I ever deceive you?" said that rabbit. 115. "Me, I don't know what you're talking about," said that rabbit.' 116. I'm going to eat you right now, I think!" said that coyote. 117. "No!" said that rabbit. 118. And that rabbit just went right into that river. 119. And it said, "If you want to eat me, come in after me! 120. And if you catch me, then you can eat me!" said that rabbit. 121. And that coyote really did just go right in. 122. And that coyote drowned right there in the river.'

CLOSURE

XXVIII. 123. Ne icān nt̄h̄i cuentu iña a tzido
and there COMP/end story (SP) of DIM rabbit
 n̄i á xteé.
with DIM coyote

XXVIII. 123. 'And there ends the story about the rabbit and the coyote.'

INTRODUCCION

I. 1. 'Voy a contar un cuento del conejo, lo que hacía hace mucho tiempo cuando vivía, un cuento del conejo que se comía el maizal.'

EPISODIO C-3

II. Escenario: 2. 'Y la dueña del maizal no sabía quién se lo estaba comiendo y estaba muy enojada. 3. "¿Quién se estará comiendo nuestro maizal?" dijo cuando llegó a su casa. 4. "Pero hay algo que vamos a hacer para descubrir al que se está comiendo nuestro maizal, " dijo. 5. Y entonces hizo una figura de cera y fue y la dejó en el maizal.'

III. P-3: 6. 'Y cuando el conejo llegó le preguntó a la figura: "¿Qué haces aquí?" 7. Pero la figura no contestó porque no era persona, porque era sólo una figura de cera. 8. Y el conejo dijo otra vez: "¡Buenos días!" 9. Pero otra vez la figura no contestó. 10. Y entonces dijo el conejo: "¿Por qué te enojas? 11. ¿Por qué no me contestas lo que te digo?" dijo. 12. ¡Si no me contestas te voy a dar una que te voy a dejar sentado por allá!" dijo el conejo. 13. Y de veras le pegó con la mano derecha y la mano se le pegó donde golpeó.'

IV. P-2: 14. 'Y el conejo se puso muy enojado porque la mano se le pegó. 15. Y dijo: "¿Por qué me agarras la mano?" dijo. 16. "Suéltame, por que si no, te voy a pegar con la pata izquierda y te voy a dejar tirado por allá." 17. Y de veras le pegó con la pata izquierda y la pata se le pegó donde golpeó."

V. P-1: 18. 'Y otra vez dijo: "¿Por qué me agarras la pata? 19. ¡Suéltame, porque si no, te voy a pegar con la pata derecha y te voy a aventar por allá!" dijo. 20. Y de veras le pegó con la pata derecha, y otra vez, la pata se le pegó donde golpeó.'

VI. Clímax: 21. 'Y dijo: "¿Por qué me agarras la pata? 22. ¡Suéltame, porque si no, te voy a pegar con la mano

izquierda y te voy a mandar por allá!" 23. Y otra vez, de veras le pegó con la mano izquierda y ya tenía patas y manos pegadas allí. 24. Por último, todo él quedó pegado allí.'

VII. P+1: 25. 'Y ahí estaba en el maizal, gritando, cuando la dueña del campo llegó. 26. Y le dio mucho gusto encontrarlo allí, en el maizal, cuando llegó. 27. Y levantándolo se lo llevó a su casa.'

EPISODIO C-2

VIII. Escenario: 28. 'Y cuando llegó a su casa lo encerró en una jaula.'

IX. P-1: 29. 'Y ahí estaba cuando llegó el coyote y le preguntó: "¿Qué estás haciendo allí?", dijo el coyote. 30. "Estoy trabajando," dijo el conejo.'

X. 31. 'Y el coyote le preguntó: "¿Y te pagan bien?", dijo el coyote. 32. "Me pagan muy bien," dijo el conejo. 33. "Y me cuidan muy bien también," dijo. 34. "Lo que es más, quieren que me case con su hija," dijo el conejo. 35. (Dijo eso para que el coyote quisiera quedarse en su lugar.)'

XI. 36. 'Dijo que no quería casarse con la hija. 37. "Pero si fueras tú..." le dijo al coyote. 38. "¿Estás diciendo la verdad?" dijo el coyote. 39. "Si quieres, toma mi lugar," dijo el conejo. 40. (Porque estaba preocupado, buscando como escapar pues había oído decir que la dueña del maizal le iba a quemar el trasero con un atizador.)'

XII. 41. 'Y el coyote en verdad quiso tomar su lugar. 42. (Porque estaba muy contento de ser él quien se casara con la hija.) 43. Y el conejo escapó y salió volando.'

XIII. Clímax: 44. 'Y cuando se hizo tarde, la dueña del maizal dijo: "¿A que horas le quemaré el trasero con el atizador al conejo este que está en la jaula?" dijo. 45. Y el coyote se quedó helado cuando oyó que le iba a quemar el trasero con un atizador caliente. 46. Y entonces pensó duro: "¿Cómo puede ser esto? 47. ¿De manera que por eso huyó el que estaba en la jaula antes que yo?" dijo el coyote. 48. "Pues bien, nos soltaremos y nos escaparemos," dijo el coyote. 49. Y se soltó y se escapó.'

XIV. P+1: 50. 'Y cuando se salió se puso muy enojado. 51. Quería comerse al conejo inmediatamente. 52. Y dijo: "Ahora lo vamos a buscar y luego nos lo comeremos," dijo el coyote.'

53. Y de veras se fue a buscarlo para comérselo.'

EPISODIO C-1

XV. Escenario: 54. 'Y cuando lo encontré, el conejo ya estaba fingiendo ser maestro. 55. Estaba adentro, enseñando, cuando llegó.'

XVI. P-1: 56. 'Y cuando llegó, dijo: "¿Qué haces aquí?" dijo. 57. "Estoy aquí, no más", dijo el conejo. 58. Y el coyote dijo: "¡Te voy a comer!" dijo. 59. Y el conejo dijo: "¿Por qué me vas a comer?" dijo. 60. "Si tienes hambre, enséñale algo a estos niños mientras voy y te consigo algo de comer", dijo el conejo. 61. Y el coyote dijo: "No. A tí es al que me voy a comer", dijo. 62. "No," dijo el conejo. 63. "Enseñale a estos niños mientras yo te consigo algo de comer", dijo. 64. Y el coyote estuvo de acuerdo. 65. "¿Me estás diciendo la verdad?" dijo.'

XVII. Clímax: 66. 'Y el coyote tomó la regla y les enseñó. 67. Y decía: "Niños ¡atención!" decía el coyote. 68. Pero esperó en vano que el conejo volviera de conseguirle algo de comer. 69. (¿A dónde iría a conseguirlo? Simplemente huyó.)'

XVIII. P+1: 71. 'Y como no volvía, el coyote fue a buscarlo.'

EPISODIO CLIMACTICO

XIX. Escenario: 72. 'Y cuando encontró al conejo, éste ya estaba allí, sentado en un nopal.'

XX. P-2: 73. 'Y cuando el coyote llegó, le preguntó: "¿Qué estás haciendo allí, sentado en un nopal?" dijo. 74. "Estoy aquí, comiéndome estas tunas," dijo el conejo. 75. "¡Bueno, baja para que pueda comerte!" dijo el coyote.'

XXI. 76. 'Y el conejo dijo: "¿Por qué quieres comerme?" dijo. 77. "No prefieres comer lo que yo estoy comiendo?" dijo el conejo. 78. "No. A tí es al que me voy a comer", dijo el coyote. 79. "No. Come lo que yo estoy comiendo," dijo el conejo. 80. "No te da gusto que sepan tan buenas?" dijo el conejo. 81. "¡No. Porque es a tí al que me voy a comer!" dijo el coyote.'

XXII. P-1: 82. 'Pero el conejo siguió comiendo sin prestarle ninguna atención. 83. La boca se le puso roja de las tunas que se estaba comiendo. 84. Y dijo: "¡Esto que estoy comiendo está de veras sabroso!" dijo el conejo. 85. "¿De veras no quieres una?" le dijo al coyote. 86. "¡No, porque a tí es al

que me voy a comer, creo!" dijo el coyote. 87. "¡No!" dijo el conejo. 88. "Come lo que yo estoy comiendo", le dijo al coyote. 89. Y el coyote estuvo de acuerdo en comerse unas cuantas. 90. "Aviéntame sólo una, para probarla," dijo el coyote. 91. Y en verdad le aventó una para que el coyote se la comiera. 92. (Pero antes le quitó las espinas, antes de dársela al coyote para que se la comiera.)'

XXIII. Clímax: 93. 'Y otra vez dijo el conejo: "¡Cómete otra!" dijo. 94. "¡Aviéntame sólo una más!" dijo el coyote. 95. Y de veras le aventó otra. 96. (Pero esta vez no le quitó las espinas.) 97. Y dijo: "Pero si te la aviento no vas a alcanzar nada 98. porque ésta está bien madura 99. y si la aviento, se deshace," le dijo al coyote. 100. "Abre bien grande la boca, para aventártela allí," le dijo al coyote. 101. Y realmente abrió grande la boca y el conejo le aventó esa fruta espinosa allí. 102. Y se le atoró en la garganta. 103. Y rodó colina abajo. 104. Mientras tanto, el conejo se bajó a la carrera y corrió.'

XXIV. P+1: 105. 'Por fin vinieron las hormigas y le quitaron la tuna de la garganta. 106. Finalmente, se soltó y se fue.'

XXV. 107. 'Y otra vez el coyote dijo: "¡Ahora sí, buscaremos esta cosita y nos la comeremos!" dijo el coyote. 108. Y en verdad que el coyote buacó al conejo.'

EPISODIO C+1

XXVI. Escenario: 109. 'Y cuando encontró al conejo, ya estaba allí, junto al río.'

XXVII. Clímax: 110. 'Y cuando el coyote llegó, le preguntó: "¿Qué estás haciendo aquí?" dijo. 111. Y el coyote dijo: "¡Ahora sí te voy a comer!" 112. "¿Por qué me quieres comer?" dijo el conejo. 113. "¿Por qué me engañaste?" dijo el coyote. 114. Y el conejo dijo: "¿Pero cuándo te engañé?" dijo. 115. "No sé de qué estás hablando," dijo el conejo. 116. "Te voy a comer ahorita, yo creo," dijo el coyote. 117. "No," dijo el conejo 118 y se echó al río. 119. Y dijo: "¡Si me quieres comer, agárrame, 120. y cuando me agarres me puedes comer!" dijo el conejo. 122. Y el coyote en verdad se metió al río. 122. Y en verdad se ahogó, allí, en el río.'

FINAL

XXVIII. 123. 'Y aquí se acaba el cuento del conejo y el coyote.'

ABBREVIATIONS

CAUS	Causative
COMP	Completive aspect
CONT	Continuative aspect
CTF	Contrafactual
DIM	Diminutive
EXCL	Exclusive
HORT	Hortatory
INC	Incompletive aspect
INCL	Inclusive
MS	Men's speech
NEG	Negative
P+1	First post-peak episode
P-1	First pre-peak episode
P-2	Second pre-peak episode
P-3	Third pre-peak episode
PL	Plural
POT	Potential aspect
Q	Interrogative
REP	Repetitive
SG	Singular
(SP)	Spanish loan
UN	Unspecified person
WS	Women's speech
?	Gloss uncertain

NOTES

Coatzospan Mixtec is an Otomanguean language spoken by approximately 2,000 persons living in the municipality of San Juan Coatzospan in the northernmost part of the state of Oaxaca in southern Mexico. The Mixtecs of this area are isolated both geographically and linguistically from the larger Mixtec community, being surrounded by speakers of Mazatec and Cuicatec.

The phonemes of Coatzospan Mixtec, with their corresponding Spanish orthographical symbols given in parentheses where different, are as follows: voiceless stops p, t, t̥ (tz), t̥

(ch), k (c, qu), k^w (cu); prenasalized voiced stops ^mb (mp),

ⁿd (nt), ⁿdz (ntz), ⁿɟ (nch), ⁿg (nc, nqu), ⁿg^w (ncu);

voiceless fricatives s, ʃ (x), x (j); voiced fricatives b (v),

d (d), d^y (di); nasals m, n, ñ; lateral l; flap ɾ (r); glottal

ʔ (h); vowels i, e, a, o, u, ɨ; nasalization (written as n following the final vowel of a morpheme); and tonal accents high (^), mid (unmarked), low (˘), and a high-low glide (^).

The "Rabbit and Coyote" story was recorded in written form by 24-year-old José Pacheco. The "Frog and Deer" story was related orally by 13-year-old Joaquín Mancera and recorded on cassette tape. The "Orange Tree" story is a true story recorded in writing by 24-year-old Dolores Acosta. It is told in narrative style, using men's speech, and shares many features of a folktale. The texts were collected by Priscilla Small.