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DISCOURSE STUDIES IN MESOAMERICAN LANGUAGES

Volume 2: Texts

Linda K. Jones, editor
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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, Utoaztecán, 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

CAJONOS ZAPOTEC
THE OLD WOMAN AND THE TOWN
AUTHORITIES

THE OLD WOMAN AND THE TOWN AUTHORITIES

CAJONOS ZAPOTEC

APERTURE

I. 1. Ni hu-a' to diže'e ca di'i g-oque
here POT-tell I a word about which COM-happen
yo'o-lahua'-a di'iga nej-nasi lene
house-center-the this yesterday-day before yesterday with
Zizc xna-cho'o Zizc Bež-a' g-oc-cze ch-e'.
Francisca mother-our Francisca B.-? COM-happen-? of-her

I. 1.'I'm going to talk about what happened day before yesterday in the town hall with our mother Francisca. [Old women are referred to as 'mothers'].'

EPISODE 1

II. 2. Cate'e-czi-na' b-1-e'e yo'o-lahua'-a
when-indeed-? COM-arrive-she house-center-the
na' b-id-e' lo sindicu-a' na' ch-e'e
and COM-come-she before trustee-the and COM-says she
sindicu-a': 3. "Se'exa g-on-o' g-oclene g-ax-o'
trustee-the if only POT-do-you COM-help POT-call-you
Grigor-a', "ch-e'e-ne". 4. Ch-e'e:
Gregory-? COM-she says-to him COM-he says
'Hu-ac-cze. 5. ¿Bixa g-oque?" ch-e'e-ne'. 6. Na'
POT-can-indeed what COM-happen? COM-he say-her and
ch-e'e: 7. "La'a da'a-nže'e b-id-e' liž-e'e-na'
COM-she says because that-l.night COM-come-he home-my-?
na' ch-e'e nede'e, con b-id-e' hual-a'
and COM-he says me as COM-come-he night-the
na' u-zolo-z-e' ch-goayo-e ni-a'a-na' u-zolo-e.
and COM-begin-just-he HAB-pull-he foot-my-? COM-begin-he

8. Na' lach ſe'le'e ch-e'e nede'e bixa-na'
 and only if only COM-he says me what-?
 ch-eni'i-ne ſe'e-ca' per-na' cui-bi ch-e'e
 HAB-want-he if only-thus but-? not anything COM-he says
 con ch-goayo-e ni-a'a-na'. 9. Na' na'na' ſe'el
 but HAB-pull-he foot-my? and therefore if only
 g-on-le'e g-oclene e-ne-le'e-ne',," ch-e'e.
 POT-do-you COM-help POT-speak-you-him COM-she says

II. 2.'She arrived at the town hall and came before the trustee and said to him: 3. "Please do me the favor of calling Gregory." 4. He said: "All right. 5. What happened?" 6. And she said: 7. "Well, last night he came to my house and began pulling my foot. 8. And if only he had told me what he wanted, but he was just pulling my foot. 9. And therefore if only you would do the favor of speaking to him," she said.'

- III. 10. Na' "Ya'ahue," ch-a'a sindicu-a' li'i
 and OK COM-says trustee-the IMM
 ch-e'-ti-e-ne'. 11. Li'i b-siz-ti-e' na'
 COM-says-IMM-he-her IMM COM-ring-IMM-he and
 ch-e'e: 12. "Li-sja-ne-gach Grigor-a',," ch-e'e.
 COM-he says IMP-go-call-please Gregory-? COM-he says
 13. "Ya'ahue," ch-e'-to'-ne' ſca' na' li'i
 OK COM-say-we-him then and IMM
 ja-ne-te-to' be-na' na' li'i z-a'-te be-na'
 COM go-call-IMM-we person-? and IMM STA-come-IMM person-?
 na'a na' ch-e'e: 14. "iE-ba-ch-ni-o' nede'e?"
 and COM-he says INT-already-HAB-call-you me
 ch-e'e sindicu-a'. 15. "Ahue," ch-a'a sindicu-a',
 COM-he says trustee-the yes COM-says trustee-the
 16. "La'a bene'e gol-i z-i-e ni
 because person old-this STA-stand-her here
 ch-o-e'e le' part. 17. Ch-e'e u-yej-o'
 HAB-carry-her you accusation COM-she says COM-go-you
 liž-e-na' da'a-nze'e. 18. Na'na' por da'a-na'
 home-her-? that last night therefore because that-?
 ba-ch-ne-to' le'," ch-e'e-ne'.
 already-COM-call-we you COM-he says-him

III. 10. "OK," said the trustee. 11. He immediately rang his bell for us to come and he said: 12. "Please go get Gregory." 13. "OK," we said and immediately went to call him and he came right away and said: 14. "Are you calling me?" he said to the trustee. 15. "Yes," responded the trustee. 16. "This old person standing here is accusing you. 17. She said you went to her home last night. 18. Therefore we are calling you," he said to him'

IV. 19. "A," ch-e'e. 20. "Qui ch-a'a bene'e
oh COM-he says this COM-says person
gol-i. U-yej-o' liž-e-na' na' ch-e'n-lo'
old-this COM go-you home-her-? and HAB-want-you
hu-it-o'-ne'. 21. Ch-e'e: 'Ch-goayo-e' ni-a'a-ni
POT-hit-you-her COM-she says HAB-pull-he foot-my-here
na' lach ſe'ele'e ch-e'e bixa-na' ch-en'i-ne'
and if only if COM-he says what? HAB-want-he
per-na' co-cze bi ch-e'e' ch-a'a bene'e
but? not-at all anything COM-he says COM-says person
gol-i. 22. Na'na' ba-ch-ne-to' 1e'. 23.
old-this therefore already-HAB call-we you
¿Bixchen-na' j-en-o' ca'?" ch-e'e-ne'.
Why? COM-go-do-you thus? COM-he says-to him

IV. 19. "Oh," he said. 20. "This is what the old woman says: You went to her home and you want to hit her. 21. She says, 'He was pulling my foot and if only he had said what he wanted, but he wouldn't say anything,' said the old woman. 22. Therefore we are calling you. 23. Why did you do that?" he said to him.'

V. 24. Na' ch-a'a be-na': "Qui-na' g-oque-n,"
and COM-says person-the this-? COM-happen-it
ch-e'e-ne'. 25. "La'a aga n-ez-de'e nede'e bixa
COM-he says-him because not STA-know-I I what
ch-on be-ni ch-d-e'," ch-e'e. 26. "Na' ca
HAB-do person-this HAB-pass-she COM-he says and when
b-ažin-e'e nede'e liž-e'e-na' 27. na' la'a zi'i
COM-arrive-I I home-my-? and because just
z-az-a'a-ti-a' nede'e žin-na'." ch-e'e.
STA-REP-return-IMM-I I work-the COM-he says

28. "B-ažin-e' na'a ch-loc no'ol cha-na' na',"
 CCM-arrive-I HAB-angry woman my-? and
 ch-e'e, "ch-nab-de'e-ne' di'i g-ao-e'e," ch-e'e,
 COM-he says HAB-ask-I-her which POT-eat-I COM-he says
 "na' ca b-ažin-e' na'a na' ch-e'e nede'e:
 and when COM-arrive-I and COM-she says to me
29. 'Aga bixa ch-nab-o' g-a-o'. 30. Ža u-yej,
 not anything HAB-ask-you POT-eat-you ? IMP-go
 u-yej liž x-t-o'-na' ga-na' z-o-e' na'
 IMP-go home POSS-lover-your-? where-? STA-is-she and
 j-anab da'a g-a-o', ch-e'e nede'e.
 IMP-go-ask that POT-eat-you COM-she says me
31. Na'na' le' u-yej-e liž-e'e-na' j-ež-e
 therefore she COM-go-she home-my-? COM-tell-she
 no'ol cha-na' de que z-o-len-e'e to bene'e,"
 woman my-? of which STA-be-with-I a person
 ch-e'e, ch-e'e sindicu-a'.
 COM-he says COM-he says trustee-the

V. 24. 'And he said to him: "This is what happened. 25. I didn't know what this person was doing when she passed. 26. And when I arrived home 27. (because I barely returned from work), 28. I arrived and my wife was angry and when I asked her what there was to eat she said: 29. 'Why are you asking me for something to eat? 30. Go away, go to your lover's house where she is, and ask her for something to eat.' 31. Therefore she went to my house and told my wife that I was with someone," he said to the trustee.'

- VI. 32. "Na'lana' e-ca'-na' g-oque-na?" ch-e'e.
 therefore INT-thusly-? COM-happen-it? COM-he says
33. "Ahue, ca'-na' g-oque-n," ch-a'a Grigor-a'
 yes thus-? COM-happen-it COM-say Gregory-the
34. "Na'na' ch-loqu-e'e. 35. Na'na' u-y-a'
 therefore HAB-angry-I therefore COM-go-I
 liž-e'-ni j-ež-e'e-ne' bixche-na', ch-e'nd-e'e
 home-her-here COM-say-to her why-? HAB-want-I
 y-ep-e'e-ne' bixche-na' b-en-e' ca' per-na'
 POT-tell-I-her why-? COM-do-she thusly but-?

la'a ch-zož-de'e-na'," ch-e'e. 36. Na'-ze con
because HAB-drunk-I? COM-he says there-only with
di'i g-oque b-en-e'. 37. U-dayo-a' ni-e'e-na' ch-e'nd-e'e
what COM-can COM-do-I COM-pull-I foot-her-? HAB-want-I
s-en-e'e-ne' per-na' b-ayaš-e'e-zid'e-ne' n-aqu-e!
POT-hit-I-her but-? COM-feel sorry-I-?-I-her STA-be-she
bene'e gole na'a na' aga bi b-e'n-czi-de'e-ne',"
person old and not anything COM-do-?-I-her
ch-e'e.
COM-he says

VI. 32. "Is that how it happened?" he said. 33. "Yes, that's how it happened," answered Gregory. 34. "And so I was angry. 35. And I went to her home to ask her why. I wanted to ask her why she did that, but I was drunk. 36. So I did what I could. 37. I pulled her foot. I wanted to hit her, but because she is old I felt sorry for her and I did nothing to her," he said.'

VII. 38. Na'-ze ch-e'e-ne': 39. 'Hueno ſca'.
there-just HAB-he says-to him OK then
Da'a-ze-na' ch-ni-a' le'," ch-e'e-ne'.
that-just-? HAB-say-I you COM-he says-him

VII. 38. 'Then he said to him: 39. "OK then. That's all I have to say to you," he said to him.'

VIII. 40. Na'-ze li'i b-aza'-te Grigor-a' na'
there-just IMM COM-leave-IMM Gregory-the and
b-agā'an bene'e Zisc Bež-a' na' ch-e'e-ne':
COM-remain person Francisca B-? and COM-he says-her
41. "Na'lana' ni e-x-o' to mult," ch-e'e-ne',
therefore here POT-pay-you a fine COM-he says-her
"na' nach g-ac-o' mult ſon gayua'," ch-e'e-ne'.
and then POT-be-you fine three hundred COM-he says-her
42. Na' ch-e'e: "Per zi'-te-na",'
and COM-she says but too much-also-?
ch-e'e-ne'. "Cui x-o-a' to-ca'. 43. Si-yon
COM-she says-to him not POT-pay-I one-thus fifty-?
pes di'i g-on-e'e," ch-e'e-ne'. 44. Na'
pes which POT-give-I COM-she says-him and

ch-e'e: "Cui g-aque-n," ch-e'e-ne'. 45. Na'
 COM-he says not POT-can-it COM-he says-her and
 ch-e'e: "Na' cui-bi g-on-cze ſca'," ch-
 COM-she says and not-anything POT-give-? then COM-
 a'a bene'e gol-a'.
 says person old-the

VIII. 40.'At that point Gregory left and Francisca remained and he said to her: 41. "Therefore you'll pay a fine which will be \$300," he said to her. 42. Then she said: "But that's way too much. I won't pay that much. 43. I'll give \$50," she said to him. 44. And he said: "That's not enough." 45. Then she said: "Neither will I give any then," said the old lady.'

IX. 46. Na'-ze li'i b-siž-te sindicu-a'. 47.
 there-just IMM COM-ring-IMM trustee-the
 Na'-ze j-abigue'e-to' na' ch-e'e:
 there-just COM-moved over-we and COM-he says
 "Li-zj-azo-gach be-ni da'a-cche'1," ch-e'e.
 IMP-go-leave-please person-this that-down COM-he says
 48. Na'-ze ch-e'-to'-ne: "Hu-ac-cze."
 there-just COM-say-we-him POT can-indeed

IX. 46.'At that point the trustee rang. 47. Then we moved over and he said to us: "Go take this person down there."
 48. Then we said to him: "OK then."

X. 49. Per-na' bene'e gol-a' na'a aga ch-enii-ne'.
 but-? person old-the not HAB-want-she
 50. Na' ch-e'e-ne': "Na'lana' u-xua mult-a'
 and COM-says she-her therefore IMP-pay fine-the
 ſca'," ch-e'e-ne'. 51. Na' bene'e gol-a' ch-e'e:
 then COM-says he her and person old-the COM-says she
 "Cui, con di'i g-on-e'e ſi-yon g-on-e'e,"
 No as which POT-give-I fifty-? POT-give I
 ch-e'e-ne'. 52. Nach ch-e'e: "Cui g-aque-n,"
 COM-says she-him then COM-says he not POT-can-it
 ch-e'e-ne'," "con di'i ſon gayoa'-na' na' na'
 COM-says he-her but which three hundred-the and then

y-i-y-ej-o'," ch-e'e-ne'. 53. Na'-ze
POT-REP-POT-go-you COM-says he-her there-just
ch-e'e: "Cui-bi de-cze x-o-a'," ch-e'e-
COM-says she not-anything is? POT-pay-I COM-says she-
ne'. 54. Na' ſon lin ch-e'e-ne': "Si-yon x-o-a'."
him and three times COM-say she-him fifty? POT-pay-I
55. Na' sindicu-a' ch-e'e-ne': "Cui, na'la'n
and trustee-the COM-say he-her No therefore
li-z-j-azo-e' da'a-cche'1 ſca'," ch-e'e, "la'a
IMP-PLU-go-put-her that-down then COM-say he because
cui ch-cheb-e' di'i ſon gayoa'-na'.
not COM-promise-she the three hundred-the

X. 49. But the old woman didn't want to. 50. And, he said to
her: "Then pay the fine," he said to her. 51. And the old
lady said: "No, I'll just give fifty," she said to him. 52.
Then he said, "That's not enough," he said to her, "you must
give the three hundred and then you can return," he said to her.
53. Then she said, "I don't have anything to pay," she said to
him. 54. And three times she said to him, "I'll pay fifty."
55. And the trustee said to her, "No, therefore take her down,"
he said, "because she won't promise the three hundred."

XI. 56. Na'-ze ch-e'e na' ch-a'a Zisc Bež
there-just COM-say she and COM-say Francisca B.
gol-a' ch-e'e: "Na'lana' chop gayoa' x-o-a'
old-the COM-say she therefore two hundred POT-pay-I
ſca'," ch-e'e-ne'. 57. Na' ch-e'e: "Na'lana'
then COM-say she-him and COM-say he therefore
u-xoa-te-ga-n na'a ſca'," ch-e'e-ne', "na'
IMP-pay-IMM-please-it now then COM-say he-her and
y-i-y-ej-o'," ch-e'e-ne'. 58. Na' ch-e'e-ne':
POT-REP-POT-go-you COM-say he-her and COM-say she-him
"Cui-bi de e-ni-a' le' na'a-te g-on-e'e-n, san
not-anything is POT-say-I you now-IMM POT-give-I-it but
uxe zil y-edo-a'-n," ch-e'e-ne'. 59. Na'
tomorrow morn POT-bring-I-it COM-say she-him. and
ch-e'e-ne': "Hu-ac-cze ſca', na'lana'
COM-say he-her POT-can-indeed then therefore

y-ed-o'-n ux-e-zil," ch-e'e-ne'.
 POT-bring-you-it tomorrow-morn COM-say he-her

XI. 56.'At that point old Francisca said: "I'll pay two hundred then," she said to him. 57. And he said, "Therefore pay it right away please," he said to her, "and then you can go," he said to her. 58. And she said to him: "I don't have any so that I can tell you that I'll give it to you right now, but I will bring it tomorrow morning," she said to him. 59. And he said to her, "OK then, bring it tomorrow morning," he said to her.'

EPISODE 2

XII. 60. Na'-ze b-az-e'e na' u-ye'en'i tempran
 there-just COM-leave-she and COM-dawn early
 b-id-e' aga ni'i la' sindicu-a' cate'e
 COM-come-she not yet appear trustee-the when
 b-id-e' na' ch-e'e miyor-a': 'Ni de di'iga
 COM-come-she and COM-say she elder-the here is this
 to gayoa' hu-i'-gach-o'-ne'-n," ch-e'e-ne'. 61.
 a hundred POT-give-please-you-him-it COM-say she-him
 Na' miyor-a' ch-e'e-ne': "Cui g-ox-a'a-n. Na'
 and elder-the COM-say he-her not POT-take-I-it and
 ho'o-ne'-n le' cuine' la' aga n-ez-de'e nede'e
 IMP give-him-it him himself because not STA-know-I I
 nac-xa-na' z-eji-n che le'e-ni," ch-e'e-ne'.
 how-?-? STA-go-it of you PLU-here COM-say he-her
 62. Na'-ze ch-e'e: 'Hu-ac-cze Sca'."
 there-just COM-say she POT-can-indeed then

XIII. 60.'Then she left and when it dawned she came early before the trustee had arrived and she said to the elder: "Here is a hundred. Please give it to him," she said to him. 61. And the elder said to her, "I won't take it. You give it to him himself because I don't know your affairs," he said to her. 62. Then she said, "OK then."

XIII. 63. Na' u-lez-e cate'e b-la' sindicu-a'
 and COM-wait-she when COM-arrive trustee-the

na' na'-ze ch-e'e-ne': "Ni de di'i to gayua'," and there-just COM-say she-him here is the one hundred ch-e'e-ne', 64. Na' ch-e'e: "Per la'a aga COM-say she-him and COM-say he but because not ch-i-a'a le' to gayoa' la'a chop gayoa'-na' HAB-say-I you one hundred but two hundred? u-chogue-n," ch-e'e-ne'. 65. Na' ch-e'e: "Ahue, COM-come out-it COM-say he-her and COM-say she yes per-na' ni de-zega to gayua, la'a aga bi but? here is? one hundred because not anything de na'a-te par e-ni-a' le' g-on-e'e-n na'a-te is now-IMM so that POT-say-I you POT-give-I-it now-IMM con ni de di'i-ga to gayoa', ch-e'e-ne'. as here is which-, one hundred COM-say she-him

XIII. 63. 'And she waited when the trustee arrived and she said to him: "Here is the hundred," she said to him. 64. And he said: "But I didn't tell you one hundred, but two hundred is what it came to," he said to her. 65. And she said: "Yes, but here is at least a hundred because I don't have any right now to say to you that I will give it to you immediately, so here is a hundred," she said to him.'

XIV. 66. Na'ze ch-e'e-ne': "Hu-ac-cze ſca'," there-just COM-say he-her POT-can-indeed then ch-e'e-ne'. 67. Na' b-ex-e'e da'a to gayoa'. COM-say he-her and COM-take-he the one hundred

XIV. 66. 'Then he said to her, "OK then," he said to her. 67. And he took the one hundred.'

EPISODE 3

XV. 68. Na'-ze b-az-e'e na' z-jad-e' na'a na' there-just COM-leave-she and COM-go-she and u-de-cho na'a g-oc g-oc to xman. COM-pass-more COM-happen COM-happen a week 69. Na'-ze ba ch-e'e: "La'a aga na'a-cze there-just already COM-say he but not now?'

y-id-e' san li z-ja-ni-e la'a le'-na'
 POT-come-he but IMP IMP-go-tell-her because she-?
 n-ap-e' dola'a," ch-e'e. 70. "Bixche-cze'-n
 STA-has-she fault COM-say he why-?-?
 j-eni-ne' be'n ca'? 71. Li ž-j-xi-e'e,"
 COM go-speak-she person thus IMP IMP-go-get-her
 ch-e'e.
 COM-say he

XV. 68.' Then she left and went home and a week passed. 69.
 Then he said: "She won't come right away. Go call her be-
 cause she is the one at fault," he said. 70. "Why did she go
 speak that way to that person? 71. Go get her," he said.'

XVI. 72. Nach j-ane-to' na' cui b-id-e'. 73.
 then COM-speak-we and not COM-come-she
 Šzil j-ane-to'-ne di'i nech na' u-že'
 morning COM-speak-we-her which first and COM-become late
 na'a j-an-e bi'i yoble-ne' na' lecze cui
 COM go-speak-they people other-her and also not
 b-id-e'. 74. U-ye'eni' di'i yoble lecze cui
 COM-come-she COM-to dawn which again also not
 b-ide na' hu-iz-že' di'i yoble na'a cui
 COM-come and COM-again-be late which again not
 b-iz-ide-ccze. 75. Baya-te-to' u-yej j-ane-to'-ne.
 COM-REP-come-? every one-EMP-we COM-go COM-speak-we-her
 76. Toej-to' yogue'e zil na' yogue'e že'
 one at a time-we all morning and every night
 ch-j-ane-to'-ne' na' cui ch-id-e'.
 HAB-go-speak-we-her and noč HAB-come-her

XVI. 72.' Then we went to speak to her and she didn't come.
 73. First we went early to call her and others went late but
 she did not come. 74. When it dawned again she again didn't
 come and when it became late again she also didn't come. 75.
 Every last one of us went to call her. 76. One by one, every
 morning and every evening, we went to call her but she didn't
 come.'

EPISODE 4

- XVII. 77. Per nach na'a cate'e-czi-na' b-loc
 but then when-?-? COM-become angry
- sindicu-a' na' ch-e'e: 78. "Ch-on-la-si
 trustee-the and COM-say he HAB-do-make a fool-?
- be-ni cho'. 79. Li z-j-xi-e'e yogue'e-lo-le'e.
 person-this us IMP IMP-go-get-her all-EMP-you
80. Li ſ-ej," ch-e'e, ch-e'e miyor-a'. 81. "U-che'
 IMP IMP-go COM-say he COM-say he elder-the IMP-take
- bi'i xa'ag cho'-qui, li z-j-xi-e'e," ch-e'e-ne'.
 person errand your-these IMP IMP-go-get-her COM-say he-him
82. "Ya'ahue," ch-a'a be-na' na'a. 83. Na'
 OK COM-say person-the and
- ch-e'e neto': "Li-ſ-o'o daxi-e'e," ch-e'e
 COM-say he us IMP-IMP-you go get-her COM-say he
 neto'.
 us

XVII. 77. 'But then the trustee became angry and he said: 78. "This person is making a fool of us. 79. Go get her, all of you. 80. Go," he said to the elder. 81. "Take your errand boys here and go get her," he said to him. 82. "OK," said the person. 83. And he said to us: "Go get her," he said to us.'

- XVIII. 84. Na'-ze z-ej-len-to'-ne'. 85. B-žin-to'
 there-just STA-go-with-us-him COM-arrive-we
- na'a na' z-i-e chio'o-na' na'-ze chio'o-na'
 and STA-stand-she patio-the there-just patio-the
- na'-ze ch-e'e-ne': 86. "Zizc no'."
 there-just COM-say he-her Francisca Mrs.
- ch-e'e-ne' "E-z-o-cz-o'?" 87. "Ahue,"
 COM-say he-her INT-STA-are home-?-you yes
- ch-e'e. 88. "E-cui s-at-o' ch-ne sindicu-a'
 COM-say she INT not POT-come-you HAB-call trustee-the
 le'?" ch-e'e-ne'.
 you COM-say he-her

XVIII. 84. 'Then we went with him. 85. We arrived and she was just standing in the patio and he said to her: 86. "Mrs.

Francisca," he said to her, "Are you home?" 87. "Yes," she said. 88. "Won't you come, the trustee is calling you," he said to her.'

- XIX. 89. Na'-ze li'i b-ayo'o-ti-e' lo'o yo'o-na'
 there-just IMM COM-enter-IMM-she in house-the
 na' ch-e'e: 90. "Cui s-a'a," ch-e'e. 91. "Li
 and COM-say she not POT-go I COM-say she IMP
 c-uayo nede'e si n-saque'e-le'e hu-a'-le'e o
 POT-pull me if STA-know-you POT-carry-you or
 c-uayo-le'e nede'e," ch-e'e, "na'ža li ſ-o'o,"
 POT-pull-you me COM-say she-, IMP IMP-enter
 ch-e'e. 92. Na' n-ox-e'e to yag ch-e'e:
 COM-say she and STA-hold-she a stick COM-say she
 "Di'iga-te-ze ch-in-e'e choa'a nag-le'e-na' no-le'e
 this-EMP-jus POT-hit-I edge ear-your-? whoever-you
 ſ-o' c-uayo-le'e nede'e," ch-e'e.
 POT-enter POT-pull-you me COM-say she

XIX. 89.'Then she immediately went into the house and she said: 90. "I won't go," she said. 91. "Pull me if you think you can carry or pull me," she said. "Come on in," she said. 92. And she was holding a stick and she said: "I'll just hit your ears, whoever comes in to pull me," she said.'

- XX. 93. Na' na'-ze cui b-ayaxji-to' c-uayo-to'-ne'
 and there-just not COM-dare-we POT-pull-we-her
 la'a con cui de orden-na' c-uayo-to' bene'e-ca'
 because as not be order-the POT-pull-we person-PLU
 ž-e' lo'o yo'o-na'. 94. San ſi zja-z-i-e
 STA-be in in house-? but if PLU-STA-stand-he
 fuer-le na'a na' hu-aque c-uayo-to' bene'e-ca'. 95.
 outside-area then POT-can POT-pull-we person-PLU
 Per zja-z-i-e lo'o yo'o-na' na'a cui g-aque.
 but PLU-STA-stand-he in house-? not POT-can

XX. 93.'At that point we did not dare pull her because there were not orders to pull people that are in their houses. 94. But if they are standing outside then we can pull them. 95. But if they are standing in the house then we can't.'

- XXI. 96. Na'-ze b-aza'-to' na'a zja-da-to' na'
 there-just COM-leave-we PLU-go back-we and
 b-ažin-to' ch-e'-to'-ne': 97. 'Aga u-za' be'n
 COM-arrive-we COM-say-we-him not COM-come person
 la'a lo'o yo'o-le y-o-e'e na' cui
 because in house-area STA-is in-she and not
 u-che'-to'-ne', " ch-e'-to'-ne. 98. Na' ch-e'e:
 COM-take-we-her COM-say-we-him and COM-say he
 "Na'lana' na' š-ej-le'e sto uxé-zil," ch-e'e.
 therefore ? POT-go-you again tomorrow-morn COM-say he
 99. "Ya'ahue," ch-e'-to'-ne'.
 OK COM-say-we-him

XXI. 96.' At that point we left and went back and said to him: 97.
 "She didn't come because she was in the house and we didn't
 take her," we said to him. 98. And he said, "Therefore you will
 go again tomorrow morning," he said, "if she does not come to-
 night," he said. 99. "OK," we said to him.'

- XXII. 100. Na' g-ol na'a na'-ze
 and COM-become night there-just
 ch-bez-e'-ne' na' cui b-id-e', na' u-ye'eni'
 HAB-wait-he-her and not COM-come-she and COM-to dawn
 di'i-yoble na'a ch-e'e: 101. "Li š-ej
 which is-again COM-say he IMP POT-go
 di'i-yoble-cze," ch-e'e.
 which is-again-indeed COM-say he

XXII. 100.' And when it became night he waited for her but she
 didn't come and when it dawned again he said: 101. "Go again
 he said.'

- XXIII. 102. Na'-ze b-iz-žin-to' na'a lecze ca'
 there-just COM-REP-arrive-we also thusly
 ch-e'e: 103. "Li c-uayo nede'e ſi n-saque'e-le
 COM-say she PLU POT-pull me if STA-think-you
 hu-ac-le'e c-uayo-le'e nede'e," ch-e'e.
 POT-can-you POT-pull-you me COM-say she

XXIII. 102.' Then we arrived again and likewise she said: 103.

"Pull me if you think you can pull me," she said.'

XXIV. 104. Na' per na'-ze na'a miyor-a' cui-cze
 and but there-just elder-the not-indeed
 ch-on-e' bene'e ya'a-laže'e par na' la'a lecze
 HAB-do-he person ?-heart to and because also
 n-ezi-ne' na'a na' cui u-yo-e'e lo'o liž-e'-na'
 STA-know-he and not COM-enter-he inside home-her-?
 par c-uayo-e-ne'.
 to POT-pull-he-her

XXIV. 104.'But at that point the elder was not a mean person
 and he knew that he could not enter her home to pull her.'

XXV. 105. Na'ze b-san-to'-ne' b-iz-žin-to'
 there-just COM-leave-we-her COM-REP-arrive-we
 di'i-yoble ch-e'-to' sindicu-a': 106. "Cui
 which-again COM-say-we trustee-the not
 u-za'-cze-e''," ch-e'-to'-ne'. 107. Na' ch-e'e:
 COM-come-indeed-her COM-say-we-him and COM-say he
 "La'a ba-ch-one-n bien le'-le ſ-ej-le'e
 but already-HAB-do it necessary you-rather POT-go-you
 liž-ya-na' la'a ch-a'a-z-le-na'. 108. Cui-cze
 home-iron-the because HAB-say-only-you-? not-?
 ch-che'-le'-ne'-na' ch-e'e. 109. Na'-ze
 HAB-take-you-her-? COM-say she there-just
 ch-e'-to'-ne': "Cui la'a le'-na' cui ch-enii-i-ne'.
 COM-say-we-him No because ſhe-? not HAB-want-ſhe
 110. 'Li ſ-o'o,' ch-e'e neto'. 111. N-ox-e'e
 PLU POT-enter COM-say she us STA-hold-he
 yag-a' ch-enii-i-ne' ch-in-e' neto'. 112. Per-na'
 stick-the HAB-want-ſhe POT-hit-ſhe us but-?
 nacxa g-on-to' c-uayo-to'-ne'," ch-e'-to'-ne'. 113.
 how POT-do-we POT-pull-we-her COM-say-we-him
 Na'-ze ch-e'e: "Hueno ſca', bat-e'e-ze la'a
 there-just COM-say he OK then when?-just because
 hu-id-e-cze," ch-e'e, ch-e'e neto'.
 POT-come-he-? COM-say he COM-say he us

XXV. 105. 'At that point we left her and returned again and said to the trustee: 106. "She didn't come," we said to him. 107. And he said: "But now it's necessary for you rather to go to jail because you're just saying that. 108. You are not taking her," he said. 109. Then we said to him: "No, she does not want to. 110. 'Come on in,' she says to us. 111. She holds a stick and wants to hit us. 112. But how are we going to pull her?" we said to him. 113. Then he said: "OK then, whenever, because surely she will come," he said, he said to us.'

PEAK (EPISODE 5)

XXVI. 114. Na'-ze na'a u-de chop ſone zil
 there-just COM-pass two three morning
 na'a cate'e-czi-na' to ze' na'a cate'e b-adi-e'
 when-?-? one evening when COM-pass-she
 choa'a yo'o-lahua'-a. 115. No-si ga-'n u-yej-e na'
 edge house-center-the who? where COM-go-she and
 b-adi-e' mer lo cancha-na' nach cate'e-czi-na'
 COM-pass-she right on court-the then when-?-?
 b-siž sindicu-a' na' ch-e'e. 116. Na'-ze
 COM-ring trustee-the and COM-say he there-just
 j-abigue'e-to' na' nach ch-e'e: 117. "Li ſ-j-xi'-ſa
 COM-approach-we and then COM-say he PLU POT-go-get-?
 bene'e gol-a' z-jada na' na'a na' li c-uayo-e,"
 person old-the STA-go there now and PLU POT-pull-her
 ch-e'e.
 COM-say he

XXVI. 114. 'Then two or three mornings went by when one evening she passed next to the town hall. 115. Who knows where she went and she passed right on the basketball court and the trustee rang and said. 116. Then we approached him and he said: 117. "Go get the old lady that's going there and pull her," he said.'

XXVII. 118. Nach z-ej-to' na'a li'i z-ej-te
 then STA-go-we immediately STA-go-IMM
 miyor-a' ž-ialo-e na' ch-e'e-ne': 119.
 elder-the STA-go first-he and COM-say he-her

"Zizc-no'," ch-e'e-ne', "e cui y-id-o' ch-ne
 Francisca Mrs. COM-say he-her INT not POT-come-you HAB-call
 sindicu-i le', "ch-e'e-ne'. 120. Na' ch-on-te-ze'
 trustee-this you COM-say he-her and HAB-do-also-just
 ca bene'e cui ch-eni. 121. Nach z-jad-e', z-jad-e'
 like person not HAB-hear then STA-go-she STA-go-she
 xt schin mercado-na' cože'e liž mistr-ca'. 122.
 until corner market-the above home teacher-PLU
 Na'-ze b-abi-e'e na' ch-e'e: "Bixa-se
 there-just COM-turn around-she and COM-say she what?
 ch-eni'i bene'e tont-i nga?" ch-e'e.
 HAB-want person dumb-these here COM-say she

XXVII. 118. Then we went and the elder went first and he said to her: 119. "Mrs. Francisca," he said to her, "won't you come, the trustee is calling you," he said to her. 120. And she was just acting like a person that doesn't hear. 121. Then she kept walking, walking until she got to the corner of the market above the teacher's home. 122. At that point she turned around and said: "What do these dumb people want here?" she said.'

XXVIII. 123. Z-jad-e' za-žialo-e' nach z-ej-to'
 STA-go-she STA-go first-she then STA-go-we
 zja-yano-to'-ne' na'a nach ch-e'e sindicu-a':
 STA PLU-follow-we-her then COM-say she trustee-the
 124. "E-ba-ch-ni-o' nede'e?" ch-e'e-ne'.
 INT-already-HAB-speak-you me COM-say she-him
 125. "Ahue," ch-e'e-ne', "la'a co-cze ch-id-o'
 yes COM-say he-her because not-indeed HAB-come-you
 ch-ni-a' le', "ch-e'e-ne' na' ba-g-oc
 HAB-call-I you COM-say he-her and already-COM-happen
 zan lin ch-ni-a' con co-cze ch-id-o'. 126.
 many times HAB-call-I as not-indeed HAB-come-you
 Na' na'na' na'a, nac g-aque che da'a la'a
 and therefore how POT-happen with that because
 ch-ayale'e u-ze'el-o' da'a zi to gayoa'."
 HAB-should POT-complete-you that yet one hundred
 ch-e'e-ne'. 127. Na' ch-e'e-ne': "Aga bi
 COM-say he-her and COM-say she-him not anything

n-ox-a'a,'" ch-e'e-ne'. 128. Na' ch-e'e: "Na'lana'
 STA-have-I COM-say she-him and COM-say he therefore
 žj-s-o' žaz-o' da'a-cche'1 la'a ba
 POT go-be in-you ?-you that-down because already
 u-ža-te-na' cui ch-ze'el-o'-n," ch-e'e-ne'.
 COM-pass time-also-? not HAB-finish-you-it COM-say he-her
 129. Na' ch-e'e: "Nacxa g-on-e'e la'a cui ch-žele-
 and COM-say she how POT-do-I because not HAB-find-
 n? 130. Gaxa žj-xi-a'-n g-on-e'e-n le'?"
 it where POT go-get-I-it POT-give-I it you
 ch-e'e-ne'. 131. Na'-ze ch-e'e-ne': "Na'lana'
 COM-say she-him there-just COM-say he-her therefore
 žj-s-o' žaz-o' da'a-cche'1 na' u-sed-o','
 POT-go-POT-you ?-you there-down and POT-learn-you
 ch-e'e-ne'.
 COM-say he-her

XXVIII. 123. 'She went first and then we followed her and then
 she said to the trustee: 124. "Are you calling me?" she said
 to him. 125. "Yes," he said to her, "because you aren't coming
 when I call you," he said to her, "and I've already called you
 many times and you do not come. 126. And therefore what's
 going to happen with your affair because you should complete
 the one hundred," he said to her. 127. And she said to him:
 "I don't have anything." 128. And he said: "Therefore you will
 go down there because much time has passed and you are not
 completing it," he said to her. 129. And she said: "How am I
 going to do because I can't find it. 130. Where will I go get
 it to give it to you?" she said to him. 131. At that point he
 said to her: "Therefore you'll go down below and you will
 learn," he said to her.'

XXIX. 132. Na' cui ch-eni'i bene'e gol-a' na'a na'
 and not HAB-want person old-the and
 ch-e'e-ne': "Na'lana' zj-t-ilj-ech-e'e gaxa
 COM-say she-him therefore POT-go-POT-search-?-I where
 s-o'on-stit-e' nede'e mech-a' yeda-ze'elo-a'
 POT PLU-give-short while-he me money-the POT-complete-I
 ſca'," ch-e'e-ne'. 133. Nach ch-e'e-ne':
 then COM-say she-him then COM-say he-her

'Hu-ac-cze ſca'," ch-e'e-ne'.
 POT-can-indeed then COM-say he-her

XXIX. 132.'And the old lady didn't want to and she said to him: "Therefore I'll go look for someone to lend me the money to complete it then," she said to him. 133. Then he said to her: "OK then," he said to her.'

POST-PEAK (EPISODE 6)

XXX. 134. Na' ba-zj-ad-e' na'a nach li'i
 and already-STA-go-she then IMM
 b-siž-ti-e' na'-ze j-abigue'e-to' na' ch-e'e
 COM-ring-IMM-he there-just COM-move over-we and COM-say
 neto': 135. 'Li ſ-jano-ſa be-na' cui hu-i'-le'e
 us PLU POT-follow-? person-the not POT-allow-you
 latje y-i-y-ej-e liž-e'-na' a ver ga
 place POT-REP-POT-go-she home-her-? to see where
 ſ-ue'e-ne' mech-a' ni'i-che e-uze'elo-e'-n ni,"
 POT-give-her money-the so that-of POT-complete-she-it here
 ch-e'e. 136. Na' ch-e'-to'-ne': "Ya'ahue," na'
 COM-say he and COM-say-we-her OK and
 e-zjeno-to'-ne'.
 COM-follow-we-her

XXX. 134.'She had already left when he immediately rang and at that point we moved over and he said to us: 135. "Follow that person and don't allow her to return home, and see where they give her money to complete what she owes," he said. 136. And we said to him, "OK," and we followed her.'

XXXI. 137. Nach cate'e-czi'n b-žin-e' li
 then when-? COM-arrive-she home of
 Zperansa' na' ch-e'e: "E-zo-cz-o'?"
 Esperanza-the and COM-say she INT-are home-indeed-you
 ch-e'e-ne'. 138. "Ahue," ch-e'e. 139. "Ch-acd-e'e
 COM-say she-her yes COM-say she HAB-think-I
 e-per cui xoa to gayoa' cho' g-on-stit-o'
 INT-but not lie one hundred your POT-give-little while-you

nede'e par u-ze'elo-a' di'i ch-al-a'a
 me so that POT-complete-I which HAB-owe-I
 yo'o-lahu-i'i," ch-e'e-ne'. 140. Na' ch-e'e-ne':
 house-center-this COM-say she-her and COM-say she-her
 "Bixa g-oc cho'?" ch-e'e-ne'. 141. Na'
 what COM-happen you COM-say she-her and
 ch-e'e: 'Bi-ze-na' g-oc cha' na'
 COM-say she what-just? COM-happen my and
 ch-s-o'o-ne' nede'e mult chop gayoa'," ch-e'e-ne'.
 HAB-PLU-do-they me fine two hundred COM-say she-her

XXXI. 137.'Then we arrived at Esperanza's home and she said:
 "Are you home?" she said to her. 138. "Yes," she said. 139.
 "I've been thinking, but wouldn't you happen to have a hundred
 that you could loan me so that I can complete what I owe at the
 town hall?" she said to her. 140. And she said to her, "What
 happened to you?" she said to her. 141. And she said, "What-
 ever happened to me and they are fining me two hundred," she
 said to her.'

XXXII. 142. Na' aga g-ož-e-ne' bi-xa-na' g-oc
 and not COM-tell-she-her what?-? COM-happen
 che' na' con-ze ch-e'e-ne': "Ch-ala'
 her and as-just COM-say she-her HAB-appear
 liž-ya-ni. 143. Na' ch-e'e-ne': 'Na'a
 home-iron-here and HAB-say she-her
 g-on-stit-e'e le' ſca' la'a cui-bi de
 POT-give-short while-I you then because not-any have
 cha' per-na' u-yo-a'. 144. De lja-cze che
 my but-? POT-look-I be probably-indeed of
 Hector-i na' g-on-stit-e'e-n le','
 Hector-here and POT-give-little while-I-it you
 ch-e'e-ne'.
 COM-say she-her

XXXII. 142.'And she did not tell her what had happened to her
 and she just said to her, "The jail is appearing." 143. And
 she said to her, "I'll lend it to you then but I don't have any
 of mine but I'll look. 144. Hector probably has some and I'll
 lend it to you," she said to her.'

XXXIII. 145. Na' ch-on-te-ze ca bene'e cui de
and HAB-do-also-just like person not have

x-mech-i ūca' na' na'-ze ch-e'e-ne': 146.
POSS-money-his then and there-just HAB-say she-her

"Con-śi li'i y-edia-san-ti-o'-n na' na'a
as-if soon POT come-return-IMM-you-it ?

g-on-stit-e'e-n le'," ch-e'e-ne'. 147. "Bat-xa
POT-give-short while-I-it you COM-say she-her when-?

y-edia-san-o'-n?" ch-e'e 148. "Na'a
POT-come-return-you-it COM-say she (to her)

y-edia-san-ne'e-n ūxe zil. 149. Še'ca'
POT-come-return-I-it tomorrow morn hopefully

g-on-o' goclene b-en-stit-en nede'e,"
POT-do-you favor IMP-give-little while-it me

ch-e'e-ne'. 150. Na' ch-e'e-ne': "U-yoa-śqui-de'e
COM-say she-her and COM-say she-her POT-look?-I

ch-ac-de'e de-cze che Hector-i," ch-e'e-ne'.
HAB-think-I is-? of Hector-here COM-say she-her

XXXIII. 145.'And she was acting like a person that doesn't have
money and she said to her: 146. "If you bring it back right
away I'll lend it to you," she said to her. 147. "When will you
bring it back?" she said to her. 148. "I'll bring it back to-
morrow morning. 149. Hopefully you will loan it to me," she
said to her. 150. And she said to her: "I'll look, I think
Hector here has some," she said to her.'

XXXIV. 151. Na'-ze ch-ui-e na'a na' ch-e'e-ne':
there-just HAB-look-she and COM-say she-her

"Ni de-n," ch-e'e-na', "con y-edia-san-o'-n
here is-it COM-say she-? as POT-come-return-you-it

uxé-zil la'a aga n-aque-n cha'," ch-e'e-ne'
tomorrow-morn because not STA-be-it mine COM-say she-her

na' b-i-e'e-ne'-n.
and COM-give-she-her-it

XXXIV. 151.'Then she looked and said to her, "Here it is," she
said and, "Bring it back tomorrow morning because it isn't
mine," she said and gave it to her.'

- XXXV. 152. Na' ch-e'-ze-ne'-na' la'a che-cze-na'
and COM-say she-just-her-? because her-indeed-?
la'a le'e x-pey-e-na' na' u-lej-e'-n.
because from in POSS-sash-her-? ? COM-take out-she-it
153. Na'-ze b-i-e'e-ne'-n na'a na' li'i
there-just COM-give-she-her-it and IMM
z-jada-te bene'e gol-a' na'a na' j-i-e'e-n
COM-go home-IMM person old-the and COM-give-she-it
sindiku-a'.
trustee-the

XXXV. 152.'And she just said that to her because she took it from inside her sash. 153. Then she gave it to her, and immediately the old lady went home and she gave it to the trustee.'

CLOSURE

- XXXVI. 154. Nach b-al-e' cui u-yej-e liž-ya-na'.
then COM-save-she not COM-go-she home-iron-?
155. Na'-ze b-az-e'e.
there-just COM-leave-she

XXXVI. 154. Then she was saved, she didn't go to jail. 155. At that point she left.

- XXXVII. 156. Na' ca' n-aque da'a g-oc che
and thus STA-be what COM-happen of
bene'e Zisc Beža cana'.
person Francisca B. back then

XXXVII. 156.'That's what happened to the person Francisca Bež back then.'

EPISODIO 1

I. 1.'Voy a platicar lo que le pasó a Mamá Francisca antier, en la Presidencia. (A las mujeres ancianas se les llama 'madres').'

II. 2.'Llegó a la Presidencia, fue a ver al síndico y le dijo: 3. "Quiero que mande llamar a Gregorio, por favor." 4. El dijo: "Sí, cómo no, pero 5. ¿qué sucedió?" 6. Ella contestó: "Anoche vino a mi casa y empezó a jalarme un pie. 8. Si me hubiera dicho qué quería...pero nada más me jalaba el pie. 9. Y por eso, si me hace favor, quiero que le hable," le dijo.'

III. 10."Muy bien," dijo el síndico, 11. y luego tocó la campana para que nosotros entráramos y nos dijo: "Vayan a traer a Gregorio, por favor." 13. "Está bien," le contestamos, y fuimos a llamarlo, y él vino inmediatamente y dijo: 14. "¿Me mandó llamar?" le dijo al síndico. 15. "Sí, así es," le contestó. 16. "Esta señora vino a acusarte. 17. Dice que fuiste a su casa anoche, 18. y por eso te mandamos llamar," le dijo.'

IV. 19."Ah," contestó. 20. "Esto es lo que la señora dice: anoche fuiste a su casa y le querías pegar. 21. Dice: 'Me jalaba el pie, y si me hubiera dicho qué quería, pero no me decía nada,' dice la anciana. 22. Y por eso te mandamos llamar. 23. ¿Por qué hiciste eso?" le preguntó.'

V. 24.'Y él le contestó: "Lo que sucedió fue esto: 25. Yo no sabía lo que esta persona estaba haciendo cuando pasó. 26. Y cuando llegué a mi casa 27. (porque acababa de volver del trabajo) 28. llegué y mi esposa estaba enojada y cuando le pedí de comer me dijo: 29. 'No me pidas de comer. 30. Vete; vete con tu querida y pídele a ella de comer.' 31. Y fue ella la que fue a mi casa y le dijo a mi esposa que yo andaba con alguien," le dijó al síndico.'

VI. 32."¿Eso es lo que sucedió?" le preguntó. 33. "Sí, eso es lo que sucedió," contestó Gregorio 34. "y por eso me enojé 35. y fuí a su casa. Quería preguntarle por qué había hecho eso, pero estaba tomada. 36. De cualquier manera, hice lo que pude 37. y le jalé un pie. La quería pegar, pero como es vieja me dió lastima y no le hice nada," dijo.'

VII. 38.'Entonces le dijo: 39. "Bueno, pues entonces eso es todo lo que tenemos que hablar," le dijo.'

VIII. 40.'Y en ese mismo momento Gregorio se fue, pero Francisca se quedó y el síndico le dijo: 41. "Pues bien, vas a tener que pagar una multa de 300 pesos," le dijo. 42. Ella contestó: "Pero es demasiado dinero. Yo no pago tanto. 43. Doy 50 pesos,"

le dijo. 44. Pero él le contestó: "Esa cantidad no es suficiente." 45. Y ella dijo: "Pues entonces no doy nada," dijo la ancianita.'

IX. 46.' En ese mismo momento el síndico tocó la campana. 47. Nosotros nos acercamos y nos dijo: "Llévense a esta persona, por favor." 48. Nosotros contestamos: "Sí, cómo no."

X. 49.' Pero la viejita no quería ir, 50 así es que él le dijo: "Entonces pague la multa," le dijo. 51. Pero la viejita dijo: "Yo doy cincuenta, nada más," le dijo. 52. Pero él le dijo: "No es suficiente," le dijo, "tienes que pagar trescientos pesos si te quieres ir," le dijo. 53. Entonces ella le dijo: "Pero no tengo dinero para pagar," le dijo. 54. Tres veces le dijo: "Doy cincuenta." 55. Pero el síndico dijo: "No. Por lo tanto, llévensela, porque no quiere pagar los trescientos."

XI. 56.' Entonces la vieja Francisca dijo: "Pagaré doscientos, pues," le dijo. 57. Y el contestó: "Págalo ahorita, por favor, pues," le dijo, "para que te puedas ir." 58. Pero ella le dijo: "Ahorita no tengo dinero como para decirte que te lo voy a dar inmediatamente, pero mañana en la mañana te lo traigo," le dijo. 59. Y él le dijo: "Bueno, pues, tráelo mañana en la mañana," le dijo.'

episodio b

XII. 60.' Entonces se fue, y al día siguiente, cuando amaneció, vino muy temprano, antes que el síndico llegara, y le dijo al mayor: "Aquí están cien pesos. Por favor, dáselos," le dijo. 61. Pero el mayor le dijo: "No, yo no recibo ese dinero. Tú dáselo en su propia mano porque yo no sé de qué se trata," le dijo. 62. Y ella contestó, "Está bien, pues."

XIII. 63.' Y se esperó hasta que el síndico llegó y le dijo: "Aquí están los cien pesos," le dijo. 64. Y él le contestó: "Yo no dije cien pesos; quedamos en que iban a ser doscientos," le dijo. 65. Y ella contestó: "Sí, pero por lo menos aquí tienes cien porque ahorita no tengo como para decirte que te los voy a dar inmediatamente, así es que aquí tienes cien," le dijo.'

XIV. 66.' Entonces le dijo: "Está bien, pues." 67. Y tomó el dinero.'

EPISODIO 2 episodio a

XV. 68.' Y entonces se fue a su casa. Y pasó una semana, 69. y él dijo: "No va a venir ahorita. Vayan a llamarla porque ella

tiene la culpa," dijo. 70. "Para qué le habló a esa persona de esa manera. 71. Vayan a traerla," dijo.

XVI. 72.'Entonces fuimos a hablar con ella, pero ella no vino. 73. Primero fuimos nosotros a llamarla, temprano; y luego, ya tarde, fueron otros, pero no vino. 74. Al día siguiente, tampoco vino y cuando se hizo tarde otra vez, tampoco vino. 75. Cada uno de nosotros hemos ido a hablarle. 76. De a uno por uno, mañana y tarde, fuimos a llamarla, pero no vino.'

episodio b

XVII. 77.'Entonces es síndico se enojó y dijo: "Esta persona se está burlando de nosotros. 79. Vayan a traerla, todos ustedes. 80. Ve," le dijo al mayor. 81. "Toma tus muchachos contigo y ve a traerla," le dijo. 82. "Está bien," dijo esta persona. 83. Y a nosotros nos dijo: "Vayan a traerla," nos dijo.'

XVIII. 84.'Entonces fuimos con él. Cuando llegamos ella estaba parada en el patio, y él le dijo: 86. "Señora Francisca," le dijo, "¿está usted en casa?" 87. "Sí," le contestó. "¿No quiere Ud. venir? El síndico la necesita," le dijo.'

XIX. 89.'Entonces ella se metió a la casa inmediatamente y dijo: 90. "Yo no voy," dijo. "Jálenme, si creen que me pueden llevar. Jálenme," les dijo, "éntrenle." 92. Y tenía un garrote en la mano y les dijo: "El primero que venga a llevarme se llevará un garrotazo en las orejas."

XX. 93.'En ese momento no nos atrevimos a jalarla porque no teníamos órdenes de jalar a las personas que se encuentran en sus casas. 94. Pero si están afuera, entonces sí las podemos jalar 95. pero si están adentro, entonces no podemos.'

XXI. 96.'Entonces nos fuimos y regresamos y le dijimos al síndico: "No vino porque estaba en su casa y no la podíamos traer," le dijimos. 98. Y él dijo: "Entonces vayan otra vez mañana en la mañana si no viene a la noche," dijo. 99. "Muy bien," le dijimos.'

XXII. 100.'Y cuando se hizo de noche, la esperó, pero no llegó, y cuando volvió a amanecer dijo: 101. "Vayan otra vez," dijo.'

XXIII. 102.'Llegamos a su casa otra vez y otra vez nos dijo: 103. "Jálenme, si creen que me pueden jalar."

XXIV. 104.'Pero el mayor no era un hombre malo y sabía que no podía entrar a su casa y jalarla.'

XXV. 105.' Entonces la dejamos y volvimos y le dijimos al síndico: 106. "No vino," le dijimos. 107. Y él dijo: "Pues ahora ustedes tienen que ir a la cárcel porque es lo único que dicen 108. pero no la agarran," dijo. 109. Entonces le dijimos: "Es que ella no quiere. 110. No más nos dice: 'Entrenle'. 111. Y agarra un palo y nos quiere pegar. 112. Pero ¿Cómo la jalamos?" le dijimos. 113. Y él dijo: "Bueno, pues cuando sea porque tiene que venir," dijo, nos dijo.'

CLIMAX
episodio a

XXVI. 114.' Pasaron dos o tres días y una tarde pasó por la Presidencia. 115. Quién sabe a dónde iba, pero pasó por la mera cancha de basketbol y el síndico tocó la campana. 116. Nosotros nos acercamos y dijo: 117. "Allí va la viejita; vayan y tráiganla; jálenla," dijo.'

XXVII. 118.' Entonces nos fuimos, y el mayor fue primero y le dijo: 119. "Señora Francisca," le dijo "venga con nosotros, el síndico la manda llamar," le dijo. 120. Y ella hacía como que no oía 121. y seguía caminando y caminando hasta que llegó a la esquina del mercado, más arriba de la casa del maestro. 122. Entonces se volteó y dijo: "¿Y estos imbéciles qué quieren aquí?" dijo.'

XXVIII. 123.' Ella se fue adelante y nosotros la seguimos y entonces le dijo al síndico: 124. "¿Me mandaste llamar?" le dijo. 125. "Sí," le dijo "porque no vienes cuando te llamo," le dijo "y ya te ha llamado muchas veces y no vienes. 126. Y por eso te digo ¿qué pasa con eso? porque tienes que pagar los otros cien," le dijo. 127. Y ella le contestó: "No tengo dinero." 128. Y él dijo: "Entonces te vas para adentro porque ya ha pasado mucho tiempo y tú no completas lo que debes," le dijo. 129. Y ella contestó: "¿Cómo le voy a hacer? Porque no puedo conseguirlo. 130. ¿Dónde voy a conseguirlo para dártelo?" le dijo. 131. Entonces él le dijo: "Pues entonces te vas para adentro, para que aprendas," le dijo.'

XXIX. 132.' Pero la anciana no quería y le dijo: "Pues entonces voy a buscar a alguien que me preste el dinero para completar," le dijo. 133. Y él le dijo: "Bueno, pues," le dijo.'

episodio b

XXX. 134' Apenas se había ido cuando el síndico tocó la campana y entonces fuimos y nos dijo: 135. "Sigan a esa persona y no la dejen entrar a su casa y vean dónde le dan dinero para completar lo que debe," dijo. 136. Y nosotros le dijimos, "Está bien" y la seguimos.'

XXXI. 137.' Entonces llegamos a la casa de Esperanza y la anciana dijo: "¿Estás en casa?" le dijo. 138. "Sí," le contestó. 139. "He estado pensando que a lo mejor tendrías cien pesos que prestar-me para acabar de pagar lo que debo en la Presidencia," le dijo. 140. Y ella le contestó: "Qué te sucedió?" 141. Y ella dijo: "Lo que me sucedió y me multaron con doscientos pesos," le dijo.'

XXXII. 142.' Y no le contó lo que le había pasado, sólamente le dijo: "La cárcel me espera." 143. Y ella le dijo: "Te voy a prestar el dinero. No tengo dinero mío, pero voy a buscar. 144. Probablemente Héctor tenga y te lo voy a prestar," le dijo.'

XXXIII. 145.' Y se hacía como que no tenía dinero y le dijo: 146. "Si me lo regresas pronto, te lo presto," le dijo. 147. "¿Cuándo me lo vas a pagar?" le dijo. 148. "Te lo devuelvo mañana en la mañana. 149. Ojalá pudieras prestármelo," le dijo. 150. Y le contestó: "Voy a ver, creo que Héctor tiene," le dijo.'

XXXIV. 151.' Entonces buscó y le dijo: "Aquí está," dijo y, "Me lo devuelves mañana en la mañana porque no es mío," le dijo y se lo dió.'

XXXV. 152.' Y ella nada más le decía así (le engañaba) porque lo sacó de su faja. 153. Entonces se lo dió e inmediatamente la viejita se fue para su casa y se lo dió al síndico.'

FINAL

XXXVI. 154.' Y se salvó y no tuvo que ir a la cárcel. 155. Entonces se fue.'

XXXVII. 156.' Y eso es lo que le pasó a Francisca Bez en aquel tiempo.'

ABBREVIATIONS

COM	Compleutive aspect
EMP	Emphasis
HAB	Habitual aspect
IMM	Immediately
IMP	Imperative
INT	Interrogative
PLU	Plural
POSS	Possessed
POT	Potential aspect
REP	Repetition
STA	Stative aspect
?	Gloss uncertain

NOTES

Cajonos Zapotec is spoken by approximately 6,000 people living in the southern part of the district of Villa Alta, Oaxaca, Mexico.

The CZ alphabet consists of the following orthographic symbols:

a, e, i, o, b, c, ch, d, f, g, h, j, k, l, l, m, n, n, p, q, r, s, t, u, w, x, x, y, z.

The letters ch and ch, l and l, n and n, x and x represent lenis, fortis contrasts, the underlined symbol representing fortis. The fortis characteristic is length and in addition, voicelessness in the case of x and ch.

Most of these symbols have the common Spanish phonetic values with the following exceptions:

The letter ch represents voiced affricate [j], ch represents [χ]; l is short and has a slight fricative quality while l is equivalent to its Spanish counterpart; n is lengthened; x represents [z] and x, [s], both retroflexed; j represents [R·], a uvular fricative.

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