Typological and social constraints on language contact: Amerindian languages in contact with Spanish

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APPENDICES
Annotated samples

Paraguayan Guarani
Sample 1

Name: Mirta
Age: 30
Sex: Feminine
Education: Tertiary
Work: Teacher
Place: Tobati
Spanish level: compound bilingual

Che-ngo che-reñoi-va’ekue táva Atyra-pe, táva Atyrá-pe,
1S-EMPH 1S-be.born-PST town Atyra-LOC lugar Atyra-LOC
‘Well, I was born in Atyra town, the town of Atyra’

ha upéi a-ju-ma a-ñe-malcria la táva Tobati-me,
and then 1S-come-already 1S-REFL-grow DET town Tobati-LOC
‘and came to this town of Tobati to grow up and’

a-guereko trentitrés ary, ha upéi a-studia ñepyrù-va’ekue
1S-have thirty-three year and then 1S-study begin-PST
‘I am thirty-three years old, and I began to study’

escuela P.J.C.-pe, che a-ju cinco año a-guerekó-rõ-guare
School P.J.C.-LOC 1S 3-come five year 1S-have-COND-when
‘in School P.J.C., I came (to Tobati) when I was five’

a-juna-va’ekue la Tobati-me, ha a-ñepyurù-mba-ite la a-studia
1S-come-already-PST DET Tobati-LOC and 1S-begin-CMP-SUP DEM 1S-study
‘I came to Tobati already and I begin to study’

ko táva, táva Tobati-me ha uperire a-ha kuri avei
DEM town town Tobati-LOC and after 1S-go RECPST also
‘in this town and afterwards I also went’

mbo’ehao P.J.C.-pe, upéi kuri a-ha a-je-tavy’o la ñane
school P.J.C-LOC then RECPST 1S-go 1S-REFL-learn DET 1PL.POSS
‘to P.J.C. high school, then I studied’
ñe’e guaraní-me, ajépa, upérõ a-je-abri kuri
language Guaraní-LOC right:INT then 1S-REFL-abrir RECPST
“Guaraní, right? then It was the time”

la [Ateneo de Lengua y Cultura Guaraní] [Colegio Nacional D.M.]-pe
DET [Institute of Guaraní language and culture] [National highschool D.M.]-LOC
“that Ateneo de Lengua y Cultura Guaraní opened the National High School D.M.”

ha upépe oi-ko raka’e la Ateneo upépe o-funciona kuri
and there 3-ser REMPST DET Ateneo there 3-operate RECPST
‘Ateneo was there, and there it was open’

pyharekue, ha upépe ore ro-ho kuri [todos los días]
all.night.long and there 1PL.EXCL 1PL.EXCL-go RECPST [everyday]
‘all the night long, and there we went everyday’

la ro-studia upé-pe, ñane ñe’e guaraní
DET 1PL.EXCL-study there 1PL.POSS language Guaraní
“there we studied our Guaraní language”

[por tres años]
[for three years]
“for three years”

ha re-mohu’a upéa?
and 2S-finish PRO.DEM
“And did you finish?”

si, a-mohu’a péa, a-mohu’a, ndai-katu-i-nte
yes 1S-finish PRO.DEM 1S-finish NEG-3-be.able-NEG-only
‘Yes I finished it up, it is just that I could not’

la ko’ág-a-ité-peve hasy-eterEI la rubro ñe-consegui la
DET now-only-until hard-SUP DEM post PASS-get DET
“until now get a teaching post for it is difficult”

ña-mbo’e haguã ko’ág-a ha-mi-mi a-poro-rremplaza-ha ba’e,
1PL-teach for now 1S-go-MIT-MIT 1S-PRO.ACC-replace-NMLZ at.least
‘Now I am replacing a teacher at least’
upéva la a-japo-va-jepi.  
PRO.DEM DET 1S-make-NMLZ-often
‘there, that is what I often do’

ha upéi… re-menda?
and then 2S-get.married
‘And then did you get married?’

hê, ha a-menda-va che a-menda-rire-ma-voi kuri
yes and 1S-marry-NMLZ.PRS 1S 1S-marry-after-already-then RECPST
‘Yes, I got married, and after I got married’

la a-ha a-studia la guaraní, a-menda-rire-ma,
DET 1S-go 1S-study DET Guaraní 1S-marry-after-already
‘I studied Guaraní, after I got married’

a-guerekó-ma mokói mitâ, peteï kuîmba’e ha peteï mita-kuña,
1S-have-already two child one boy and one girl-PL
‘I got two children, one boy and two girls’

ha péicha hína a-ha, ha ko’âga che róga-pe-nte
and so 1S.PROG 1S-go and now 1S.POSS house-LOC-just
‘and so I am now, now just at home’

a-pyta hína, a-je-dedika a-reko peteï boliche-’i,
1S-stay 1S.PROG 1S-REFL-devote 1S-have one store-DIM
‘I stay, I have a small store’

ha upéva-pe a-mba’apo hína ko’âga, peicha-ite…
and PRO.DEM-LOC 1S-work 1S.PROG now so-only
‘and I work for it now’

ha mamo awei re-ñemoarandu ambue mba’épe?
and where also 2S-learn other thing-LOC
‘And where else did you study?’

ha, che-ngo a-ha-va’ekue táva Pedro Juan Caballero-pe, pépe
and 1S-EMPH 1S-go-PST town Pedro Juan Caballero-LOC there
‘and I went to Pedro Juan Caballero, there’
ja-jo-topá-va’ekue ne-mandu’á-pa upépe a-há-va’ekue ha upéi a-ha
1P1-RECP-find-PST 2S-remember-INT there 1S-go-PST and then 1S-go
‘we met, do you remember?, there I went and then I went’

avei kuri Caacupé-pe pete curso a-japo avei kuri [por 6 meses]
also RECPST Caacupé-LOC one course 1S-do also RECPST [for 6 months]
‘there I went and also to Caacupe to do a course for six months’

Pedro Juan-pe piko mba’e reho re-japo ra’e?
Pedro Juan-LOC INT thing 2S-go 2S-do PRF
‘To Pedro Juan, what did you go for?’

Pedro Juan-pe [sobre bilinguismo] kuri ha upéi a-ha a-conoce
Pedro Juan-LOC [on bilingualism] PRF and then 1S-go 1S-know
‘To Pedro Juan, bilingualism, afterwards I visited’

avei [la ciudad] upépe nde nde-reñói ra’e, ajépa?
also [DET city] there 2S 2S-be.born PRF right?
‘the city, you were born there, right?’

che upépe che-reñói, Pedro Juan Caballero-pe, upeicha-ite
1S there 1S-be.born Pedro Juan Caballero-LOC so-EMPH
‘there I was born, in Pedro Juan Caballero, that is right’

ha ro-ho avei kuri ro-aprende heta-mba’e
and 1P1.EXCL-go also RECPST 1P1.EXCL-go-learn many-thing
‘and we went to learn many things’

upépe, ro-hecha heta-mba’e avei de-paso
there 1P1.EXCL-see many-thing also in.passing
‘there, we saw lots of things, and in passing’

ha upei-ngo, a-surti-mi-mi siempre la capacitasió-há-rupi,
and DET-EMPH 1S-look.for-MIT-MIT always DET training-REL-around
‘to get some traning as well, always about training’

ramoite avei kuri a-ha kuri avei
recently also RECPST 1S-go RECPST also
‘recently I went also’
‘to the artisan village, where there was a training course on theater’

‘that includes our subject matter’

‘and we go to have a training on it’

‘you finish your Guaraní studies, right?’

‘did you finish your studies?’

‘yes, I finished and became Guaraní teacher’

‘And afterwards did you not teach?’

‘no, I don’t teach, I just go to replace’

‘for some of my boys, and then only for three months’

‘then I went to the high school’
ha avei o-ñe-koteve-rô che-rehe a-je-hecha avei ha a-ha.
and also 3-REFL-need-if 1S-for 1S-REFL-see also and 1S-go
‘if they need me and look for me, I go’

ha J.R. oi-ramo upepe [de director] na-nde-gueraha-i raka’e
and J.R. 3-if there [of director] NEG-2-take-NEG PST
‘but if J.R. was there as director, why did he not take you in?’

No, porque che-ngo upéro a-studia-ramo colegio-pe,
not because 1S-EMPH then 1S-study-if high.school-LOC
‘no, because at that time I was still going to the highschool’

ne’ira-gueteri, ha’é-ngo che mbo’e-hara-kue no tanto…
NEG-yet 3-EMPH 1S teacher-NMLZ-PST not much
‘I was not a teacher yet?’

[Quiero que me cuentes toda la experiencia que tienes como profesora…]
[I want you to tell me about your experience as a teacher…]

[Poco, porque no estoy ejerciendo]
[Just a bit, because I am not teaching now]

[Pero de lo que has ejercido, algo ejerciste]
[But about your past teaching, you taught something]

[Sí, ejercí por dos meses]
[Yes I taught for two months]

[Qué experiencia tuviste de eso ?]
[What is your experience from it?]

che-ngo a-ha voi kuri la che colegio-kue-pe
1S-EMPH 1S-go recent RECPST DET 1S high.school-PST-LOC
‘I just went to my former high school’

ha a-vy’a-iteroi kuri la a-je-hechá-ramo-guare
and 1S-happy-SUP-EMPH RECPST DET 1S-REFL-see-if-when
‘and I was very happy when I was welcome’

la a-ha haguã la a-reemplaza pe mbo’ehára
DET 1S-go for DEM 1S-replace DEM teacher
“I went to replace a teacher”
Guaraní-me-guá-pe ha a-vy’a-iterei kuri
Guaraní-LOC-ABL-ACC and 1S-happy-SUP RECPST
‘of Guarani and I was very happy’

porque che-rayhu-eterei la che remimbo’e-kuera,
because 1S-love-SUP DET 1S student-PL
‘because my students loved me’

ha upéa kuri che la a-logra chugui-kuéra,
and PRO DEM RECPST 1S DET 1S get 3.ABL-PL
‘and I got that from them’

hasta o-juer-re che-rehe hikuai la director-pe kuri
up.to 3-ask.for 1S-for 3.PROG DET director-DAT RECPST
‘they asked the director for me’

la a-pyta haguã porque he’i cheve hikuai ajepa
DET 1S-stay for because 3.say 1S.OBJ 3.PROG right:INT
‘sO that I could stay because they told me, right?’

de-que la a-mbo’e por-i-tereí chape-kuera ha que
of-that DET 1S-teach-good-SUP 3.OBJ-PL and that
‘that I teach them good and that’

che-paciencia ha hese-kuera nda-ha’ê-i por lo-que la
1S-patience and 3.with-PL NEG-3.ser-NEG for that-which DET
‘I am patient with them, and that is because’

na-mbo’e-vai-gui aje,
NEG-teach-bad-because right:INT
‘I do not teach badly, right?’

che igual-nte la a-mbo’e-ramo
1S equal-only DET 1S-teach-if
‘When I teach all of them’

upéicha-nte ayei che-paciencia-ta hese-kuera igual
so-only also 1S-patience-FUT 3.with-PL equal
‘I am also patient with all of them’
Appendices

Paraguayan Guaraní
Sample II

Name: Eduardo
Age: 49
Sex: Masculine
Education: Tertiary
Work: Teacher
Place: Tobati
Spanish level: coordinate bilingual

Eduardo, mba’éicha nde re-jahu ko ňe’ê Guaraní?
Eduardo, how 2S 2S-find DEM language Guaraní
‘Eduardo, how do you find the Guaraní language?’

mbo’ehaó-pe ha ňande róga-py-pe?
school-LOC and 1PL.POSS house-inside-LOC
‘In schools and at home?’

ńande ňe’ê guaraní ningo ajépa jai-kuaa háicha
1PL.POSS language Guaraní EMPH right:INT 1PL-know like
‘our Guaraní language, right, as we know’.

yma ňande voi na-ńa-ńe’ê-i-va’ekue, che ai-ko-va’ekue Pedro Juan-pe
before 1PL self NEG-1PL-speak-NEG-PST 1S 1S-live-PST Pedro Juan-LOC
‘in the past we did not speak the language ourselves, I lived here in Pedro Juan’

veinticuatro año a-guereko’akue ko’âpe ai-ko ha
twenty-four years 1S-have-PST here 1S-be and
‘until I was twenty-four years I lived and’

na-ńe’ê-i-va’ekue che familia apyté-pe Guaraní, o-sea-que
NEG-speak-NEG-PST 1S family inside-LOC Guaraní, that.is
‘I did not speak Guaraní at home, I mean’

na-ńe’ê- guaras-i pe Guaraní sa’i-voi a-ńe’ê pe Guaraní
NEG-speak-big-NEG DEM Guaraní few-AFF 1S-speak DEM Guaraní
‘I did not speak much Guaraní, just a bit’
porque o-je-prohibi-voi-va’ekue ñande época-pe, ore
because 3-REFL-forbid-AFF-PST 1PL.POSS age-LOC 1PL.EXCL
‘because in our times it was forbidden to talk in Guaraní’

epoca-pe pe Guaraní ña-ñemongue-ta, ha upéi a-sê
age-LOC DEM Guaraní 1PL-talk-FUT and then 1S-leave
‘but we talked in Guaraní anyway, hen I left’
a-ha ko’á-gui, a-sê a-ha pe ñande Paraguái
1S-go here-ABL 1S-leave 1S-go DEM 1PL.POSS Paraguay
‘from here I left for Paraguay’

ryepy-pe, ryepy-re ha’é-va hína peteí táva Santani
inside-LOC, inside-by 3.be-NMLZ 3.PROG one town Santani
‘the hinterland of it, a town named Santani’

San Estanislao o-pytá-va hína [departamento de San Pedro]
San Estanislao 3-stay-NMLZ 3.PROG [District of San Pedro]
‘San Estanislao which is located in the district of San Pedro’

ha upépe a-ñepyr-va’ekue mil novecientos noventidos-pe
and there 1S-begin-PST thousand nine.hundred ninety:two-LOC
‘and there I began in 1992’

ai-ke pe educación-pe ha uperô ne’ra
1S-enter DEM education-LOC and then NEG:there.be
‘I entered the field of education, by then there was no’

pe reforma-educativa oî pe educación rypéy-pe
DEM education.reform 3:be DEM education inside-LOC
‘reform inside the education’

este oî-va gueteri pe programa ymaguare ja’e chupe
this 3:be-NMLZ still DEM program past 1PL:say 3:OBJ
‘there was still the the so-called old program’

ha ai-ke’-akue a-mbo’e pe campáña-re umi campesino
and 1S-enter-PST 1S-teach DEM countryside-by DEM peasant
‘I began to teach peasants in the countryside’
3.POSS-town-LOC and there 1S remember 1S-go-MIT-PST
‘in their towns and I remember I went there’

ou umi sy-kuera, sy ha tuva-kuéra,
3:come DEM mother-PL mother and father-PL
‘mothers and fathers came’

tuva-kuéra ou o-ñemongue-ta chendive
father-PL 3:come 3-talk-FUT 1S:with
‘fathers came to talk with me’

ha che a-ñe’ê chupe-kuéra Guarani-me-nte ajea,
and 1S 1S-speak 3.OBJ-PL Guarani-LOC-only right:INT
‘and I spoke to them only in Guarani, right’

pero sy ou-jave o-ñemongue-ta che-ndive
but mother 3:come-when 3-speak-FUT 1S:with
‘but if mothers came to talk with me’

che a-mbohovái chupe-kuéra castellano-pe ha’e o-ñe’ê chéve
1S 1S-answer 3.OBJ-PL Spanish-LOC 3 3-speak 1S.OBJ
‘I talked to them in Spanish but they spoke to me’

ha’ekuéra Guarani-me ha a-mbohovái chupe-kuéra castellano-pe,
3.PL Guarani-LOC and 1S-anwer 3PL.OBJ Spanish-LOC
‘in Guarani and I answer them in Spanish’

ha mba’ere upéa, porque che a-ha Pedro Juan-gui
and why PRO.DEM because 1S 1S-go Pedro Juan-ABL
‘and why? Because I came from Pedro Juan’

a-gueraha peteî cultura-diferente ja’e chupe,
1S-take one different.culture 1PL:say 3:OBJ
‘and I brought a different culture, so to say’

mba’ere, kuña-pe ña-ñe’ê-va’erâ castellano-pe
why women-ACC NEG-1S-speak-OBLG Spanish-LOC
‘why? because men have to talk to women in Spanish’
porque    kaña    ŭande    recha-rõ,    ŭande    rendu-rõ
because women 1PL see-if 1PL listen-to-if
‘because if they see us speaking’
guaraní    ŭa-ñe’ê,    ŭande    rechaza    hikuáí    ajéa,
Guaraní 1PL-speak 1PL reject 3.PROG right:INT
‘Guaraní, they reject us, right’

da  péa-re    che    sy-kuéra-pe    a-ñe’ê    castellano-pe,
and PRO.DEM-for 1S mother-PL-ACC 1S-speak Spanish-LOC
‘that is why I spoke to the mothers in Spanish’

ha  upéi-katu    ko    a-guapy    peteî    ára-pe
and then-EMPH DEM 1S-sit-down one day-LOC
‘And then one day I sat down’

ha  a-je-py’a-mongoose,    pero    mba’ei-ko    che    la    a-japó-va,
and 1S-REFL-inside-speak but what-INT 1S DET 1S-do-NMLZ
‘and thought to myself ‘what on earth am I doing?’’

marã-piko    che    péicha    a-ñe’ê    hendivekuéra
for.what-INT 1S so 1S-speak 3:with-PL
‘What do I talk to them in this way for?’

che    ningo    nairi    Pedro-Juan-pe,    che    ningo    ai-mé    ápe,
1S EMPH NEG.be Pedro-Juan-LOC 1S EMPH 1S-be here
‘I am not in Pedro Juan, but I am here’

[Compañía 25 de Diciembre]  péa    ha’e-kuéra    la    i-realidad,
[Compañía 25 de Diciembre]  PRO.DEM 3-PL DET 3.POSS-reality
‘in Compañía 25 de Diciembre, that is their reality’

marã    che    a-gueru-se    peteî    realidad    nda-ha’ê-i-va    i-mba’e-kuéra
why 1S 1S-bring-want one reality NEG-3.be-NEG-NMLZ 3.POSS-thing-PL
‘why do I want to bring them a reality that is not theirs?’

ha    upépe    che    a-je-hecha-kuua
and there 1S 1S-REFL-see-know
‘then I realized’
de-que peteĩ mba’e vai ningo raka’e pe Guarani ja-kyhyje
of-that one cosa ugly AFF REMPST DET Guarani 1PL-fear
‘that it was something bad that we are afraid’

ña-ñe’è haguã, vai ningo pe Guarani ña-guerotí
1PL-speak for ugly EMPH DEM Guarani 1PL-be.ashamed
‘of speaking in Guarani, that we are ashamed of speaking Guarani’

ha upēi a-ńepyruñ noventidos-pe a-ńepyruñ-’akue
and after 1S-begin ninety-two-LOC 1S-begin-PST
‘and then I began in year ninety-two’

avei a-je-tavy-o ja’e chupe pe Guarani-me ha a-aprende
also 1S-REFL-study 1PL:say 3.OBJ DEM Guarani-LOC and 1S-learn
‘to study Guarani and learned’

pe Guarani i-porâ-va avei pe amo-gotyo lado
DEM Guarani 3-good-NMLZ also DEM there-side side
‘that it is nice to speak Guarani also in other places’

ai-ke mbo’eha’o pe Ateneo-pe ai-ke a-aprende pe mba’êicha-pa
1S-enter school-LOC Ateneo-LOC 1S-enter 1S-learn DEM how-INT
‘I entered Instituto Ateneo to learn how’

ña-mbo’e’-va’erâ pe Guarani ajepa, ha upéicha
1PL-teach-OBLG DEM Guarani right:INT and so
‘to teach Guarani, right, and in this way’

mbeguekatûpe oi-ke avei pe reforma-educativa.
little.by.little 3-enter also DEM education-reform
‘little by little the Education Reform started’

[mil novecientos noventicuatro] oi-ke pe reforma-educativa
[thousand nine.hundred ninety-four] 3-enter DEM reform-educative
‘the Education Reform began in 1994’

ha che escuela che ai-me-haguê-pe,
and 1S school 1S 1S-be-NMLZ.PST-LOC
‘and the school where I taught’
pe mbo’ehao che ai-me-hague-pe o-je-poravo i-katu-haguã-icha
DEM school 1S 1S-be-NMLZ.PST-LOC 3-PASS-choose 3-be.able-for-so
‘that school I was teaching was chosen somehow’

[modalidad Guaraní hablante] a-ñe-implementa upépe ha che
[Guaraní-speaking system] 3-REFL-implement there and 1S
‘for the implementation of the Guaraní-speaking system, and there I was’

la primer mbo’ehara upépe a-implementa-’akue Guaraní-hablante
DET first teacher there 1S-implement-PST Guaraní-speaking
‘the first teacher who implemented the Guaraní-speaking system there’

che a-ha ko’á-gui na-ñe’ê-gasu-i-’akue Guaraní
1S 1S-go here-ABL NEG-speak-big-NEG-PST Guaraní
‘when I left from here, I did not speak Guaraní’

a-ha a-je-recibi amo-ite [profesor-de-Guaraní] noventaicuatro
1S-go 1S-REFL-graduate there-very [Guaraní of teacher] ninety-four
‘I went there and graduated as a Guaraní teacher, in ninety-four’

o-je-elegi la che escuela [para modalidad Guaraní hablante]
3-REFL-choose DET 1S school [for the Guaraní-speaking system]
‘my school was chosen for the Guaraní-speaking system’

ha che la a-encabeza-va [la enseñanza de Guaraní hablante]
and 1S DEM 1S-head-NMLZ [the Guaraní-speaking education]
‘and I was leading the Guaraní-speaking education’

oi-ke-pa-ite-voi ko de-unite-pe ajea
3-enter-CMP-very-well DEM of-one-very-LOC right:INT
‘everybody entered at the same time, right’

ha a-ñepyrû a-mbo’e, a-mbo’e la mitã-nguéra-pe
and 3-begin 1S-teach 1S-teach DEM child-PL-ACC
‘and I began to teach, to teach children’

ou hikuáí pe hóga-gui guaraní-me o-ñe’ê,
3:come 3.PROG DEM house-ABL Guaraní-LOC 3-speak
‘who came from home as monolingual Guaraní speakers’
ha mba‘éicha-voi piko re-mbo’e-ta chupe-kuéra castellano-pe mba‘e
and how-well INT 2S-teach-FUT 3.OBJ-PL Spanish-LOC what
‘and how could I teach in Spanish or something’

hóga-gui ou Guarani ha re-mbo’e chupe-kuéra Guarani jey
house-ABL 3:come Guarani and 2S-teach 3.OBJ-PL Guarani again
‘If they speak Guarani at home and you teach them Guarani again’

o-veve-pa-ngo hikuai o-aprende porã hikuai
3-fly-CMP-EMPH 3.PROG 3-learn good 3.PROG
‘they learn fast and very good’

ha mbeugekataúpe pe castellano re-moíngue re-ho-vo
and little.by.little DEM Spanish 2-introduce 2-go-when
‘and little by little you introduce Spanish’

nda-ha‘e-i ku de-un-golpe e-j-agarra re-moíngue-se
NEG-3.be-NEG DEM of-one-blow 2.IMP-EUPH-catch 2-introduce-want
‘it is not overnight that you introduce’

pete⁹ lengua nda-ha‘é-i-va i-mba‘e-kuéra ha o-pyta
one language NEG-3.be.NEG-NMLZ 3.POSS-thing-PL and 3-stay
‘a language that is not theirs and if so’

hikuai ndo-aprende-ri mba‘e, sin-embargo nde re-mbo‘e-ramo
3.PROG NEG-3-learn-NEG nothing however 2 2-teach-if
‘they do not learn anything, however, if you teach them’

chupe-kuéra-voi pe i-lengua-materna pe i-lengua-materna-pe
‘in their own language, in their mother tongue’

re-mbo‘e hína re-ho-vo ha mbeugekatu re-moíngue chupe-kuéra
2S-teach 3.PROG 2S-go-when and little.by.little 2-introduce 3.OBJ-PL
‘and little by little you go introducing to the’

pete⁹ segunda-lengua upépe o-aprende porâve o-aprende porã
one second.language there 3-learn better 3-learn good
‘a second language, then they learn better, they learn well’
pe segunda lengua ha avei oi-pityvô o-aprende porâve
DET second-language and also 3-help 3-learn better
‘a second language, and it also helps them learn better’

haguã pe i-primerá-lengua avei ha upêicha a-mbo’e
for DEM 3.POSS-first-language also and thus 1S-teach
‘their first language as well and so I taught’

upépe [seis años] avei upépe a-mba’apo-mi umi mbo’ehara-kuéra-ndi
there [six years] also there 1S-work-MIT DEM teacher-PL-with
‘for six years, I worked with several teachers’

ro-hecha mba’êicha-pa i-porâ añete pe [enseñanza de Guarani]
1PL.EXCL-see how-INT 3-good certainly DEM [Guaraní teaching]
‘and we see that teaching in Guaraní is really good’

esté péa petai [modalida Guarani hablante] o-guereko-‘akue,
this PRO.DEM one [Guaraní-speaking system] 3-have-PST
‘that was the Guaraní-speaking modality’

pero o-guereko i-ñ-inconveniente ajea,
but 3-have 3.POSS-EUPH-trouble right:INT
‘but it has its own troubles, right’

o-reko la inconveniente o-reko la tropiezo [es por varios factores]
3-have DEM trouble 3-have DEM stumble [because of many factors]
‘it has difficulties, it has stumbles, for many reasons’

porque la [un ejemplo] a-moi-ta peê-mê ko’âga, ko’âga
because DEM [one exemplo] 1S-put-FUT 2PL.ACC now now
‘because, let’s say, you, now, at this moment’

pe ñande educacion ape Parguay-pe [es inclusiva] he’i mba’e
DEM 1PL.POSS education here Paraguay-LOC [is inclusive] 3:say what
‘our education in Paraguay is, they say, inclusive, somethig like that’

he’i-se péa [de que en cualquier escuela] i-katu-ma oi-ke
say-want PRO.DEM [that in any school] 3-be.able-already 3-enter
‘what does this mean? It means that you can enter any school’

ya sea sordo, mudo, ciego como un alumno regular normal sin distinción
“be it deaf and dumb, blind, as a regular, normal student, without distinction”
Appendices

Ecuadorian Quichua
Sample I

Name: Rafael
Age: 53
Sex: Masculine
Education: Elementary
Work: Peasant
Place: Casco Valenzuela (Imbabura)
Spanish level: compound bilingual

Ñuca ca-ni Rafael ñuca Casco Valenzuela-manda ca-ni.
1S be-1S Rafael 1S Casco Valenzuela-ABL be-1S
‘My name is Rafael, I am from Casco Valenzuela’

ñuca chari-ni sincuinetres añus-ta cai pascuhua-ta pacta-ni.
1S have-1S fifty-three years-ACC DEM.PROX Easter-PROL reach-1S
‘I will be fifty-three years old in the coming Easter’

trabaja-ni cai empresa-pi-lla-ta mutu-huan masuminos
work-1S DEM.PROX company-LOC-LIM power.saw-INST more.or.less
‘I have been working with the power saw in this company approximately’

ochu huata-ta mutu-huan.
eight year-PROL power.saw-INST
‘for eight years with the power saw.’

masuminos socio-cuna ca-shpa baju-lla gana-naju-rca-nchi
more.or.less member-PL be-GER low-LIM earn-PL-PST-1PL
“as members, we earn relatively few”

pero cunun-ga ya jornal-gu-ta aumenta-shpa cati-n
but now-TOP already wage-DIM-ACC increase-GER continue-3
‘but now the wages are going up’

shina trabaju-shpa cati-naju-pa-nchi
so work-GER continue-PL-HON-1PL
‘so we keep working’
Chapa-huan presidenti caura űca-pash trava-baja-shpa cati-rca-ni
  Chapa-INST president when 1S-ADIT work-GER continue-PST-1
  ‘When C. was president, I was working for him’

chaipa cati-rca Miguel cati-rca chay-ura-ca chay-ura
  DEM continue-PST Miguel be-PST DEM-hour-TOP DEM-time
  ‘Miguel came after him, at that time’

nisha-ca ochumil moto-huan-ga docimil-gu gana-c
  say-TOP eight.thousand power.saw-INST-TOP twelve.thousand-DIM earn-HAB
  ‘I earned twelve thousand, working with the power saw’

c-o-rca-nchi Chapa-huan ca-shpa
  be-PST-1PL Chapa-INST be-GER
  ‘during C’s term’

huarmi-cuna-pa ochumil ca-rca shina ashata puri-naju-rca
  woman-PL-BEN eight.thousand be-PST so few walk-PL-PST
  ‘women earned eight thousand, that little, we went’

tanda-naju-shpa-ima o por raya-ima trava-baja-c ca-rca-nchi
  gather-RECP-GER-INDEF or by line-INDEF work-HAB be-PST-1P
  ‘collecting money, or we worked per piece of land’

tra-baja-i callari-rca-nchi lentejas pamba-pi
  work-INF begin-PST-1PL lentil:PL cultivated.field-LOC
  ‘we began to work in a piece of land cultivated with lentils’

mutu-cuna-ima prestamu llucshi-shpa
  power.saw-PL-INDEF loan go.out-GER
  ‘after we got a loan, we bought several power saws’

empresa-man poste-cuna-ta intriga-ngapac
  company-DAT log-PL-ACC deliver-PURP
  ‘to deliver logs to the company’

chai cullqui-cuna-huan mutu-cuna-ima randi-shpa
  DEM money-PL-INST power.saw-PL-INDEF buy-GER
  ‘we bought several power saws with the money’
trabaja-i callari-rca-nchi posti-ta intriga-shpa
work-INF begin-PST-1P log-ACC deliver-GER
‘we began to work and delivered logs’

chai prestamu-cuna-ta paga-shpa cati-rca
DEM préstamo-PL-ACC pay-GER continue-PST
‘we continued to pay these debts’

pristamu-ta-ca lluczimu-gri-shca ca-rca
loan-ACC-TOP go.out-INCH-PTCP be-PST
‘the debts were paid off’

chai-pa ña Alberto-ta chura-shpa cati-rca
DEM-BEN already Alberto-ACC put-GER continue-PST
‘when Alberto was appointed’

Albertu-ta llucchi-shpa ña cutin gringu-ta chura-rca
Alberto-ACC go.out-GER already again gringo-ACC put-PST
‘once they fired Alberto, they appointed Gringo’

punda-cuna-ca shina mutu-huan-lła trabaja-shpa puri-rca-ni
before-PL-TOP so power.saw-INST-LIM work-GER walk-PST-1S
‘so I used to work with the power saw in the past’

chainanda cati-rca-ni cai hacienda-pi trabaja-shpa
afterwards begin-PST-1S DEM landholding-GER work-GER
‘afterwards I was working in this landholding’

chainanda empresa-pi trabaja-shpa cati-rca-ni
afterwards company-LOC work-GER continue-PST-1S
‘afterwards I went to work in the company’

cunan agricultura-cuna-pi tanda-ju-shpa cati-shca-nchi
now cultivated.field-PL-LOC gather-PROG-GER continue-PRF-1PL
‘now we keep meeting in the cultivated fields’

trabaja-c ca-shca-nchi huauquin-cuna raya-cuna desigual
work-HAB be-PRF-1PL some-PL line-PL uneven
‘some of us used to work in pieces of land of different sizes’
antes del presidente-PL-INST-TOP [lo que raya avance] producto-PL-ACC-ADIT
‘with the former presidents, we worked per piece of land, also per product’

una casa-manda-lla ishcai-pura-ima trabajando-GER
‘Two members of the family working in several pieces of land’

dos miembros de la familia trabajando en varias parcelas de tierra

‘in the pieces of land they have, as for products, we did not work for sure’

negativamente trabajando-GER casi dos libras ishcai libras ishcai
‘we hardly gather one pound, two pounds’

ejítando lastra trabajando-GER casi dos libras ishcai
‘and we had to stand really bad times’

algunos DEM algunos trabajo-PL-TOP
“some had permanent work”

propio cosecha-PTCP como sea la vida-PL-TOP
‘like their own piece of land they live on’

luego ya el último presidente Agustín ya en-GER-FOC
‘then, when the last president was appointed, the groupd were finally formed’

después de que las parcelas fueron finalmente divididas
‘the pieces of land were divided equally’
‘we agreed all with that’

‘if they were uneven, we did not agree’

‘we have got along well with Casco and Topo in particular’

‘we argued about the divisions, if there is some issue’

‘there are claims, and we still have problems’

‘the groups have not been dissolved’

‘the collective work has not stopped’

‘today, the lots of land some people’
ultimamente  cua-nchi  Cascu  lado  kida-naju-nchi  proyectu-huan
lately  be-1PL  Casco  lado  remain-RECP-1PL  project-INSTR
‘lately we from Casco keep on working for the project’

trabaja-shpa  ricu-gri-nchi  cai  huata-gu-cuna  imashina-mi  cati-nchi
work-GER  see-INCH-1PL  DEM  year-DIM-PL  as-FOC  continue-1PL
‘we are going to see how to continue with the project in the following years’

proyectu-huan  proyectu-huan  tarpu-shca-nchi  asha  vicia,  cebada  trigu
project-INSTR  project-INSTR  sow-PRF-1PL  few  vetch  barley  wheat
‘for the project we have cultivated a bit of peas, barley, and wheat’

shuc  lote  siri-ju-n  papa-pac  alfalfa-cuna  risto  cuyera-gu-cuna-pash,
one  lot  be-PROG-3  potatoe-GEN  lucerne-PL  rest  cuyera-DIM-PL-ADIT
‘one lot has potatoe and lucerne and the rest is guinea-pig rearing’

planta  nativa-cuna  ashtahuan  mirachi-ngapac  plantación  cati-ngapac
plant  native-PL  more  produce-PURP  plantación  begin-PURP
‘native plants grow better, they are better for cultivation’

shina  catina-ju-nchi  bosqui-pi  division-ia  [no-se]
begin-DUR-1PL  forest-LOC  division-ACC  [I don’t know]
“So we keep cultivating them, about the division of the forest, I don’t know”

Casco  lado  y  Topo  na  diacuerdo  ca-nchi-sha-lla-yarin
Casco  lado  and  Topo  NEG  de.acuerdo  be-1PL.FUT.LIM-EMPH
‘people from Casco and Topo do not agree with them’

divienda  rura-shpa  ashta  llaquica-gri-nchi
division  do-GER  much  suffer-INCH-1PL
‘if we divide, we are going to have many problems’

huaquin  parti-cuna-ca  planada
some  part-PL-TOP  plain
‘some parts are plain’
huaquin parti-cuna-ca ladera jacu-cuna-ima ricuri-n
some part-PL-TOP hillside rock-PL-some seem-3
'other parts are hillsides, they look rocky'

chai-cuna-pi ashta llaqui urma-gri-nchi-yarin chucta chai-ta
DEM-PL-LOC much problem drag-INCH-1PL-EMPH Intj DEM-ACC
'in those cases we will certainly have problems'

cua-nchi ingenieru-cuna-huan diunavez no dividit-shpa
be-1PL engineer-PL-INST once.and.for.all NEG divide-GER
'we agree with the engineers, if we do not divide now'

shina bosqui-ta-ca jatu-shpa mantini-shpa cullqui-ma tanta-chi-shpa
so forest-ACC-TOP sell-GER maintain-GER money-FOC gather-GER
'we keep the forest to sell it afterwards and we save money'

refuerzo-ta rura-shpa-chari alli-man ni-naju-shca-nchi dividit-shpa
effort-ACC do-GER-DUB good-ALL say-PL-PRF-1P divide-GER
'if we make an effort, then the arguments will be for good'

cun an dividit-shun ni-naju-n division-ga na ashta alli sintirin
now divide-1PL-FUT say-PL-3 division-TOP NEG much good feel-3
'if we divide now, the division will not be good for all'

bosqui ladera-cuna jaca-cuna ladera-cuna
forest hillside-PL rock-PL hillside-PL
'the wood hillsides, the rocky sides'

imashina-ta llucchri-nga no siguro chari-nchi entrada-cuna illa-nchi
as-INT peel.off-FUT NEG safe have-1PL income-PL be.missing-1PL
'how will they be cleared, we will not have a warranty, an income will be missing'

shina-ta-mi llaqui-ta ricu-naju-nchi-ra.
so-ACC-FOC problem-ACC see-PL-1PL-still
'thus problems will remain'

Cai pata poteru-pi ashta problema-lla ca-n-mi
DEM plain pasture-LOC much problema-LIM be-3-TOP
'this plain pasture land is a big problem'
Porqué el material de la tira para hacer la madera tiene el propósito de hacer tablas.

No sirvió el cuento. Me sirvió.

‘because the wood to make boards’

‘it turned out useless’

‘now we make little logs to sell’

‘but the material do no go out’

‘cars do not come this far because the roads are spoiled by the rains, right?’

‘because cars do not come and the produce cannot go out’

‘of course there is more work for people’

‘but suppose the material cannot go out’

‘then money seems to be missing and we have problems’
Ecuadorian Quichua
Sample II

Name: Norma
Age: 24
Sex: Female
Education: Tertiary
Work: Development worker
Place: Gradas Chico (Bolivar)
Spanish level: Coordinate bilingual

Cai ñuca causa-na comunidad Gradas Chico-manta-ca
DEM 1S live-INF community Gradas Chico-ABL-TOP
'This community of Gradas Chico where I live'

historia-ta mana yacha-pa-ni-chu sino comunidad Gradas ca-shca-manta
history-ACC not know-HON-1S-NEG but community Gradas be-PTCP-ABL
'I don’t know its history but the history of the Gradas community'

ñuca yuya-ni puna ñuca ñaupa-cuna abuelito-cuna
1S think-1S old 1S.POSS before-PL grandparent-PL
'I think, in the past our forebears, our grandparents'

parla-shpa chai Gradas urani huaiću huichi-cuna-mi Gradas
talk-GER DEM Gradas down rift hill-PL-FOC Gradas
'they used to tell that Gradas was located down on the slope of the ravine'

Grada-cuna ca-shca nin,
Grada-PL be-PRF EVID
'and there was steps, they say'

chai-manta comunidad Gradas-ta shuti-chi-shca
DEM-ABL community Gradas-ACC name-CAUS-PRF
'hence they named the community Gradas'

pero comunidad Gradas Chico ima-manta ca-shca-ta
but community Gradas Chico what-ABL be-PRF-ACC
'but where Gradas Chico came'
manayacha-niyuya-niñuca talvez chai-cuna-llamantatac

not know-1Sthink-1S1Smaybe DEM-PL-LIM-ABL-EMP

‘I do not know, I think, maybe, for the same reason’

Gradas Chico-tashutichi-shca-nca yuyashpa cani.
Gradas Chico-ACCname-CAUS-PRF-3.FUTthink-GERbe-1S
‘they named the community Gradas Chico, I think’

Ñajahuani-cashecalayañuaptaita-cuna,
already up say-HABbe-PTCPin.lawbeforefather-PL
‘In the past people used to tell, our fathers’

ñaupabuelito-cunaparlacarcachaiGradas
beforegrandparent-PLtalk-HABbe-PSTDEMGradas
‘and grandparents used to tell that Gradas’

ni-shcataca vecinollactavecino comunidad
say-PTCP-ACC-TOPneighborcommunityneighborcommunity
‘was a neighbor to the nearby community’

cashcamanta Gradas Grandajahuacomunidadshutica can
be-PTCP-ABLGradas Grandaupcommunityname-TOPbe-3.PRS
‘of Gradas Grande, the community up the hill’

chaimantaca cairanil-lalado shuc lindero laya
DEM-ABLTOPDEMI派人LIMsideoneboundarykind
‘down this side, there was like a community boundary’

comunidad ca-shcamantãñuanchicñuca causana
communitybe-PTCP-ABL1PL1Slive-INF
‘hence the community we live now in’

comunidad Gradas Chico canca yuyapa-ni
Community Gradas Chico2STOPthink-HON-1S
‘is the community of Gradas Chico, I think’

Quiqipac causai-ca imashina-taccallarishca?
2SHON-GENlifetOPwhathow-INTbegin-PRF
‘How were the first years of your life?’
'well, my early years, I was born in this community'

'Gradas Chico, and in this community'

'I grew up afterwards'

'I have preserved my way of life, my Indian culture'

'since I was a child'

'and my language, my way of speaking'

'I live speaking in Quichua'

'does your parents live?'

'I have living parents, I have a mother’

'and I have a father, I have one sister’
ishcai churi-ta chari-ni.
two son-ACC have-1S
‘I have two sons’

Canca yacha-shca-ngui-chu huahuahuasi-man
1S-TOP know-PRF-2-INT nursery-ALL
yachanawasi-cuna-man ri-shca-chu
school-PL-ALL go-PRF-INT
‘Did you go to kindergarten and school?’

Bueno ñuca yachanahuasi-man ri-shca-ni comunidad Gradas Grande-pi
well 1S school-ALL go-PRF-1S community Gradas Grande-LOC
‘Yes, I went to school, in the community of Gradas Grande’

escuela-ta tucuchi-shca-ni y chashna-lla-tac colegio-ta
school-ACC finish-PRF-1S and so-LIM-EMPH high.school-ACC
‘I finished school, and the highschool’

tucuchi-shca-ni Guaranda Colegio Instituto Técnico Guaranda-pi
finish-PRF-1S Guaranda highschool Instituto Técnico Guaranda-LOC
‘I finished in Guaranda, at the Instituto Técnico of Guaranda’

y chashna-lla-tac cun an caipi estudia-cu-ni
and so-LIM-EMPH today here study-PROG-1S
‘and thus now I am studying here’

Universidad Estatal de Bolivar ultimo huata-pi ca-ni.
State University of Bolivar last year-LOC be-1S
‘at Universidad Estatal de Bolivar, I am in the last year’

Shina-shpa-ca chai yacha-shca-huan-ca ima-ta yuya-ngui
so-GER-TOP DEM know-PTCP-INST-TOP what-INT thing-2S
‘With that knowledge, what do you think?’

mai-pi-tac llanca-ngui chai yuyai-cuna-huan pactari-shpa?
where-LOC-INT work-2S DEM thought-PL-INST get-GER
‘where can you get a job with that knowledge?’

bueno ñuca-ca cai yachai-cuna-huan-ca
well 1S-TOP DEM knowledge-PL-TOP
‘well, I with this knowledge’
punta mamita-cuna mana ashca preparación-ta yacha-shca-manta
older mother.DIM(Sp)-PL not much education-ACC know-PTCP-ABL
‘because women did not have much education in the past’

huarmi-cuna cashpapish
woman-PL although
‘being women’

mana shuc abuelo-ta chari-shca ñaupa mamita-cuna
not one grandfather-ACC have-PTCP before mother.DIM(Sp)
‘They did not have parents who care for them’

ñucanchic cunam ya chai-cuna-huan-ca
1PL today already DEM-PL-INST-TOP
‘today, with that knowledge’

huarmi-cuna-pish ashtahuan ñapac-man rima-shca-manta
woman-PL-ADIT more front-ALL speak-PTCP-ABL
‘women too can make progress, as they say’

ñuca-ca cai asha yachai-cuna-ta
1S-TOP DEM few knowledge-PL-ACC
‘I do not know much’

ñuca shuctac compañeras-cuna-wan comparti-na yuyai-ta muna-shca-ni
1S one-EMPH partners-PL-INST share-INF thought-ACC want-PRF-1S
‘I wanted to share my thought with my fellow women’

ñuca pudí-shca-ta sociedad sirvi-na yuyai-ta chari-pash ca-ni
1S able-PTCP-ACC society serve-INF thought-ACC have-ADIT be-1S
‘It is also my idea to serve the society in what I can’

y chashna ayuda-shpa catina-ta muna-pa-ni.
and so help-GER follow-ACC want-HON-1S
‘and thus I want to continue helping’

ñuca chai-ta muna-pa-ni tu cui tucui-cuna-huan pacta
1S DEM-ACC want-HON-1S all all-PL-INST equally
‘I want it that way, everybody’
tandananacu-shpa ima tandanacui-cuna-pi organización-cuna-pi

gather-GER what meeting-PL-LOC organization-PL-LOC
‘gathering from meetings and organizations’

trabaja-shpa tucui tando-lla ashtahuan ñaupac-man ri-na ca-nchic

work-GER all bread-LIM more front-ALL go-INF be-1PL
‘to work together, and all of us make progress’

ñucanchic pueblos-indígenas-cuna-pish ashtahuan fuerza-ta

1PL.POSS peoples-indigenous-PL-ADIT more strength-ACC
‘our Indian peoples too may become stronger’

api-shca ñaupac-man tucui-cuna rina-ta chai-ta,

get-PRF front-ALL all-PL go-INF-PROL DEM-ACC
‘and make progress, all of us’

chai yayai-huan chai-ta muna-shpa puri-ni, yupai-cha-ni

DEM thought-INST DEM-ACC want-GER walk-1S think-DUB-1S
‘I continue with this idea in mind’

Cai aillu llacta-pac-ca ima-tac ca-ngui?

DEM family community-BEN-TOP what-INT be-2S
‘what is your role in this community?’

Ñuca cai aillu llacta-pi-ca grupo-de-mujeres ni-shca-ta

1S DEM family community-LOC-TOP women’s.group say-PTCP-ACC
‘In this community, the so-called grupo de mujeres’

chai grupo-ta apa-ni, shina-lla-tac huahua-cuna-pac

DEM group-ACC lead-1S so-LIM-EMPH child-PL-BEN
‘this group I lead, also for children’

chai [centro educativo] ni-shca-ta apa-rca-ni

DEM [education center] say-PTCP-ACC lead-PST-1S
‘I used to led the so-called education center’

y chai-huan caica-man-ca jati-cu-shca-nchic

and DEM-INST DEM-ALL-TOP follow-PROG-PRF-1PL
‘and we continued with this center until now’
ashtahuan ñaupac-man jatina-ta
more front-ALL follow-PROL
‘making progress’

cai grupo-de-mujeres-cuna-huan-pish muna-shca-ni
DEM women’s group-PL-INST-ADIT want-PRF-1S
‘I want to do the same with the grupo de mujeres’

actualmente ñuca cargu-pi travaia-cu-shca-ni
presently 1S post-LOC work-DUR-PRF-1S
‘at present I work in my post’

[como vicepresidenta de junta parroquial]
[as vicepresident of the parish council]

[en representación] ñuca parroquia-manta ri-shca-ni,
[as a representative] 1S parish-ABL go-PRF-1S
‘I am the representative of my parish’

chaimanta chai- cuna-huan
therefore DEM-PL-INST
‘therefore, with them’

[siete comunidades pertenecientes a la parroquia San Simon] tandari-shpa
[seven communities belonging to the Parish of San Simon] gather-GER
‘gathering the seven communities belonging to the parish of San Simon’

cunan asha presupuesto-cuna chari-shca-manta
today few budget-PL-ACC have-PTCP-ABL
‘as now we have only a small budget’

asha obra-cuna-ta rura-shpa chai comunidad-cuna-huan travaia-cu-shca-ni
few work-PL-ACC do-GER DEM community-PL-INST work-PRG-PRF-1S
‘we only make few works with these communities’

chashna-lla-tac cai parroquia-pi-ca
so-LIM-EMPH DEM parish-LOC-TOP
‘nevertheless, in this parish’
mestizos y indígena-cuna ca-shca-manta
mestizo:PL(Sp) and Indian-PL be-PTCP-ABL
‘because mestizos and Indians live here’

chai ishecai grupos-cuna-huan tandanacu-shpa travaña-shpa
DEM two group-PL-INST gather-GER work-GER
‘gathering these two groups and working together

ashca ñaupac-man jaticu-shca-nchic.
much-ACC front-ALL follow-PRF-1PL
‘we have made a lot of progress.’
Querétaro Otomí
Sample I

Name: Pedro
Age: 53
Sex: Masculine
Education: Elementary
Work: peasant
Place: Santiago Mezquititlán
Spanish level: incipient bilingual

"me t'o-bu mi ju-xya xido ya ja'i ne mi"
before-LOC 3.IMPF build-DEF.PL tepetate DEF.PL people and 3.IMPF
‘In the past people build their houses with tepetate and’

"pant'-ar bøhái mi ux-ya xido, mi høk-se txi ngu"
knead-DEF.S mud 3.IMPF put-DEF.PL tepetate 3.IMPF make-alone DIM house
‘mixed mud, put tepetate and so they built their own houses’

"nu mi nu tu'mi høk-ya teha, mi pant'-ar bøhái"
DEM 3.IMPF DEM wait make-DEF.PL tile 3.IMPF knead-DEF.S mud
‘those who made tiles, kneaded mud’

"ne mi ut'i, gøm'bya ne mi pet'e, pet'e,"
and 3.IMPF bake then and 3.IMPF weave weave
‘baked it, and then wove and wove’

"mi ux-ya zaa ya muriyo ne ya sint'a ne ja"
3.IMPF put-DEF.PL wood DEF.PL rolling.stone and DEF.PL band and be
‘put wood, rolling stones and bands, and there’

"da ju-xya ya teha, da go'ma da met'-ar txi ngu"
3.FUT put- DEF.PL DEF.PL tile 3.FUT cover 3.FUT weave-DEF.S DIM house
‘put the tiles to cover their houses’

"nu'bya ya jønte ja'i-bya ya tang-ya blok'-bya,"
today DEF.PL people people-ACT DEF.PL buy-DEF.PL block-ACT
‘nowadays, people buy blocks’

"tang-ya nu-ya nàni, høk-ar meskla ne høk-arl jot'i"
buy-DEF.PL DEM-PROX.PL lime make-DEF.S mixture and make-DEF.S wall
‘buy lime, make a mixture and build walls’
gem’bya ne da ya da kwadi ne da gas-ar
then and 3.FUT DEF.PL 3.FUT finish and 3.FUT set-DEF.S
‘and then finish the work and set’

da  ‘ñet’-ya  nu-ya  kastiyo ja  ya  ts’ät’i
3.FUT bury-DEF.PL DEM-PROX.PL tower be DEF.PL corner
‘bury the towers in each corner’

ne da kola ko-r  semento
and 3.FUT glue with-DEF.S cement
‘and glue them with cement’

the  bariya gem’bya da gasu ‘nar  trabe
carry rod then 3.FUT set INDEF.S crossbeam
‘carry rods, put a crossbeam above’

gem’bya ja da gom’-ña nu-ya  tsì  laminä,
then be 3.FUT cover:3.EMPH DEM-PROX.PL DIM sheet
‘then cover with small sheets’

laminä-de-adbesto  nu-ya  t’axu  laminä  mäs-byen.
sheet.of.asbestus DEM-PROX.PL white sheet rather
‘sheets of asbestus, rather white sheets’

(...)

Ar  dängo  t’g’l-wa  ja-r  hnini  ar  kinse,
DEF.S festival celebrate-LOC.PROX be-DEF.S community DEF.S fifteen
‘The festival we celebrate in the community on the fifteenth’

kinse  ar  máyo  ar  dängo  Nsansidro  di  embu-he,
fifteen DEF.S May DEF.S festival San.Isidro PRS call-PL.EXCL
‘the fifteenth of May, call it the Festival of San Isidro’

jaw-ar  dängo  tsì  ya  nxint’i  nxint’i  nuya  nxint’i
inside-DEF.S festival come DEF.PL game game DEM.PROX.PL game
‘there come the games, these games’
nu-’u unga-r bwelta nuya tsi fani,
DEM-3.DIST.PL give-DEF.S turn DEM.PROX:PL DIM horse
ya rweda-de-fortunä
DEF.PL wheel.of.fortune
‘those with little horses turning around, the wheels of fortune’

ya dätä nxint’i ge tsq-’u huts’i xingu bätsi
DEF.PL be.big game that come-3.DIST.PL sit.on many child
‘the big games in which children come and sit on’

nä‘ä ’nar jgya bi ’wagi bí ts’g
which INDEF.S year 3.PST fall 3.PST break
nä-r rweda-de-fortunä
DEM-DEF.S wheel.of.fortune
‘one year the wheel of fortune fell and broke’

nu-r nuya ho mi nxint’u nuya tsi kabayo
LOC-DEF.S DEM.PROX:PL kill 3.IMPF game DEM.PROX:PL DIM horse
‘then the game killed the little horses’

bí da ya tsi bätsi, pe hinti
3.PST fall DEF.PL DIM child but nothing
bi him-bi du
3.PST NEG-3.PST dead
‘the children fell down but nobody was killed’

hinti bi du hendu ’nar tsi pale
nothing 3.PST dead only INDEF.S DIM godfather
‘nobody died, just a dear godfather’

zü bí du’bya ndi emfhe m-ar tsi Pantxo,
maybe 3.PST already 1.PRS name 3.IMPF-DEF.S DIM Pancho
‘who probably is dead by now and whom I call Panchito

bí zejku’u ’nar tsi nsa’ñe
3.PST cut.off INDEF.S DIM finger
‘he got his finger broken’

(...)

Appendices
'Nar pa xi t'otu ar t'ete?
INDEF.S day 3.PRF make DEF.S sorcery
‘Has someone ever done sorcery to you?’

Dige-ku-ga hinti t'otu-ga ar t'ete,
about-1.OBJ-1.EMPH nothing make-1.EMPH DEF.S sorcery
‘As for that, nobody has ever done any sorcery to me’

hinti ja-ku-ga, xi-ku-ga,
nothing make-1.OBJ-1.EMPH tell-1.OBJ-1.EMPH
‘they have done nothing to me’

'ra ya txi jvädä 'meg'o-'byu
INDEF.PL DIM brother before-LOC
‘some dear brothers before’

txi ermâno 'meg'o-'byu enâ
DIM brother before-LOC say
mi 'byi xingu ya txi jà'i
3.IMPF be many DEF.PL DIM people
‘some brothers told me that in the past there were many people’

mi ho yà txi ñohu zà mi ngo zà mi 'byi
3.IMPF kill 3.Poss.PL DIM friend maybe 3.IMPF as maybe 3.IMPF be
‘who killed their friends perhaps there was something like that in the past’

pe nu'bya hinti ngo hinti di nu-he-'bya
but now nothing as nothing 1.PRS see-PL.EXCL-ACT
‘but nowadays we don’t see anything like that’

hinti di hinti di handy-he-'bya,
nothing 1.PRS nothing 1.PRS see-PL.EXCL-ACT
‘nothing, nothing like that is seen nowadays’

house nu-'m ä enâ 'byi enâ ya zone,
only DEM-3.DIST.PL say be say DEF.PL vampire
‘it’s just that they say there are vampires’

ts'üt'-ya txi bâtsi,
suck-DEF.PL DIM child
“who suck little children”
they go out in the night, but they say they are our friends’

“it is because they are different people”

“it is like if the suckers had two hearts”

“therefore, they suck blood”

‘from the little children’

‘Can you tell me something about the disease’

‘of the cattle in the year nineteen’

‘forty-seven and and why the authorities’

‘deceived people?’
"In forty-seven the mestizo came. And killed the cattle. When Miguel Alemán became president, an slaughterer who killed. Who ordered that the cattle be killed. And they paid for the cattle and they burried them. They dug a hole and then the machines came. Dug holes and burry them [the cattle]. They say they gave one big bull. Ten people cut off [the bull], everything, his legs, his skin."
sentro gatho mi gatho mi gkwi honse pur karne, ar
'all-DEF.S trunk all 3.IMPF all 3.IMPF bury only pure meat DEF.S'
'his trunk, all they buried, only pure meat'

ngo limpyo mi tu mi hãeku 'reg'ya ya tsi personã
'meat clean 3.IMPF bring 3.IMPF cut.off ten DEF.PL DIM person'
'they brought just meat, it was ten people who cut it off'

mi uni, ne mi njut'i, hindi pã-kã tengu
'3.IMPF give and 3.IMPF pay NEG know-1.EMPH how.much'
'they gave and paid, I do not know how much'

mi tengu mi njut'i [akel tyemp]
'3.IMPF how.much 3.IMPF pay [at that time]'

ndehmã mi kom'i mi agi
'Intj 3.IMPF cover 3.IMPF bury'
'how much they paid at that time, how much they buried'

pe syempre xu'brya mi agi wa hi'nã sepa-dynos
'but always now 3.IMPF bury or NEG-EMPH God-knows'
'but always, now, only God knows if they buried or not'

nu-ma cuarentaisiete kwando ar Alemãñ
'DEM-TEMP forty-seven when DEF.S Alemán'
'that was in the forty-seven when Alemán was president'

mbi pridintonê bi hyo boi go ba ordenã-ã
'3.PST president3.PST kill ox PRED PST order-3.EMPH'
'he killed the cattle, he ordered that'
Name: María
Age: 18
Sex: Femenine
Education: secondary
Work: services
Place: Toliman
Spanish level: compound bilingual

Hò, nuga dá pòdì ge nò Tìlya Reì bi dingì bojö
yes PRO.1S 1.PST know that DEM Tilya Reyes 3.PST find money
‘Yes, I know that Tilya Reyes found money’

‘na bi dingi ‘na tsi surru
INDEF 3.PST find some DIM hide-bag
nò mi oxi ar jödo
DEM 3.IMPF lie.on DEF.S fence
‘someone found a hide bag on a fence’

lwego bi nexthi ba xipà-bì Tyòfi Reì ‘na
then 3.PST run 3.PST say-BEN Tyofi Reyes INDEF
a bi ‘ñem-babi
and 3.PST leave-BEN
‘he run and told Tyofi Reyes and he left it with him’

a hin-go rá megì ka nò bi ‘ñenò ge hò
and NEG-COP 3.POSS money and DEM 3.PST say that yes
‘and that the money was not his and he said yes’

‘na lwego bi hõôm-babi a nu’bya nò tsi jöì
INDEF then 3.PST take.away-BEN and now DEM DIM person
‘and then he took it away from him and now the person’

bi go sin-nada a hinte bi um-bì nìxì
3.PST remain without-nothing and NEG 3.PST give-BEN not.even
‘remained without a penny, he did not even give him’
A fifty-cent coin, those people are still alive.'

Tyofi Reyes with Tilya Reyes.

'Tyofi Reyes and Tilya Reyes'

(Uh, it is like, here, there, as for girls, their parents come'

their parents come to ask the girl in marriage up to three times'

for 'yes' to be said and at that moment'

the boy makes bread with his father and mother'

and he gives to the girl some'

'deadline, he gives her the dealine'

then 3.FUT marry DEM DIM DEM girl

with DEM boy

'and then the girl marry with the boy'
ya lwe go da ma pa da 'mg-wi rá dada
already then 3.FUT go for 3.FUT live-DUAL 3.Poss father
‘then she goes to live with her husband’s father’

nö rá rá tsa rá ka.
ko rá döme
with 3.Poss husband
‘and her husband’s mother, her father, and her husband’

da 'mg-wi gatho 'mgü nat'a nö ha rá ngú.
FUT live-DUAL all live together DEM in 3.Poss house
‘all of them live together at home’

(...)

Este ja tsi ndunthi ya fyesta pero kasi tsi t’ulo,
Uh EXT DIM many DEF.PL festival but almost DIM small
‘Uh, there are many festivals, but almost all of them are small’

porke lwe go no mös ar döta ge nö rá rá
because then only DEF.S great COP DEM 3.Poss 3.Poss
‘because the greatest of all’

mgü tsi dada ‘Ñenxe,
property DIM father Saint.Michael
porke nö di fuji desde
because DEM 3.PRS begin since
‘it is property of Saint Michael, because that festival begins since’

desde julyo ne este ya nei ne lwe go nö ya ndö
since July and uh DEF.S dancer and then DEF.PL sponsor
‘since July and eh there are dancers and then the sponsors’

xa di ungi di ja ya dejü,
EMPH 3.PRS give 3.PRS EXT DEF.PL chocolate
ya hñuni, ya garbanso
DEF.PL food DEF.PL chick-pea
‘give chocolate, food, chick-peas’
DEF.PL chocolate DEF.PL bread already then DEM-now
‘chocolate, bread and after that’

dì di ntonsi asta
3.PRS 3.PRS then until
nö el do nö ra yo-pa octubre
DEM ART twelve DEM DEF.S second-day October
‘until the twelfth, the second day of October’

dì ja ya doni pa da um-babi ma ‘ra ya ndö
3.PRS EXT DEF.PL flower for 3.FUT give-BEN more INDEF.PL sponsor
‘there are flowers given by more sponsors’

pa ri jëya ge di da ungi ma ‘ra
for PROG year DEMCOP 3.PRS 3.FUT give more INDEF.PL
‘for the current year, and they will give more’

da ja ma ‘ra ya nei.
3.FUT EXT more INDEF.PL dancer
‘and there are more dancers’

(…)

Hö ya nei asta ‘rato kwadiya
Yes DEF.PL dancer until six team
ya nxutsi ne ya metsi
DEF.PL girl and DEF.PL boy
‘Yes, there are up to six teams [of dancers], boys and girls’

‘rato ya nei principal ge Ngemge
six DEF.PL dancer principal COP Saint.Michael
‘six principal dancers from San Miguel’

lwego ‘mehni lwego me nu me Mulinu, me Nt’o
then are sent then native DEM native Molino native Higueras
‘then people are sent from Molino, Higueras’
Higueras, me Loma,
Higueras native Loma
‘Higueras, Loma’

and now DEF.PL people-here as.if EMPH 3.PRS cheer up
‘and people from here, it’s like there is spirit’

as if EMPH that EXT DEF.PL happy between-more
‘it’s like there is happiness among everybody’

as if EMPH that EXT DEF.PL food
‘it is like there is food’

DEF.PL contribution EMPH 3.PRS exchange each year EXT DEF.PL exchange
‘people exchange their contributions every year, there are exchanges’

‘in the past it lasted five or four months a year, but not now’

each year 3.PRS exchange DIM dancer
‘every year dancers change’

‘Yes, once I got some pimples and’

and 1.PST go to doctor but not which 3.PST cure-1.OBJ
‘and I went to the doctor but he did not cure me’

and better 1.PST arrive 1.PST go one and one DIM people
‘and I rather decided to go to someone’
pa bi thu bi du-gagi bi xa pi du-gagi
for 3.PST clean 3.PST clean-1.OBJ 3.PST bathe 3.PST clean-1.OBJ
‘to have a cleanse, and he cleansed me, he bathed me, he cleaned me’

ko tsi xöza ne bi ‘ñen-gagi ga pengi xudi,
with DIM enebro and PST tell-1.OBJ 1.FUT return tomorrow
‘with enebro and he told me to come back the next morning’

a dá pengi a ya lwego ya tsi ‘ramats’u dá hogi.
and 1.PST return and already then already DIM little.by.little 1.PST recover
‘and I came back and then already little by little I got better.’
## SPEAKERS

### Ecuadorian Quichua

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Age Groups: 1 = 0-12; 2 = 13-18; 3 = 19-30; 4 = 31-50; 5 = 51

Education level: 1 = 0 years; 2 = 1-3 years; 3 = 3-6 years; 4 = 7-10 years; 5 = 10 years

Bilingualism level: 1=Incipient Q/Sp; 2=Incipient Sp/Q; 3=Compound I Q/Sp; 4=Compound I Sp/Q; 5=Compound II Q/Sp; 6=Compound II Sp/Q; 7=Coordinate
## Paraguayan Guaraní

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Age Groups: 1 = 0-12; 2 = 13-18; 3 = 19-30; 4 = 31-50; 5 = 51

Education level: 1 = 0 years; 2 = 1-3 years; 3 = 3-6 years; 4 = 7-10 years; 5 = 10 years

Bilingualism level: 1=Incipient Q/Sp; 2=Incipient Sp/Q; 3=Compound I Q/Sp; 4=Compound I Sp/Q; 5=Compound II Q/Sp; 6=Compound II Sp/Q; 7=Coordinate
## Queretaro Otomí

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**Age Groups:**
- 1 = 0-12
- 2 = 13-18
- 3 = 19-30
- 4 = 31-50
- 5 = 51

**Education level:**
- 1 = 0 years
- 2 = 1-3 years
- 3 = 3-6 years
- 4 = 7-10 years
- 5 = 10 years

**Bilingualism level:**
- 1 = Incipient Q/Sp
- 2 = Incipient Sp/Q
- 3 = Compound I Q/Sp
- 4 = Compound I Sp/Q
- 5 = Compound II Q/Sp
- 6 = Compound II Sp/Q
- 7 = Coordinate

The calculation of the level of bilingualism is not based on the analysis of Spanish texts produced by the speakers but on their answers to the sociolinguistic questionnaire applied by Hekking (1995: 215-219). Each answer was assigned a discrete value and the results were tabulated according to the parameters on the last column. When no data were available for this calculation, *n.a.* is given.
### CHI-SQUARE TABLES

**TABLE 10.23: GENERAL DISTRIBUTION OF CODESWITCHING PER DIALECT OR SOCIOLECT**

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Factors: 0.139, 0.028, 0.532, 0.196, 0.027, 0.078

Degrees of freedom: 5

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AV.WGT: 0.80, 0.76, 0.86, 0.76, 0.81, 0.99
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Factors 0.307 0.031 0.201 0.110 0.193 0.158

degrees of freedom 15

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### TABLE 10.26 DISTRIBUTION OF SPANISH BORROWINGS PER LEVEL OF BILINGUALISM (tokens)

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Factors 0.297 0.275 0.427

degrees of freedom 2

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SIGNIFICANT at the 0.5 % level

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### Table 10.26 Distribution of Spanish Borrowings per Level of Bilingualism (types)

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Chi²

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NOT significant at the 0.5 % level.
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TABLE 10.28: LOANWORDS PER PARTS OF SPEECH AND LEVEL OF BILINGUALISM
(types)

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Factors 0.657 0.188 0.142 0.013
degrees of freedom 6

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