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

Paraguayan Guaraní
Sample 1

Name: Mirta
Age: 30
Sex: Femenine
Education: Tertiary
Work: Teacher
Place: Tobatí
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 Tobatí-me,
and then 1S-come-already 1S-REFL-grow DET town Tobatí-LOC
‘and came to this town of Tobatí to grow up and’
a-guereko trentitrés ary, ha upéi a-studia ñepyrû-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-rô-guare
School P.J.C.-LOC 1S 3-come five year 1S-have-COND-when
‘in School P.J.C., I came (to Tobatí) when I was five’
a-juma-va’ekue la Tobatí-me, ha a-ñepyrû-mba-ite la a-studia
1S-come-already-PST DET Tobatí-LOC and 1S-begin-CMP-SUP DEM 1S-study
‘I came to Tobatí already and I begin to study’

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

mbo’ehaó 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, upérō 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’āga-ité-peve hasy-eter ei la rubro ñe-conseguí 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’āga 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  mokoi  mitá,  peteĩ  kuímbe’e  ha  peteĩ  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’aga  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  peteĩ  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’aga,  péicha-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
1PL-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 1PL.EXCL-go also RECPST 1PL.EXCL-go-learn many-thing
‘and we went to learn many things’

upépe, ro-hecha heta-mba’e avei de-paso
there 1PL.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’
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’

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,
‘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...
‘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]

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

[Si, 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 1S-high.school-PST-LOC
‘I just went to my former high school’

ha a-vy’a-iteri-voi 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-rremplaza 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 Guaraní and I was very happy’

porque che-rayhu-eteresi 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-jeru-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 porã-iteresi chape-kuéra 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-kuéra nda-ha’é-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 avei che-paciencia-ta hese-kuera igual
so-only also 1S-patience-FUT 3.with-PL equal
‘I am also patient with all of them’
Name: Eduardo
Age: 49
Sex: Masculine
Education: Tertiary
Work: Teacher
Place: Tobati
Spanish level: coordinate bilingual

Eduardo, mba'êicha nde re-juhu ko ñe'ê Guaraní?
Eduardo, how 2S 2S-find DEM language Guaraní
‘Eduardo, how do you find the Guaraní language?’

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

ñande ñe'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 ñande voi na-ña-ñe'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’aípe ai-ko ha
twenty-four years 1S-have-PST here 1S-be and
‘until I was twenty-four years I lived and’

na-ña-ñe’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-ña-ñe’ê-guasu-i pe Guaraní sa’i-voi a-ña’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-sè
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-sè 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 peteĩ 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 educacion-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 oĩ pe educación ryepy-pe
DEM education.reform 3:be DEM education inside-LOC
‘reform inside the education’

este oĩ-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’
i-táva-pe  ha  upé-pe  che  manda’á  a-ha-mi-va’ekue
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  Guaraní-me-nte  ajea,
and  1S  1S-speak  3.OBJ-PL  Guaraní-LOC-only  right:INT
‘and I spoke to them only in Guaraní, 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  castelláno-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  Guaraní-me  ha  a-mbohovái  chupe-kuéra  castellano-pe,
3.PL  Guaraní-LOC  and  1S-answer  3PL.OBJ  Spanish-LOC
‘in Guaraní 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  peteï  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  ŋa-ñe’ê-va’erá  castellano-pe
why  women-ACC  NEG-1S-speak-OBLG  Spanish-LOC
‘why? because men have to talk to women in Spanish’
porque *kuña* űande recha-rô, űande rendu-rô
because women 1PL see-if 1PL listen-to-if
‘because if they see us speaking’

**guaraní** *ñañe’è, űande rechaza hikuái ajéa,*
Guaraní 1PL-speak 1PL reject 3.PROG right:INT
‘Guaraní, they reject us, right’

**ha péa-re che sy-kuéra-pe añe’è 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 peteí ára-pe**
and then-EMPH DEM 1S-sit.down one day-LOC
‘And then one day I sat down’

**ha a-je-py’a-mongueta, pero mbái-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 añe’è hendivekuéra**
for.what-INT 1S so 1S-speak 3:with-PL
‘What do I talk to them in this way for?’

**che ningo nairí Pedro-Juán-pe, che ningo ai-mé ápé,**
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 peteí realidad nda-ha’è-i-va i-mbái-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-kuaa**
and there 1S 1S-REFL-see-know
‘then I realized’
de-que peteí mba’e vai ningó raka’e pe Guaraní ja-kyhyje
of-that one cosa ugly AFF REMPST DET Guaraní 1PL-fear
‘that it was something bad that we are afraid’

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

ha upēi a-ñepyruñu noventidos-pe a-ñepyruñu-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 Guaraní-me ha a-aprende
also 1S-REFL-study 1PL:say 3.OBJ DEM Guaraní-LOC and 1S-learn
‘to study Guaraní and learned’

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

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

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

mbeguekatúpe oi-ke avei pe reforma-educativa.
little.by.little 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-hagué-pe,
and 1S school 1S 1S-be-NMLZ.PST-LOC
‘and the school where I taught’
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’è-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-unio-ite-pe ajea
3-enter-CMP-very-well DEM of-one-very-LOC right:INT
‘everybody entered at the same time, right’

ha a-ñepyru’ 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 hikuái pe hóga-gui guaraní-me o-ñe’è,
3:come 3:PROG DEM house-ABL Guaraní-LOC 3-speak
‘who came from home as monolingual Guaraní speakers’
ha mba’èicha-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 porā hikuai 3-fly-CMP-EMPH 3.PROG 3-learn good 3.PROG ‘they learn fast and very good’

ha mbeguekatáupe pe castellano re-moïngue 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-moïngue-se NEG-3.be-NEG DEM of-one-blow 2.IMP-EUPH-catch 2-introduce-want ‘it is not overnight that you introduce’

peteí lengua nda-ha’é-i-va i-mba’è-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’ève, 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 3.OBJ-PL-AFF DEM 3.POSS-tongue-mother DEM 3.POSS-tongue-mother-LOC ‘in their own language, in their mother tongue’

re-mbo’e hína re-ho-vo ha mbeguekatu re-moïngue 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’

peteí segunda-lengua upépe o-aprende porâve o-aprende porā 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-pytyvô 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-primer-a 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’

upêpe [seis años] avei upêpe a-mba’apo-mi umi mbo’ehara-kuêra-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 Guaraní]
1PL.EXCL-see how-INT 3-good certainly DEM [Guaraní teaching]
‘and we see that teaching in Guaraní is really good’

**este peá peteï [modalida Guaraní 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-moil-ta peê-me 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 Paraguay-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 peá [de que en cualquier escuela] i-katu-ma oï-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’
Ecuadorean Quichua
Sample 1

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

trabaja-ni cai empresa-pi-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-PRL power.saw-INST
‘for eight years with the power saw.’

masuminos socio-cuna ca-shpa baju-lia 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 ñuca-pash trabaj-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’

nishca-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-a-rca-nchi Chapa-huan ca-shpa
be-PST-1P 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 trabaj-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’

trabaj-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 llucshimu-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-lla 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 huaquin-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’
before president-PL-INST-TOP [that which line reaches] product-PL-ACC-ADIT
‘with the former presidents, we worked per piece of land, also per product’

‘Two members of the family working in several pieces of land’

‘we hardly gather one pound, two pounds’

‘and we had to stand really bad times’

“some had permanent work”

“like their own piece of land they live on”

‘then, when the last president was appointed, the groupd were finally formed’

‘the pieces of land were divided equally’
Desigual ca-shpa descunfurmi cati-naju-ca-nchi
uneven be-GER not.according continue-PL-PST-1PL
‘if they were uneven, we did not agree’

directamente Cascu-huan Topu-huan alli apa-shca-nchi
directly Casco-INST Topo-INST good get.along-PRF-1PL
‘we have got along well with Casco and Topo in particular’

Angla-cuna-huan problima apa-shca-nchi problima cati-shca-nchi
Angla-INST problem get.along-PFT-1PL problem continue-PRF-1PL
‘but we continued to have problems with Angla’

ña division-guna-ta ninaju-n ima-pash tia-cpi ña
already division-PL-ACC discuss-3 some-ADIT there.be-GER already
‘we argue about the divisions, if there is some issue’

riclama-naju-shca shina llaqui-cuna-ta chari-shca-nchi
claim.RECP-PRF so problem-PL-ACC have-PRF-1PL
‘there are claims, and we still have problems’

chai ña grupu-cuna-ta forma-ri-shca cai presidinti alli-pacha
DEM already grupo-PL-ACC form-REFL-PRF DEM president good-SUP
‘because this president formed the groups properly’

shayari-shpa-mi chai-cuna-ta-ca na chinga-chi-ri-shca
stand.up-GER-FOC DEM-PL-ACC-TOP NEG lose-CAUS-REFL-PRF
‘the groups have not been dissolved’

mita saqui-ri-shca
mita dejarse-PRF
‘the collective work has not stopped’

cunan cai dividi-ri-shca-cuna-ca maijun
now DEM divide-REFL-PTCP-PL-TOP some
‘today, the lots of land some people’
usha-c tarpu-shca [con trigu] cebada-ima huaquin vicia-cuna-ima be.able-AG sow-PRF [with wheat] barley-some some peas-PL-some ‘cultivate them with wheat, barley, some cultivate them with peas’

ultimamente cua-nchi Cascu lado kida-naju-nchi proyectu-huan lately be-1PL Casco lado remain-RECP-1PL project-INST ‘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-INST project-INST 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] as 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’
'other parts are hillsides, they look rocky'

'in those cases we will certainly have problems'

'we agree with the engineers, if we do not divide now'

'we keep the forest to sell it afterwards and we save money'

'if we make an effort, then the arguments will be for good'

'if we divide now, the division will not be good for all'

'this plain pasture land is a big problem'
porquí caspi material duela-ta rura-ngapac-mi
because wood material board-ACC do-PURP-TOP
‘because the wood to make boards’

no sirvi-shca cuinta ca-n.
NEG serve-PTCP account be-3
‘it turned out useless’

Cunan-ga rura-naju-nchi rollizu-ta jatu-ngapac
now-TOP do-PL-1PL woode.log-ACC sell-PURP
‘now we make little logs to sell’

chai-ca no material llucshi-ju-n
DEM-TOP NEG material go.out-PROG-3
‘but the material do no go out’

ñan-da tamia-shpa huaglchi-cpi carru-cuna na yaicu-n na-chu
road-PROL rain-GER spoil-GER car-PL NEG enter-3 NEG-INT
‘cars do not come this far because the roads are spoiled by the rains, right?’

material chai ca-shca-pi amuntuna-ri-n
material PRO.DEM be-PRF-LOC pile.up-REFL-3
‘and the material piles up’

ni-ma na producto llucshi-ju-n carru no avanza-n
NEG-FOC NEG product go.out-PROG-3 car NEG advance-3
‘because cars do not come and the produce cannot go out’

claro cuan-pi-ca cutin genti trabaju-ca mira-ta-ca
of.course now-LOC-TOP again people work-TOP increase-ACC-TOP
‘of course there is more work for people’

[pero soponte] material no llucshi-ju-shpa culqui
[but let’s suppose] material NEG go.out-DUR-GER money
‘but suppose the material cannot go out’

no llucshi-ju-c-ta sintiri-n chai llaqui-cuna-ta chari-nchi
NEG go.out-DUR-HAB-PROL feel-3 DEM problem-PL-ACC have-1PL
‘then money seems to be missing and we have problems’
Ecuadorian Quichua
Sample II

Name: Norma
Age: 24
Sex: Femenine
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 punda 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 huaiçu 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’
I do not know, I think, maybe, for the same reason

They named the community Gradas Chico, I think

In the past people used to tell, our fathers

And grandparents used to tell that Gradas

Was a neighbor to the nearby community

Of Gradas Grande, the community up the hill

Down this side, there was like a community boundary

Hence the community we live now in

Is the community of Gradas Chico, I think

How were the first years of your life?
ñuca bueno  ñuca causai-ca uchilla-pacha cai comunidad
1S well 1S.POSS life-TOP small-SUP DEM community
‘well, my early years, I was born in this community’

Gradas Chico-pi huacha-ri-shca-ni y cai comunidad-pi-tac
Gradas Chico-LOC be born-REFL-PRF-1S and DEM community-LOC-EMPH
‘Gradas Chico, and in this community’

huiña-shpa  jati-shca-ni
grow-GER continue-PRF-1S
‘I grew up afterwards’

ñuca causa-shca  ñuca cultura-indígena chai-ta mantini-shpa
1S live-PTCP 1S.POSS culture-indigenous DEM-ACC preserve-GER
‘I have preserved my way of life, my Indian culture’

uchilla-manta  pacha causa-shca-ni
small-ABL SUP live-PRF-1S
‘since I was a child’

y  ñuca shimi ñuca rima-na shimi-pi
and 1S language speak-INF speak-LOC language-LOC
‘and my language, my way of speaking’

Quichua-pi rima-shpa causa-ni.
Quichua-LOC speak-GER live-1S
‘I live speaking in Quichua’

Shina-shpa-ca quiquin-pac yayamama-ta-ca chari-pa-ngui-chu?
so-GER-TOP 2S.HON-GEN parents-ACC-TOP have-HON-2S-INT
‘does your parents live?’

ñuca yayamama-ta chari-pa-ni, ñuca mamita.
1S.POSS parents-ACC have-HON-1S 1S.POSS mother.DIM(Sp)
‘I have living parents, I have a mother’

ñuca papito chari-pa-ni, ñuca shuc ñaña-ta chari-ni,
1S.POSS father.DIM(Sp) have-HON-1S 1S one sister-ACC have-1S
‘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 cunan 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 yuayi-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 cunun ya chai-cuna-huan-ca
1PL today already DEM-PL-INST-TOP
‘today, with that knowledge’

huarmi-cuna-pish ashtahuan ñaupac-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 pudi-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 tucui tucui-cuna-huan pacta
1S DEM-ACC want-HON-1S all all-PL-INST equally
‘I want it that way, everybody’
tandanacu-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 yuyai-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 *trabaja-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 *trabaja-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 ishc ai grupos-cuna-huan tandanacu-shpa trabaj a-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 juy-ya xido ya jā'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 bōhāi mi ux-ya xido, mi hok-se txi nguú
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 tō'ni hok-ya teha, mi pant'-ar bōhāi
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, gem'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 sinta, 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 'uyx-ya ya teha, da go'ma da met'-ar txi nguú
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 jente jā'i-bya ya tang-ya bōk- bya,
today DEF.PL people people-ACT DEF.PL buy-DEF.PL block-ACT
‘nowadays, people buy blocks’

tang-ya nu-ya nāni, hok-ar meskla ne hok-ar jō'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 gax-ar
then and 3.FUT DEF.PL 3.FUT finish and 3.FUT set-DEF.S
‘and then finish the work and set’

d’a Ɂet’-ya nu-ya kastiyo ja ya ts’āt’i
3.FUT burry-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 gau ‘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 tsi 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 mās-byen.
sheet.of.asbestos DEM-PROX.PL white sheet rather
‘sheets of asbestos, rather white sheets’

(...)

Ar dängo t’g'y-wa ja-r lnini 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 máyö 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 tsq 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 txi 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 txi 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 txi bätsi, pe hinti
3.PST fall DEF.PL DIM child but nothing
bi him-bi da
3.PST NEG-3.PST dead
‘the children fell down but nobody was killed’

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

zü bí da’bya ndi emhe m-ar txi 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 zekwu ’nar txi 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 jwàdu 'meg'o-'bu
INDEF.PL DIM brother before-LOC
‘some dear brothers before’

txi ermâno 'meg'o-'bu enà
DIM brother before-LOC say
mi 'bùi 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 'hùhu zà mi ngo zà mi 'bùi
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’

hunse nu-'ù mài enà 'bùi enà ya zone,
only DEM-3.DIST.PL say be say DEF.PL vampire
‘it’s just that they say there are vampires’

ts'ut'-ya txi bàtsi,
suck-DEF.PL DIM child
“who suck little children”
'yo-r xai pe enō mismo se go ma m'ño-se-je es-ke

go-DEF.S night but SAY very alone PRED 1.POSS friend-own-PL is-that
‘they go out in the night, but they say they are our friends’

nu'ā ya 'naño henti
DEM.DIST.PL DEF.PL different people

‘it is because they are different people’

ya tsu es-kwenta yoho yā nuya txi mgi.
DEF.PL suck is-like two 3.POSS DEM.PROX:PL DIM heart

‘it is like if the suckers had two hearts’

tanto ar mui nā'ā hingi za tanto ar mui'-bya'-ā
much DEF.S heart which NEG good much DEF.S heart-now-3.EMPH

‘one which is not good and their real heart’

jange ir zip-ya txi ji
therefore TMLS suck-DEF.PL DIM blood

‘therefore, they suck blood’

ya nu-ya txi bātsi t'o-lo txi bātsi.
DEF.PL DEM.PROX:PL DIM child childish DIM child

‘from the little children’

(...)

Ar tsu ġi petu-gü 'naxti dige nor ār hñeni
DEF.S be.able 3.PRS tell:1.OBJ something about that 3.POSS disease

‘Can you tell me something about the disease’

ya meši bi zudi nu m-ar jeya 'na'mo gu-to-athebe
DEF.PL ox 3.PST arrive DEM 3.IMPF-DEF.S year thousand nine-hundred

‘of the cattle in the year nineteen’

yoho-ŋnte ma yoto ne yogo'ā ya ts'w'gbi
two-twenty TEMP seven and why DEF.PL authority

‘forty-seven and and why the authorities’

mi kah-ya bi kah-ya jā'i?
3.IMPF deceive-DEF.PL 3.PST deceive-DEF.PL people

‘deceived people?’
ma yoho-ŋate ne yoto ba e no-r mbgho
TEMP two-twenty and seven 3.PST come DEM-DEF.S mestizo
‘In forty-seven the mestizo came’

bi hyo ya txi boi,
3.PST kill DEF.PL DIM ox
‘and killed the cattle’

kwando mbi ŋug’u nor mbgho gubyerno Miguel Alemán
when 3.PST enter DEF.S mestizo government Miguel Alemán
‘when Miguel Alemán became president’

ge-ŋä-r hyoboi-ā bī hyo txi boi,
DEM-3.DIST-DEF-PL slaughterer-3DIST 3.PST kill DIM ox
‘an slaughterer who killed’

ba ordenā ndi t-ho boi
3.PST order 3.PST IMPR-kill ox
‘who ordered that the cattle be killed’

ne mi njut’-ya boi ‘ne mi a, and 3.IMPF pay-DEF.PL ox also 3.IMPF burry
‘and they paid for the cattle and they burried them’

mi xem ba e ya mäkinā bī ya ya
3.IMPF dig 3.PST come DEF.PL machine 3.PST burry DEF.PL
‘they dug a hole and then the machines came’

bī xem-ŋa ‘nar ots’i ne bī ‘yagi,
3.PST dig-EMPH.3PL INDEF.S hole and 3.PST burry
‘dug holes and burry them [the cattle]’

enā mi uu nar na ndo-boi ‘nar na dätä boi,
SAY 3.IMPF give INDEF.S EMPH male-bull INDEF.S EMPH big ox
‘they say they gave one big bull’

‘rg’a jă’i mi heke, ne gagho yá wa, gagho-r ximhni,
ten people 3.IMPF cut.off and all 3.POSS leg all-DEF.S skin
‘ten people cut off [the bull], everything, his legs, his skin’
"his trunk, all they buried, only pure meat"

"they brought just meat, it was ten people who cut it off"

"they gave and paid, I do not know how much"

"how much they paid at that time, how much they buried"

"but always, now, only God knows if they buried or not"

"that was in the forty-seven when Alemán was president"

"he killed the cattle, he ordered that"
Appendices

Queretaro Otomí
Sample II

Name: María
Age: 18
Sex: Femenine
Education: secondary
Work: services
Place: Toliman
Spanish level: compound bilingual

_Hó, nuga dá pödi ge nò _Tilya Rey bi dingi 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 tsì surru_
INDEF 3.PST find some  DIM hide-bag

_nò mi oxi ar jödo_
DEM 3.IMPF lie.on DEF.S fence

‘somomeone found a hide bag on a fence’

_lwego bi nexthi ba xipa-bi _Tyofi Rey _'na_
then 3.PST run 3.PST say-BEN Tyofi Reyes INDEF
_a bi ˈnem-babi_
and 3.PST leave-BEN

‘he run and told Tyofi Reyes and he left it with him’

_a hin-go  rā meʧi ka nò bi ˈнenō ge hō_
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 hūm-babi a nuʿbya nò tsì jöˈi_
INDEF then 3.PST take.away-BEN and now DEM DIM person

‘and then he took it away from him and now the person’

_bì go  sin-nada a hinte bi um-bi nixi_
3.PST remain without-nothing and NEG 3.PST give-BEN not.even

‘remained without a penny, he did not even give him’
‘nar kut’a a nu-ya tsi jő’i todabya ’bui
INDEF.S fifty.cent.coin and DEM.PROX-PL DIM person still live
‘a fifty-cent coin, those people are still alive’

nö Tyofi Rey ko Tilya Rey.
DEM Tyofi Reyes with Tilya Reyes.
‘Tyofi Reyes and Tilya Reyes’

(…)

Este es-ke nuwa gelni to ya nxutsi
uh it.is-that here there REL DEF.PL girl
‘Uh, it is like, here, there, as for girls, their parents come’

bi e rá dada ra nönö
3.PRS come 3.POSS father 3.POSS mother
pa a nö nxutsi asta hůu-ki
for ask DEM girl until 3.times
‘their parents come to ask the girl in marriage up to three times’

pa da t’em-bi hā a lwego dege bya da este
for FUT say-BEN yes and then just now 3.FUT uh
‘for ‘yes’ to be said and at that moment’

da gö ya thuhte nöö metsi
3.FUT make DEF.PL bread DEM.S boy
ko rá dada ko rá nönö
with 3.POSS father with 3.POSS mother
‘the boy makes bread with his father and mother’

da t’um-bi nö nxutsi, lwego ya da t’umbi ’na
3.FUT give-BEN DEM girl then already FUT give-BEN INDEF
‘and he gives to the girl some’

tsi plaso, da t’umbi nö plazo,
DIM deadline 3.FUT give-BEN DEM deadline
‘deadline, he gives her the dealine’

lwego da nhőiti nö tsi nö nxutsi
then 3.FUT marry DEM DIM DEM girl
ko nö metsi
with DEM boy
‘and then the girl marry with the boy’
ya lwego 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,
DEM 3.POSS 3.POSS mother.in.law 3.POSS father.in.law
ko rá döne with 3.POSS husband
‘and her husband’s mother, her father, and her husband’

da 'mg-wi gatho 'mgí 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 lwego 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’

mgí tsi dada ‘Ñenxe, property DIM father Saint.Michael
porke nö di füti 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 lwego nö ya ndö since July and uh DEF.S dancer and then DEM DEF.PL sponsor
‘since July and eh there are dancers and then the sponsors’

xa di ungi di ja ya deju, 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’
ya deji, ya thuhme ya lwego dege-pya
DEF.PL chocolate DEF.PL bread already then DEM-now
‘chocolate, bread and after that’

di 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’

di 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 jeya 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 kwadriya
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 Nxemge
six DEF.PL dancer principal COP Saint.Michael
’six principal dancers from San Miguel’

lwego ‘mehni lwego me nu me Mulinu, me Nit’o’ho
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’

a nupya ya jō’i-wa ngu xa ti anima
and now DEF.PL people-here as.if EMPH 3.PRS cheer up
‘and people from here, it’s like there is spirit’

ngu xa ke ja ya johya entre-mōs
as.if EMPH that EXT DEF.PL happy between-more
‘it’s like there is happiness among everybody’

ngu xa ke ja ya nts’i,
as if EMPH that EXT DEF.PL food
‘it is like there is food’

ya bolunta xa ti pongi tat’i jeya ja ya mponi,
DEF.PL contribution EMPH 3.PRS exchange each year EXT DEF.PL exchange
‘people exchange their contributions every year, there are exchanges’

mi dura mi dura kūta goho ngeya a nupya hi’na
3.IMPF last 3.IMPF last five four year and now NEG
‘in the past it lasted five or four months a year, but not now’

tat’i jeya di mpongi tsi nei.
each year 3.PRS exchange DIM dancer
‘every year dancers change’

(...) (…)

Hō, ’naki bi fōx-kagi ’raya sōsi
yes once 3.PST grow-1.OBJ INDEF.PL pimple
‘Yes, once I got some pimples and’

ne dá ma ha doktor pe nixi te bi ja-kagi
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’

a mejor dá tsoho dá ma ’na a ’na tsi jō’i
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 xöça 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’ü 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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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 CODES SwitchING 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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Significant at the 0.5 % level

**AV. WGT**

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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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<td>0.7%</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AV.WGT</td>
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<td>0.62</td>
<td>0.52</td>
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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

**Chi2**

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<td>0.07</td>
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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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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>762</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>1588</td>
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<td>TARGET</td>
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<td>3542</td>
<td>9187</td>
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SIGNIFICANT at the 0.5 % level

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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 (tokens)

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Factors 0.692 0.207 0.092 0.009

degrees of freedom 6

Chi2

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SIGNIFICANT at the 0.5 % level
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<tr>
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### Table 10.28: Loanwords per parts of speech and level of bilingualism (types)

<table>
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Factors 0.657 0.188 0.142 0.013

degrees of freedom 6

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