# A Coatlan-Loxicha Zapotec grammar (Mexico)

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Para Martina, quién me abrió el camino...

nà të´tza$^7$ mě nzádi$^7$zh di$^7$zhke$^7$...

and to Henry, without whom it might still all be a dream

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**Supplement** **CD containing the following items:**

1. Audio wave files of all the examples given in Chapter 2

2. Audio wave files of the text in Appendix B2

3. Digital copies of the photos taken by Welte of the *Lienzo de San Jerónimo Coatlán*
4. PDF files of appendix A which the reader can use to search for specific words

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# Abbreviations used

**People, Organizations and Publications**

| | |
|---|---|
| CIESAS | Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social |
| ECS | Ermelinda Canseco Santos |
| IJAL | International Journal of American Linguistics |
| ILV | Instituto Lingüístico de Verano (SIL in Mexico) |
| INAH | Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia |
| INI | Instituto Nacional Indigenista |
| JSV | José Santos Velásquez |
| LDP | Lázaro Díaz Pacheco |
| PDLMA | Project for the Documentation of the Languages of Meso-America |
| PNE | Papeles de Nueva España |
| PPP | Pedro Pacheco Pacheco |
| RGBA | Rosemary Beam de Azcona |
| SIL | Summer Institute of Linguistics |
| UNAM | Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México |

**Language, variety and place names** (Z can be added or removed to indicate language/place)**:**

| | |
|---|---|
| CA | Coatecas Altas |
| CLZ | Coatlán-Loxicha Zapotec |
| CN | Campo Nuevo (Ranch of San Miguel Coatlán) |
| CVZ | Colonial Valley Zapotec |
| CZ | Central Zapotec |
| IZ | Isthmus Zapotec |
| JCH | Juchitán (variety of IZ) |
| NZ | Northern Zapotec |
| OM | Otomanguean |
| PZ | Proto-Zapotec |
| QZ | Quiegolani Zapotec |
| SAL | San Agustín Loxicha |
| SAMZ | San Agustín Mixtepec Zapotec |
| SBL | San Baltazar Loxicha |
| SBarL | San Bartolomé Loxicha |
| SCC | Santa Catarina Coatlán |
| SCL | Santa Catarina Loxicha |
| SDC | Santo Domingo Coatlán |
| SDM | Santo Domingo de Morelos |
| SFC | San Francisco Coatlán |
| SJC | San Jerónimo Coatlán |
| SJM | San Juan Mixtepec |
| SJZ | Sierra Juárez Zapotec |
| SLM | San Lorenzo Mixtepec |
| SLQZ | San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec |
| SMCo | Santa María Colotepec |
| SMaC | Santa María Coatlán |
| SMigC | San Miguel Coatlán (most data from the Campo Nuevo ranch) |
| SPaC | San Pablo Coatlán |
| SPeC | San Pedro Coatlán |
| SSC | San Sebastián Coatlán |

| | |
|---|---|
| SSRH | San Sebastián Río Hondo |
| SVC | San Vicente Coatlán |
| SZ | Southern Zapotec |
| TVZ | Teotitlán del Valle Zapotec |
| WZ | Western Zapotec |
| YZ | Yatzachi Zapotec |
| ZZ | Zaniza Zapotec |

**Grammatical terms and symbols used in the grammar, lexicon, and texts:**

| | |
|---|---|
| 1s | 1st person singular pronoun |
| 1i | 1st person (plural) inclusive pronoun |
| 1e | 1st person (plural) exclusive pronoun |
| 2f | 2nd person familiar pronoun |
| 2r | 2nd person respectful pronoun |
| 3hr | 3rd person human respectful pronoun |
| 3hd | 3rd person human unfamiliar (d for *desconocido*) pronoun |
| 3hf | 3rd person human familiar pronoun |
| 3hjf | 3rd person human female child or adolescent pronoun |
| 3hjm | 3rd person human male child or adolescent pronoun |
| 3hjp | 3rd person human plural child or adolescent pronoun |
| 3a | 3rd person animal pronoun |
| 3i | 3rd person inanimate pronoun |
| 7 | Glottal tone |
| ACC | Accusative case |
| AN | Animacy marker |
| AUX | Auxiliary verb |
| C | Completive aspect |
| CAUS | Causative auxiliary verb |
| COMP | Complementizer |
| DER | Irregular, derivational morphemes that are difficult to gloss |
| DET | Determiner |
| FOC | Focus marker |
| F | Certain future or Falling tone (which of these is hopefully clear from context) |
| H | Habitual aspect or High tone |
| IRR | Irrealis |
| IMP | Imperative |
| INF | Infinitive (complement of state of being verb) |
| INTE | Interrogative |
| L | Low tone |
| M | Complement of a motion verb in a purpose clause |
| N | Nominative case |
| NEG | Negative |
| NOM | Nominalizer |
| P | Potential aspect |
| PART | Participle (verbal adjective) |
| POS | Possessive marker |
| R | Rising tone |
| R1 | Replacive prefix found in the habitual and other forms of a class D verb |
| R2 | Replacive prefix found in the completive and other forms of a class D verb |
| REL | Relative pronoun |
| S | Stative |

| | |
|---|---|
| SUB | Subordinate verb form |
| TAM | Tense/Aspect/Mood |
| T | Transitive |
| vi | Intransitive verb, e.g. viA is an intransitive class A verb |
| vt | Transitive verb |
| X | morpheme of unknown gloss |
| = | clitic boundary |
| - | affix boundary |
| . | fusional morphology, including tone sandhi; also used for multi-word glosses of single Zapotec morphemes |

Compounds and short idioms may be glossed [morpheme morpheme: compound morpheme], for example [fruit face: eye]

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# 1. Introduction

In this introductory chapter I introduce basic facts and background information on Coatlán-Loxicha Zapotec (CLZ) and its speakers. After giving some basic linguistic background on CLZ I provide geographic, historical and ethnographic information on the Southern Zapotecs with an emphasis on the history of the CLZ-speaking region.

## 1.1 Linguistic profile of CLZ

CLZ is a Southern Zapotec language belonging to the Coatec subgroup according to Smith-Stark (2003). It is a monosyllabic, tonal, head-marking, left-headed language with basic VSO word order. Here I preview some of the highlights that are examined in greater detail in the chapters to follow.

From a phonetic and phonological point of view this language has much to offer towards bettering our knowledge of tone languages and their typology. In this grammar I describe interaction between tone and segments, different registers that tones can be realized in, different kinds of glottalization that are used in tone marking, and ways that tone and register are exploited for morphological purposes. CLZ is one of several modern Zapotec languages which have undergone deletion of all previously unstressed vowels. The way in which the language has scrunched from a previously polysyllabic language into an overwhelmingly monosyllabic one, has no doubt added to the complexity and functional load of the system of suprasegmental contrasts, especially tone but also features such as nasalization and palatalization.

CLZ is a head-marking language and the bound morphemes that occur are inflectional and derivational prefixes and pronominal enclitics. Zapotec verbs have interesting stem alternations in their inflectional paradigms including surface vowel alternations for verbs with vowel-initial stems and in one special class there are multiple stems with different initial consonants that are used with different TAM categories. Among the derivational issues I describe for CLZ are the existence of related transitive/intransitive or active/passive verb pairs, and for nouns two layers of animacy marking, one going back to Proto-Zapotec (PZ) and the other being a Southern Zapotec innovation which I suggest developed from shortened classifiers. In my description of enclitic pronouns I discuss the phonological and syntactic distributions of two types of clitic.

The syntax of this and other Otomanguean languages in general is of interest because of the descriptive and theoretical issues associated with VSO syntax. In this left-headed language verbs precede their arguments and nouns precede their modifiers. I describe the different syntactic constructions that mark alienable and inalienable possession and the innovative use of a prefix historically used to productively mark alienably possessed Zapotec nouns but in CLZ instead marking a closed class of inalienably possessed nouns. Most phrases that translate as prepositional phrases in Spanish and English are in fact possessed noun phrases in CLZ but a few historical nouns have lost their original meanings and might be considered emergent prepositions in modern CLZ, alongside an additional class of loan prepositions. Noun incorporation and the formation of different types of compound verbs are also topics of syntactic and morphological interest. Although only briefly discussed in this dissertation, one of the most interesting syntactic topics is the existence of an exotic inclusory construction found only in Southern Zapotec languages and resembling constructions found in languages of the Pacific such as Australian languages (see, for example, Blake, 1987).

While there have been some dramatic changes between Proto-Zapotec and CLZ, CLZ also has some conservative phonological features within Southern Zapotec. For one, the earlier palatalized voiceless stops (as in Benton, 1998 and Kaufman, 2003) are maintained in some instances and in others are at least conserved as /t̪/ whereas these have become /ɾ/ and /č/ in most other Zapotec languages. Many other Southern Zapotec languages have changed these sounds further when preceding front vowels, changes CLZ has not participated in. CLZ is also interesting for some of its less conservative features. While most Zapotec languages have a contrast between two, three, or more phonation types, separate from the tonal contrast, glottalization in CLZ has become a tonal contrast itself. This language has much to offer our understanding of how tone languages may change over time, especially in languages with extensive vowel deletion.

With this dissertation I make a first attempt at describing CLZ's most basic linguistic features and I hope that this information will be of interest and of use to many others.

## 1.2 Language names

The names given to Zapotec languages by linguists are often cumbersome and I am compelled to here justify my choice of the mouthful I have chosen to denote this language: *Coatlán-Loxicha Zapotec* (CLZ). I start by reviewing the names which others have used to refer to this language.

In CLZ the name of the language is *di*$^7$*zh ke*$^7$ [ðiʔṣkeʔ]. *Di*$^7$*zh* means 'palabra, idioma; word, language'. *Ke*$^7$ is not a morpheme that has been recorded in isolation in CLZ but it is found in the town name of San Pablo Coatlán, *Yêzh Yè Ke*$^7$ or sometimes just *Yíke*$^7$. In the fuller version of the toponym both of the other morphemes are analyzable. *Yêzh* means 'pueblo; town' and *yè* means 'cerro; hill'. In the shorter name *Yi* may be a reduced form of the word *yî* 'piedra; rock.' So *ke*$^7$ would seem to be a morpheme that refers specifically to San Pablo Coatlán.

San Pablo Coatlán is the *cabecera* or county seat of the Coatlanes and was also the ancient capital of the principality of *Quiegoqui* (Espíndola, 1580), later misidentified as *Huihuogui* in several sources (Gutierrez, 1609; Gay, 1950; Rojas, 1958; and Brandomin, 1992) and referred to as *Guiotequi* by Alcázar L. (2004). The *Quiegoqui* spelling makes more sense than the oft-cited *Huihuogui*. *Quie* is cited by Córdova (1578) as meaning 'piedra generalmente' ('rock in general') and is found in several place names of Zapotec origin: *Quiegolani, Quiechapa, Quieguitani, Quielovego* and *Quieri* (Brandomin, 1992). In fact, although the form *quie* cited by Córdova is in a Valley Zapotec language, all of the *Quie*-initial place names cited by Brandomin for the state of

Oaxaca are in the Southern Zapotec area, though he gives similarly glossed place names beginning in a *g* in the Isthmus of Tehuantepec: *Guevea*, *Guiedo, Guienagati*, and *Guiengola.*

The form *Huihuogui* is strange for several reasons. First of all the orthographic sequence <huo> is unusual. It is possible that the tendency for *g* to surface as /$\text{ɣ}^{w}$/ or even just /w/ before back rounded vowels in some SZ languages, e.g. SAL, is responsible for the <huo> syllable but it is more likely that this is a copying error. Secondly, of all the Oaxacan place names given by Brandomin, the only <hui>-initial ones are Aztec in origin, not Zapotec. The translation given for *Huihuogui* is ‘río de los señores; river of the lords’ (Gutiérrez, 1609; and cited by Gay, 1950; Rojas, 1958; Alcázar López, 2004). ‘Señor; lord’ is given as *coqui* by Córdova (1578). The voicing difference between *coqui* and *goqui* is not unexpected since we know that lenis consonants underwent voicing during this period in most Zapotec languages.[1]

Both the sixteenth and seventeenth century *relación* writers are clearly deficient in their understanding of Zapotec, yet they each give us valuable pieces of the etymological puzzle which can then be put together. Espíndola (1580) gives us the correct Zapotec name but not the correct translation. While sometimes Nahua place names were translations of Zapotec ones, Espíndola assumes too often that this is the case. In (1580) he says that Coatlán in Zapotec “is called *Quiegoqui*, which in the Mexican language (Nahuatl) means Coatlan and in ours ‘Sierra de Culebras (hill or mountain range of snakes---this and the rest of the sentence are my translation).’” While his Spanish term correctly translates the better-known Nahuatl, it has nothing to do with the meaning of the Zapotec name. On the other hand, Gutiérrez (1609) gives an altered Zapotec term which can’t be quite right, but the correct translation.

/ko/, or in modern times *go,* is one of two animacy prefixes which are added to many words referring to humans, animals and supernaturals (see 5.3). Prefixes are pre-tonic in Zapotec and their vowels are lost in SZ languages. The *co* of Córdova's *coqui* was unstressed and therefore a prefix we would expect to reduce or delete in SZ languages. In SZ languages animacy prefixes have undergone prenasalization, with **ko*- often reflecting as *ngw*-. However, animacy prefixes are often further reduced or deleted in toponyms (e.g. compare *mbéwnè* 'scorpion' to *Béwnè* 'Santa María Colotepec.'). If the *co* of *coqui* did not survive into modern CLZ, or if it suffered vowel deletion rendering an initial cluster that would reflect as a fortis consonant, the form we would expect would be *ki*, a syllable which is awfully similar to the *ke*$^{7}$ morpheme in the CLZ name of San Pablo Coatlán and of CLZ itself. There are plentiful examples of an *i~e* alternation in several words between different dialects of CLZ and the glottalization would not have been written in these colonial sources anyway. Thus, *di*$^{7}$*zh ke*$^{7}$ could be translated as 'palabra o lengua de los señores; word or language of the lords.'

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[1] Evidence that Zapotec lenis obstruents changed from voiceless to voiced in the post-contact period comes from Spanish loanwords. Spanish voiceless consonants were borrowed as lenis consonants and later underwent voicing the same as lenis consonants in native words. For example, Operstein (2004) cites the Spanish loan in ZZ *vaca* → bag. CLZ and ZZ (Operstein, 2004) both have *bay* for Spanish ‘pañuelo.’

Other Zapotec languages also use their cognates of the *di*$^{7}$*zh* morpheme in the names for their languages, but rather than each language having some toponymic morpheme to refer to the geographic location of the speech community many languages instead have a different morpheme which is cognate among them and could be translated as 'Zapotec.' This morpheme has been reconstructed as *sä by Kaufman (2003) for Proto-Zapotec (PZ) and has reflexes such as those seen in the following words different Zapotec languages have to name themselves: Isthmus Zapotec *didxazá* (Picket et al., 1959), San Agustín Mixtepec Zapotec *dí*$^{7}$*is tæ*`, Cuixtla (aka Miahuatlán) Zapotec *dí*$^{7}$*stè*$^{7}$, Santo Domingo de Morelos (same language as San Agustín Loxicha) Zapotec [ðiʔis tey], Mitla Zapotec *didxsaj* (Stubblefield & Stubblefield, 1991), San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec (SLQZ) *Dìi'zh Sah* (Munro and López et al., 1999).

Another Zapotec language without the 'Zapotec' morpheme in its name is Zoogocho Zapotec or *diža'xon*. The *xon* morpheme is glossed by Long C. and Cruz M. (1999) as 'casera' (homestyle) and is also recorded alone and in the word *rmed xon* 'medicina casera; home remedy.' However, the dictionary made by Zanhe Xbab Sa (1995) defines *xhon* as referring to the

Zapotec people that inhabit the Cajonos region (presumably cognate with the Spanish stressed syllable in *Cajonos*. Both meanings are probably related.

In some Zapotec languages the morpheme for ‘language’ is part of the ethnonym, so that one doesn’t refer to ‘Zapotec people’ but rather refers to them as ‘people of the Zapotec word / language.’ For example, in SLQZ a Zapotec person is *bùunny Dìi’zh Sah* (Munro and López et al., 1999) and in Santo Domingo de Morelos ‘gente zapoteca; Zapotec people’ are [ṣaʔ ðiʔiz těy].

The first name used to refer specifically to this language in a European tongue was *coateco* which is mentioned in the *Relaciones Geográficas* (Feria y Carmona, 1777) and has also been used more recently by Smith Stark (2003). Other names used in English and Spanish to refer to this language are those used by the SIL and listed in the Ethnologue. The main publication on this language before my association with it was Dow Robinson’s (1963) *Field Notes on Coatlan Zapotec*. The name used in Robinson’s title is how this language is often referred to in the literature (e.g. Fernández de Miranda, 1965; Benton, 1988; Rendón, 1995), mostly historical work in which Robinson’s data was used along with other languages to reconstruct Proto-Zapotec. The Ethnologue lists the following alternate names: Western Miahuatlán Zapoteco, Santa María Coatlán Zapoteco, Coatlán Zapotec(o), and San Miguel Zapoteco.

The Nahuatl name *Coatlán* means ‘sierra de culebra, lugar de culebra; snake hill, place of snake(s)’ because of the steepness of the surrounding mountain range (Espíndola, 1580) or because of the great quantity of snakes that existed in San Pablo Coatlán (Gutiérrez, 1609).

The name *Zapotec* comes from Nahuatl *tzapotécatl* ‘Zapote people’ (Paddock, 1970). The zapote is a class of fruit that comes in many colors and which is common in Oaxaca.

The name I use for this language in English and Spanish ‘Coatlán-Loxicha Zapotec’ or ‘zapoteco de Coatlán y Loxicha’ has an additional word compared to the earlier name in the linguistic literature, which I will now justify.

The Ethnologue currently counts this language as two languages. The language of the Coatlanes (except San Vicente Coatlán) is there given the official code of [ZPS] and the names already given above. The Loxicha dialect(s) of CLZ are in the Ethnologue given the language code of [ZPX] and the official name of *Northwestern Pochutla Zapoteco* or the alternate names of *San Baltázar* (sic) *Loxicha Zapoteco* and *Loxicha Zapotec*. Despite the Ethnologue's categorization of CLZ as two distinct languages with intelligibility test scores of only 71% (Loxicha's "intelligibility with Santa María Coatlán") and 54% (Coatlán's "intelligibility of Loxicha"), these are in fact dialects of the same language with the highest degree of mutual intelligibility. I have participated in and witnessed conversations between people from the various towns and they had no more or perhaps even less difficulty communicating with each other than I would with someone who speaks a different dialect of English than my own.

Since the towns which speak CLZ today have the *apellido*[2] of either Loxicha or Coatlán, the name *Coatlán Zapotec*, or likewise the name *Loxicha Zapotec*, would only give fair representation to part of the speech community. Either of these names would also cause confusion because there are two or three other languages[3] in this region which are spoken in towns with the *apellidos* Coatlán and Loxicha. CLZ is the only language which is spoken in some towns with each *apellido* so the use of both *Coatlán* and *Loxicha* in the compound name should indicate the appropriate language and exclude the other nearby languages with similar names.

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[2] In many parts of Mexico and especially in Oaxaca, towns have compound names. A typical formula is the Spanish name of the patron saint of the town followed by an indigenous toponym. The indigenous toponym sometimes comes from the local indigenous language and other times comes from some other indigenous language of Mexico which was used administratively in colonial times, usually Nahuatl. The indigenous name, because it occurs last and because it follows a saint's name which is also a Spanish given name for people, is referred to as the *apellido* which is the Spanish term for a surname.

[3] The language spoken in San Vicente Coatlán was probably once part of a dialect continuum with CLZ but Zapotec is no longer spoken in the intermediate towns so the continuum has severed these into two separate languages. A Miahuatec language is spoken in San Agustín Loxicha and several other towns near and on the Pacific coast, including some with the Loxicha *apellido*, e.g. Candelaria Loxicha, Quelové Loxicha. The variety of Zapotec spoken in the town of San Bartolomé Loxicha may be a third language or it may be a dialect of the language spoken in San Agustín Loxicha. Speakers from various towns which speak the latter language claim to not be able to understand speakers from San Bartolomé Loxicha, but speakers from San Bartolomé Loxicha say that in fact they can understand speakers from those same other towns just fine.

Loxicha is a bimorphemic word of entirely Zapotec origin. *Lo-* is found on place names in the SZ and NZ areas. According to Brandomin (1992) it comes from the Zapotec *loho* ‘lugar’ (‘place’). This is probably the word for ‘face’ which is *ndô* in CLZ but *lo* in related languages such as SAMZ. This word is also used like a preposition meaning ‘to, towards, facing, at’ and is commonly used to express location. Brandomin gives the *xicha* morpheme the meaning of ‘piña’ (‘pineapple’). However, in CLZ the tone does not quite match. In CLZ the name of San Baltazar Loxicha is *Yêzh Xǐzh* and its people are *mě Lxǐzh*. The word for pineapple is *bxi*$^{7}$*zh*. An equally good candidate as ‘pineapple’ is ‘tejón; coatimundi’ *mxi*$^{7}$*zh*. Both of these last two words have glottal tone in CLZ while the toponym has low tone. This does not rule them out though because there are some related words which differ by these two tones. Another possibility is that the town is named after a flower. Ortega (1777) in his *relación* of Santiago Lapaguía, mentions a flowering tree with fragrant white flowers which he calls *plurifundio* in Spanish. He writes, “in the Zapotec language they name them *luxicha*” (my translation). This tree is also found in SBL where in Spanish it is called *florifunda* or the more standard *florifundio* and in Zapotec *mě yi*$^{7}$ which translates as ‘señor flor; Mr. flower.’ This flower is very fragrant and is also an entheogen (Ott, 2004). Thus, if this is the correct etymology, the town’s name could either refer to the existence of this plant in SBL (which would hardly be a feature unique to this town, though perhaps there could have been a tree on a particularly important spot there) or, hypothetically, the name could refer to the use of this plant by shamans in SBL. I have not heard reports of *mě yi*$^{7}$ being used in this way in SBL but the use of a higher animate classifier *mě* in the name suggests knowledge of its entheogenic properties.

In Spanish when one simply says *Loxicha* without a saint’s name, one means ‘San Agustín Loxicha.’ Today that town is *the* Loxicha, though SBL’s Zapotec name would seem to indicate that it could be the real Loxicha. Not all towns named Loxicha have a similar word in their

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In fact there are linguistic differences which make the variety spoken in San Bartolomé more distinct but it

Zapotec name. For example, Santa Catarina Loxicha is simply *Sántlín*, and San Bartolomé Loxicha is *Yíxìl*. However the name of San Agustín Loxicha is somewhat similar, *Xǐtz*. The *zh* phoneme of CLZ corresponds to the Valley Zapotec phoneme *ch* that is represented in the spelling of most official Zapotec place names in Spanish. The CLZ phoneme *tz* instead corresponds to /s(s)/ as in ‘agua; water’ CLZ *nîtz* ~ CVZ *nìça*, the latter of which is sometimes written as *nisa* or *niza*, as in an early name for Miahuatlán, *Pelopeniza* (see the etymology given by Brandomin, 1992). If the *xǐtz* morpheme isn’t actually some other morpheme, it is a variant pronunciation of the morpheme in *Loxicha*. Notably, while *zh* is the CLZ sound which corresponds to the Valley Zapotec *ch* which is fossilized in the official spelling and thus the spoken Spanish, the *tz* sound in the *Xǐtz* morpheme is phonetically more similar to the *ch* of the Spanish pronunciation (though CLZ *ch* would be even more similar). It is as if both towns have the same name but in CLZ one is said in a more CLZ way and the other is said in a way as to mimick non-CLZ speakers, outsiders to the region, which the residents of SAL historically were.

The SALZ name for SAL also has a tonally ambiguous meaning. According to http://www.laneta.apc.org/rio/loxicha/historia.htm, the founders of SAL named their town *Loo-Mxhiiss* ‘Lugar de los Tejones; Place of the Coatimundis’ because there were many there which used to eat the corn at night. According to the website the Spaniards later changed the name because they didn’t like the reference to the pests and since the residents were planting pineapples they changed the name officially to Loxicha, or in Zapotec *Loo-xhiss* ‘Lugar de las Piñas; Place of the Pineapples.’ Since both ‘coatimundi’ and ‘pineapple’ have the same tone either is a possible etymology. Though the website mentions the difference of the animal prefix *m*-, this difference may be inconsequential because this prefix is often omitted when an animal word occurs in a toponym, e.g. compare CLZ *mbéwnè* ‘alacrán; scorpion’ vs. *Béwnè* ‘Sta. Ma. Colotepec’ which literally means ‘St. Mary Scorpion Hill’.

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is still very similar to what is spoken in San Agustín Loxicha and elsewhere.

Since *Coatlán-Loxicha Zapotec* is too long to say repeatedly in English, and using the initials *CLZ* often feels awkward, I have sometimes considered simply using the Zapotec name *di*$^7$*zh ke*$^7$. However, to authentically use the name *Di*$^7$*zh Ke*$^7$ in English or Spanish would really be codeswitching and, worse, it would not be apparent to many scholars that this grammar or other published work on this language was actually on a language related to all the other languages called *Zapotec*. Thus, for better or worse Coatlán-Loxicha Zapotec (CLZ) or in Spanish *el zapoteco de Coatlán y Loxicha* (ZCL) is the name I have chosen to use in my work.

## 1.3 Linguistic affiliation

Zapotec languages are Otomanguean languages. The Otomanguean stock is thought to be roughly 6000 years old (Kaufman, 2004). It stretches from San Luis Potosí in the North to Costa Rica in the South. Otomanguean languages are overwhelmingly tonal and are known for their VSO syntax. Zapotecan languages are Eastern Otomanguean languages most closely related to Mazatecan. The Chatino languages are the closest relatives of the Zapotec languages proper and together these two language groups comprise the Zapotecan family.

**Figure 1: Otomanguean language groups** (based on Kaufman, 2004)

<table>
<tr><td colspan="18">**Otomanguean**</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="9">Western Otomanguean</td><td colspan="9">**Eastern Otomanguean**</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="6">Oto-Pamean-Chinantecan</td><td colspan="3">Tlapanecan-Chorotegan</td><td colspan="4">Amuzgo-Mixtecan</td><td colspan="5">**Mazatecan-Zapotecan**</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="5">Oto-Pamean</td><td rowspan="4">Chinantec</td><td rowspan="4">Subtiaba-Tlapanec</td><td colspan="2">Chorotegan</td><td rowspan="4">Amuzgo</td><td colspan="3">Mixtecan</td><td colspan="3">Mazatecan</td><td colspan="2">**Zapotecan**</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">North</td><td colspan="3">Southern</td><td rowspan="3">Chiapanec</td><td rowspan="3">Chorotega</td><td rowspan="3">Trique</td><td colspan="2">M-C</td><td rowspan="3">Mazatec</td><td colspan="2">Chochoan</td><td rowspan="3">**Zapotec**</td><td rowspan="3">Chatino</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Chichimec</td><td rowspan="2">Pame</td><td rowspan="2">Matlatzinca-Tlahuica</td><td colspan="2">O-M</td><td rowspan="2">Cuicatec</td><td rowspan="2">Mixtec</td><td rowspan="2">Ixcatec</td><td rowspan="2">Popolocan-Chocho</td></tr>
<tr><td>Mazahua</td><td>Otomí</td></tr>
</table>

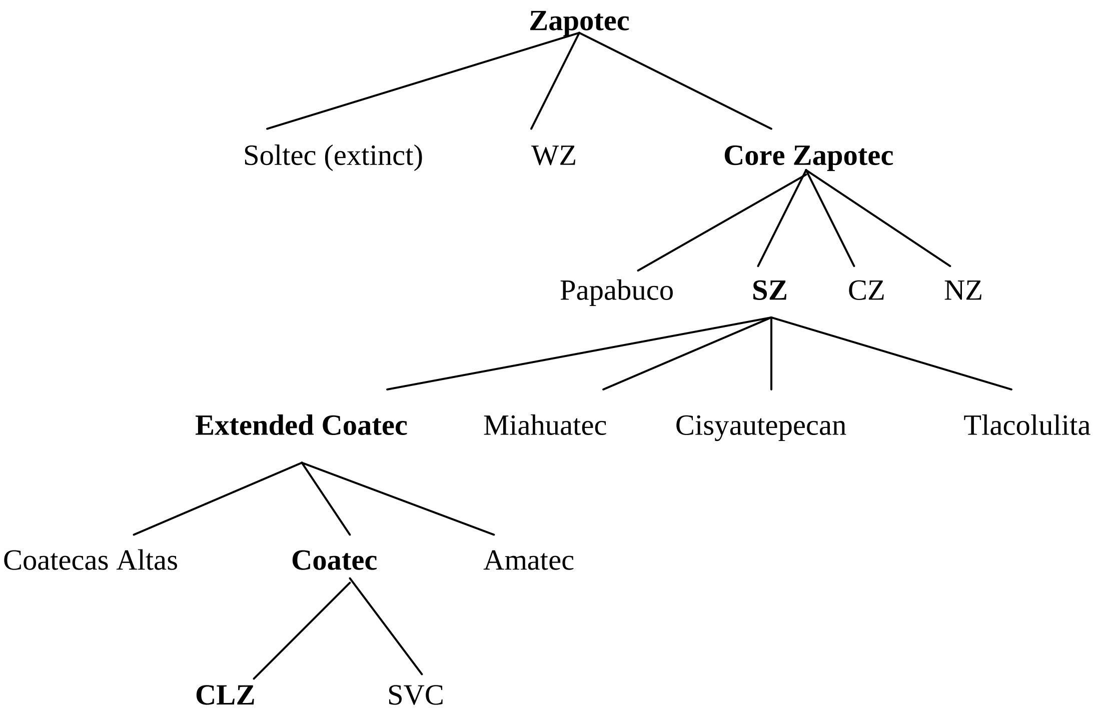
The most recent division of Zapotec is Smith Stark (2003). Besides giving his own classification of all varieties of Zapotec for which there are data, Smith Stark gives an exhaustive review of all previously existing classifications. Earlier classifications include those of Radin (1925), Angulo & Freeland (1934), Swadesh (1947), Fernández de Miranda (1965), Rendón (1967, 1975), and Suárez (1977). The reader is encouraged to consult this fine work for information on other classifications.

Estimates of how many distinct languages Zapotec comprises are difficult to make due to lack of data, dialect continua, multilingualism, and the inherent difficulties of quantifying intelligibility. Lay people occaisionally refer to Zapotec as one language (or worse, *dialecto*) but in truth it is no more a single language than is Chinese or Romance. Estimates go from 5-10 languages (Kaufman, 2004) all the way up to 58 (Ethnologue). Judging from the information given by Smith Stark (2003) and my own personal field experience with many Zapotec languages, SZ languages alone must number between ten and the mid-upper teens.

According to Smith Stark (2003), SZ languages are characterized by having an initial /m/ or /mb/ where other Zapotec languages have /b/ in animal words and other words marked with an animacy prefix. “Extended Coatec” languages (CLZ, SVC, Coatecas Altas and Amatec) share the innovation of **ss* > /ts/. Miahuatec languages differ from other SZ languages by the occlusion of **ss* > /t/ and *s > /d/ (though here /d/ probably means [ð]). Cisyautepecan languages have an animacy prefix *m-* where other SZ languages have *mb-*. Tlacolulita Zapotec is a nearly extinct and undocumented language which deserves immediate further study. It has affinities both with Central Zapotec and with Southern Zapotec. Smith Stark cites the examples of *mba’ako’* ‘perro; dog’ and *nis* ‘agua; water’ to show that this language has nasal animacy marking (making it an SZ language) with the prefix *mb-* (making it not Cisyautepecan), and a /s/ reflex of **ss* (making it neither Coatec nor Miahuatec). This language is geographically not distant from CZ and Cisyautepecan languages and is right on the border with Chontal (Tequistlatec).

In Figure 2 I show CLZ within Smith's classification. All English labels are my translation.

**Figure 2: CLZ in Smith Stark (2003)'s classification**


Zapotec
Soltec (extinct)
WZ
Core Zapotec
Papabuco
SZ
CZ
NZ
Extended Coatec
Miahuatec
Cisyautepecan
Tlacolulita
Coatecas Altas
Coatec
Amatec
CLZ
SVC

Another subgroup of one of the major branches of Zapotec is Transyautepecan. This group includes four languages: Quiavicuzas or Northeastern Yautepec Zapotec, Northwest Tehauantepec (aka Lachiguiri) Zapotec, Petapa Zapotec and Northeast Tehuantepec Zapotec which is spoken in Guevea de Humboldt and other towns. Transyautepecan languages were grouped with other Southern Zapotec languages in an earlier version of (Smith Stark, 2003) but were put under Central Zapotec in the final version. These languages are geographically found between the Southern Zapotec and Isthmus Zapotec areas and are in close proximity to Mixe. In fact there is intermarriage and multilingualism in this area where people may speak Zapotec, Spanish and Mixe. Transyautepecan languages have similarities with both SZ and CZ languages. One affinity shared with SZ is nasal-initial animal words.

Smith Stark puts CLZ and its closest relative SVC together with the Zapotec languages spoken in Coatecas Altas and Amatlán, with all these being separate from the neighboring Miahuatec languages which include the language spoken in Cuixtla and Xitla near the Coatlanes, the language spoken in the other Loxichas to the South of SBL and SCL, as well as other languages to the East of CLZ such as SAMZ. Going by legends recorded in some historical sources (see Rojas, 1958), one might expect that Miahuatec languages would be more closely related to CLZ than Amatlán Zapotec since Miahuatlán was purportedly founded by emigrants from Coatlán while Amatlán was supposed to be founded by a separate party who had left the Valley around the same time as the original Coatecs.

In my own (2001) study of coronal sounds in Zapotec (based on data from personal fieldwork and from Angulo, 1935; Benton, 1988; Black, 1994; Hopkins, 1995; Marks, 1980; Olive, 1995; Piper, 1995; Rendón, 1967, 1971, and 1975; Ruegsegger, 1956; and Ward, 1987) I found that in some instances Miahuatec and Coatec do appear to be more closely related. Looking at reflexes of PZ **tt* Miahuatec languages pattern with CLZ and SVC in having fricative reflexes while Coatecas Altas and Amatec pattern with Cisyautepecan in conserving /t/. The lenis counterpart of **tt* is **t* and there are three types of reflexes for this phoneme. Cisyautepcan languages have a stop reflex /d/, Miahuatec languages pattern with CLZ and SVC and also Coatecas Altas in having fricative reflexes, while Amatec is somewhere in between, having a /d/ reflex in word-initial position and an affricate [$\mathrm{d}^{ð}$] reflex word-finally. The reflexes of **ty* and **tty* set SVC and CLZ apart from all the other SZ languages. CLZ and SVC maintain stops while the other languages have sibilants, affricates, and a flap. I view the Miahuatec-Coatec change from dental stops **tt, *t* to fricatives *θ, ð* as the shared beginning of a chain shift (see Beam de Azcona, 2004). This was a drag chain which pulled different segments in each of the two branches into the dental stop gap created by the original shared change. Once the PZ dental stops had changed to fricatives in both Miahuatec and Coatec, in Coatec the palatalized stops **ty* and **tty* became plain dentals while in Miahuatec languages the fricatives **ss* and **s* moved into this slot. Thus, between my study and Smith Stark's the indications are mixed as to the relationship between

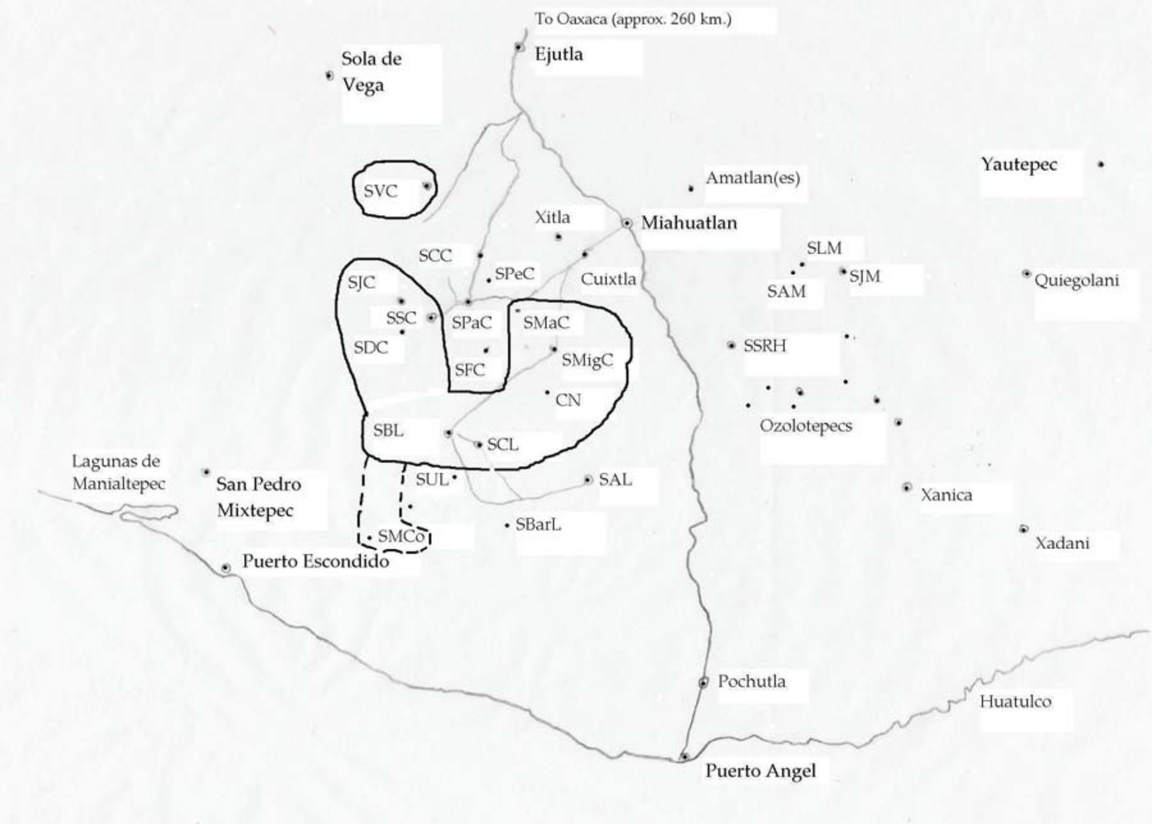
Coatecas Altas, Miahuatec, Coatec, and Amatec but the indications are clear that all of these are distinct from Cisyautepecan and Tlacolulita within SZ.

## 1.4 Geographic location

Once spoken in perhaps as many as 33 settlements, CLZ is today spoken in seven towns and their subsidiary ranches. Since 1996 I have worked with speakers from four of these: San Miguel and Santa María Coatlán and San Baltazar and Santa Catarina Loxicha, though most intensively with SBL. I have heard different accounts from different people over the years but in 2004 I am told that there are still a few speakers in San Sebastián, Santo Domingo and San Jerónimo Coatlán, according to monolingual Spanish speakers and one CLZ semi-speaker from these towns whom I met in Miahuatlán. According to the 2000 Mexican Census (INEGI, 2002), 1588 people in these towns were Zapotec speakers. The Coatlanes lie in the western part of the ex-district of Miahuatlán while the Loxichas are to the south in the ex-district of Pochutla. CLZ's closest relative is San Vicente Coatlán Zapotec in the ex-district of Ejutla to the north.

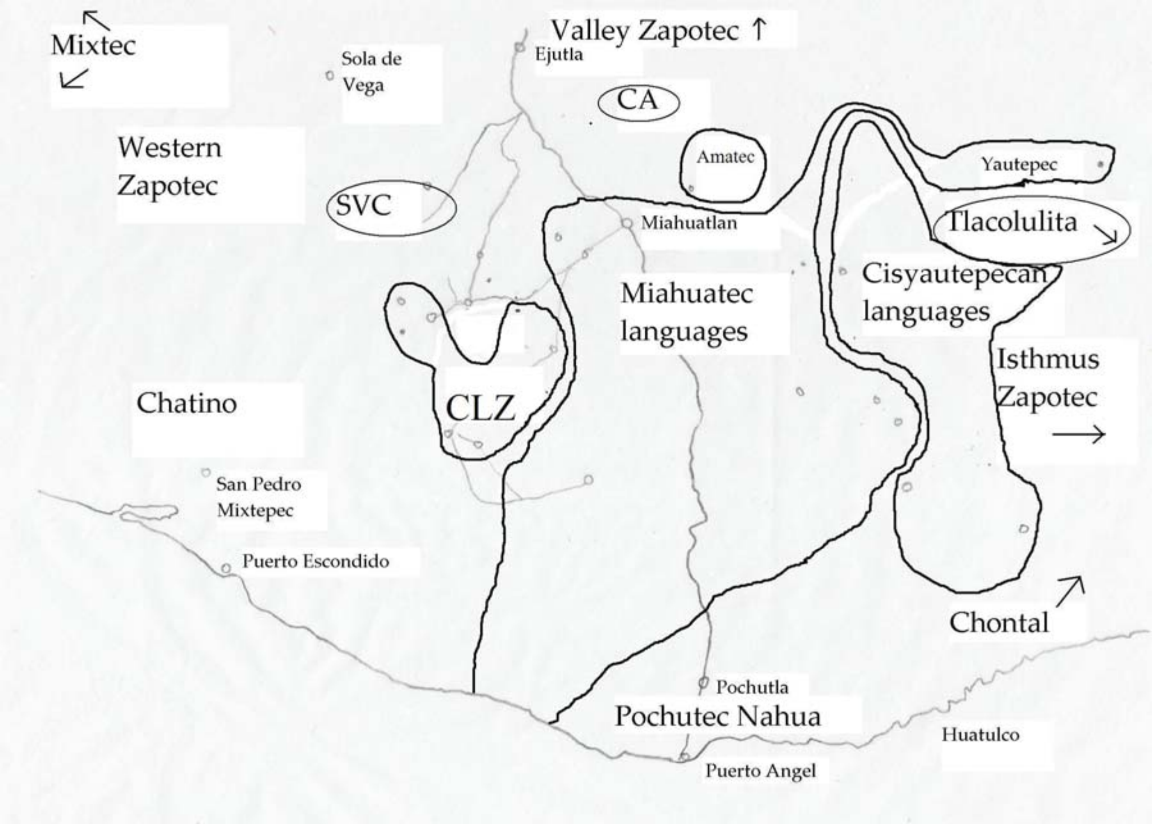
The town of Santa María Colotepec near the coast was probably originally a CLZ-speaking town (based on toponymic evidence discussed below). According to the 2000 census there are more than 1200 residents over the age of 5 who speak "Zapotec" or "Southern Zapotec" there. However, according to LDP, my main SBL consultant, this is a town whose population includes a large number of SZ immigrants from other towns. The land is good for growing corn and since it is near the tourist spot of Puerto Escondido there are more economic possibilities there. LDP has had many Zapotec conversations with people in SMCo but he says that this town does not have its own language, be it CLZ or another. Rather, he says that speakers of different CLZ dialects, of SVCZ, and of Miahuatec languages come and continue to use their languages at home with their children, but use Spanish to communicate with the townspeople. Thus, it might be said that there is an immigrant speech community here, but that CLZ is no longer *the* language of SMCo.

**Figure 3: CLZ and its closest relative today**


To Oaxaca (approx. 260 km.)
Ejutla
Sola de Vega
SVC
Amatlan(es)
Yautepec
Xitla
Miahuatlan
SCC
SPeC
Cuixtla
SLM
SAM
SJM
Quiegolani
SJC
SSC
SPaC
SMaC
SDC
SFC
SMigC
SSRH
CN
Ozolotepecs
SBL
SCL
Lagunas de Manialtepec
San Pedro Mixtepec
SUL
SAL
Xanica
SBarL
SMCo
Xadani
Puerto Escondido
Pochutla
Huatulco
Puerto Angel

CLZ territory is in the westernmost part of the SZ area which dominates the Southern Sierra Madre region of the state of Oaxaca, Mexico. To the southwest of CLZ lies the Chatino region, to the northwest the Papabuco and Western Zapotec areas. Beyond these languages to the west are Mixtec languages, which historically had contact with CLZ prior to the Spanish and Aztec conquests, when Mixtecs occupied Miahuatlán (Brockington, 1973). To the southeast was the unique Pochutec Nahua language which became extinct in the early twentieth century. Beyond Pochutla along the coast and then upward lies the Chontal-speaking region. Due east from CLZ-speaking towns are found the various Miahuatec languages. North from CLZ is CLZ's closest relative, SVC, beyond SVC is Coatecas Altas, the northernmost of the SZ languages, and then the Valley Zapotec languages beginning in northern Ejutla and Ocotlán.

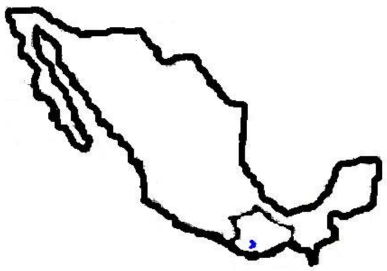
**Figure 4: CLZ and its linguistic neighbors**


Mixtec
Sola de Vega
Valley Zapotec
Ejutla
CA
Amatec
Yautepec
Western Zapotec
SVC
Miahuatlan
Tlacolulita
Miahuatec languages
Cisyautepecan languages
Isthmus Zapotec
Chatino
CLZ
San Pedro Mixtepec
Puerto Escondido
Chontal
Pochutla
Pochutec Nahua
Huatulco
Puerto Angel

The northern part of the CLZ area is a cold climate pine forest, while the southernmost CLZ-speaking towns, though still in the mountains, are closer to the coast, where the cold pine forest gives way to banana trees and palms.There are streams and, famously in Santa María Coatlán, caves. Espíndola (1580) said that the cave in SMaC stretches on for 200 leagues into Chiapas!

SBL is five hours from Miahuatlán by bus on a mostly dirt road. It is closer to Puerto Escondido but until 2004 travelers and vehicles had to cross a river without a bridge and during the rainy season the town’s bus could not always pass. Historically people from SBL and SCL more often made the long trip to Miahuatlán because that is where they went historically, had a passable road to, and where they once had political ties. Even after becoming part of Pochutla the ties to Miahuatlán, culturally and economically, were stronger than those to Pochutla. With the new bridge, and perhaps in a few years with a planned toll highway, it will be quicker and easier to go to Puerto Escondido. There will be more contact with the outside and with foreigners. CLZ will probably be dead in the Coatlanes before significant cultural changes take place, but had it survived, this increased acces to the coast from the Loxichas would likely mean further divergence of the Coatlán and Loxicha dialects of CLZ. The weekly trip to market in Miahuatlán brought a high level of contact between speakers of the various CLZ dialects, and with Miahuatec languages. Trips to Puerto Escondido bring more contact with speakers of SALZ (& SBarL), with Chatino and Mixtec, but mostly with Spanish speakers (and Italian and English speakers).

**Figure 5: CLZ in Oaxaca and Mexico**



## 1.5 Historical background of the Southern Zapotec region

In this section I integrate information from colonial *relaciones* and the interpretations of modern historians and archaeologists along with linguistic evidence to paint a picture of how the Southern Zapotecs came to inhabit the region they do today and what other groups they encountered once there.

### 1.5.1 Settlement and expansion

There were four main pre-Hispanic SZ lordships, which one might regard as city-states, that are written about in the historical literature. These are now known by the Nahuatl names of Coatlán, Miahuatlán, Amatlán, and Ozolotepec. Historical sources differ to some extent as to the date by which Zapotecs first settled in the Sierra Madre del Sur, and all of the earlier sources put the dates later than the archaeology suggests. There is also some difference of opinion as to which sites were settled first. Alcázar López (2004) favors his home town of Miahuatlán, suggesting that Coatlán was founded later by people originating in Miahuatlán while Basilio Rojas (1958), suggested that Coatlán was the charter town. Amatlán may have been founded separately from both of these, while Ozolotepec was supposedly founded later by Miahuatecs.

Most of the Southern Zapotec region remains unexplored by archaeologists. Sites are known to exist in the Coatlanes and near SJM, which have not yet been excavated or otherwise studied. However, sites in and around Miahuatlán (the city) have been studied by Donald Brockington (1973). Archaeologists who work in Oaxaca refer to stages called Monte Albán I-V (here MA1-5). MA 1 and 2, 400-100BCE and 100BCE-200CE respectively, fall into the more general Mesoamerican "Preclassic" era. Brockington (1973) found an abundance of MA2 and later Zapotec pottery but very little MA1 pottery, establishing that there were Zapotecs near Miahuatlán by the MA2 period.

By Marcus (2003)'s interpretation there is also epigraphic evidence of an MA2 Zapotec presence in what is now the Southern Zapotec area. The Aztec Codex Mendoza lists towns that paid tribute to the Aztecs. There are eleven Aztec pictograms that refer to place names in the "tributary provice of Coyolapan (now Cuilapan)" which covered the Zapotec area in Oaxaca[4]. Of these, four resemble Zapotec glyphs found on an MA2 building known as building J, at Monte Albán. While the Aztecs often had different names than the Zapotecs for the same places, other times the Aztec names were Nahuatl translations of the Zapotec names. Of these four Aztec glyphs, two refer to the SZ towns of Miahuatlán (or Miahuapan) and Ozolotepec (or Ocelotepec). If these glyphs do refer to the same places as the Zapotec glyphs found at building J, this is evidence of a Zapotec presence in the South during period MA2.

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[4] According to Berdan & Anawalt (1997: 107) Cuixtla(n) and Coatlan were not part of Coyolapan despite the assertion made by at least one modern historian. They suggest that these two and another town had a special relaitonship with Motecuhzoma because of their proximity and adversarial relationship with Tototepec (Tututepec) which the Aztec emperor had his eye on.

Historical sources give legendary accounts of the founding of the four major SZ lordships, and later dates than the archaeology suggests. Coatlán, or *Quiegoqui*, was purportedly founded in the year 801 CE (Rojas, 1958) by a party led by Meneyadela, as depicted on a painted manuscript (Gutiérrez, 1609) sometimes referred to as the *lienzo de Coatlán.*The founding party came from the north. One account puts their starting place at New Mexico (Guttiérrez, 1609) while others put the homeland at the Zapotec city of Zaachila (Martínez Gracida, 1884; Rojas, 1950; Alcázar L. & Carballido S., 1999). The northern origin of the SZ people and their expansion towards the Pacific is reflected in the toponym for Ocotlán, which lies to the north in the Valley of Oaxaca, about two thirds of the way to Oaxaca from Miahuatlán. In CLZ it is known as *Làt Tzo*$^{7}$ which is literally 'the back's plain,' *làt* meaning 'llano o valle; plain or valley' and *tzo*$^{7}$ meaning 'espalda o atrás; back or behind'. This toponym reflects the south-facing orientation of the SZ people.

Linguistically, Amatlán stood apart from the other SZ communities according to Gutiérrez (1609) who wrote that Amatlán spoke "polished" Valley Zapotec while the other SZ towns spoke "corrupt" Zapotec. Other historians also suggest non-linguistic differences. For reasons that are unclear, Gay (1950) describes Amatlán as the "least advanced" SZ town. Amatlán, aka *Quetila* (Espíndola, 1580) or *Quiatila* 'land of battles or dissention' (Gutiérrez, 1609), was perhaps founded separately from the other SZ towns. According to Martínez Gracida (1884), Rojas (1950), and Alcázar L. & Carballido S. (1999) this town, like Coatlán, was supposedly founded in 801CE by a separate party from the Valley. Amatlán's Zapotec name suggests an invasion of a previously occupied site and the legendary founder's name was Cosichaguela (Gutiérrez, 1609), later miscopied as Cochicahuala (Martínez Gracida, 1884; and from him copied by at least Rojas, 1958; Alcázar López, 2004 and others), whose name is said to mean 'he who fights at night'[5].

In Coatlán Meneyadela's male descendants continued to rule for twenty generations, until 1536, when the Spanish took possession. There were thus twenty-one Zapotec rulers of Coatlán until the arrival of Cortés. If we assume there are three generations every hundred years this would put Meneyadela's arrival at around 836, close to the date of 801 given elsewhere. Nevertheless, each ruler may have ruled for shorter or longer than 33 years. As mentioned above, the archaeology puts the Southern Zapotecs in the region, at least at Miahuatlán, much earlier. Being a valley town on the edge of the Sierra, Miahuatlán would have been an easier first destination for SZ pioneers. The twenty-first ruler of Coatlán, who ruled upon the arrival of the Spaniards, was a man who was baptized by the Spaniards with the name Fernando Cortés. At least two of his descendants continued to be named rulers, but according to Gutiérrez they no longer had financial prestige and little if any real control in comparison to the Spanish occupiers.

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[5] Cf. Córdova, 1578: 'noche' (night) *quèela*, 1. *guèela* and 'pelea' (fight) *quelatilla, quelayè,* 'battalla o guerra' (battle or war) *quelayè, guelatìlla, quelatichèlatilla*.

Sometime after the 801CE founding, as legend would have it, or approximately 2000 years ago if combining legend with archaeology, a leader named Pichina Vedella set out from Coatlán with a group of followers and founded Miahuatlán (Rojas, 1958). While Pichina Vedella is mentioned in the *relación* of 1609 (Gutiérrez) as having been a king of Miahuatlán, he is not mentioned as its founder, nor is it mentioned that he came from Coatlán. These details may be nineteenth century embellishments. Thus, it is possible that Miahuatlán was founded first and that the SZ towns of Coatlán and Amatlán may just as likely have been founded from there as from anywhere else. Until more archaeology is done we won't know the true chronology of the settlement of these three key SZ towns.

Pichina Vedella's death was used as a pretext to push south towards the Pacific. He had two sons and when he died it was decided that the younger would stay and reign in Miahuatlán while the elder set out to conquer what is now Ozolotepec (the earlier spelling is Oçelotepec), or in Zapotec *Quiebeche* (Espíndola, 1580) both names meaning 'hill of a fierce feline (puma, jaguar, ocelot).' At the time this was a Chontal lordship with some 70,000 subjects according to

Gutiérrez. Many Chontales were killed and most of the rest fled. 1000 Chontales stayed behind,[6] becoming vassals of the Zapotecs and paying tribute to the elder son of Pichina Vedella. Once victorious, this SZ ruler and his 20,000 followers settled in what would now be known as Quiebeche. According to Gutiérrez the third descendent of Pichina Vedella's son was ruling when Cortés arrived, and by now the population had grown to 30,000. According to Rojas (1958), also founded by Miahuatecs were the towns of Río Hondo (*Tetiquipa*), San Juan and San Agustín Mixtepec, and Santa Cruz Xitla. From these facts one might conclude that at least the languages spoken in these towns are closely related. All of the languages of these towns reportedly founded by Miahuatecs, except that of San Juan Mixtepec (a Cisyautepecan language---and a town perhaps once governed by Amatecs), are considered Miahuatec languages by Smith Stark (2003).

The Southern Zapotecs continued to push towards the south until finally reaching the coast. The kings of Amatlán, Coatlán, and Miahuatlán all contributed warriors, totalling 3,000, who were put at the disposition of Biciagache (the leader of Ozolotepec??), who himself had another 1500 warriors, for the conquest of Huatulco and the seizure of coastal territory to the west away from the Chontales (Martínez Gracida, 1883). This suggests some political cohesiveness present in the region at an early time. Alcázar López (2004) states that the towns of Pochutla, Loxicha, Colotepec and Cozoaltepec were founded as a result of this Zapotec victory, pushing the SZ border closer to that of the Mixtec kingdom of Tututepec.

Then as now Oaxaca was home to a high degree of ethnic diversity, which adds to the interest of this land's history. Though the SZ's had conquered and now possessed Huatulco, by the time of the colonial *relaciones* Huatulco and Tonameca were reportedly Nahua-speaking (Vargas, no date). The Pochutec Nahuas may have moved in at some subsequent time. The SZ's would have much future conflict with the Tututepec Mixtecs to the West. Going by today's locations, the Chatinos would lie between the Zapotec and Mixtec lands but they are not mentioned in the

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[6] This passage has been interpreted by Martínez Gracida (and hence widely re-reported) that of the tens of thousands of original inhabitants only 1000 were left alive, but my reading of the *relación* is that this was

*relaciones* as having had conflicts with the Southern Zapotecs. According to Espíndola (1580) to the East the Ozolotepecans had wars not just with the Chontales but also with the Mixes.

Another southward movement of Southern Zapotecs that is not reported to have involved invasion of non-Zapotec territory involves the founding of San Agustín Loxicha. By Alcázar López's account this town might have been one founded in the wake of the conquest of Huatulco, but according to http://www.laneta.apc.org/rio/loxicha/historia.htm, the first settlers came from San Agustín Mixtepec in 1665[7], leaving because of a disagreement with townsfolk who stayed behind. Interestingly, both towns have oral histories about the patron saint statues of each town being switched with the other. According to the same website, which is dedicated to SAL history, there were two statues of SAM's patron saint and the emigrants took the larger one with them. After a century the authorities from SAM came to get back their patron saint, leaving in its stead the smaller image, which remains there to this day. However, in SAM the story is told differently. An elder from that town who said he didn't know about the founding relationship between the two towns told me that he had heard how both towns sent their saints out for repairs at the same time. Since each town has the same patron saint, Agustine, the two were mixed up and each town got back the other's saint, which remain misplaced to this day. Ever since then, he said, the population of SAL keeps growing and that town (and its language) is thriving while the population of SAM keeps getting smaller and smaller and losing land to its rivals. As of 2004 there is only one fluent Zapotec speaker left in San Agustín Mixtepec.

The Zapotec toponym for SMCo is confirmation that the people of SAL are newcomers in this region. While the CLZ place name *Béwnè* is virtually the same as the CLZ word *mbéwnè* 'scorpion' (the *colotl* in the Nahua name *Colotepec* also means 'scorpion'), SAL and other Miahuatec languages have another word for 'scorpion' based on the root *xûb* but have borrowed

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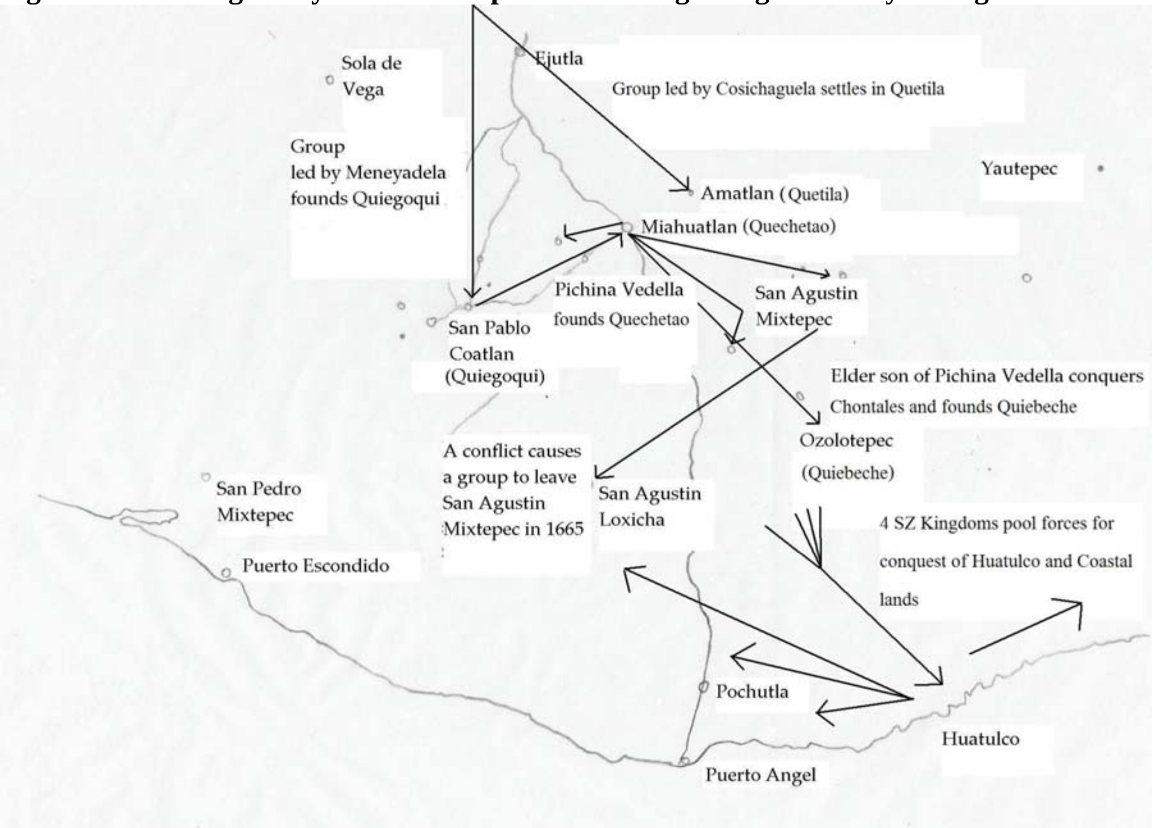
the number of people who didn't flee *or* be killed.

[7] According to http://www.e-local.gob.mx/work/templates/enciclo/oaxaca/municipios/20117a.htm, papers exist for San Bartolomé Loxicha, a town whose people can understand the language of SAL, dating from at least 1700 and some elders say that papers used to exist from as early as 1600.

the CLZ name for SMCo. The SALZ name for SMCo is *Bónè*. While the phonological form of this word is slightly different from the form used in SBL (the nearest CLZ-speaking town to SMCo and SAL), it is identical to the form used in SMigC, suggesting that before founding SAL the people, who then spoke the same language as the people of SAM, had already borrowed a name for SMCo from the nearest CLZ speakers to SAM.

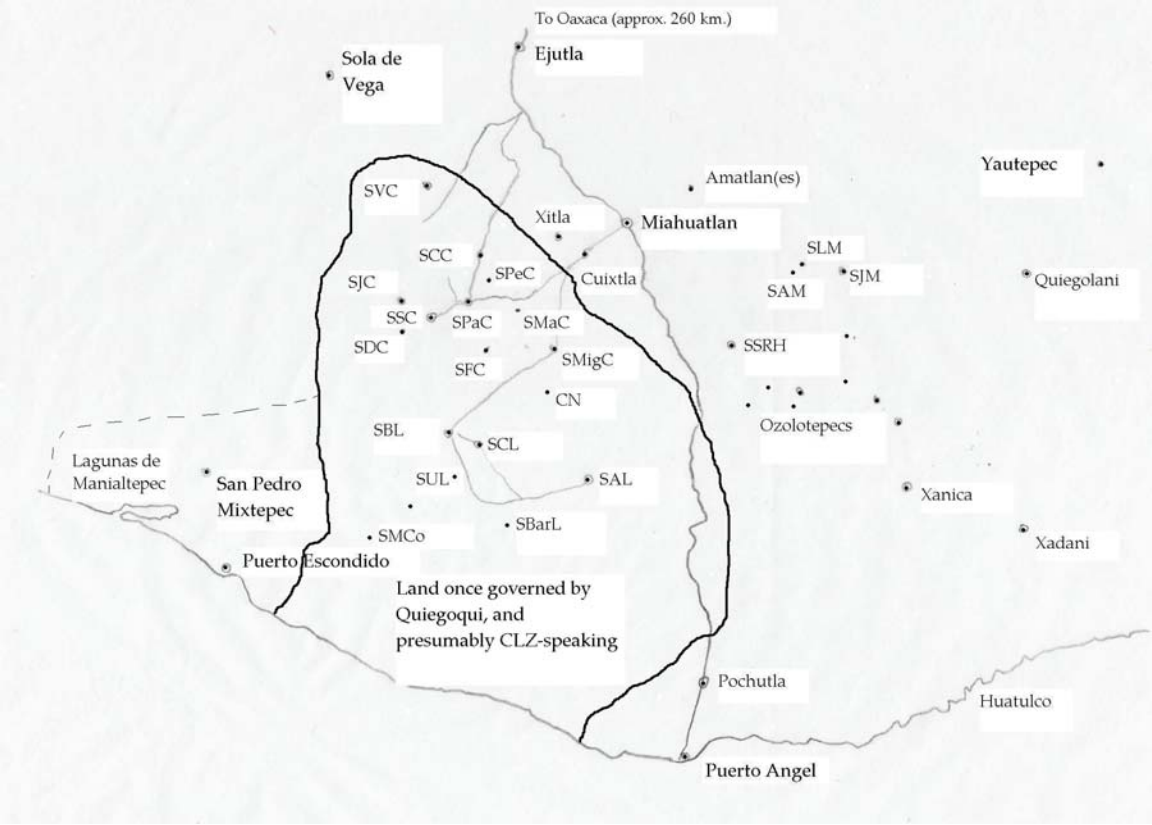
From the linguistic evidence, the emigrants from SAM have been more than successful in the south. The language of SAL is spoken in several towns including Santo Domingo de Morelos, the towns with the apellido *Cozoaltepec* on the Pacific coast, and in other Loxichas like Candelaria, and smaller towns. The variety spoken in San Bartolomé Loxicha, which sits right on the border between CLZ and SALZ, is either a dialect of SALZ or a distinct but closely related language.

**Figure 6: Founding of key Southern Zapotec towns beginning ca. 2000 years ago**


Sola de Vega
Ejutla
Group led by Cosichaguela settles in Quetila
Group led by Meneyadela founds Quiegoqui
Yautepec
Amatlan (Quetila)
Miahuatlan (Quechetao)
Pichina Vedella founds Quechetao
San Agustin Mixtepec
San Pablo Coatlan (Quiegoqui)
Elder son of Pichina Vedella conquers Chontales and founds Quiebeche
Ozolotepec (Quiebeche)
A conflict causes a group to leave San Agustin Mixtepec in 1665
San Pedro Mixtepec
San Agustin Loxicha
4 SZ Kingdoms pool forces for conquest of Huatulco and Coastal lands
Puerto Escondido
Pochutla
Huatulco
Puerto Angel

While today Miahuatec is the most geographically widespread of the various subgroups of SZ (see Figure 4 above), in earlier times CLZ, or at least the principality of Quiegoqui, clearly dominated the region. Espíndola (1580) names 21 towns subject to it. According to another account (Anonymous---[most likely Juan de Corral, mid sixteenth century], 1609), its control once spread past Puerto Escondido to include Manialtepec and San Pedro Mixtepec. By Colonial times, according to this account, Coatlán had thirty-three *estancias*. Nahua names, not all of which are recognizeable today are given for thirteen: Çacaystlauaca, Malinaltepeque (this would be the lagoons along the coast north of Puerto Escondido) and Eitepeque, Coatepeque, Oçumatepeque, Culutepeque (SMCo), Tepachotepeque and Çacastepeque, Acatlixco, Tlaisco, Çayultepeque, Tlamacastepeque Temoxcalti, and Mistepetonogo (sic.).

**Figure 7: Area once goverened by Quiegoqui**


To Oaxaca (approx. 260 km.)
Ejutla
Sola de Vega
Amatlan(es)
Yautepec
SVC
Xitla
Miahuatlan
SLM
SJM
SAM
Quiegolani
SCC
SPeC
Cuixtla
SJC
SSC
SPaC
SMaC
SDC
SFC
SMigC
SSRH
CN
Ozolotepecs
SBL
SCL
Lagunas de Manialtepec
San Pedro Mixtepec
SUL
SAL
Xanica
SMCo
SBarL
Xadani
Puerto Escondido
Land once governed by Quiegoqui, and presumably CLZ-speaking
Pochutla
Huatulco
Puerto Angel

While it is possible that Coatlán governed some towns that spoke other languages, it is likely that CLZ was once the most widely spoken language in in the area ruled by Quiegoqui, and thus the most widely spoken in this region. It was the language of the most important SZ rulers, the Language of the Lords, *di$^7$zh ke$^7$*.

### 1.5.2 Invaders, hired thugs, and occupiers

Once established in the SZ region, having pushed out Chontales and perhaps others all the way to the Pacific, the Southern Zapotecs now had to defend this territory from other invaders. The Mixtec *relación* of Huitzo[8] states that it had wars with both Coatlán and Miahuatlán. While there were conflicts with this Mixtec community far to the North of Coatlán, even north of the city of Oaxaca, there was a more enduring conflict with the Mixtec lordship of Tututepec, which was closer by, on the Pacific coast to the southwest (Whitecotton, 1977).

The Tututepec Mixtecs conquered several SZ towns from which they subsequently collected tribute. These included the town of Huatulco, the port of Huatulco, Pochutla, Tonameca, Amoltepec, Teticpac (or Tetequipa, aka Río Hondo), and Cozauhtepec (today's Cozoaltepec) according to Woensdregt (1996). The lord of Tututepec would designate the local ruler as governor and other local people to help him govern and to collect tribute to pay to Tututepec. While the lord of Tututepec himself kept a tight reign on his own local Mixtec lands, his dominance over foreign Zapotec lands was more of an economic relationship than anything else.

These same Tututepec Mixtecs established a military base at Miahuatlán from which they lauched operations against Valley Zapotec towns including Mitla (Brockington, 1973). The Mixtecs took over the MA2 Zapotec site on a hill over looking the modern city. This site, where

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[8] Huitzo lies approximately 110 kilometers to the Northwest of the city of Oaxaca. Both Zapotecs and Mixtecs ruled this town at different times and during certain archaeological periods there were separate Mixtec and Zapotec neighborhoods. At the time of the interaction with Coatlán, Huitzo was controlled by Mixtecs.

Brockington did his work, and which has been looted and covered over with graffitti, sits on a hill overlooking the modern city. Locals know it as *el Gueche* or simply as *el cerrito.*

Though the Mixtec occupation was temporary, the Mixtecs apparently had some cultural influence on the Southern Zapotecs. Archaeological evidence of Mixtec invasion at Miahuatlán as well as at Zapotec sites in the Valley of Oaxaca includes a change in pottery style, from earlier Zapotec grey ware (found only in the Zapotec linguistic area) to red-on-cream ware which is mostly found in the Mixtec linguistic area. While Valley Zapotec sites like Mitla later show a renaissance of Zapotec style pottery and a rejection of Mixtec style pottery, in Miahuatlán Mixtec style pottery does not disappear after its introduction during the MA4 period. While both styles of pottery are found at Miahuatlán in the stratum that is supposed to be MA4 (900-1350CE), by MA5 (1350-1521) the Mixtec style pottery is more popular than the native Zapotec style.

The subjects of Coatlán later became a treasure trove of tribute for the Aztecs and then the Spaniards. According to Espíndola (1580), the people of Coatlán had been ruled by a Cacique named Coactzi ‘snake’ (note, a Nahua name is given for a person who was probably Zapotec or possibly Mixtec) until they rebelled against him and sought protection from the Aztec emperor Moctezuma (Motecuzoma). To him they paid tribute in powdered gold and blankets and in return a Mexican garrison stayed to help them in the frequent battles that took place.

Alcázar López (2004) tells a different story, with the Aztecs conquering the SZ’s rather than being invited protectors. According to Alcázar, Pochtecas (Aztec trader-spies) came to Miahuatlán and other Zapotec towns and later informed the Aztec ruler Ahuizotl, who then made a military conquest of the SZ’s in 1486-90. Other historians (Alcázar says) put the Aztec conquest in earlier in the fifteenth century under Moctezuma Ulhuicamina (1440) or Axayácatl (1467). Perhaps the Coatecs did invite the Aztecs and while in the region the Aztecs imposed themselves on other SZ states.

The Coatecs were formally made subject to the Spanish Crown by Pedro de Alvarado, who was known to the Southern Zapotecs as Tonatih (a Nahua word translated by Espíndola [1580] as ‘sol’ or ‘sun’), on January 25, 1522, though Alcázar López (2004) writes that in reality they, along with the lords of Miahuatlán and Ozolotepec had preemptively offered their allegiance to Cortés a year earlier, sending ambassadors to meet him with offerings. However, according to Gutiérrez (1609) the takeover was not so peaceful. He writes that the Coatecs had many battles with Cortes, with many Coatecs dying in the final battle, which brought about the peace treaty. Many more would die of disease in the years to follow.

In 1528 (or probably earlier considering the dates given for the Coatec war below) the Coatlán-Miahuatlán encomienda was reassigned from Diego Becerra de Mendoza to Andrés de Monjarraz[9] because Mendoza was the grandson of a man deemed to be a heretic in Spain. The relaciones mention several encomenderos with the last name of Monjaraz who ruled in succession. Thus the Coatecs continued to pay tributes of gold, but now to the Spaniards. Once for not completing the tribute Pedro de Monjaraz tortured the chief Coaltzi which caused the Coatecs to rebel. Pedro de Monjaraz was then stripped of his encomienda and the land was given to Mateo de Monjaraz. (Espíndola, 1580).

A Coatlán rebellion is mentioned only in passing by Díaz del Castillo (1960) who lived from 1495-1584 and who accompanied Cortés in the conquest of Mexico. As described by Alcázar López (2004), the rebellion quieted down when it was learned that Cortés was coming back from his travels outside New Spain. Díaz del Castillo writes:

> Aun los caciques del peñol de Coatlán, que se habían alzado, le vinieron a dar el bienvenido y le trajaron presentes.
>
> Even the chiefs of Coatlán, who had risen up in revolt, welcomed him and brought him gifts. (my translation)

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[9] When converting to Spanish naming practices many indigenous people ended up with the same surnames as the encomenderos. To this day *Mendoza* and *Monjarraz* are common surnames in Southern Zapotec towns.

Espíndola thus tells of two Coatec rulers, one with the name Coactzi and the other Coaltzi, both translated by him as ‘snake.’ The Coatecs themselves rebelled against the first by seeking Mexica protection, and rebelled against the Spaniards for their harsh treatment of the second, according to Espíndola’s *relación*. The similarity of the names, as if one were a type of the other, the association of each name with a Coatec rebellion, all raises the possibility of some inaccuraccy here. It may be that there two rebellions but one leader’s name has been replaced with the other’s, or that there was only one rebellion and the other account is a misinterpretation on Espíndola’s part, or perhaps there really were two rulers with these similar Nahuatl names with reportedly identical meanings. The truth is difficult to sort out but these coincidences do suggest that there is some confusion here in the historical account.

One early SZ rebellion happened sometime between 1539 (Gutiérrez, 1609) and 1547 (del Paso y Troncoso, 1905), a revolt led by a man named Pitio. Alcázar López however dates this war as lasting from 1524-26, and ending with the return of Cortés. Such later sources (as, for example, Rojas, 1958 and Alcázar López, 2004) speak about the “Coatlán Rebellion” and call Pitio a Coatec, but according to Gutiérrez this was a war between Miahuatlán and San Mateo Río Hondo. Thus the dates and the very identity of Pitio have been obscured, perhaps with the merger of two historical accounts, one of a rebellion provoked by Monjarraz in Coatlán for unfair treatment of the Coatecs and their leader, and another which involved the people of San Mateo Río Hondo. It is also possible that the two rebellions were related, that one inspired the other, and that Pitio was an inspirational figure to both groups of rebels, whether in person or in memory.

According to Alcázar López Pitio was a messianic prophet whose struggle was shrouded in traditional Zapotec religion. Miahuatlán, though still populated mostly or entirely by Zapotecs (Gutiérrez, 1609, says that it is an Indian town without any Spanish neighborhoods), was possibly seen as a seat of Spanish power. Under one interpretation this would be the motive for Pitio’s attack on Coatlán. Later historians like to paint this early war as a rebellion against Spanish oppression. On the other hand, Gutiérrez paints a different picture, one of Zapotec on Zapotec violence with economic motives, a land grab. Gutiérrez would have as much motive to paint the picture of a war unrelated to Spanish politics as modern Mexicans would have to paint a picture of valiant resistance. The accounts differ as to motive and principal players, but all agree that there was much bloodshed in Miahuatlan in the first half of the sixteenth century. According to Gutiérrez 10,000 Miahuatecs were killed. Gutiérrez doesn't mention Spaniards being killed though later accounts mention as many as 50 being killed and some tortured, still a fraction of the thousands of Miahuatecs who reportedly perished. In the aftermath Pitio and the rebels were arrested. He was taken to be executed in Mexico City while they were sentenced to work in the mines of Chichicapan, where many died of disease.

Although uprisings took place in the early colonial years there were also periods of cooperation between some Zapotecs and Spaniards. In the beginning SZ armies were put at Alvarado's disposition to battle Mixtecs in Tututepec. In 1530 Nuño de Guzmán occupied Tamazulapam, a subsidiary of Miahuatlán, and left behind Spaniards who married indigenous women, creating the first mestizos of Miahuatlán (Alcázar López, 2004).

In the sixteenth century all over New Spain the new Spanish political and religious rulers of the land were punishing indigenous people for practicing certain elements of traditional religion, and trying to gain more firm control over regions with political unrest. In 1544 and 1547 two Coatec nobles, don Alonso and don Andrés, were tried for idolatry and convicted. Sometime between 1540 (Alcázar López, 2004) and 1570 (Espíndola, 1580), a Spanish authority (a priest by Espíndola's *relación* but an *encomendero* by a different name according to Alcázar) burned the preserved remains of Petela, the patriarch of the Ozolotepecans, who was venerated in that town even after his remains were reduced to ashes. By 1550 Coatlán, Río Hondo, Miahuatlán, Ozolotepec and Amatlán were put under the direct control of the Spanish crown and many of the men were removed and sent to the Corregimiento de Chichicapa(n) (Alcázar López, 2004), where they worked in the mines of that Valley Zapotec town, as mentioned previously. This was a strategy employed by the Spanish to gain control of the region.

In the middle of the sixteenth century the Catholic authorities rounded up SZ people into parrishes where they were obliged to live. In these smaller areas they could be controlled (and prostletyzed to) more easily. Before there had been centers where nobles lived and where ceremonies and trade took place but most people lived off on their own in the mountains. The Dominican friars changed this. The parrish of San Pablo Coatlán was founded in 1546, and the the parrish of Miahuatlán in 1551. San Pablo Coatlán had 33 *estancias* or small settlements in 1548 and 26 around 1600 when they were rounded up into 2 places. 16 were concentrated in San Pablo and people from 10 others were forcibly moved to SBL. By 1609 the congregation of SPabC had broken up as people there, with the priest’s permission, returned to their lands.

The church provided an opportunity to learn alphabetic writing. Those Southern Zapotecs who learned to read and write the alphabet were precisely the same ones who served in the churches, singing in the choir and/or reading the gospel during mass. In Coatlán there were twenty-five men who knew how to read and write using the alphabet, including those who served in the church and the cacique and his son. Likewise in Miahuatlán there were some Zapotecs who learned to write in a school that they had set up for this purpose. A town scribe was elected along with the town council. According to Gutiérrez (1609) they wrote in Zapotec and Nahuatl. He does not mention Spanish, suggesting that at this time they did not write in Spanish. Del Paso y Troncoso cites Balsalobre who noted that the people who learned to write as a result of participating in the church were often using their knowledge of the alphabet to make secret notebooks that detailed traditional religious practices, in an effort to preserve the knowledge of particular prayers and rituals. This is one example of how SZ people managed to preserve much of their traditional culture even in the wake of dramatic social and political change.

# 2. Phonetics and Phonology

In this chapter I describe the segmental and suprasegmental categories of CLZ phonology and how they are articulated. I also deal with phono-syntactic and phono-semantic issues like intonation and the various categories of onomatopoetic words that are found. Other than these last two issues this section deals only with strictly phonetic and phonological issues. Interesting morpho-phonological details, such as the details of tonal morphology, are found in Chapters 3-5.

I begin by describing the segments of CLZ, how they are articulated and what environments they occur in. I go on to describe the five tonal categories of CLZ and the main phonetic components of tone: pitch, glottalization and length. Next I give brief discussions of stress and nasalization. During the description of segmental distribution I often mention that certain segments have a restricted distribution and do not occur in some position except in loanwords and onomatopoetic words. Much of what I consider interesting about loanwords has to do with stress and is described in 2.2.3. Onomatopoetic words are outside the bounds of normal CLZ phonology both because they can employ CLZ sounds in unusual environments and because they contain sounds which not phonemic in CLZ. I describe these words separately from the rest of CLZ phonology in 2.3, where I divide onomatopoetic words in CLZ into three types depending on the extent to which they conform to the rules of phonology found in ordinary words in CLZ.

I expect that information given in these three sections will be of special interest to phonologists interested in the interaction between consonant segments and tone, and to those interested in the phonology of loanwords. Those interested in tone should also consult chapters 3-5 for information on tonal morphology.

## 2.1 Segments

This section deals with consonants and vowels. First I deal with the consonants.

CLZ has three obstruent series which contrast with each other at the various places of articulation. Voiceless or “fortis” obstruents occur in both plosive and spirant[1] manners of articulation. Voiced or “lenis” obstruents are always fricatives. There are also three types of sonorant consonants: nasals, liquids and glides. The nasals are numerous and occur at several places of articulation, effectively acting as a fourth series that contrasts with each of the obstruent categories. Glides and liquids are not very numerous and only occur at two places of articulation each. Unlike Robinson (1963) I do not posit a prenasalized stop series (represented by voiced stop symbols in his orthography). These sounds typically occur at the beginning of complex lexical items and I analyze them as separate segments because of their apparent historical and synchronic morphological status. In certain phonological and morphological environments the sequences can be broken up, which I take as evidence of their clusterhood.

**Figure 8: The CLZ consonant inventory presented in the practical orthography**[2]

| | **Labial** | **Dental** | **Alveolar** | **Palatal** | **Retroflex** | **Velar** | **Labiovelar** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Voiceless plosives** | **p** | **t, t<sup>7</sup>** | **tz** | **ty** | **ch** | **k** | **kw** |
| **Voiced spirants** | **b** | **d** | **z** | | **zh** | **g** | |
| **Voiceless spirants** | **(f)** | **th** | **s** | | **x** | **j** | |
| **Nasals** | **m** | **n** | | **ñ** | | **nh** | |
| **Liquids** | | | **r (rr)** | | **l** | | |
| **Glides** | **w** | | | **y** | | | |

### 2.1.1 Obstruents

One cannot write about Zapotec consonants, particularly obstruents, without addressing the famous fortis/lenis contrast. I find it necessary and useful to use the terms fortis and lenis in order to make reference to historical and comparative correspondences with other Zapotec languages.

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[1] I use the term “plosive” to include both stops and affricates. In the world of Linguistics jargon this use of the term is not unique but it is apparently non-standard. It is convenient to use the term this way in order to have a category that includes both stops and affricates. I use the terms “spirant” and “fricative” interchangeably, which does follow standard usage. Further below I also use the term occlusive to refer to a stop.

[2] Here and throughout the grammar, I will usually offer Zapotec examples in the practical orthography developed by Terrence Kaufman, Lázaro Díaz Pacheco, and myself.

However, these terms often cloud synchronic description. Their relevance as descriptive phonetic terms is debatable and their meaning is unclear as the terms are used by different linguists to refer to different sets of phonetic properties.  The obstruent phonemes of CLZ have indeed developed from an earlier two-way contrast (see Swadesh, 1947; Fernández de Miranda, [1965] 1995, Suárez, 1973; Benton, 1988; and Kaufman, 1993), but the modern CLZ obstruent inventory is developing into a 3-way contrast as can be seen above in Figure 8.

According to all PZ reconstructors except Fernández de Miranda (1965), the fortis:lenis contrast in Proto-Zapotec was a geminate:single contrast. Swadesh, the first reconstructor of PZ, thought PZ geminates had arisen from earlier clusters. Fernández de Miranda, influenced by the overwhelming number of modern Zapotec languages with a voiceless:voiced realization of the fortis:lenis contrast, reconstructed a phonetically similar system for PZ. I follow the majority in considering the fortis:lenis contrast to have originally been geminate:single, as it still is to some extent in conservative languages like SJZ and IZ. In CLZ length is not a factor in the contrast (though some have been given this impression by the orthography used by Robinson, 1963).

Synchronically, among CLZ obstruents the fortis:lenis contrast has primarily become one of voicing, but to some extent it is also a contrast in manner of articulation. Most formerly long or “fortis” obstruents are realized as plain voiceless plosives here, including one segment which was formerly not a plosive (*_ss_[3] > /¢/,  i.e. <tz>). Formerly short or “lenis” consonants are here realized as voiced spirant phonemes. The third set of obstruent phonemes in modern CLZ is the set of voiceless spirants. A variety of historical events is responsible for this third set of phonemes, some of which only occur marginally in the language. These events include borrowing from Spanish and possibly another Zapotec language, and conditioned sound changes. This set of evolving phonemes is turning the traditional two-way contrast into a three-way obstruent contrast.

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[3] Where not otherwise noted, PZ reconstructions are as in Kaufman (2003).

This series can be thought of as fortis both because the sounds are voiceless and because the sounds not borrowed from Spanish are reflexes of earlier geminate or “fortis” consonants.

### 2.1.1.1 Voiceless plosives

This series includes six stops and two affricates. The dental /¢/ and the retroflex **/c̣/** affricates can occur in either onset or coda position. In root-initial position they may be preceded by a prefixed consonant, but they do not occur as prefixes themselves. /¢/ can have a following /y/ when the initial segment of certain verb roots (see 3.1.2 and 3.2.1). Retroflex sounds in CLZ including /c̣/ have a fronter articulation than retroflex sounds in other well-known languages such as Hindi, but the articulation is not so far front as palatal or alveopalatal sounds such as those of Spanish.

| | /¢/ | /c̣/ |
|---|---|---|
| (2.1) Initial before a vowel: | *tzo*$^7$<br>[¢ṓʔ]<br>espalda<br>back | *chúk*<br>[c̣úkʰ]<br>saliva<br>saliva |
| (2.2) In the onset before /y/: | *tzya*$^7$<br>[¢yā́ʔ]<br>P-romperlo<br>P-break (it) | ------ |
| (2.3) Non-initial affricates in clusters: | b*tzo*$^7$<br>[ɸ¢ṓʔ]<br>pared<br>wall | *sche*$^7$<br>[sc̣ḗʔ]<br>cena<br>dinner |
| (2.4) Final affricates | *ndâtz*<br>[n̪d̪â¢]<br>pie<br>foot | *nzhǎch*<br>[n̪ᵈ̪ẓǎc̣]<br>nanche<br>nanche |

Three of the six stops are marginal and the other three are common. The more common /p, t̪, k/ are usually heavily aspirated [p$^h$, t̪$^h$, k$^h$] in word-final position, often to the point of affrication [p$^ɸ$, t̪$^θ$, k$^x$]. However, /p/ is just as often unreleased in word-final position[4].

/p/ is rare in onset position except in Spanish loans and onomatopoetic words such as *pí* ‘Sonido de destapar un refresco; sound of opening a carbonated drink.’ There are no known CLZ words with /p/ in the onset preceded by a prefixed consonant. The exceptional native words which have initial /p/ are mostly question words: *pól* ‘¿cuándo?; when?’, *pǎ* ‘¿dónde?; where?’ and *pló* and *plǎ* both meaning ‘¿cuánto?; how many?’. There are two other p-initial words which are not definite Spanish loans or question words. *Pěnch* means ‘huérfano; orphan’. I do not know of an etymon but *pěnch* looks suspiciously like a loan because of the complex coda, which is rare in non-borrowed CLZ words. The only other possible p-initial native word is *pǐt (tě yà bdo*$^7$*)* meaning ‘cogollo tierno del platanar; rolled up young leaf of a banana tree.’ In Coatecas Altas, another Southern Zapotec language, /p/ has the same distribution and is only found in the onsets of three native words, all question words. Benton (1997) provides the Coatecas Altas words *pok* ‘when?’ and *plag* ‘how many?’ and their Chichicapan (Valley) Zapotec cognates *kuːka* and *laːka*, and posits that the initial /p/ in these words may come from *k$^w$, not the *pp that is the likely ancestor of word-final /p/ in both Coatecas Altas and CLZ[5].

While there do exist a small number of words which have p or t as the initial member of a consonant cluster, a position typically associated with a prefix consonant, k only occurs in this position in two onomatopoetic words which have other peculiar characteristics too. *kri*$^7$ *kri*$^7$ *kri*$^7$ is the sound of a tree that is cracking and about to fall and *kros kros* is the sound made when walking in soggy shoes. The CLZ orthography does not give a good phonetic representation of these words because they make use of sounds outside the CLZ repertoire of phonemes. In *kri*$^7$ a short voiceless [u] is inserted between *k* and *r*, making this not a good example of a cluster.

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[4] When phrase final (such as in the somewhat artificial elicitation context) one can sometimes hear a glottal release with air coming out the nose as breathing is resumed following production of the word but labial closure may be maintained during this time. This is not the same as the “lenis glottal stop” described below.

[5] Benton offers a possible historical rule for deriving Coatecas Altas /p/ in these words: *k$^w$ became /p/ in the onset of an unstressed syllable and in the onset of a stressed syllable in which it preceded a back

| | /p/ | /t̪/ | /k/ |
|---|---|---|---|
| (2.5) Main initial stops before vowels: | *pǎ* | *tô* | *ka*$^7$*n* |
| | [pǎː$^ʔ$] | [t̪ô] | [kā́n̪ʔ] |
| | ¿dónde? | tos | de lado |
| | where? | cough | on the side |
| (2.6) Main initial stops in clusters: | *plǎ* | *tnìx* | *kros kros kros* |
| | [pl̩ǎː$^ʔ$] | [t̪n̪ìs̩] | [kɾo̥s kɾo̥s kɾo̥s] |
| | ¿cuánto? | varilla | Sonido de zapatos que tienen agua por dentro |
| | how many? | rebar | sound of shoes that have water in them |
| (2.7) Main non-initial stops in clusters: | ------ | *stúb* | *mkóz* |
| | | [st̪úβ$^ʔ$] | [mkóz$^ʔ$] |
| | | otro | luciérnaga |
| | | other | lightning bug |
| (2.8) Main final stops: | *mbgùp* | *làt* | *lǎk* |
| | [mbɣùp($^h$)] | [làt$^h$] | [lǎk$^h$] |
| | armadillo | llano | igual |
| | armadillo | plains | equal |

There are three less common voiceless stops which all involve some secondary articulation: /t̪$^ʔ$, t$^y$, k$^w$/. For historical reasons each of these has a somewhat marginal distribution.

/t̪$^ʔ$/ is a phoneme which I have only found in the dialect of Santa María Coatlán. However, according to Dow Robinson's field notes from the late 1950's, /t̪$^ʔ$/ then also existed in the variety of San Miguel Coatlán, where I have failed to find it in the late 1990's and 2000, and also in Santo Domingo Coatlán, a variety which purportedly still has speakers, whom I have

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rounded vowel. In CLZ the only problem with the rule as stated would be the existence of the expected unfortunately not yet met. /t̪ˀ/ only occurs word-finally. Furthermore, its occurrence is restricted to words with low, rising, or glottal tone. The phonetic difference between this and the /t̪/ phoneme is the lack of aspiration and the existence of a glottal stop following the release of the dental stop. At times there is an audible, short epenthetic vowel, usually [ə] or [a], varying from voiced to voiceless, between the release of the dental stop and the glottal stop.

I count /t̪ˀ/ as a single phonemic segment because it contrasts with the plain /t̪/. I prefer this analysis to the alternative which would be to count this as a sequence of two phonemes /tʔ/. If the latter type of analysis were adopted this would mean counting as phonemic a type of glottalization which occurs predictably following all voiced (i.e. lenis) obstruents in CLZ (see 2.1.1.2) and which is distinct from a second, different kind of glottalization which I do analyze as phonemic (see 2.2.1.2). The glottal stop portion of /t̪ˀ/ is present when in a pre-pausal position or phrase-medially in slow or careful speech. This pre-pausal glottal stop is a feature of lenis obstruents in CLZ but is normally a secondary cue for lenisness since most lenis obstruents in CLZ are voiced fricatives. Because certain sound changes played out differently in Santa María Coatlán than in other varieties of CLZ (Beam de Azcona, 2001), this dialect retains one lenis voiceless stop, which because it is not a voiced fricative, can only be recognized as lenis due to the presence of the pre-pausal glottal stop. Therefore, in this one instance I analyze the pre-pausal glottal stop as a distinctive feature of this segment, which is a reflex of PZ **tʸ*.

A related and also marginal segment is CLZ /tʸ/. The articulation of this sound is similar to that of /t̪/ but with a [ʸ] offglide. This segment is the reflex of what has been reconstructed as a palatalized stop **tʸ* by Benton (1988) and Kaufman (1993). Reasons for analyzing *ty* as a separate phoneme in CLZ have to do with /tʸ/'s synchronic morphological distribution.

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reflex, not /p/ before back rounded vowels in other words, e.g. 'take out' potential *ko*$^7$ habitual *nbo*$^7$.

/$t^y$/ can only occur in root-initial position, i.e. in an onset preceding a vowel. It does not occur as a prefix, nor does it occur word-finally. Most instances of CLZ /$t^y$/ occur medially following a prefix. The only instances of initial /$t^y$/ occur in the potential aspect form of verbs with *ty*-initial roots. This is perhaps due to analogy since in most of the paradigm there are TAM-marking prefixes while in the potential there is a zero marker. Alternatively, an earlier prefix may have provided the correct environment before being lost itself. In other cases, e.g. in unprefixed noun roots, the initial reflex of PZ *$t^y$ is /t̪/. Although /$t^y$/ is the reflex of a lenis stop, it might be considered part of a set of synchronic fortis sounds on phonological grounds since like other fortis obstruents /$t^y$/ is a voiceless stop. However there is synchronic morphological and phonotactic evidence which points to /$t^y$/'s status as a lenis stop.

All verbs in which /$t^y$/ occurs are intransitive verbs of class A (see 3.1.2). In this class of verbs in CLZ many intransitive verbs begin with lenis consonants and have related transitive verbs that begin in the corresponding fortis consonant. Many *ty*-initial intransitive verbs have transitive partner verbs or other derived forms which begin in *t*, the reflex of fortis *$tt^y$.

One might argue that $t^y$ is underlyingly a stop-glide sequence. There are a handful of other verbs with initial coronal obstruents which show an unpalatalized/palatalized transitive/intransitive alternation where I am not claiming phonemic status for the palatalized variants. Synchronically, this makes my analysis of $t^y$ as a separate phoneme a bit inconsistent. One possibility is that the unpalatalized/palatalized alternation for transitive/intransitive verbs has developed through analogy to the *t/ty* pattern which came about through regular sound change. There is also one case of a class A unpalatalized/palatalized alternation coming about through metathesis, as appears to have happened more regularly in class B (see Chapter 3).

In addition to historical and morphological evidence there are phonological grounds to support my analysis of $t^y$ being a unique phoneme and not a sequence of *t* and *y*. Modern CLZ /y/ is realized as a voiced palatal fricative before front vowels where it has merged with the palatalized reflex of **k*. /t$^{y}$/, in contrast, is not articulated any differently before front vowels than before back vowels. If this were a /ty/ sequence one might expect the glide to have the usual conditioned allophone before front vowels, as does indeed happen when *y* follows the habitual marker *nd*.

/k$^{w}$/ is restricted to root-initial position, though it may either be initial or follow a prefixed consonant. It cannot occur before round vowels. In such cases as historically underlying /k$^{w}$o/ or /k$^{w}$u/ sequences there was dissimilation throughout Zapotec, resulting in the loss of the glide portion of the segment. /k$^{w}$/ always occurs in pre-vocalic position except in two onomatopoetic words in which it occurs before /r/, e.g. *kwrás* is a sound made by pulling the finger against a taught lip. /k$^{w}$/ is a historically fortis segment, as can still be seen by its appearance in the potential of certain class D verbs which take /b/ in the habitual form (see 3.3.2), and by the fact that /k$^{w}$/ is the initial segment in many transitive verbs of class A which have intransitive partner verbs with initial /b/ or /w/ (see 3.1.1 and 5.1.4). The fact that /w/ cannot follow other voiceless plosives in CLZ is synchronic evidence for /k$^{w}$/'s phonemic status.

| | /t$^{ʔ}$/ (SMaC only) | /t$^{y}$/ | /k$^{w}$/ |
|---|---|---|---|
| (2.9) Initial stops with secondary articulation: | ------ | *tyo*$^{7}$*l*<br>[t$^{y}$ṓl̰ʔ]<br>P-resbalarse<br>P-slip | *kwàl*<br>[k$^{w}$ȁḷː$^{ʔ}$]<br>frío<br>cold |
| (2.10) Secondarily articulated stops in clusters: | ------ | *mtyë\`tz*<br>[mt$^{y}$æ\`¢]<br>camarón<br>shrimp | *bkwa*$^{7}$*n*<br>[ɸk$^{w}$ā́ n̰̱ʔ]<br>IMP-despertarlo<br>IMP-wake up |
| (2.11) Final stop with secondary articulation: | *dŏt*$^{7}$<br>[ðŏt̪$^{ʔ}$]<br>resina<br>resin | ------ | ------ |

### 2.1.1.2 Voiced spirants

The set of CLZ voiced spirants are the reflexes of earlier lenis stops and fricatives. Although synchronic analysis now shows all of these segments to be underlying fricatives, each segment has a plosive realization when following a homorganic nasal. When preceded by homorganic nasals /m, n̪, ŋ/, /β, ð, ɣ/ are realized as stops [b, d̪, g]. /z/ and /ẓ/ are usually realized as phonetic affricates when preceded by /n̪/, the transition between nasal and fricative resulting in an epenthetic [d̪]. Non-homorganic nasals do not produce these changes and the orthography distinguishes the homorganic sequence *ng* [ŋg] from the heterorganic sequence *n-g* [n$^{e}$ɣ].

Of this set of spirants, only /β/ occurs alone as a prefix. When /β/ occurs before a voiceless obstruent it wholly or partially devoices, becoming [ɸ].

/ɣ/ has merged with /y/ before front vowels and so /ɣ/ can only now occur before the vowels /a, ɔ, o, u/ in most varieties of CLZ, except when preceded by /ŋ/ where the merger was phonologically prohibited. In SMaC the merger only took place before non-low front vowels and so [ɣ] can also occur before /æ/ in that variety. When preceding a back rounded vowel /ɣ/ is often heavily labialized, sometimes sounding more like /w/ than /ɣ/, though CLZ speakers recognize such words as beginning in the same sound as other /ɣ/-initial words.

When word-final before a pause all voiced spirants are followed by light glottal closure and release, sometimes with an epenthetic vowel preceding the glottal stop. This glottal stop is much softer than the phonemic glottal stop and is sometimes not audible on recordings, including a few of the wave files included with this dissertation, even though in person it is audible. Echoing the behavior of /p/, /β/ occaisionally ends in labial closure rather than glottal closure. When present, the epenthetic vowel following lenis obstruents tends to have the quality of [ə], and is typically short and sometimes voiceless. Other times no such vowel is audible, only the release of the glottal stop. The epenthetic vowel is more common in SMaC than in the other varieties. Robinson (1956-58) transcribed a final glottal stop following voiced fricatives in at least some words in every variety for which he recorded data except San Jerónimo Coatlán. In Santa María Coatlán this lenis-marking glottal stop only occurs in words with low, rising, or glottal tone. In the other documented dialects it occurs in words with any of the five tones of CLZ.

When a pre-pausal word ending in a lenis obstruent happens to have the glottal tone, the spirant segment is phonetically sandwiched between glottal stops and loses its voicing. Voicing returns if the same word is not pre-pausal since the pre-pausal glottal stop will not be present. This kind of devoicing is more common in the Loxichas since an epenthetic schwa is often inserted before the pre-pausal glottal stop in the Coatlanes. However, sibilants are frequently devoiced pre-pausally in SMaC whether or not there is any glottalization (phonemic or non-phonemic) present.

| | /β/ | /ð/ | /z/ | /ẓ/ | /ɣ/ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (2.12) Initial, voiced cluster | *bdûd*<br>[βðûðˀ]<br>IMP-enrollarlo<br>IMP-roll.up | ------ | ------ | ------ | ------ |
| (2.13) Initial, voiceless cluster | *bcha*$^7$*n-é*<br>[ɸç̣āⁿ̰́ʔn̪é]<br>IMP-dejarlo=3i<br>IMP-put.down=3i | ------ | ------ | ------ | ------ |
| (2.14) Initial before a vowel | *bô*<br>[βô]<br>nudo<br>knot | *dà*<br>[ðàːˀ]<br>petate<br>mat | *zèd*<br>[zɛ̀ðˀ]<br>sal<br>salt | *zhúl*<br>[ẓúḷ]<br>pollito<br>chick | *ga*$^7$*y*<br>[ɣā́y̰ʔ]<br>cinco<br>five |
| (2.15) Homorganic nasal cluster | *mbe*$^7$<br>[mbī́ʔ]<br>luna<br>moon | *ndô*<br>[n̪d̪ô]<br>cara<br>face | *nzâ*<br>[n̪ᵈzâ]<br>frijol<br>bean | *nzhâ*<br>[n̪ᵈẓâ]<br>oreja<br>ear | *ngǐd*<br>[ŋgǐðˀ]<br>gallina<br>chicken |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (2.16) Heterorganic cluster | *nbǎn* | *mbdo*$^7$ | *wza*$^7$ | *bzhu*$^7$ | *n-gàb* |
| | [n(ᵊ)βàń̪ːˀ] | [mbðṓʔ] | [wzā́ʔ] | [βẓū́ʔ] | [n̪ᵊɣàβˀ] |
| | vivo | santo | P-dar | carbón | H-tumbar |
| | alive | saint | P-give | coal | H-lower |
| (2.17) Final with glottal tone | *yi*$^7$*b* | *gu*$^7$*d* | *la*$^7$*z* | *di*$^7$*zh* | ------ |
| | [ʝ̞ī́ʔɸˀ] | [ɣʷū́ʔθˀ] | [ḷā́ʔsˀ] | [ðī́ʔṣˀ] | |
| | fierro | blando | nido | palabra | |
| | metal | soft | nest | word | |
| (2.18) Final with other tones | *yìb* | *gâd* | *lâz* | *yêzh* | *yèg* |
| | [ʝ̞ìβˀ] | [ɣâðˀ] | [ḷâzˀ] | [ʝ̞îẓˀ] | [ʝ̞ɪ̀ɣˀ] |
| | cuerda | siete | cuerpo | pueblo | sereno |
| | cord | seven | body | town | frost |

It is necessary to explain why I have not listed a phoneme /ɣʷ/ in Figure 8. There are some good reasons for doing so. I analyze [w] following [k] as a single phoneme /kʷ/ rather than a stop-glide sequence /kw/ for the historical and synchronic reasons given in 2.1.1.1. One might argue that [w] following /ɣ/ is also a single labiovelar phoneme /ɣʷ/. Just as [w] can follow no stop other than [k], it cannot follow /β/ or /ð/ but can follow [ɣ]. This may mean that /ɣʷ/ is emerging as a new phoneme, but while /kʷ/ is the true reflex of an earlier fortis labiovelar sound, the reflex of the lenis counterpart of that sound is /β/. In fact [ɣʷ] or the allomorphic variant [gʷ] only occurs in allomorphs of the completive and imperative (two related markers) which historically had a velar consonant followed by a now reduced round vowel. For comparison, the completive of the verb ‘comer; eat’ is *ngwdà* in CLZ and *guto* in SJZ (Bartholomew, 1983). Certain animal names also have this sound or sequence of sounds. It is not clear what if any relationship the prefixes in animal words share with the completive markers but they share the most of the same phonology from PZ times down through changes in the marking of these categories in Coatec and Miahuatec languages.

The reasons for not analyzing what occurs in the completive and imperative markers and in animal names as a separate phoneme with secondary articulation /ɣʷ/ are not only historical.

There are several variants of the completive marker and the markers related to it. *ngw-* is realized as [ŋgw] when preceding voiced consonants. [ŋgw] also occurs before some vowel-initial verb roots but philological work suggests these verb roots were historically consonant-initial. Before other vowel-initial roots the marker is [ŋgu] or [ŋgo] with the [u] or [o] replacing the initial vowel of the root. Before roots with initial voiceless consonants the variant of *ngw* is [ŋw]. Since these four variants of the completive marker are all one morpheme, if I proposed a phoneme /$\text{ɣ}^{w}$/ I would be pressured to say that the [w] in [ŋw] is an allophone of /$\text{ɣ}^{w}$/, and I would have to find a synchronic explanation for the [ŋgu] and [ŋgo] allomorphs, none of which is appealing. The explanation for these alternations is historical deletion and reduction in the conditioning environments described. To try to provide a synchronic explanation becomes difficult since there are separate phonemes /ɣ, w, o, u/. These difficulties do not arise in the analysis of /$k^{w}$/ since that phoneme occurs initially in roots while the would-be /$\text{ɣ}^{w}$/ only occurs in a prefix. For these reasons I analyze the fullest form of the completive prefix as a sequence of three segments /ŋɣw/.

#### 2.1.1.3 Voiceless spirants

The set of voiceless fricatives is an emergent class of sounds in CLZ. Only /ṣ/ (spelled <x>) is actually the reflex of an earlier voiceless fricative, but through borrowings and conditioned sound changes a symmetrical inventory of voiceless spirants is forming. However, each of these sounds except /ṣ/ has a restricted distribution in CLZ.

/ɸ/ may have the same bilabial articulation as the native Zapotec phoneme /β/ for most speakers, but it only occurs in Spanish loanwords which have a labiodental /f/ in the lending language. One possible exception to the Spanish loanword rule for /ɸ/ is *chúfné* ‘naguas; slip’ which is of unknown etymology.

/θ/ is the reflex of PZ **tt* and only occurs finally in CLZ except in one phonologically unusual word *tlătha*[7] 'la mitad; half.' The first portion of this compound word, *tlă*, means 'centro; middle,' making *th* the initial segment of a cranberry morpheme.

In native words other than onomatopoeia /s/ is restricted morphologically as it occurs almost entirely in one prefix. It cannot be analyzed as merely a devoiced allophone of /z/ because it is voiceless even when preceding voiced segments. Other than in the future prefix, which when added to numbers also means 'other,' /s/ also occurs in one CLZ pronoun (*sâ* the first person exclusive), one fossilized compound verb (-ástê 'levantarse; to rise') and in Spanish loanwords.

Retroflex /ṣ/ (orthographic <x>) occurs in all possible positions for consonants in native words and also occurs in a few early loanwords which now have /x/ in Spanish, e.g. 'jícama' *xgàm*.

/x/ (written <j>) occurs in many onomatopoetic words and in Spanish loanwords which contain either /x/ or some labial, usually /f/, sound in Spanish. Presumably f > x loans are earlier than f > f loans, although local Spanish still has [x] for many words that are in standard Spanish /f/. The contrast between loans like 'Refugia' > *Júj* or 'Rafael' > *Jwǎy* and loans like 'Ranulfo' > *Núf* and 'fiesta' > *fyěst* is evidence of Zapotec speakers' increasing familiarity with Spanish phonology. However, there are native Zapotec words containing /x/. In those words which have been reconstructed, /x/ appears to be a reflex of PZ **tt*. This is problematic however, since PZ **tt* usually reflects as /θ/ in CLZ. Since no conditioning environment is apparent to explain the difference between the two reflexes, borrowing seems likely. The Zapotec language of San Agustín Loxicha, which is also spoken in towns like Santo Domingo de Morelos, Cozoaltepec, Candelaria Loxicha, and other towns not far to the South and East of CLZ territory, is to the best of my knowledge the only Southern Zapotec language to have a regular /x/ reflex of PZ **tt*. Other than these phonological facts I have no proof that this is how the phoneme entered CLZ. Some of the small set of words with /x/ are semantically mundane, e.g. 'moler; grind' *–oj*. Thus while the phonological circumstancial evidence makes borrowing from SALZ a nice story, there doesn't seem to be much semantic motive for it.

| | /ɸ/ | /θ/ | /s/ | /ṣ/ | /x/ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (2.19) Initial in a cluster | *Flór* | ------ | *stúb* | *xgǎl* | *Jwěltz* |
| | [ɸḷṍr̥] | | [st̪úβˀ] | [ṣɣăl:ˀ] | [xwěḷtz] |
| | Flora | | otro | sombra | Félix |
| | Flora | | another | shade | Felix |
| (2.20) Initial before vowel | *fámíl* | | *sâ* | *xàn* | *Jǐn* |
| | [ɸámíḷ] | | [sâ] | [ṣàn̪ːˀ] | [xǐń̪ːˀ] |
| | familia | | 1e | parte debajo[6] | Regina |
| | family | | 1e | base | Regina |
| (2.21) Medial | *chúfné* | *tlǎtha*$^{7}$ | *Básǐl* | *nhwxa*$^{7}$*k* | *líjér* |
| | [c̣úɸn̪é] | [tlǎθā́ ʔ] | [βásǐḷːˀ] | [ŋwṣā́ʔkʰ] | [ḷíxẽ́r̥] |
| | nagua | la mitad | Basilio | C-parecersele | ligero |
| | skirt | half | Basil (name) | C-appear | light |
| (2.22) Final | *Chóf* | *nîth* | *bás* | *bîx* | *yàj* |
| | [c̣óɸ] | [n̪îθ] | [βás] | [βîṣ] | [yáx] |
| | Crisóforo | caña | vaso | tomate | nopal |
| | Crisóforo | sugarcane | drinking glass | tomato | cactus |

### 2.1.2 Sonorant consonants

Some Zapotec languages (see for example Butler, 1980, or Bartholomew, 1983) have a fortis/lenis contrast among sonorant consonants, defined primarily by a length distinction[7]. CLZ sonorants lack such a fortis/lenis contrast, although phonetic length is exploited in marking tonal distinctions. All sonorants are lengthened and followed by an epenthetic glottal stop in CLZ when each of four conditions are met: 1. the sonorant is word-final; 2. the sonorant is root-final; 3. the word is pre-pausal; and 4. the word bears a low or rising tone. Pre-pausal sonorants that are clitics are not affected by these processes.

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[6] Though this word can also translate with the preposition 'debajo' or 'abajo' it is actually a noun. It refers to the bottom part of something and typically refers to the base on which something rests. Not all things have a *xàn*. For example chairs and tables do not have *xàn* but rather have *ndâtz* 'pies; feet.' Books do not have *xan*, I'm guessing because they may not be thought of as occurring in a fixed position, e.g they can stand upright or be laid down or be held open reading. It seems like something has to have a wide base on which it rests or which is at the bottom when the object is in its expected position. People do not have a *xàn* but their feet do. Bottles, usb microphones, and water jubs are some other things which have a *xàn.* In the case of a water jug the bottom is rounded so it cannot rest on its *xàn* but here *xàn* refers to the bottom part which is always supported by something else. Contrasting the bottoms of chairs, human feet and water jugs it seems that *xàn* should be a part that is continuous with the whole that possesses it, and which is typically as wide or wider than the part above it, with no angles making it jut in our out sharply from the rest of the object.

As noted by Nelson (2004) for SJMZ and other Zapotec languages (QZ: Regnier, 1993 and Black, 1995; IZ: Marlett and Pickett, 1987; and Yatée: Jaeger and VanValin, 1982) in CLZ sonorant consonants can precede obstruents in the onset and in this position do not count as a separate syllable because they do not bear tone.

#### 2.1.2.1 Nasals

CLZ has four nasals in its phoneme inventory: /m, n̪, ñ, ŋ/. /ñ/ is the apparent newcomer but despite its likely Spanish origin it is found in a few core native vocabulary items, e.g. *ña*[7] ‘milpa,’ and is even used to mark potential aspect on some *n*-initial verbs which make use of a *ñ~ny~n* alternation to mark different aspects. /m/ is rare in Zapotec but apparently occurs in the word for ‘animal’ in several Zapotec languages. Swadesh (1947) for one thought that other occurrences of /m/, such as in the SZ word for ‘gente; person’ *mĕn*, were assimilations of labial obstruents to **n* elswhere in the word. In CLZ /m/ is rarely seen in word-final or word-medial position, except in loanwords, but is very common in prefixes. It is the initial segment in many words for animals and supernatural beings, perhaps as a prefix shortened from the pronoun classifiers *má* ‘animal’ and *mĕ* ‘gente; person.’ /m/ also is the initial segment in the most common completive prefix in SZ, *mb-*. /ŋ/ is also rare and in native words only occurs in the irrealis and completive aspect markers, in one pronoun, and in some animal words as a fossilized classifier. /ŋ/ also occurs finally in one possible native word and in many loanwords since the regional Spanish of the SZ area has final [ŋ] for /n/ when stress falls on the ultima. /n̪/ is the most common nasal in CLZ and can occur in initial, medial, or final position.

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[7] According to Julie Nelson Hernández (personal communication) in San Juan Mixtepec Zapotec there is also a fortis:lenis contrast on sonorants but which is indicated by whether the preceding vowel is

Except for /ñ/, each of the nasals can be found in homorganic nasal-obstruent clusters. In such clusters the nasals are short and do not count as syllabic since they may not bear tone in this position, however there are no vocalic segments breaking up the nasal-obstruent sequence and thus the nasals may be phonetically reminiscent of syllabic nasals, although they are not very long. These sequences should not be analyzed as a series of prenasalized phonemes since there is morphological evidence showing that, for example, /mb/ is two phonemes and not one /$^{m}$b/.

| | /m/ | /n̪/ | /ñ/ | /ŋ/ |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (2.23) In a prefix | *mbìth* | *ndĕ̆z* | ------ | *nhwxî* |
| | [mbìθ] | [n̪d̪ĕz$^{ʔ}$] | | [ŋwṣî] |
| | zorrillo | tlacuache | | chichatlao |
| | skunk | possum | | black widow |
| (2.24) Root-initial | *măn* | *nhna*$^{7}$*-l̀* | *ña*$^{7}$*n* | *nhó* |
| | [màn̪̗ː$^{ʔ}$] | [ŋn̪ā́ʔl̩̂] | [ñā́n̪̰ʔ] | [ŋó] |
| | animal | IRR-lavarse=2f | no hay | 1i |
| | animal | IRR-wash=2f | there isn’t | 1i |
| (2.25) Final | *xgàm* | *ta*$^{7}$*n* | ------ | *yŏnh*$^{8}$ |
| | [ṣɣàm̀ː$^{ʔ}$] | [t̪ā́n̪̰ʔ] | | [yòŋ́ː$^{ʔ}$] |
| | jícama | cosa | | mezquino |
| | jicama | thing | | type of skin fungus |

### 2.1.2.2 Liquids

CLZ has two rhotic sounds and one lateral. Unlike in other modern Zapotec languages, rhotic sounds are rare in native words in CLZ. In fact, the distribution of [r̆] and [ɾ] in CLZ is almost exactly as in Spanish phonology. The two sounds contrast only when intervocalic. For this

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rearticulated (before lenis consonants) or checked (before fortis consonants).

[8] This is the SBL form. The SMigC form is *yùnh*.

reason, in both Spanish and CLZ orthography the digraph <rr> is only used between vowels. When not in this position, [ɾ] follows syllable-initial consonants, [r̃] occurs in syllable-initial and syllable-final position. A word-final trill tends to be short and may be devoiced as in Mexican Spanish but may be lengthened and glottalized according to tone, as with other sonorant consonants in CLZ. Excluding onomatopoetic words, rhotic sounds are found in 11 native or at least nativized words not known to be from a non-Zapotec source. Of these, /r̃ / only occurs initially in one word and in the coda of seven words. The three remaining words have a flap rather than a trill and the sound is in medial position: once between vowels, once between a glide and a vowel, and once between /β/ and a vowel. The two rhotic sounds are mostly found in Spanish borrowings, but also in a handful of onomatopoetic words. It is possible some or all cases of *r* in native Zapotec words are borrowings from other Zapotec languages since most modern Zapotec languages, unlike CLZ, have an *r* reflex for PZ **ty*.

The lateral phoneme of CLZ is retroflex. When in word-final position it shows the usual length differences according to tone, but the shorter versions of /ḷ/ are actually pretty long themselves, giving them a very distinctive sound compared to a typical coda lateral in other languages. /ḷ/ occurs preconsonantally as a prefix in three recorded words: once before a glide and twice before sibilants.

| | /r̃/ | /ɾ/ | /ḷ/ |
|---|---|---|---|
| (2.26) Initial and preconsonantal | ------ | ------ | *lwê*<br>[ḷwê]<br>ala<br>wing |
| (2.27) Initial and prevocalic | *rójwá*<br>[r̃óxwá]<br>nagua<br>slip | ------ | *lŭzh*<br>[ḷŭẓˀ]<br>lengua<br>tongue |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (2.28) Post-consonantal | *Énrĭk*<br>[ɛn̪r̃ĭk$^{h}$]<br>Enrique<br>Henry | *brèl*<br>[βɾɛ̀ḷː$^{ʔ}$]<br>redondao<br>round | *blë7*<br>[βḷë¯´ʔ]<br>almácigo<br>plant nursery |
| (2.29) Intervocalic | *kárré-lˆ*<br>[kã́r̃éḷˆ]<br>¡apúrate!<br>hurry up! | *kárǎ*<br>[káɾǎː$^{ʔ}$]<br>verás<br>(emphatic particle) | *álámbré*<br>[áḷámbɾé]<br>alambre<br>wire |
| (2.30) Final | *ár*<br>[ã̆r̃]<br>3hf<br>3hf | ------ | *mbë$^{7}$l*<br>[mbǣ́ḷʔ]<br>culebra<br>snake |

### 2.1.2.3 Glides

Both /w/ and /y/ can occur as pre-vocalic root-initial segments, and as root-final segments. /y/ may follow root-initial consonants when marking certain verbs for morphological categories. /w/ occurs in prefixes by itself or following velar /ŋ/ or /ɣ/ (see 2.1.1.2 for an explanation of why I don't analyze the latter sequence as a single segment /ɣ$^{w}$/), and following sibilants in some roots, but /w/ cannot follow the fricatives /β/ or /ð/. /y/ also occurs as the post-vocalic realization of the 3i enclitic in some varieties of CLZ.

When root-final and pre-pausal, the normal sonorant-lengthening which takes place with the low and rising tones means that /w/ and /y/ turn into phonetic vowels, since the main phonetic difference between vowels and glides is in fact one of length. /w/ tends more towards [o] than [u], especially when following a non-high vowel. Although under these circumstances /w/ and /y/ are phonetically vowels, they still act as consonants. For example, CLZ has both clitic and free forms of pronouns which follow verb and noun roots. Clitic pronouns follow vowel-final roots while free pronouns follow consonant-final roots. Clitic pronouns following glides are ungrammatical.

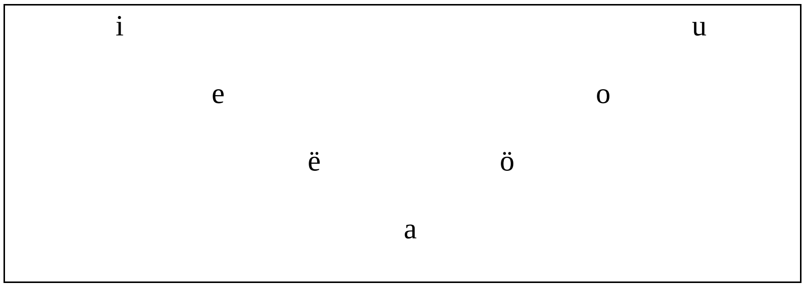
/y/ merged with /ɣ/ before front vowels in CLZ except when /ɣ/ followed /ŋ/. Phonologically, former /ɣ/ has become /y/ in this environment, but phonetically former cases of both /ɣ/ and /y/

are now a conditioned allophone [j̞] when occurring before front vowels. /y/ is simply [y] before non-front vowels. However, what constitutes a front vowel varies slightly according to dialect. In Santa María Coatlán /ɣ/ and /y/ are still distinct before /æ/ although not before /i/ or /e/, while in the other three well-documented dialects the merger has taken place before all three vowels.

|  | /w/ | /y/ |
|---|---|---|
| (2.31) Preconsonantal | *wxên*<br>[wṣɛ̂n̪]<br>ancho<br>wide | ------ |
| (2.32) Postconsonantal | *xwàn*<br>[ṣwàn̪ːˀ]<br>dueño<br>owner | *byôn*<br>[βyôn̪]<br>yerba buena<br>peppermint |
| (2.33) Word-initial before a vowel | *wàch*<br>[wàc̣]<br>iguana<br>iguana | *yìch*<br>[j̞ìc̣]<br>pelo<br>hair |
| (2.34) Root-final | *xnèw*<br>[ṣn̪eoːˀ]<br>anona<br>soursop | *báy*<br>[βáy]<br>pañuelo<br>kerchief |

### 2.1.3 Vowels

**Figure 9: The CLZ vowel inventory**



CLZ has 6-7 vowels in its inventory depending on the dialect. The Loxicha dialects lack /ɔ/ (i.e. <ö>) and have six vowels while the Coatlán dialects have all seven vowels shown above. The quality of the two mid front vowels varies according to environment and dialect as I discuss below. There is no phonemic length difference but there is a phonetic length difference on vowels and there are also differences in phonation type and pitch. All three of these factors are dependent on tone and will be covered in 2.2.1. In the SMaC dialect only there is vowel nasalization which I describe in 2.2.5. There are no VV clusters as I analyze any would-be surface vowel clusters as vowel-glide diphthongs. These diphthongs can be found with any of the six Loxicha vowels, but no diphthongs with /ɔ/ have been found so far in the Coatlán dialects. This is probably only due to the rareness of /ɔ/, not some incompatibility.

Vowel-initial words are extremely rare in CLZ. However such words do exist. They are most frequently Spanish loanwords, followed by onomatopoetic words, followed by a handful of function words. /a/ is the vowel most likely to occur initially in function words. Some vowels only occur initially in loanwords or onomatopoeia. Again due to scarcity I have no examples of initial /ɔ/. All vowels can occur word finally or with a following coda.

The six vowels of the Loxicha dialects can take any of the five tones of CLZ. I do not expect tonal restrictions on /ɔ/ but since it is still a rare phoneme I may not have examples with each of the five tones.

In (2.35) I give examples of /i/ in different positions. /i/ has probably had the greatest effect of any vowel on nearby consonants and vowels in the history of Zapotec languages. Many /i/’s and other vowels which conditioned sound changes have now been deleted in SZ however. Such post-tonic *i*’s have been the cause of umlaut in Zapotec (Beam de Azcona, 1999) and of palatalization of certain consonants in some SZ and other Zapotec languages (Beam de Azcona, 2001). The tonic /i/ which remains in CLZ conditions the [ʝ̞] allophone of /y/ discussed above. /i/ is only found initially in one word (shown in 2.35), which happens to be onomatopoetic. The only diphthongs /i/ is found in appear to be loanwords, with the exception of *i*-final roots followed by the inanimate pronoun clitic *–ý*.

In (2.36) I give examples of /e/ in different positions. /e/ is raised and closer to [ɪ] when followed by a consonant but [e] when word-final. /e/ occurs word-initially in five Spanish loans and one onomatopoetic word. Other than these, /e/ occurs word-initially in one native word which is shown in (2.36) below, and which to my knowledge is found only in the dialect of San Miguel Coatlán.

In (2.37) I give examples of /æ/ in different positions. <ë> tends more towards [æ] in the Loxichas and more towards [ɛ] in the Coatlanes, although either realization is possible in all dialects. It is only found initially in one word I know of, which happens to be an onomatopoetic word. Looking at the various reconstructions of PZ it seems that the origin of CLZ /æ/ is an earlier tonic /e/ preceding a now-deleted post-tonic /a/.

In (2.38) I give examples of /a/ in different positions. /a/ is found initially in a number of Spanish loans and onomatopoetic words, and in at least four native words. Most native words with initial /a/ are function words: two adverbs, a pronoun, and a quantifier. It is interesting to note that in three of these four native function words /a/ is a rare pretonic syllable. In all four words /a/ takes high tone, the rarest of the five tones but the tone always found on pretonic syllables, such as in compounds.

In (2.39) I give examples of /ɔ/ in different positions. /ɔ/ is rare and only occurs in the Coatlanes. It occurs in only six words currently listed in the dictionary though it surely occurs in more words as yet unrecorded. Of these six words, three have been reconstructed. All three have been reconstructed by Kaufman (1993) with **a* and two of the three with a following **w*. Indeed, other Zapotec languages such as SAMZ have /aw/ corresponding to Coatlán /ɔ/. The development of /ɔ/ in CLZ makes the Coatlán vowel inventory more symmetrical than the Loxicha vowel inventory which lacks /ɔ/ in opposition to /æ/.

In (2.40) I give examples of /o/ in different positions. /o/ is found initially in one onomatopoetic word and one other native word as well as a few loanwords. There are some phonetic instances of [o] which I analyze as /w/, e.g. the SBL word for ‘anona; soursop’ in (2.34) above and ‘javalí; peccary’ in (2.36) below. These are *w*-final words with low tone which causes lengthening of final /w/. Since the difference between a glide and a vowel is essentially one of length, a much lengthened glide is phonetically a vowel. The problem here is that since the vowel equivalents of glides are usually high vowels, one would expect /w/ to here be realized as [u] rather than [o].

Benton (1988) reconstructs only **o* and not **u* for Proto-Zapotec. In (Beam de Azcona, 1999) I also suggested that only **o* should be reconstructed, based on a longer unpublished study in which I found that of the words reconstructed by Fernández de Miranda (1995 [1965]) and an earlier version of Kaufman (2003) with **u* all but two instances could be explained by either **i* in a following syllable or an adjacent palatal glide **y* or palatalized **ty* or **tty* (Fernández de Miranda’s **r* and **ch*). In the longer study I also found sporadic cases of fossilized modern /o/ in words reconstructed with **u*, especially in some Southern Zapotec languages but also elsewhere.

If earlier Zapotec had only /o/ and not /u/, perhaps a lengthened /w/ would be perceived as a vowel and pronounced [o]. In this case one might want to argue that these words have modern vowel clusters with /o/ and not diphthongs with /w/. However, I still analyze these words as having /w/ and not /o/ because the length accounting for the vowel is predicted by the tone, because *w*-final words behave like consonant-final words with respect to clitic selection, and because these would be the only words in the language with vowel clusters if analyzed that way. In any case, since lip rounding is more essential to the articulation of [w] than tongue height, an [o] allophone of /w/ is less problematic than, say, an [e] articulation of /y/ (which does not occur).

In (2.41) I give examples of /u/ in different positions. /u/ is found initially in at least two Spanish loanwords. The only native word listed in the dictionary with initial /u/ is an alternant pronunciation of the only native word listed with initial /o/.

| | Initial | In a diphthong | Before a consonant | Final |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (2.35) | *ính*<br>[íŋ]<br>Sonido de sancudo<br>sound of a mosquito | *níw*<br>[n̪íw]<br>nigua<br>sandflea | *nîk*<br>[n̪îkʰ]<br>gargantilla<br>necklace | *mbì*<br>[mbìːˀ]<br>aire<br>wind |
| (2.36) | *êd yîd*<br>[îð ʝîðˀ]<br>huarache (SMigC)<br>sandal | *mbèw*<br>[mbèòˀ]<br>javalí<br>peccary | *mbèk*<br>[mbɪ̀kʰ]<br>perro<br>dog | *sche$^7$*<br>[sç̣ḗʔ]<br>cena<br>dinner |
| (2.37) | *ë`j ë`j ë`j ë`j*<br>[æ̀x æ̀x æ̀x æ̀x]<br>grito del burro (SMigC)<br>call of the donkey | *ndë`y*<br>[ndæ̀ìˀ]<br>diente<br>tooth | *mbë`z*<br>[mbæ̀zˀ]<br>costoche<br>fox | *lëˆ*<br>[ḷæ̂]<br>tolín<br>crave-sickness |
| (2.38) | *áyo$^7$*<br>[áyṓʔ]<br>cien<br>hundred | *ga$^7$y*<br>[ɣā́y̰ʔ]<br>cinco<br>five | *kwàl*<br>[kʷàḷːˀ]<br>frío<br>cold | *Lǎ*<br>[ḷǎːˀ]<br>Oaxaca<br>Oaxaca |
| (2.39) | ------ | *yà ndöˆw*<br>[yàndɔ̰̂w]<br>palo de zapote<br>zapote tree | *yö$^7$j*<br>[yɔ̄́ʔᵓx]<br>renacuajo<br>tadpole | *ndö`*<br>[ndɔːˀ]<br>H-comer<br>H-eat |
| (2.40) | *ówìzhta$^7$*<br>[ówìẓt̪ā́ʔ]<br>mediodía<br>noon | *nzóy*<br>[n̪zóy]<br>cacao<br>cocoa | *gôn*<br>[ɣôn̪]<br>limosna<br>offering | *gó*<br>[ɣó]<br>2r<br>2r |
| (2.41) | *úwìzhta$^7$*<br>[úwìẓt̪ā́ʔ]<br>mediodía<br>noon | *mtzuy̌*<br>[m¢ùíˀ]<br>C-hacerle cosquilla<br>C-tickle | *zhúl*<br>[ẓúḷ]<br>pollito<br>chick | *ngû*<br>[ŋgû]<br>huevo<br>egg |

### 2.2 Suprasegmentals

The main suprasegmental category of CLZ is tone. Phonetically tone is not a single phenomenon but rather each tone has a cluster of phonetic features or cues associated with it. In CLZ the main features of any given tone are pitch level, pitch shape or contour, glottalization and lengthening. Tone interacts with coda consonants in interesting ways described both here and in 2.1. Tonal alternations within paradigms are exploited morphologically, as described in Chapters 3 and 4. Also mentioned there, but introduced here, is the existence of different tonal registers. In this section I will also briefly cover stress and intonation. Both are topics which deserve further investigation. Finally, I end the section with a discussion of vowel nasalization, a phenomenon only known in the Santa María Coatlán dialect of CLZ.

#### 2.2.1 Tones[9]

There are five contrastive tone categories in CLZ as evidenced by the minimal set in (2.42). In addition to pitch, tone in CLZ is indicated by such features as glottalization, length and amplitude on rime sonorants, including both vowels and sonorant consonants.

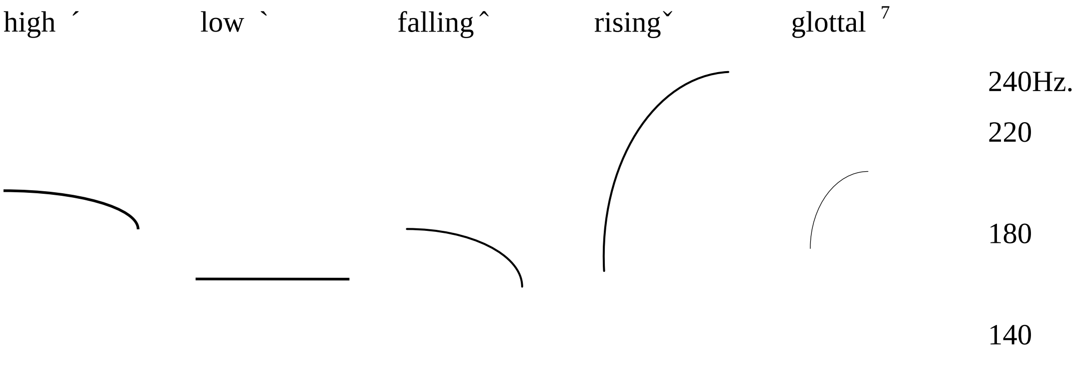
| (2.42) | high | low | falling | rising | glottal |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *mbé* | *mbè* | *mbê* | *mbě* | *mbe*$^{7}$ |
| | [mbé] | [mbèːˀ] | [mbê] | [mběːˀ] | [mbḗ ʔ] |
| | cangrejo | neblina | araña | tortuga | luna; mariposa |
| | crab | mist | spider | turtle | moon; butterfly |

##### 2.2.1.1 Pitch

Pitch is what most people think of as the main phonetic component of tone. In CLZ pitch is indeed the primary, though not the only, phonetic feature of tone. Each tone has a distinctive pitch pattern, shown in Figure 10. The direction and degree of movement are as important as the range a certain tone falls in. In Figure 10 and in the description below I give the average fundamental frequency in Hz. for each tone. Numbers given are, unless otherwise stated, for the primary SBL consultant, a man who was 48 when the measurements given here were taken.

It is important to understand that the context of these numbers is words spoken in isolation from single word elicitation. How these tones behave when in longer utterances and casual speech is addressed in 2.2.4. In Beam de Azcona (1998) I gave measurements for these pitch patterns based on recordings I made with my primary consultant from SBL in 1997. Six years later in the summer of 2003 I found different measurements for some of these pitch patterns. The same consultant was used in both years. I was originally doubtful that the consultant's voice had changed much in the time I have known him and considered other factors such as equipment used, and the basic fact that pitch varies significantly based on mood etc. However, after listening to recordings from 1997 it was apparent that the consultant's voice had a lower fundamental frequency then than now. Figure 10 reflects the 2003 numbers. I give both measurements in the exposition below.

**Figure 10: Pitch patterns of San Baltazar Loxicha tones**



The pitch patterns of the five CLZ tones play out over the entire sonorous portion of the rime. This may be just a vowel if root-final or if there is an obstruent coda. If there is a sonorous coda

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[9] Portions of this description of tone were published previously in Beam de Azcona (1998). However,

the pitch pattern plays out over the entirety of the VS sequence. This is most audible in cases with lengthened sonorants to be described in the next section. In the case of the rising tone it is almost as if the vowel has low tone and the sonorant consonant high tone, as the majority of the rise in pitch may take place on the sonorant consonant.

The high tone is the rarest tone in CLZ and mostly occurs on unstressed syllables in loanwords and compounds, although it does occur on some monosyllabic roots. Numbers given here for all tones come from monosyllabic (i.e. stressed) words spoken in isolation, unless otherwise noted. The high tone moves somewhat more than the low tone in the Loxicha variety of CLZ, but not as much as true contour tones. In closed syllables this tone typically starts around 210Hz. (in 1997) or 195Hz. (in 2003) and falls to around 200Hz. (in 1997) or 185Hz. (in 2003) or slightly lower. In open syllables the tone is more level and may even rise a little. When following another word in a phrase the high tone usually picks up near the ending pitch of the previous tone and continues with its characteristic pattern, usually falling, but sometimes level or with a very slight rise.

Pitch patterns for all tones may vary from the “typical” levels I am reporting here. They may vary according to the speaker’s mood or the time of day they are recorded, according to their syntactic environment and whether the words bearing particular tones are emphasized or not. The pitch patterns also change to mark morphological contrasts as described in Chapters 3-6. Even in 2003 I recorded examples of high tone that began at 230Hz. rather than the 195Hz. that I am reporting as typical for the 2003 recordings. In any language, tonal or otherwise, pitch is relative and varies for the reasons described here and others including sex and age. In CLZ the pitch of the high tone varies according to many factors but can be distinguished from other tones. While it does have different pitch than the other tones, factors such as lack of length and glottalization (described below) and pitch pattern rather than the actual level of the pitch, are the most helpful cues. This tone tends to move more and have higher pitch than the low tone and move less than a

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errors have been corrected and new material added.

contour tone. Pitch-wise it can be told apart from the rest by the fact that it is higher than a low tone in the same environment, and by the fact that it tends to fall rather than remain level but does not fall as much as the true falling tone. In addition to the characteristic pitch pattern there is often higher amplitude with the high tone.

In the Loxicha dialect of CLZ, the low tone is very level, and this lack of change in pitch is perhaps one of the main cues for this tone, as the actual fundamental frequency may vary greatly. For the primary consultant this tone is typically around 150Hz. (in 1997) or 165Hz. (in 2003) but even in 1997 I had recorded it as high as 170Hz. All CLZ tones except rising have upstepped variants which occur on a higher register. These are described more in 2.2.2. The upstepped low tone was typically measured at 195Hz. in 2003. There is very little or no change (0-5Hz.) in pitch during a low tone in the Loxicha dialects. In the Coatlán varieties of CLZ the low tone has much more movement than in the Loxicha varieties. For a 65-year-old male consultant from Santa María Coatlán the low tone starts in the 175-190Hz. region and typically falls 25Hz. Although this is not as much movement as with the rising tone or the upstepped version of the falling tone, the Coatlán version of the low tone in CLZ shows more change in pitch than the high tone and about the same change in pitch as with the non-upstepped version of the falling tone, from which it differs in pitch height.

Phonetically the low tone is a low-falling contour tone in the Coatlanes, but even there there is phonologcial reason to call it low. For example, if contour tones are thought to be composed of sequences of level tones, it would be problematic to have a tone inventory of only one level tone and 3-4 contour tones (depending on how the glottal tone is characterized). Evidence that contour tones may be composed of level tones in CLZ comes from both historical and synchronic morphological evidence.

Isthmus Zapotec is a language generally considered to be in many ways conservative. Compared to SZ languages, IZ is different in part because it still maintains non-tonic vowels and has a smaller tone inventory. There are a number of disyllabic words, such as those shown in

(2.43), in IZ with low tone on the initial syllable and high tone on the final syllable which correspond to monosyllabic words with rising tone in CLZ. This seems to indicate that at least some instances of rising tone were historically sequences of low and high tone, even though not all correspondences between IZ and CLZ are this neat.

| (2.43) | IZ (Pickett et al. 1959) | CLZ | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | *chònná* | *chǒn* | ‘tres; three’ |
| | *màníʔ* | *mǎn* | ‘animal’ |
| | *ràlé* | *ndǎl* | ‘H-nacer; H-be born’ |

As in most Zapotec languages, in CLZ there is tonal morphology associated with the potential aspect as well as the first person singular. One common phenomenon of tonal morphology in CLZ is a root with underlying low tone being realized with rising tone when marked for one of these categories. Others (for example, Bickmore and Broadwell, 1998) have proposed that the cause for these same kinds of tonal alternations in other Zapotec languages is a floating high tone. Under such analyses, underlying low tone plus a floating high tone renders the surface rising tone. Thus what I propose as one historical source for rising tone, the loss of post-tonic vowels with high tone following tonic vowels with low tone, is virtually the same process as a common and productive morphological source of rising tone.

In 1997 (before I knew about register differences) I noted that the falling tone typically started in the range of 200-180Hz, though sometimes lower, and fell 50Hz. or more. In 2003 I measured the normal register version of the falling tone as typically starting at 180Hz. and falling to around 160Hz. while I measured the upstepped, i.e. the higher register version of this tone, as typically starting around 235Hz. and falling to around 185Hz.

In 1997 I recorded that the rising tone usually started around 120 or 130Hz. and rose to anywhere from 170Hz. to over 200Hz. In 2003 I found that the rising tone most often had a pitch pattern resembling a rise from 170Hz. to 240Hz. though there were many variations on this in individual instances (e.g. there were individual tokens measuring 120Hz.→165Hz., 175Hz.→271Hz., 140Hz.→240Hz., and 158Hz.→306Hz.) With the rising tone there is an increase in amplitude concomitant with the increase in fundamental frequency. This tone moves less in SMaC than in the other varieties, making it easily mistaken for the high tone there.

Syllables with the glottal tone typically have a high-rising pitch pattern which in 1997 I recorded as beginning between 180 and 200Hz. and rising to 220Hz., 250Hz. or higher. In 2003 I recorded the non-upstepped version of this tone as rising from 170 to 205 and the upstepped version of this tone as rising from 210 to 245. The pitch patterns on glottal syllables may vary more than the pitch patterns on syllables with other tones because differences in pitch do not contrast on glottalized syllables. This is important to note because in other Zapotec languages there are one to two types of glottalization which contrast with non-glottalized syllables independent of tone (see for example Bartholomew 1983 and Pickett, 1959). In those languages a glottalized syllable can take different tones but in CLZ all words which are glottalized tend to have a high-rising pitch pattern but when they are made with another pitch pattern there is no semantic difference. The typical high-rising pitch pattern for glottal tone is different from the four other pitch patterns that define the high, low, falling and rising tones. That the one kind of glottalization that exists in CLZ contrasts with the other four tones and has its own pitch pattern is different from what is found in other Zapotec languages and appears to be innovatory.

#### 2.2.1.2 Glottalization

Besides pitch, the next most important features of tone in CLZ are duration and glottalization. Glottalization has many functions in CLZ, so I examine it first. I use the term glottalization here to cover anything involving either creaky voice or occlusion of the glottis. In some other Zapotec languages there are two types of phonemic glottalization which yield what are called rearticulated or *quebrada* vowels vs. checked or *cortada* vowels. These contrast with plain non-glottalized vowels. Such languages include Sierra Juárez Zapotec (see Bartholomew, 1983), Isthmus Zapotec (see Pickett, 1959), San Agustín Mixtepec Zapotec (Beam de Azcona, 2004) and others. In some Zapotec languages the *quebrada* type of vowel isn't rearticulated [VʔV] but rather is a creaky-voiced vowel, so that the contrast is plain vs. checked vs. creaky, as in San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec (see Munro, Lopez et al., 1999). In Valley Zapotec languages like San Lucas Quiaviní (see Munro, Lopez et al., 1999) and Mitla (see Stubblefield & Hollenbach, 1991) breathy vowels also occur making a plain/checked/creaky/breathy contrast. In CLZ there are six phonetically different kinds of glottalization but phonologically there is only one type of glottalization akin to the type found in other Zapotec languages. Four kinds of phonetic glottalization are conditioned variants of glottal tone. The other two kinds are involved in marking other tones but are not those tones' most salient feature, while glottalization *is* the most salient feature of the glottal tone.

In Zapotec languages with two kinds of glottalization, checked $V^{ʔ}$ syllables contrast with rearticulated $V^{ʔ}V$ syllables. CLZ has both $V^{ʔ}$ and $V^{ʔ}V$ phonetically but these do not contrast phonologically as they do in related languages. Instead, both types of vowels are conditioned variants of vowels with the glottal tone. Rearticulated $V^{ʔ}V$ vowels occur before voiceless fricatives (not devoiced allophones of voiced fricatives) and this holds whether the voiceless fricative is part of the root or an enclitic, as shown in (2.44). Checked $V^7$ vowels occur before voiceless plosives, phonemically voiced (i.e. lenis) fricatives, in word-final position, and before enclitics that are sonorants (there are no voiceless plosive or voiced fricative enclitics). Examples of checked vowels in these positions are shown in (2.47).

When a root with glottal tone ends in a sonorous consonant, that sonorant is short and post-glottalized if word-final. This is to say that towards the end of the sonorant there is creak and a robust glottal stop follows the sonorant itself. The segment may also be partially devoiced. Examples are given in (2.45). The same roots will have pre-glottalized sonorants if followed by a =V enclitic. In the case of pre-glottalization the first part of the sonorant consonant is creaky-voiced followed by full glottal closure and then continuation of the sonorant without creak. Thus, the glottal stop portion of this tone is realized during and/or following the last bit of sonority in a syllable, whether this means following a vowel before an obstruent or following a sonorous coda. In the case of sonorant consonant-final encliticized roots, a small portion of the sonorant is still in the coda, with the glottal stop following that last bit of sonority in the syllable and the remainder of the sonorant is the onset of the next syllable, as transcribed in (2.46).

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (2.44) Rearticulated vowels | | *yi*$^7$*x* | *xna*$^7$*-s* | |
| | | [ʝī́ʔ$^{i}$ṣ] | [ṣn̪ā́ʔ$^{a}$s] | |
| | | P-tostarse | POS-madre=1e | |
| | | P-toast | POS-mother=1e | |
| (2.45) Post-glottalized sonorants[10] | | b*kwa*$^7$*n* | *bchë*$^7$*l* | *ga*$^7$*y* |
| | | [ɸk$^{w}$ā́n̰ʔ] | [ɸç̣ǣ́l̰ʔ] | [ɣā́y̰ʔ] |
| | | IMP-buscar | IMP-unir | cinco |
| | | IMP-seek | IMP-unite | five |
| (2.46) Pre-glottalized sonorants | | b*kwa*$^7$*n-e* | *bchë*$^7$*l-é* | *ga*$^7$*y-é* |
| | | [ɸk$^{w}$ā́$^{n̰}$ʔ.n̪é] | [ɸç̣ǣ́$^{l̰}$ʔ.ḷé] | [ɣā́$^{y̰}$ʔ.yé] |
| | | IMP-buscar=3i | IMP-unir=3i | cinco=3i |
| | | IMP-seek=3i | IMP-unite=3i | five=3i |
| (2.47) Checked vowels | *mbe*$^7$*k* | *bxi*$^7$*zh* | *ya*$^7$ | *xna*$^7$*-nh´* |
| | [mbɪʔk$^{h}$] | [ɸṣī́ʔṣ$^{ʔ}$] | [yā́ʔ] | [ṣn̪ā́ʔŋ̰́] |
| | tufo feo | piña | mano | POS-madre=1i |
| | bad odor | pineapple | hand[11] | POS-mother=1i |

In CLZ It is important to distinguish phonetic glottalization from phonemic glottalization. The four types of glottalization exemplified in (2.44-47) are variants of the one kind of phonemic glottalization which I analyze as a tone in CLZ. Other varieties of Zapotec have two contrastive types of phonemic glottalization, as explained above, but CLZ has only one, the glottal tone. While pitch and duration are important cues for the glottal tone, the most salient feature of the glottal tone is the glottal stop itself, hence the name. Although there are four variations on the realization of the glottal tone, a glottal stop is always present somewhere in words bearing that tone and cannot be deleted through purely phonological processes. However, there are two other kinds of glottalization in CLZ which are not phonemic but instead are optional features of other tones. Phonemic glottalization is robust and only disappears when the rules of tonal morphology change the surface tone of the syllable to a non-glottal tone or when unstressed, in which case all other tones are neutralized as well. Non-phonemic glottalization is not as phonetically robust and one type of non-phonemic glottalization disappears when not in pre-pausal position.

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[10] Additional examples which have been left out above for space reasons, nicely illustrate the difference between a root-sonorant with glottal tone and an enclitic sonorant following a root-final vowel with glottal tone. Listen to the sound files included on the CD and labled 3-4-footnote and 3-6-footnote, these are *xi*$^7$*n* ‘nalga; buttock,’ *xi*$^7$*-n*ˆ ‘M-comprar/buy=1s, *ya*$^7$*n* ‘olote; corncob’ and *ya*$^7$*-n*ˆ ‘mano/hand=1s.’

[11] When referring to a human this included the forearm and the hand. This can also refer to trees’ branches and to branches of a river or stream.

One kind of non-phonemic glottalization occurs on vowels as a concomitant of the falling tone and occurs in the Coatlanes only. In addition to a falling pitch contour, vowels with falling tone in in the Coatlanes are glottalized. The glottalization varies between creaky voice and an actual glottal stop, with or without an echo vowel.

The other type of non-phonemic glottalization is the pre-pausal glottal stop, so named because it disappears when not in pre-pausal position. The pre-pausal glottal stop is not as robust and has a shorter closure duration than the phonemic glottal stop. In CLZ the pre-pausal glottal stop has two functions, one is to mark low and rising tone, the other is to mark lenis obstruents. The latter function was described above in 2.1.1.2. As mentioned there, in the SMaC dialect only the two functions of the pre-pausal glottal stop are combined in that only lenis obstruents in words with low, rising, or glottal tones take the pre-pausal glottal stop. In other dialects all lenis obstruents take the pre-pausal glottal stop, regardless of tone. In all dialects, words ending in sonorants, either vowels or sonorant consonants, and bearing low or rising tone, are followed by a pre-pausal glottal stop. In (2.48) I give examples of words ending in different kinds of sonorants with low and rising tone and pre-pausal glottal stop. In (2.49) I show the same words when not pre-pausal. In (2.50) I show examples of similarly shaped words with high and falling tone and either creaky voice (in the Coatlanes) or no glottalization (in the Loxichas).

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (2.48) Pre-pausal [ˀ] | *mbzhìn* | *dà* | *mbǐl* | *yǐ* |
| | [mbẓìǹ̪ːˀ] | [ðàːˀ] | [mbǐ̃ḷːˀ] | [ʝ̞ǐ̃ːˀ] |
| | miel | petate | lagartija | cal |
| | honey; syrup | mat | lizard | lime (mineral) |
| (2.49) No pre-pausal [ˀ] | *mbzhìn nîth* | *dà té-n̂* | *mbǐl to⁷l* | *yǐ tě-m* |
| | [mbẓìn̪ː n̪îθ] | [ðàː t̪én̂] | [mbǐḷː t̪ṓl̰ʔ] | [ʝ̞ǐ̃ː t̪ěːm] |
| | miel de caña | petate POS=1s | lagartija resbal. | cal POS=3hr |
| | cane syrup | mat POS=1s | Coleonyx | lime POS=3hr |
| (2.50) High and falling tone | *mbzhîn* | *wlá* | *mbë˥l* | *yî* |
| | [mbẓîn̪] | [wlá] | [mbæ̂ḷ] | [ʝ̞î] |
| | venado | amargo | pescado | piedra |
| | deer | bitter | fish | rock |

One question that emerges is what do low and rising tone have in common that causes them to both be marked with the pre-pausal glottal stop, or what do high and falling tone have in common that leads to the lack of it. It would seem that the two members of each group are opposites. In each pair one tone is level the other contour. In each pair one tone has higher pitch, the other lower. This lack of similarity of pitch suggests that the explanation is not completely phonetic, but at least partly phonological. Other than the presence or absence of certain concomitants of tone, high tone and falling tone are related in the same was as rising and low tone in that roots with underlying falling and low tone often take high and rising tone respectively when marked for the potential aspect. As mentioned previously, many monosyllabic rising-toned words in CLZ can be shown to have historically been disyllables with successive low and high tones. Thus there exists a phonological relationship between each pair that is not explained by phonetic similarity.

The pre-pausal glottal stop that is conditioned by low tone in CLZ has correlates in other languages. According to Maddieson (1978) a pre-pausal syllable-final glottal stop conditioned by low tone in long syllables in Kiowa (citing Silvertsen, 1956) may be due to “very low frequency at the end of a long low-pitched vowel” which develops into complete glottal closure. Words with final sonorants in CLZ have lengthening of the final sonorant concomitant with low (and rising) tone, so presumably the effect of producing low pitch over a lengthened sonorant could be the same in Zapotec as in Kiowa.

The CLZ pre-pausal glottal stop following rising tone is also not a lone example. Maddieson (1978) cites Ballard saying that in the Wu Chinese dialect of Wenchow the 34 and 45 rising tones end in a glottal stop. However, the same kind of phonetic explanation for the glottal stop concomitant with low tone in Kiowa cannot be offered for rising tone in Wu Chinese or CLZ since low pitch would not be present at the end of a rise in pitch.

It is unclear what phonetic process would have been responsible for the pre-pausal glottal stop concomitant with rising tone. It may have been some unknown process that happens with rising tones as in Wu Chinese, or perhaps the rising tone glottal stop in CLZ came about when most or all of these syllables still had low tone. In cases where the rising tone only occurs in the potential form of a verb paradigm and the other forms have low tone, the pre-pausal glottal stop could also be explained by paradigm levelling, the [ˀ] concomitant with low tone being extended to the rising toned form as well. The forms which historically had a low-toned syllable followed by a high-toned syllable are more difficult to explain since at the time that the tonic syllable had low tone it was not pre-pausal, the only environment where this kind of glottal stop occurs.

The dissimilarity of each set poses challenges to purely phonetic explanations for the development and distribution of the pre-pausal glottal stop. However, this dissimilarity provides clarity for listeners including children and linguists learning to recognize the language’s tones. The tones with the most similar pitch levels (and the most likely to be mistaken for each other) are distinguished by the presence or absence of glottalization (and length, as in 2.2.1.3) or even by the type of glottalization. Glottal tone and rising tone both have rising pitch patterns but the glottal stop of the glottal tone is robust with a shortening effect while the rising tone has only a slight glottal stop and a lengthening effect. The falling and low tones both end in low pitch but are differentiated by glottalization and length. The falling tone may have creak in the Coatlanes or no glottalization in the Loxichas both differing from the pre-pausal glottal stop of the low tone. This system of pre-pausal glottalization thus maximally distinguishes the four non-glottal tones.

### 2.2.1.3 Length

Duration is also an important cue for tone in CLZ, as can be seen in the examples above. Vowels and sonorant consonants (especially /ḷ/) with falling tone are slightly longer than vowels and sonorant consonants in words with high tone. As previously mentioned, sonorants in words with glottal tone are extremely short, typically around 100ms. in careful speech. Most salient though is the fact that vowels and sonorant consonants in syllables with low and rising tones are 100 ms. or more longer than their counterparts in syllables with high and falling tones. Root-final sonorant consonants are typically between 120 and 150ms. when in words with high or falling tone but are lengthened to between 200 and 260ms. when in roots with low or rising tone. Enclitic sonorants only take high and falling tone and so are not even eligible to be lengthened. However the fact that the rising toned pronoun *mě* has a high instead of rising tone in the enclitic form *–ḿ* demonstrates that sonorant lengthening with low and rising tone is restricted to roots (it cannot be that there is just a restriction on contour tones in enclitics since some have falling tone). Vowels with high or falling tone typically measure between 180 and 230ms., while vowels in roots with low or rising tone typically measure 300ms. and have even been measured at 400ms.

While words with both low and rising tone take the same characteristic lengthening, this process is more exaggerated in words with low tone than in words with rising tone. Low toned vowels or other sonorants are often longer then their already lengthened rising toned counterparts by a third or more. As described above, the pre-pausal glottal stop that accompanies this lengthening disappears when not pre-pausal. Lengthening of word-final sonorants is perhaps not as pronounced when not pre-pausal but some lengthening is still maintained phrase medially compared to words with other tones. The lengthening of word-final sonorants with low tone holds up more in this position than the lengthening of words with rising tone. Measurements given here are for words said in isolation by the main consultant from San Baltazar Loxicha. Words said in normal speech would of course have shorter durations, but still with the same relative difference in length according to tone.

Some other Zapotec languages are described as having a contrast between fortis and lenis sonorants, (for example, see Córdoba, 1886 [1578]; Pickett, 1959; Butler, 1980; Nellis and Nellis, 1983; Stubblefield and Stubblefield, 1991), with the primary phonetic difference being one of length. However, to my knowledge no other Zapotec language has been described as having increased sonorant consonant duration concomitant with certain tones and not others. In CLZ, whether a sonorant is short or long is completely determined by a word’s tone. Furthermore, comparison with cognates from Zapotec languages with fortis and lenis sonorants reveals that the origin of CLZ short and long sonorants does not lie in the earlier fortis/lenis contrast since CLZ words with low and rising tone and lengthened sonorants often have lenis sonorants in other languages just as CLZ words with other tones often have cognates with fortis sonorants.

Although I know of no description of sonorant consonant length being linked to tone in other Zapotec languages, there is one intriguing reference to tone and vowel length. Pike (1948) quotes from an unpublished manuscript by Morris Swadesh. He wrote that there is phonetic but not phonemic vowel length in many varieties of Zapotec. He says that vowels are shorter when before a glottal stop or a fortis consonant and longer when before a lenis consonant or in word-final position. These generalizations ring true for CLZ as well. Most interesting though is Swadesh's” statement that “the accented syllable lengthens its vowel, especially if it has low or rising tone in a monosyllabic word” (my translation). It would be interesting to know what varieties of Zapotec Swadesh was writing about when he made this last statement. It is possible that he was talking about a Southern Zapotec language since he was referring to monosyllables, though there are certainly other possibilities.

Pike herself also notes that high-toned syllables tend to be shorter in Villa Alta Zapotec than mid or low-toned syllables. She writes that when a monosyllable follows a word with low tone, the difference in length on the monosyllable is more salient than the difference in pitch when comparing a monosyllable with mid tone to one with high tone. She give examples of *gèyï`ʔ yā* ‘five steambaths’ and *gèyï`ʔyá* ‘five bamboo’ saying that while the pitch difference between ‘steambath’ and ‘bamboo’ is hard to hear in this environment, the length difference is prominent.

### 2.2.1.4 Tone on enclitics

CLZ has enclitic forms of most pronouns, though not all dialects have the full inventory of enclitics. SBL, the main source dialect for this grammar, has the fullest inventory. Most enclitics are of the form =C and are reductions of the fuller CV free forms of pronouns. Of these, there are four enclitics which have a nasal or lateral. These four enclitics bear tone--- a tone identical to, or a reduced form of, the tone of the free pronoun. There are two other enclitics which differ phonologically from these in having a vowel or glide. The full description of how these enclitics are phonologically and syntactically selected is described in the Syntax section of this grammar. In (2.51) I show all the SBL enclitics which are capable of bearing tone, along with the free pronouns on which they are based, and in one case the fuller generic noun on which the free pronoun is based. The free 3i pronoun is *ta*$^7$, based on *ta*$^7$*n* ‘cosa; thing’ but is not included here since the enclitic forms are not based on it in any obvious way.

| (2.51) | Generic noun | Free Pronoun | Enclitic | Phonological environment |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1s | ---------- | *nâ* | -*n*ˆ | C__ |
| 1i | ---------- | *nhó* | -*nh*´ | C__ |
| 2f | ---------- | *lô* | -*l*ˆ | C__ |
| 3hr | *mĕ̌n* ‘gente; person’ | *mě* | -*m*´ | C__ |
| 2r | ---------- | (*gá* variant occurs in SMaC) | -*á* | C__ and V__ |
| 3i | ---------- | ---------- | -é | C__ |
|  |  |  | -ý | V__ |

The way high tone is realized on enclitics is similar to the way it is realized on roots with open syllables, with a fairly level realization (but not as level as the low tone) close to the pitch level the previous tone ended on, and sometimes rising a bit, though not as much as the rising tone. The high tone falls more in closed syllables, but does not fall significantly on enclitics. High tone on enclitcs tends to rise more following low and glottal tone and to be more level following falling tone. This last generalization lends itself to some kind of an analogy with gravity and speed and vehicles and momentum, something like a go-cart race. Here, it seems it would take just as much energy to stop the tonal go-cart from a downward descent in progress, as it would to begin an upwards ascent from level ground or pitch or to continue an upwards ascent in progress.

The falling tone on enclitics also picks up where the root tone left off but falls from there. In Figures 11-14 I give spectrograms with pitch tracings of high and falling clitics following glottal-toned and falling-toned roots. Following the falling tone the high tone levels out while the falling tone continues falling. Following the glottal tone, high tone continues a gradual rise while the falling tone changes direction and falls. Parentheses indicate inaudibility in the recording.

**Figure 11: Spectrogram with pitch tracing of *xna*$^7$*-n̂* 'mi mamá; my mom'**

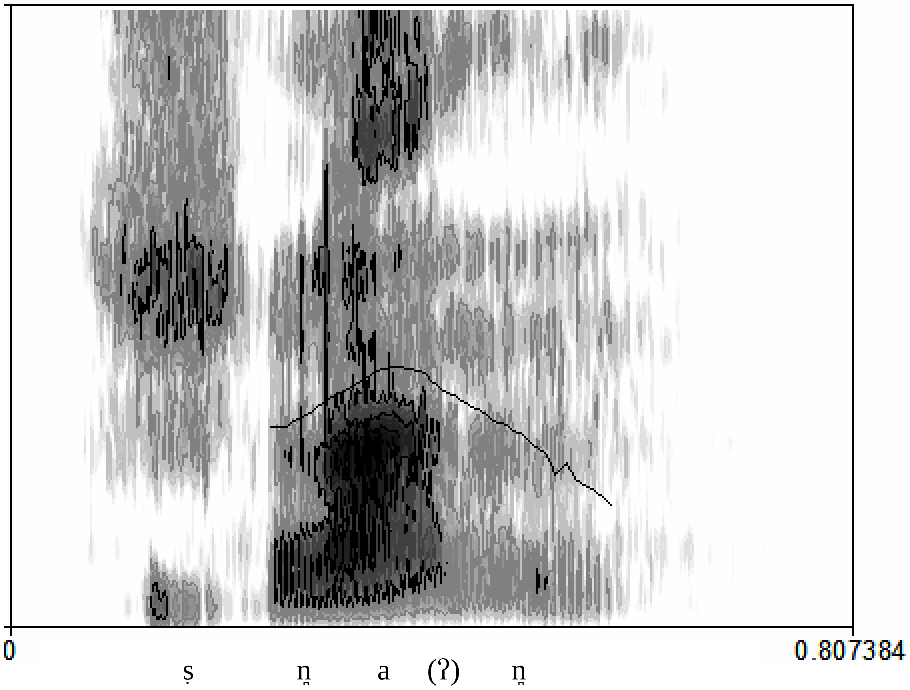


**Figure 12: Spectrogram with pitch tracing of *xna*$^{7}$*-nh´* 'nuestra(s) mamá(s); our mother(s)'**

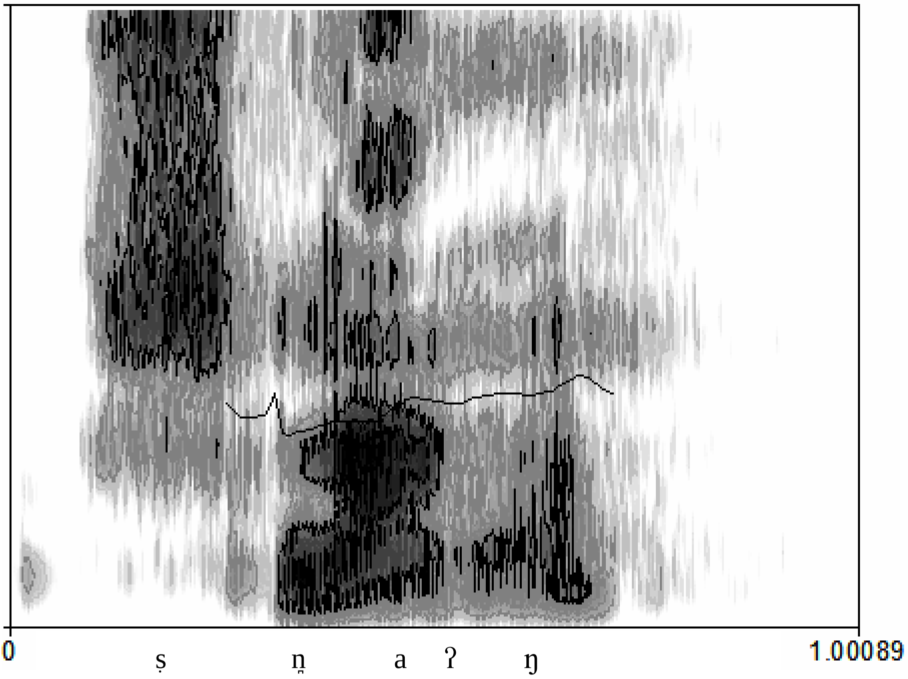


**Figure 13: Spectrogram with pitch tracing of *tô-lˆ* 'tu boca; your mouth'**

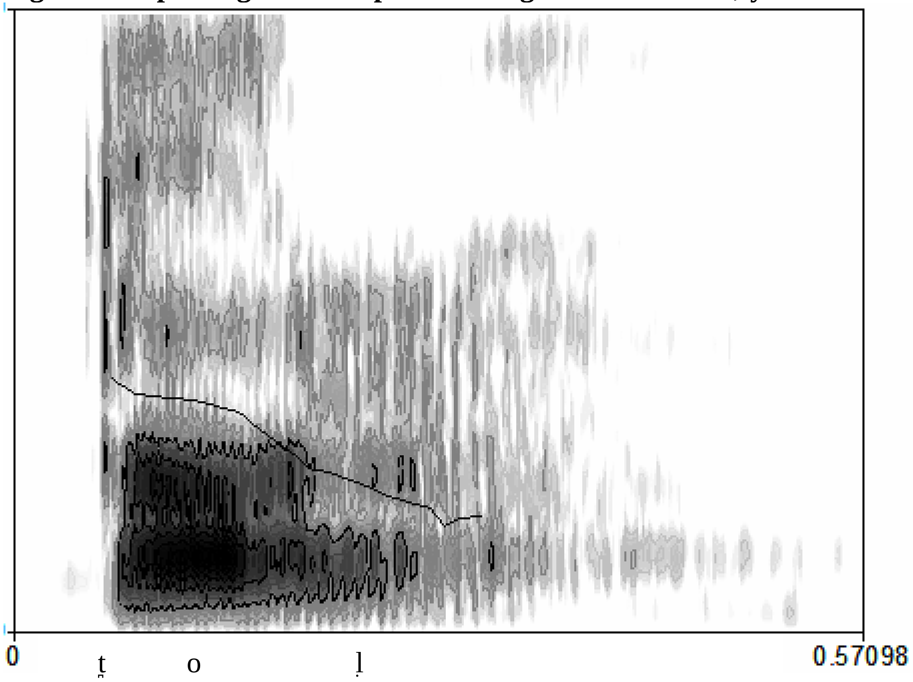
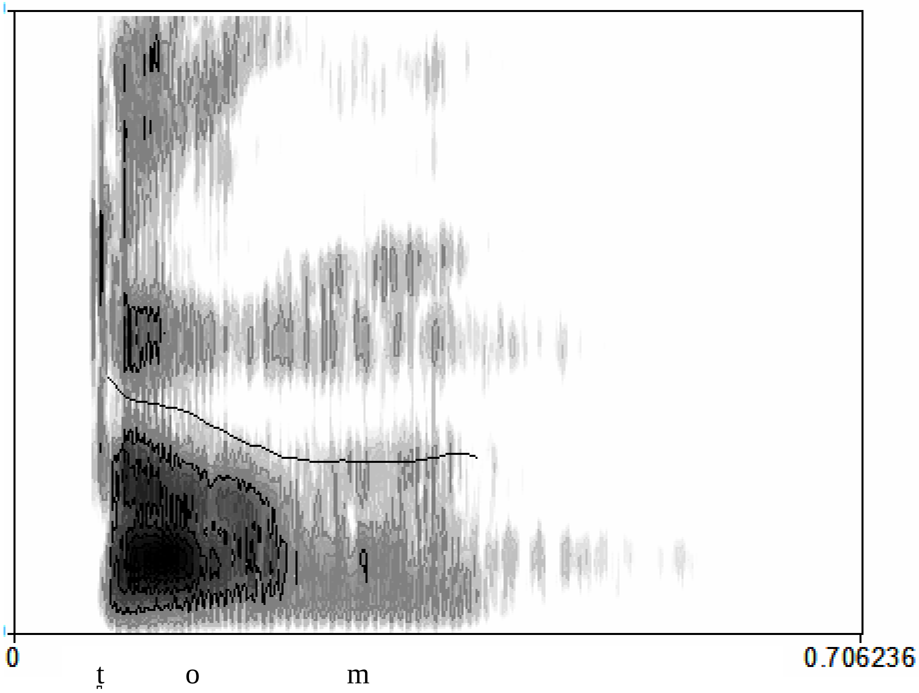


**Figure 14: Spectrogram with pitch tracing of *tô-m´* ‘su boca de él/ella; his/her mouth’**



When an enclitic follows a rising tone in a root the tonal contrast associated with the enclitic is neutralized and the sonorant of the enclitic becomes part of the domain of the rising tone, but only with respect to pitch. Both falling and high toned =S enclitics will simply continue the rise in pitch begun during the root vowel. The rise on the root itself may be slightly less dramatic or rapid then when unmarked because there are as many extra milliseconds as the duration of the =S, for the pitch pattern to be realized. However, most of the rise here does take place on the root vowel, since clitic sonorants are short and are not lengthened (or glottalized) with this tone the way that root sonorants are. I show this neutralization of the enclitic tone following rising tone with the rising-toned potential aspect form of the verb ‘comer; eat’ with a falling-toned 2f subject in Figure 15 and a high-toned 3hr subject in Figure 16.

**Figure 15: Spectrogram with pitch tracing of *wǎ-l* ‘vas a comer; you’re going to eat’**

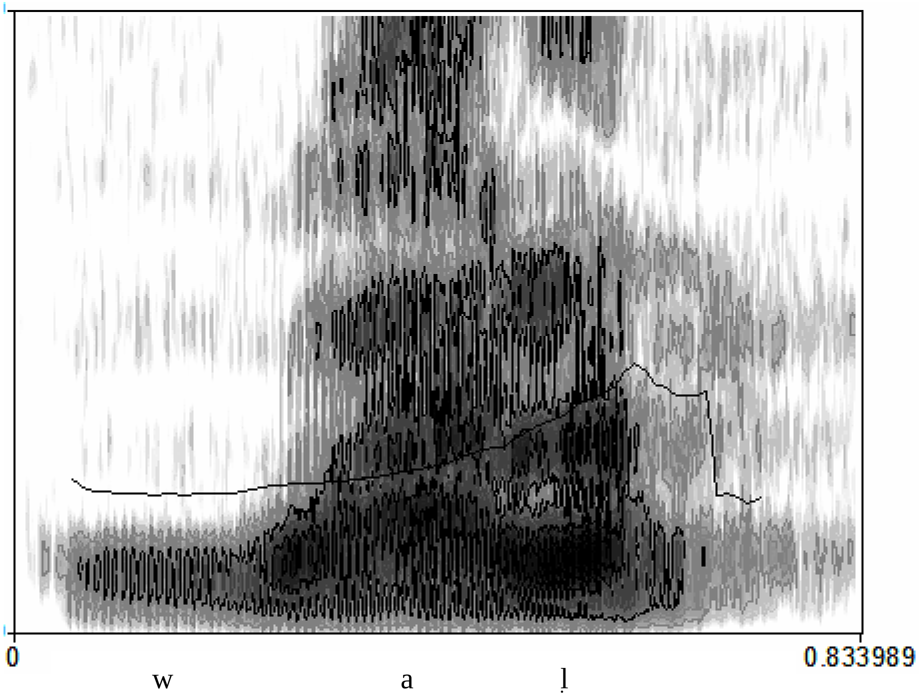
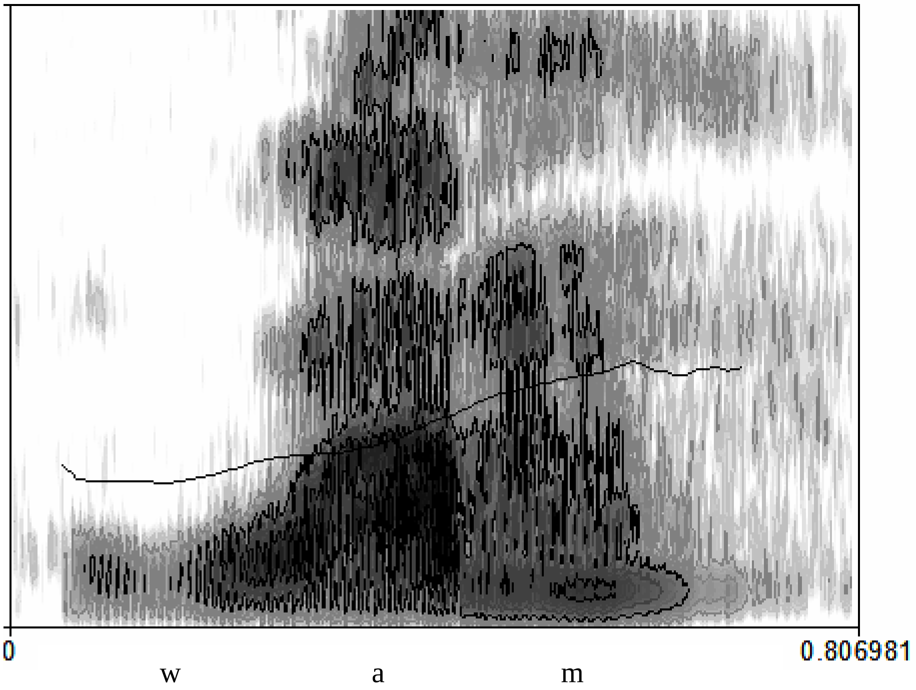


**Figure 16: Spectrogram with pitch tracing of *wǎ-m* ‘va a comer él o ella; s/he’s going to eat’**



The phonological rules which lengthen sonorants and which place glottal stops at the ends of words with rising and low tones, do not affect the sonorants of enclitics. Low tone happens to not occur on any of these clitics. Rising tone could occur on the 3hr clitic since that is the tone of the full form, but the clitic 3hr is tonally no different from the 1i clitic, which has high tone. Thus it appears that rising tone cannot occur on a clitic that consists of a single sonorant and is reduced to high tone. It is not the case that contour tones cannot occur on these single sonorant clitics because falling tone does occur on the 1s and 2f pronouns. Rather, the tones which do occur are the "short" tones which I analyze elsewhere as monomoraic, high and falling. Low and rising tones cause lengthening and I analyze these as bimoraic tones. The glottal tone is related to the low and/or rising tone morphologically and probably historically and I also analyze this tone as containing two mora slots, only with the glottal stop taking one slot rather than causing lengthening.

=S clitics, perceptuably, are like half a syllable. Words with one of these four clitics attached do not sound like disyllabic words that exist in CLZ through compounding or borrowing. They also sound like more than a single syllable. The fact that they can bear contrastive tone suggests that they do have something like syllablehood. Nasals in prefixes such as in words like *mbìth* and *ngwzi*[7] do not bear contrastive tone and do not count as even half a syllable, although they do syllabify with the previous word if that word is vowel-final. =S enclitics count as enough of a syllable to bear tone but not enough of a syllable to bear bimoraic tones.

As just stated, bimoraic tones (low, rising, glottal) do not occur on enclitics. However, as I described above tonal contrasts on enclitics are neutralized following rising tone. While the pitch component of the rising tone plays out over the V=S sequence just as it would over the VS sequence, glottalization and lengthening of the word-final sonorant do not affect clitic sonorants the way they affect root-final sonorants. Thus, while the rise in pitch continues on the enclitic sonorant, it begins much earlier on the vowel, whereas in a VS-final root with rising tone most of the rise in pitch takes place on the sonorant consonant itself.

The way tones are realized on root=enclitic sequences is phonologically different from the way that similar or identical tone sequences are realized on roots alone, even when the segments involved are identical. A low-high or rising pitch sequence is realized on each of three words in the near minimal triplet in (2.52) but the words differ significantly by whether or not each of the sonorous segments (vowel and nasal) are lengthened.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (2.52) | *xěn* | *xě-n* | *xè-nh´* |
| | [ṣèń̪ːˀ] | [ṣěn̪] | [ṣèːŋ́ ] |
| | **P-ancharse** | **nariz.1s=1s** | **nariz=1i** |
| | **P-widen** | **nose.1s-1s** | **nose=1i** |
| | Se va a anchar. | Mi nariz. | Nuestras narices. |
| | It's going to widen. | My nose. | Our noses. |

The root-final nasal of *xěn* is lengthened whereas the nasals of the 1s and 1i clitics are not lengthened. The root tone of 'my nose' vs. 'our noses' differs because the 1s morpheme has a floating high tone which turns low-toned roots like 'nose' into surface rising-toned words. When not pre-pausal, including when an enclitic follows, root-final rising tone does not cause as much vowel lengthening as described above in 2.2.1.3, but low tone still causes significant lengthening of root-final vowels even when cliticized. Thus, while both 'my nose' and 'our noses' are segmentally CV=N and both have a tonal LH or rising sequence, they differ by the lengthening of the vowel of the low-toned root in 'our noses.' I give spectrograms of each of these words, with pitch tracings in Figures 17-19.

**Figure 17: Spectrogram with pitch tracing of *xěn* (/e/ 155 ms., /n̪/ 274 ms.)**

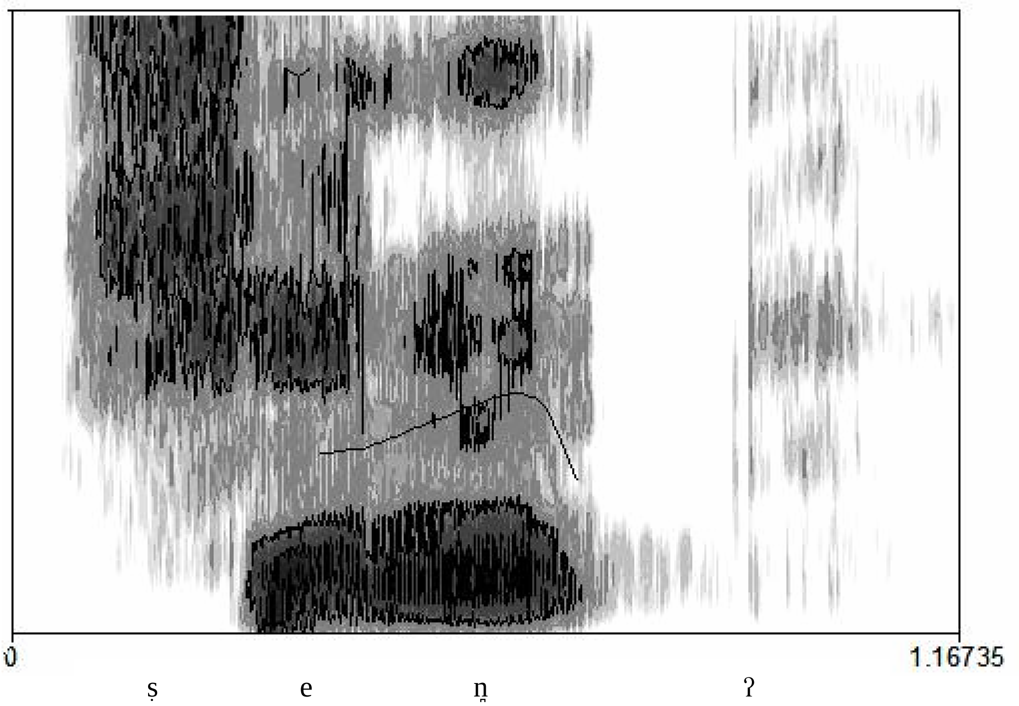


**Figure 18: Spectrogram with pitch tracing of *xě-n* ( /e/ 133 ms., /n̪/ 130 ms.)**

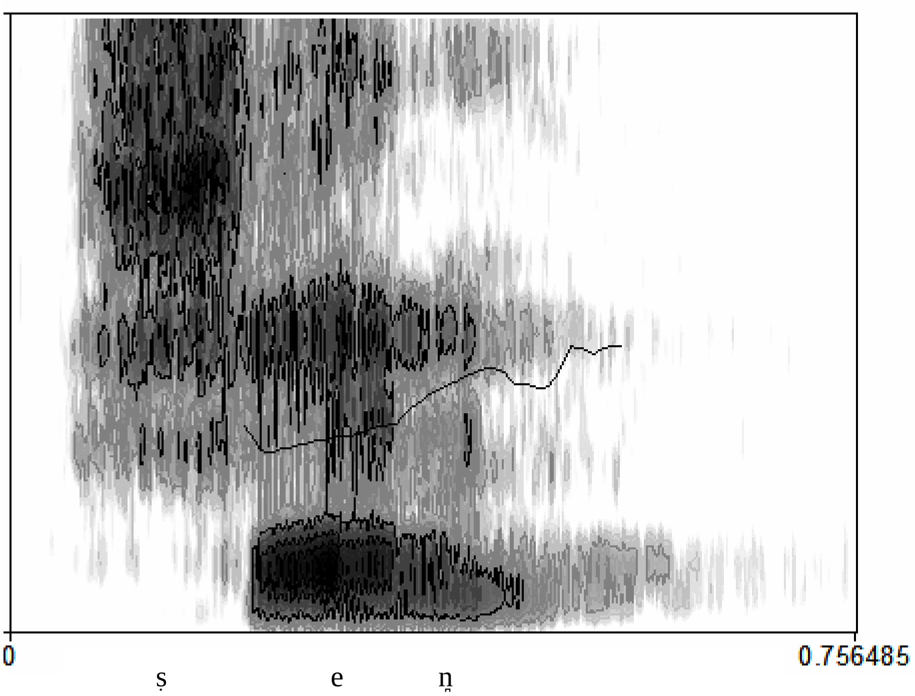
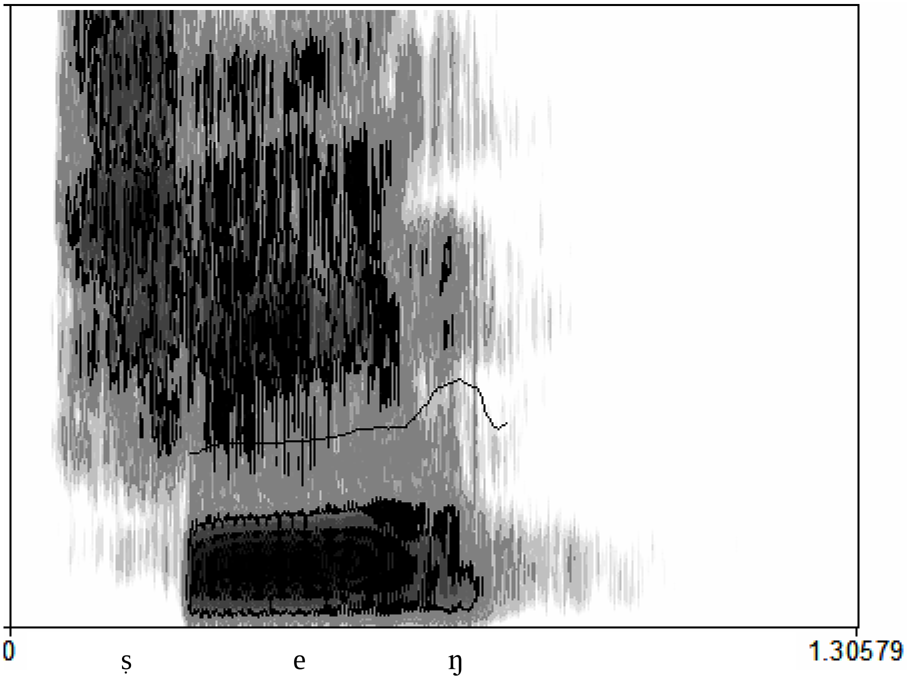


**Figure 19: Spectrogram with pitch tracing of *xè-nh´* (/e/ 317 ms., /ŋ/ 166 ms. )**



### 2.2.2 Register

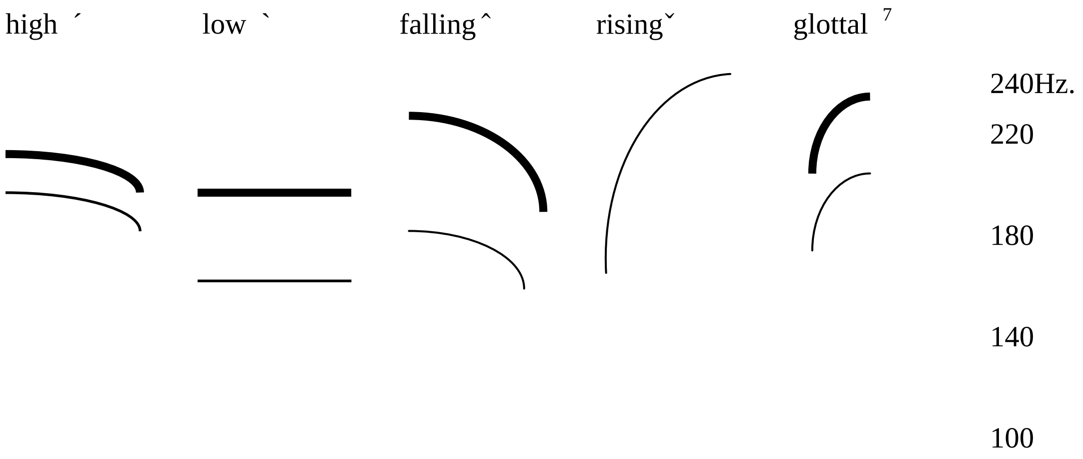
All CLZ tones except rising have two main realizations that differ by pitch height. I analyze these variations as occuring in different registers. Most tones normally occur in the lower register in most instances but an upstepped (i.e. a higher register) version of a tone can occur in at least two environments, one morphological and one phonological (or perhaps phono-syntactic).

In verbs marked for the potential aspect there are two different kinds of morphology involving changes in pitch which may come into play. Tonal morphology involves the combination of the underlying tone of a verb root with a floating high tone associated with the potential aspect and produces a change in the surface tone such that low-toned verbs surface as rising and falling-toned verbs surface as high when marked for this aspect. Verbs that are not affected by this type of tonal morphology either because they do not have low or falling tones or because they do not meet certain morpho-syntactic requirements, instead are marked with the second kind of tonal morphology which involves upstep. Verbs that take the second kind of tonal morphology, what is better called register morphology, have their surface tones in a higher than normal register when marked for potential aspect.

A similar phonetic upstep or raising of register occurs on words that follow rising-toned words. The rising tone reaches a higher pitch than the other tones, especially compared to the non-upstepped versions of those tones. The rising tone normally goes so high that in an upstepping environment there is no change in the rising tone, presumably because it already reaches the upper limits of a speaker's comfortable pitch range. I take these facts to mean that the rising tone, (or at least the end of the rising tone), is in the upper register. It appears that this high register can spread onto the following word (i.e. the following syllable since most words are monosyllabic), causing upstep.

Figure 20 shows typical pitch patterns for CLZ tones in both low and high registers, for my primary consultant, a 48-year-old man in 2003. The bold line represents the version of the tone that occurs in an upstepping environment and the thin line is the typical pitch pattern in other environments. Tokens measured were words and short phrases elicited in isolation, or taken from the beginning of a longer phrase.

**Figure 20: Pitch patterns of San Baltazar Loxicha tones in two registers**



As a disclaimer I must note that as always I found more variation than is apparent in Figure 20. While most tokens were close to these patterns, some were not. In most cases I asked the consultant to say the potential aspect form of a verb and also some other form of that verb, usually the completive. I would elicit the two forms in both orders separately to make sure that differences were not due to listing intonation which can lower the pitch of the second item. In yet other instances I asked for one form at a time, though the consultant likely knew I was about to ask for a particular other form in a few seconds. In coming up with these typical numbers for the upstepped and non-upstepped pitch patterns I also looked at pitch measurements I made of words with these tones spoken in sentences. While utterance-medial and –final tones may be substantially different from these typical pitch patterns both because of syntactic stress and because of falling intonation, verbs are usually utterance-initial and stressed and so potential and completive forms of verbs had pitch readings that were about the same whether spoken in isolation or in a sentence.

I have already stated that the rising tone reaches a high register regardless of environment and is never upstepped. It is debatable whether the high tone is really affected by upstep, although I contend that it is mildly affected. The high tone is the least common tone in native CLZ words. It was difficult to find verbs with high tone that met the morphosyntactic requirements for upstep. I recorded three such verbs. The high tone typically falls about 15Hz in closed syllables, and in open syllables it can be level or even rising. In the three tokens measured, one verb had pitch that was 20Hz. higher in the potential than in the completive, another verb had a potential that was 10Hz. higher, and the third verb had no difference between the two forms. The verb that showed the most difference had a pitch of 190Hz halfway through the syllable in the completive form and 210Hz. halfway through the potential form. I optimistically used this last verb as the representative in Figure 20. Two out of the three verbs indicate that the pitch may be raised somewhat when in the upstepping environment (here, potential aspect). Comparisons of high-toned nouns in isolation with high-toned nouns preceded by rising-toned quantifiers were similarly mixed.

Of the four tones which are affected by upstep high tone is affected the least. It would make sense that the higher the pitch is to begin with, the less the difference would be when upstepped because a tone normally realized with a fairly high pitch is already closer to the upper limits of the speaker's pitch range than other tones. However, the glottal tone usually has higher pitch than the high tone and is upstepped to a greater degree. In recordings of nouns in isolation in 2003 I found that some nouns with high tone were being said in the range of the upstepped high, or even higher than the upstepped high I used in making Figure 20. For example *mbé* 'cangrejo; crab' in one recording fell from 216Hz. to 210Hz., higher than the upstepped verb I mentioned above. When spoken in the context of reciting verb paradigms, two of three high-toned verbs elicited did show the expected difference of having high pitch concomitant with rising tone. However, it appears that high tone is already high enough that it normally borders on high register, and this is probably the reason that of the three verbs tested upstep was not apparent in one and only slight in the other two. While not as high as the rising tone, the high tone has a high enough realization in most instances that upstep will not be obvious.

In 2003 I found that low-toned verbs typically have a 30Hz higher pitch in the potential, e.g. 195 vs. 165Hz, but the effects of upstep are the most obvious on words with falling tone. An upstepped falling tone, I found, starts about 50Hz. higher (though there were examples with larger and smaller differences) than a non-upstepped falling tone, and falls farther, about 50Hz. total, ending where a non-upstepped falling tone starts or lower. Non-upstepped falling tones typically fall only about 20Hz. Typical 2003 readings were a fall in fundamental frequency from 235Hz. to 185Hz. on upstepped tokens and from 180Hz. to 160Hz. on non-upstepped tokens.

Glottal-toned words tend to have high-rising pitch patterns, although this is less consistent than the pitch patterns of other tones. The syllable peaks of words with this tone are much shorter than words with the rising tone both because the glottal tone shortens sonorants and because the rising tone lengthens sonorants. The change in fundamental frequency during a glottal-toned syllable peak is about half as much as the change seen in the long rising-toned syllable peak. The normal glottal tone has a pitch pattern that is close to the first half of the rising tone pattern, though starting a bit higher, rising from about 170Hz. to 205Hz. When upstepped the glottal tone is more typical of the second half of a rising tone, with pitch rising from about 210Hz. to 245Hz.

The effects of upstep appear to be gradient. Excluding the glottal tone for the moment, the two tones which end in low pitch and in fact have lower pitch at their lowest point than the other tones, have the most significant change in pitch when occurring in an upstepping environment (potential aspect or following a rising tone). The tone that at its highest point (which is also its endpoint) has the highest pitch of any of the five tones, i.e. the rising tone, is not affected by upstep at all. The high tone itself is perhaps slightly affected by upstep but the effects are not that obvious. Thus it appears that the lower the pitch, the greater the upstep.

The glottal tone is the obvious exception to this last statement. It has a pitch pattern which at its lowest point is higher than the typical pitch of the low tone, yet the difference between upstepped and normal glottal tone is 10Hz. more than the difference between upstepped and normal low tone. Comparative evidence indicates that CLZ syllables that have the glottal tone historically had some other tone plus a glottalization feature. One might wonder whether these words still have tone + glottalization underlyingly and if so, which tone(s)? There is some evidence to indicate that the glottal tone has a relationship to the rising tone and/or the low tone. For example, roots marked for the first person singular may be subject to deglottalization and such roots will then surface with a rising tone. However, the first person singular also has a floating high tone associated with it and so the result would be the same if the glottal tone were always or sometimes low tone plus glottalization. It is certainly phonetically plausible that low tone could be realized with higher than normal pitch and with a bit of a rise preceding a glottal stop. The very fact that the glottal tone is subject to upstep while the rising tone is not might itself be taken as evidence that the glottal tone cannot be analyzed as a glottalized allophone of the rising tone. From a surface synchronic point of view, I would simply highlight the fact that some key differences between the glottal tone and the rising tone have to do with length.

Since the rising tone lengthens the sonorous portion of the rime, the pitch on the rising-toned syllable continues to rise for a long time. Since the rising tone ends so high it is probably near or at the upper limits of the speaker's normal pitch range to begin with. If this rise were to begin at a higher pitch it might not be able to continue the rise for the entire length of the tone-bearing unit.

### 2.2.3 Stress

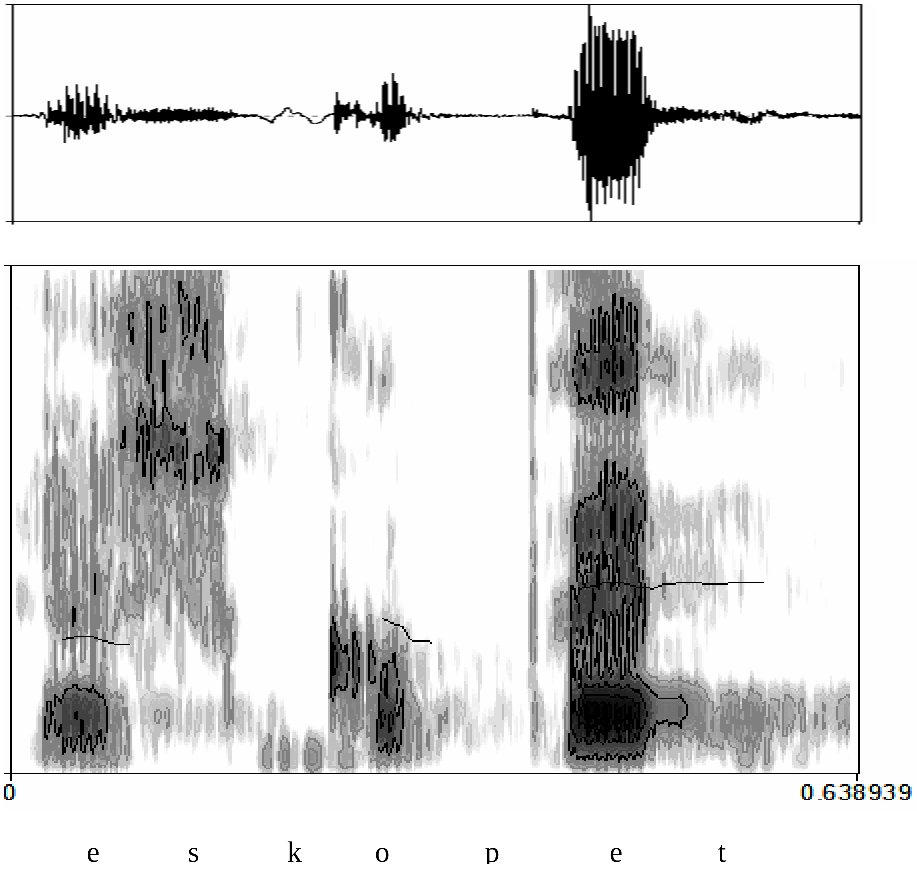
Due to historical non-tonic vowel deletion, most CLZ words are monosyllabic. When considering lexical stress, the lone syllable of a monosyllabic root must be the stressed syllable, although certainly a given word may lack stress syntactically, a topic I touch on in 2.2.4. Lexical stress is only an issue in CLZ when there are polysyllabic words. There are only three types of words with more than one syllable in CLZ: onomatopoeia, compounds and loanwords. I will not be considering stress in onomatopoetic words as these words are already frequently beyond the boundaries of the normal CLZ phonology seen in all other lexical items. As for the few unanalyzable disyllables, I regard them as old compounds that have become opaque. I will now describe the phonological properties of stress in CLZ and discuss the issues with compounds and loanwords in turn.

Polysyllabic words in CLZ have final stress. Final syllables tend to be heavy CVC syllables although they may be light CV syllables. Pre-tonic syllables tend to be light (C)V syllables although they may be heavy (C)VC syllables. Unstressed syllables can only take high tone while stressed syllables can take any tone, although high tone is the least common of the five tones in stressed syllables. Thus, there are two phonological differences which can give prominence to the final syllable in a polysyllabic word: the contrast between an immediately pre-tonic light syllable and a tonic heavy syllable, and the transition from high tone in the pre-tonic syllables to some other tone in the tonic syllable.

The change from a high to a non-high tone is enough to give prominence to the final syllable. This could be considered the only defining feature of stress if not for the fact that some polysyllabic loanwords have high tone on all syllables including the tonic one. Although some pre-tonic syllables may have codas in Spanish, such as the first syllable in ‘shotgun’ *escopeta*, open syllables are more common in Spanish and so even in the loanword *éskópét* the immediate pre-tonic syllable is light and provides a contrast with the final heavy syllable regardless of the heavy pre-tonic syllable earlier in the word. Since open syllables are the norm in Spanish but not in CLZ, the coda of the final syllable in Zapotec is taken from the onset of the post-tonic Spanish syllable as the post-tonic vowel is deleted. This creates a contrast with the preceding syllable, which is typically light. In the absence of a tone contrast the light/heavy contrast alone can provide prominence for the final syllable. I have not detected any consistent length differences between stressed and unstressed syllables but in polysyllabic loanwords with all high tone like *éskópét* from *escopeta* ‘shotgun,’ the pitch on the final syllable is higher than on the pretonic syllables and there is also increased amplitude. This is shown in the wave form and spectrogram with pitch tracing in Figure 21. In sum, an unstressed syllable is any non-final syllable with high tone. All final syllables are stressed and the prominence which is stress can be attained either by a non-high tone or by syllable weight or both.

One could make an argument that unstressed syllables in this language are toneless. Tone is not contrastive on unstressed syllables. I have become accustomed to marking high tone on these syllables because when transcribing texts in earlier years if I asked the consultants to repeat a polysyllabic word slowly the unstressed syllables clearly had high pitch, something like on the word *mbé* ‘cangrejo; crab.’ Thus, my view of CLZ unstressedness being marked with high tone is somewhat of a phonetic point of view rather than a phonological one, and is also simply an artifact of earlier stages of my work on this language. Nevertheless these syllables do have high pitch when said carefully (though the pitch varies more is casual speech, as with all tones). High tone is in CLZ a “normal” tone, which may be the consultants’ way of saying “toneless.” When fluent CLZ speakers imitate people who are semi-speakers or learners who have not mastered the language, they mimick the toneless speech of these speakers by simply putting high tone on every syllable. From a practical point of view, the issue of whether or not these syllables are toneless comes down to an issue of whether or not tone should be written orthographically. I deem that high tone can be marked on these syllables, in part to excuse myself from retranscribing hundreds of words, but also to make it clear that a syllable is unstressed rather than leaving an ambiguity (e.g. a non-native speaker might not write tone because they’re not sure what tone a word has and a native speaker may find diacritics cumbersome and use them inconsistently). However, as the co-developer (along with Terrence Kaufman and Lázaro Díaz Pacheco) of the orthography used here, I consider it acceptable to optionally not write tone on unstressed syllables.

**Figure 21: Spectrogram and pitch tracing of *éskópét* ‘escopeta; shotgun’**



There are three types of complex lexical items in CLZ: 1) fixed lexical phrases such as idioms and metaphors, which show no phonological reduction but may show syntactic peculiarities, 2) compounds in which at least one root is altered (reduced), and 3) compounds with no reduction. Reduction includes segmental changes such as coda consonant loss and the change from falling, low, rising, or glottal to high tone. Interestingly, verbal compounds tend to be of the reduced type when transitive and the unreduced type when intransitive. I generally regard unreduced compounds as having stress on both roots and reduced compounds as having final stress. Here I will only consider reduced compounds since there is a stress difference between the two syllables.

As stated, reduced compounds have predictable final stress. If the first root has a coda when in isolation it often (though not always) loses it in the compound. If the second root has a prefix which renders a consonant cluster in isolation, that prefix or part of it may be lost. This also prevents the pre-tonic syllable from acquiring weight since the first members of the consonant cluster from the onset of the second root could act as the coda of the first root when concatenated. In (2.53) I give examples of easily analyzable nominal compounds. When comparing the compounds with their component nouns, notice the loss or change of segments, and the change from various tones on the first noun to high tone on the first syllable of the compound.

(2.53) Reduced nominal compounds and their components

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *yìch* | + | *yèk* | = | *yíchèk* |
| **'pelo; hair'** | | **'cabeza; head'** | | **'cabello; head hair'** |
| *mbèd* | + | *zàn* | = | *mbézàn* |
| **'guajolote; turkey'** | | **'hembra; child-bearing'** | | **'guajolota hembra; female turkey'** |
| *ngǐd* | + | *mbzìn* | = | *ngízìn* |
| **'gallina; chicken'**[12] | | **'ratón; mouse'** | | **'murciélago; bat'** |

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[12] This root used to mean 'butterfly' and so the original metaphor for 'bat' was not the now-folk-etymologized 'chicken mouse' but in fact 'butterfly mouse'. This metaphor goes back to at least Proto-Zapotec (Kaufman, 2003).

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *ngǐd* | + | *wze*$^7$ | = | *ngíze*$^7$ |
| **‘gallina; chicken’** | | **‘macho; male’** | | **‘gallo; rooster’** |
| *lìd* | + | *mbdo*$^7$ | = | *líbto*$^7$ |
| **‘casa; house’** | | **‘santo; saint ’** | | **‘iglesia; church’**[13] |
| *lìd* | + | *yi*$^7$*b* | = | *lítyi*$^7$*b* |
| **‘casa; house’** | | **‘fierro; metal’** | | **‘cárcel; jail’**[14] |
| *yîd* | + | *tô* | = | *yítô* |
| **‘piel; skin’** | | **‘boca; mouth’** | | **‘boca; mouth’** |

There are a number of other words in CLZ which are phonologically like the compounds above in that they typically have a light, high-toned first syllable and a stressed, optionally heavy final syllable. In many cases the stressed final syllable is a known morpheme and the unstressed syllable an unanalyzable remnant. For example, *kwëˆ* means ‘(estar) enfermo; (to be) sick’ as in *kwëˆ mě wê* ‘aquella persona está enfermo; that person is sick’ but *–ákwëˆ* means ‘doler; to hurt’ as in *ndákwëˆ ndëˇy nâ* ‘duele mi diente; my tooth hurts.’ There are many verbs that begin in unstressed *–á* and this example makes it seem like a grammatical marker of some kind, yet it is not regular and while sometimes it precedes a known root, many times it precedes what looks like a root phonologically but is not known to mean anything independently.

Interestingly, in Villa Alta Zapotec (see Pike, 1948) if the second member of a compound has high tone, it will perturb to mid or low tone depending on the tone of the first member of the compound. In CLZ no native compound would have high tone on the second member either, here because that would be the stressed syllable. It is unclear whether both languages disallow high tone in the second members of compounds for the same reasons or not. Also, since non-compounds which necessarily have stress may have high tone, there may be compounds with stressed ultimas with high tone that I simply am not aware of.

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[13] In SMaC this word is *lípdo*$^7$. In both dialects one of the two medial consonants is voiceless and the other voiced, but which one is each varies between the two. The word for ‘house’ is *lìd* in SBL, *lìt* in SMigC, and *lìt*$^7$ in SMaC, the final consonant coming from earlier **ty*. In CLZ *to*$^7$ is a bound morpheme meaning ‘big’ or ‘holy’ such as in the word for ‘ocean’ *nîtz do*$^7$, literally ‘big or holy water.’ This is related to the word *mbdo*$^7$ cited above as ‘santo; saint.’ This most closely resembles the form in the word for ‘church’ though the nasal portion of the prefix has been lost. Interestingly, the *b* or *p* is the earlier animacy prefix, before the SZ languages acquired prenasalization. The lack of *m* could be predicted with the synchronic phonological generalization that there are no medial CCC consonant clusters. In other words such as *mbzìn* ‘mouse’ → *ngízìn* ‘bat’ the whole *mb* prefix is lost. Perhaps these compounds were formed at different times or perhaps the word for ‘church’ was originally a different type of compound and has only more recently undergone the slight reduction of destressing the first syllable.

Loanwords are the other group of words which have unstressed syllables in CLZ. It is impossible to come up with one set of predictions for all loanwords because depending on the time of the borrowing and perhaps other factors, loanwords have been phonologized to different degrees. Some early loanwords from Spanish and possibly Nahua underwent complete nontonic vowel deletion the same as most native words and so resemble native Zapotec words with a (C)CVC shape and even various of the available CLZ tones. However, more recent Spanish loanwords undergo only post-tonic vowel deletion while pre-tonic vowels remain. Furthermore, except for the oldest loanwords, only high and rising tone are found on the syllables of Spanish loans and rising tone is never found on an unstressed syllable.

There are a few different patterns that can be found when examining how Spanish loanwords are phonologized to Zapotec, particularly where tone and stress are concerned. For words being borrowed from Spanish into CLZ today typically the post-tonic syllable is deleted and high tone is placed on all remaining syllables, as in (2.54).

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (2.54) | *Ábélín* | *yi*$^7$*b yà áméríkán* | *éskópét* | *púlmónh* |
| | **Avelino** | **hacha americana** | **escopeta** | **pulmón** |
| | | **American hachet** | **shotgun** | **lung** |

Earlier loanwords underwent more vowel deletion and even some segmental deletion and change. They still were usually borrowed with high tone, although there are exceptions like the first two low-toned words in (2.55).

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[14] The retention of a voiceless *t* in this compound in the SBL dialect resembles the free form as it still is in the Coatlán dialects, attesting to the compound’s formation at a time before the sound change that turned word-final **ty* into *d* in SBL.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (2.55) | *xgàm* | *áùj* | *báy* | *wáy* | *xtíl* |
| | **jícama** | **aguja** | **pañuelo** | **caballo** | **Castilla** |
| | **jicama** | **needle** | **handkerchief** | **horse** | **Hispanic** |
| | *mbál* | *mál* | *yáxíl*[15] | *sę́y* (SMaC only) | |
| | **compadre** | **comadre** | **silla** | **seña** | |
| | **compadre** | **comadre** | **chair** | **sign** | |

Some Spanish loanwords take rising tone on the stressed syllable if there is final stress in the Spanish word and high tone if the stressed syllable in Spanish is non-final. Spanish has penultimate stress normally, final stress if /l/ or certain other consonants (not shown here) occur word-finally, and marks an acute accent if the stress is not predicted by these generalizations. This group of loanwords includes what must be earlier loans with total non-tonic vowel deletion, but also some later loans which have maintained pre-tonic vowels. Loanwords following this pattern are shown in (2.56). Compare especially the forms *Láx* 'Lázaro' and *Lǎx* 'Nicolás.'

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (2.56) | *Láx* | *Béd* | *Bét* | *páyás* | *pápáy* |
| | **Lázaro** | **Pedro** | **Beto** | **payaso** | **papaya** |
| | | | | **clown** | **papaya** |
| | *Lǎx* | | *Běl* | *Mǎx* | *pérǒl* |
| | **Nicolás** [16] | | **Isabel** | **Tomás** | **perol** |
| | | | | | **aluminum pot** |

Another group of loanwords, all with pretonic syllables, have high tone on the unstressed syllable and rising tone on the now-final stressed syllable even though it was not final in Spanish.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (2.57) | *Bártǒl* | *Bálěr* | *bórrěg* | *pálǒm* | *pérǐk* |
| | Bartolo | Valeria/o | borrego | paloma | perico |
| | | | sheep | dove | perikeet |

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[15] Only *xíl* is borrowed from Spanish. This is a compound formed with the root for 'tree' (or 'wood') *yà*). Note the tonal reduction on that first root.

Other words take a rising tone on the stressed syllable when the stressed vowel preceded a Spanish consonant cluster but high tone otherwise.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (2.58) | *Gǎnhj* | *pǔlk* | *Bénǐg* | vs. | *Bénít* |
| | Ángel | pulque<br>agave wine | Benigno | | Benito |

There are other cases where tone is exploited to make a semantic difference in loanwords. In (2.59) gender differences in proper names are maked by different tones.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (2.59) | *Áwrěl* | *Chěnch* | vs. | *Áwrél* | *Chénch* |
| | Aurelia | Cresencia | | Aurelio | Cresencio |

Although these different patterns make it impossible to regularly predict what tone the stressed syllable of a loanword will take, it seems that the norm is for all syllables of loanwords to be assigned high tone and for rising tone to be used on the stressed syllables of loanwords that are marked in some way. This includes semantic markedness like feminine gender, or phonological markedness such as the original word having final stress or a coda, both of which would be marked in Spanish which typically has penultimate stress and open syllables. Anecdotally, a common complaint of older Zapotec speakers is that some younger speakers who are viewed as incompetent put high tone on all the syllables of Zapotec words which "makes Zapotec sound like Spanish." It seems that Spanish syllables (which are toneless) are typically perceived as high by CLZ speakers, which fits with the use of high tone on loanwords.

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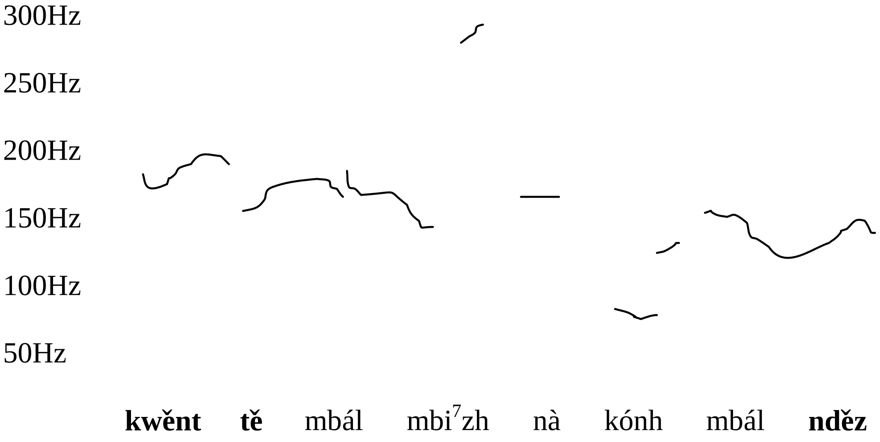
[16] In an apparent exception to the generalization being highlighted here, the name *Gelacio*, which has normal unmarked penultimate stress in Spanish, is also *Lǎx*, the same as the name *Nicolás*, which does

### 2.2.4 Intonation

In 2.2.1.1 I described the pitch patterns found on words spoken in isolation in the careful context of elicitation. When spoken in normal speech intonation plays a role in the actual fundamental frequency of sonorous segments.

Like most or all languages, CLZ has falling intonation. Over the course of an utterance, lexical items with the same tone will have higher pitch when occurring earlier in the utterance and lower pitch when occurring later in the utterance. For example, the opening line to the text in Appendix B1 is *kwěnt tě mbál mbi$^7$zh nà kónh mbál nděz.* The consultant was a 65-year-old man from Santa María Coatlán. The words *kwěnt*, *tě*, and *nděz* all have rising tone, but each had successively lower pitch. *Kwěnt* started at approximately 150Hz. and ended at approximately 180Hz. *Tě* started at approximately 135Hz. and ended at approximately 160Hz. *Nděz* at the very end of the utterance had pitch beginning at approximately 110Hz. and ending at approximately 135Hz. This is illustrated in Figure 22.

**Figure 22: Intonation in an utterance from Santa María Coatlán**



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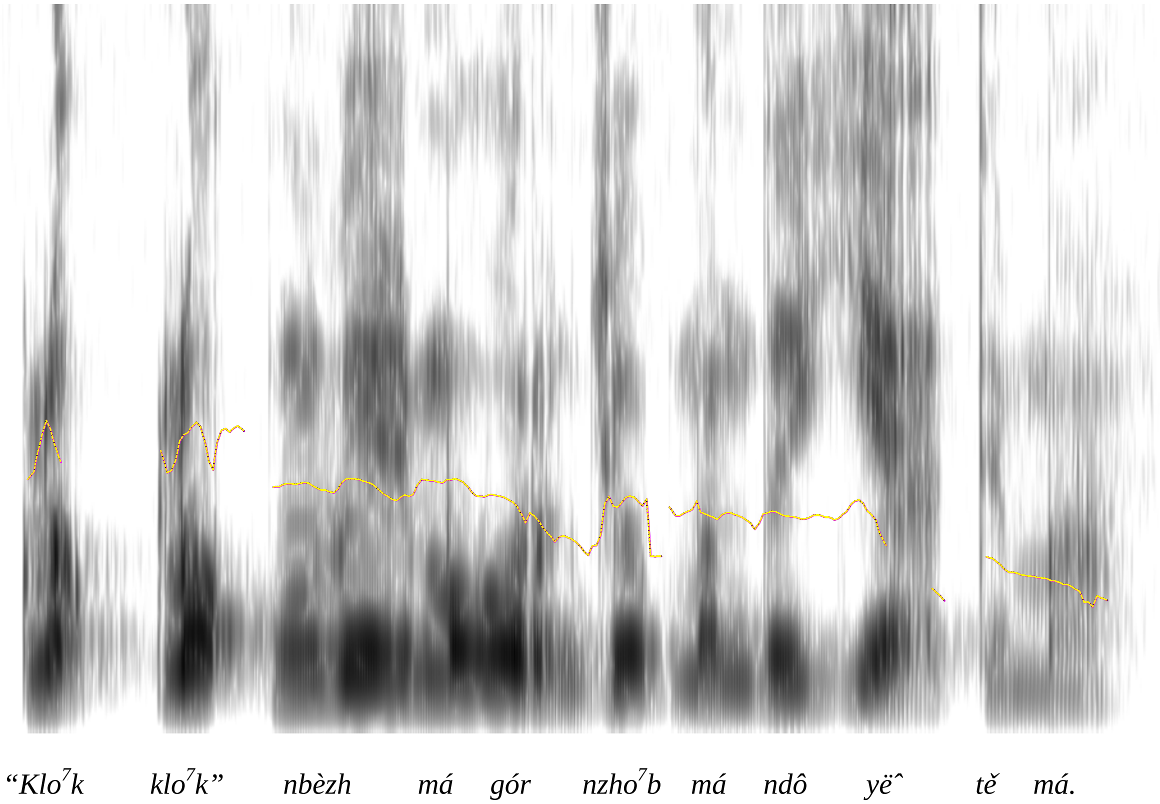
have marked final stress.

Similar effects are found in sentences I recorded and acoustically measured from a 48-year-old man from San Baltazar Loxicha in 2003. In the sentence *mbìth xa*$^7$ *má* the final high tone had about the same pitch (185Hz.) as the initial low tone (187Hz.). Towards the end of a long utterance the loss of air pressure lowers the pitch so much that tones which normally rise or remain level are not just realized at a lower fundamental frequency but have a change in pitch pattern such that pitch actually falls during high and rising toned words, such as the words *tě* and *má* in Figure 23. A full gloss of this sentence is given in section (2.74).

**Figure 23: Falling intonation in SBL**



Rising intonation with questions exists but is not obligatory since even yes/no questions are usually indicated syntactically with a question word. I discovered this early on in a lunchtime conversation in 1997 when I tried to turn a declarative sentence into a yes/no question. That sentence ended in a low-toned word. Even though there was no rising-toned word in the lexicon to form a minimal pair with that low-toned word, my conversation partner immediately corrected me, repeating the sentence with normal intonation but with the addition of the sentence-initial question particle *xâl*. Because of this incident, for years I believed that there was no question intonation in CLZ, but more recently I have found that question intonation does exist, by paying closer attention to conversations between CLZ speakers. Sometimes the words in questions, while each maintaining their distinctive tones, will resist the normal tendency to have successively lower pitch during the course of the utterance. Such question intonation may be slightly rising or may remain flat over the course of the utterance, being marked by resisting the fall. But to reiterate, the use of a marked question intonation is optional.

In both questions and declarative utterances, emphasis may be placed on particular words. Some minimal emphasis is placed on a word just by making the normal tone contrast. A word that is de-emphasized or syntactically unstressed will lose its distinctive tone and will take a pitch pattern that most resembles that of the high tone. Unstressed syllables in polysyllabic words also take high tone. When excited, extra emphasis can be placed on words by lengthening them and articulating them with increased amplitude and sometimes a slow rise in pitch. This rise in pitch is most notable on words that already have high or rising tone, but is more subdued on words with other tones. Rather, even if the pitch is raised, it seems that the natural pitch pattern may be exaggerated on this loud and lengthened, emphasized word. Intonation is a topic that merits further investigation in CLZ.

### 2.2.5 Nasalization

Phonemic vowel nasalization has only been found in the SMaC dialect of CLZ. All but one of the cases of vowel nasalization in this variety are the transparent result of the deletion of a nasal consonant following the vowel that gets nasalized. In native Zapotec words vowel nasalization only occurs in two cases of pronominal marking. In loanwords vowel nasalization is found when there was a post-vocalic /n/ or /ñ/. In the case of the palatal nasal, /y/ remains following the nasalized vowel. Some examples of loanwords with nasalization are shown in (2.60).

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (2.60) | *là brétą́y* | *sę́y* | *Yą́* |
| | bretaña | seña, señal | Reveriana |
| | kind of plant | sign | |

The one case of nasalization that is not a case of recent nasal deletion is a possible Germanic loanword 'uh-huh' *ą̌ją*$^7$. Example (2.61) is from Appendix B1.

(2.61) "*ą̌ją*$^7$" *ndàb mbál mbi*$^7$*zh.*
**uh-huh H-decir compadre león**
**uh-huh H-say compadre puma**
"Sí," dice Compadre León.
"Uh-huh," says Compadre Puma.

In native words other than onomatopoeia nasalization is found in two pronouns. The third person human respectful pronoun is a reduced form of the word for 'gente; person' *mĕn*. Elsewhere in the CLZ region the pronoun is *mĕ* but in SMaC it is *mę̌*[17]. Interestingly the third person animal pronoun, *má*, is also based on a full noun with a nasal, *mǎn*, but is not nasalized.

The most interesting and productive use of vowel nasalization in SMaC is on vowel-final roots marked for the first person singular. The full first person singular pronoun is *nâ* and this is the form of the pronoun found when following consonant-final roots or when fronted, e.g. to preverbal position when in focus. SMaC does not typically have the short =C clitic pronouns found in SBL (see the syntax section of this grammar) but SMaC vowel nasalization occurs in the same environment that the SBL first person pronoun clitic -*n̂* occurs in, i.e. following vowel-final roots. When the first person singular is the possessor of a vowel-final noun or the unfocused subject of a vowel-final verb, the only marking is the nasalization of the final vowel of the noun or verb root. The POS particle *tě* can be thought of as a noun meaning 'possession of' or perhaps an emergent preposition with a nominal history. This marker of alienable possession is also nasalized when the possessor is the first person singular. In (2.62-65) compare phrases with third person marking to those with first person singular marking.

---

[17] I am not totally confident about this pronoun having rising tone as opposed to high tone. These two tones sound more similar in SMaC than in other dialects and many times this word has sounded more high than rising to me. This 3hr pronoun has rising tone in the other dialects documented. If SMaC does have a different tone on this word then the 3hr and 3a pronouns behave the same in that dialect whereas they are different in other dialects. While the fuller generic nouns on which they are based, *mĕn* and *mǎn*, are nearly identical segmentally and tonally, the reduced free pronouns have rising tone and high tone respectively. If the 3hr pronoun in SMaC is really high, this would make the two pronouns reduce equally from the fuller generic nouns.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (2.62) | *Xè mę̌.* | *Xę̌.* |
| | **nariz 3hr** | **nariz.1s.1s** |
| | **nose 3hr** | **nose.1s.1s** |
| | Su nariz. | Mi nariz. |
| | His nose. | My nose. |
| (2.63) | *Wǎ mę̌.* | *Wą́.* |
| | **P-comer.P 3hr** | **P-comer.1s.1s** |
| | **P-eat.P 3hr** | **P-eat.1s 1s** |
| | Va a comer. | Voy a comer. |
| | S/he is going to eat. | I'm going to eat. |
| (2.64) | *Mbèk tě mę̌.* | *Mbèk tę́.* |
| | **perro POS 3hr** | **perro POS.1s.1s** |
| | **dog POS 3hr** | **dog POS.1s 1s** |
| | Su perro. | Mi perro. |
| | Her dog. | My dog. |
| (2.65) | *Mkë*[7] *mę tę́.* | *Wkę̈ ˇ tě lô.* |
| | **C-pegar 3hr POS.1s.1s** | **P-pegar.1s.1s POS 2f** |
| | **C-hit 3hr POS.1s 1s** | **P-hit.1s 1s POS 2f** |
| | Él me pegó. | Voy a pegarte. |
| | S/he hit me. | I'm going to hit you. |

When the final vowel of a root with a first person singular possessor or subject, has the glottal tone, a nasalized /a/ follows the root rather than simple nasalization of the root vowel itself. In this case the nasalization acts in the opposite direction, affecting the following vowel (of the pronoun *nâ*) rather than the preceding vowel. This form of the pronoun can be considered a clitic.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (2.66) | *Tzo*$^7$*-ą̂* | *Ndá xi*$^7$*-ą̂-yá* |
| | **espalda=1s** | **H-ir.1s M-comprarlo=1s=3i** |
| | **back=1s** | **H-go.1s M-buy.it=1s=3i** |
| | Mi espalda. | Lo voy a comprar. |
| | My back. | I’m going to buy it. |

There are a few other cases of nasalized vowels which I regard as nonphonemic. Sometimes the vowel of a glottalized root is nasalized preceding the *-ą̂* clitic. I view this as a case of non-phonemic anticipatory assimilation. Sometimes the vowel of the third person inanimate pronoun clitic *–yá* is nasalized following a nasalized vowel, i.e. following a first person singular subject. Also sometimes nasalized are the vowels of words with prevocalic nasals, e.g. *xnò* ‘anona; soursop.’ I view both of these last two cases as non-phonemic progressive assimilation.

## 2.3 Onomatopoetic words

In this section I examine onomatopoetic words in CLZ and divide these into three groups according to the extent to which the words violate the phonological generalizations that hold true for non-onomatopoetic words. Less than 20% of the onomatopoetic words I have documented conform to both the segmental inventory and the phonotactics of CLZ. Another nearly 20% of these words employ sounds which are not phonemes of CLZ. The remainder of onomatopoetic words use CLZ segments but violate the phonotactics of native CLZ words either by having some segments in unusual environments or by employing suprasegmental processes like devoicing and lengthening in inappropriate environments. I have forced all of these words into the CLZ orthography for the purpose of listing them in the dictionary but it is necessary to describe them in phonetic terms, just as it would be necessary to explain that in English orthography *tsk tsk!* is not [tɪsk tɪsk] but rather an alveolar click. In this section I present some 135 words in three tables according to how closely the words conform to CLZ phonology. Following each table I discuss some of the more interesting cases.

First though, let me say something about how these words are used in CLZ. Unlike English, Spanish, and certain other Mesoamerican languages, CLZ does not mark onomotopoetic words morphologically for use as verbs or other parts of speech. These words are used almost exclusively as quotations. Like locatives and temporals they can be placed before the verb phrase (i.e. before the verb) or after the verb phrase following the verbal arguments. Perhaps these onomatopoetic words could be considered objects although the optional preposing of onomatopoeia relative to the verb phrase seems more common than the preposing of objects. Also the verbs they occur with do not seem particularly transitive in general. Exceptions to the mostly-quotation generalization are examples (2.76) and (2.77) below in which one *extracts* a named onomatopoetic sound from one's body.

When a human or animal or supernatural being/meteorological force, i.e. a subject with volition, causes the noise then the verb *–b-èzh* 'gritar; scream' (seen in examples 2.71-77) is used and when an inanimate object causes the sound the verb *–zìd* 'sonar; sound' (seen in examples 2.67-70) is used. Body part subjects tend to take the verb *–b-èzh* that is used with animate subjects, as in (2.72) and (2.73) where *–zìd* would be ungrammatical. However, in (2.67) *-zìd* is used with *ndâtz* 'pie; foot' as subject, because although the foot is the overt subject, it is actually understood that it is the shoe that is making the noise and not the foot. In (2.67) the subject is inanimate and the equivalent sentence with *–b-êzh* would be ungrammatical. However, in (2.69) *–b-êzh* could be substituted for *–zìd* because there may be an animate force behind the action (a person, spirit or wind). Likewise in (2.70) a landslide is the subject and the example given is with *–zìd* but reportedly some speakers could use *–b-èzh* here instead. I presume this would ascribe animate qualities to the landslide. (2.74) could be used with either verb, though *–b-êzh* is preferred because a human must operate the saw. The use of these verbs with onomatopoeia is illustrated in the following example sentences.

(2.67) *“To$^7$k to$^7$k” nzyìd ndâtz xa$^7$.*
**sonido.de.caminar.con.tacón H-sonar pie 3hd**
**sound.of.walking.with.high.heels H-sound foot 3hd**
“*To$^7$k to$^7$k”* suena su pie de la gente cuando traen tacón.
“*To$^7$k to$^7$k”* sounds her/his foot when wearing a hard- or high-heeled shoe.

(2.68) *“Mbras” ngwzìd bóté ngwlë̌.*
**sonido.de.botella.quebrando C-sonar botella C-quebrar**
**sound.of.bottle.breaking C-sound bottle C-break**
“*Mbras*” sonó la botella que se quebró.
“*Mbras*” went the bottle that broke.

(2.69) *“Mbrôj” ngwzìd yálâ. Mbyǎ yálâ.*
**sonido.de.puerta.grande.cerrando C-sonar puerta C-cerrarse**
**sound.of.solid.door.closing C-sound door C-close**
“*Mbrôj*” sonó la puerta. Se cerró la puerta.
“*Mbrôj*” went the door. The door closed.

(2.70) “*Mbrônh*”, ngwzìd yû wë`.
**sonido.de.derrumbe C-sonar tierra derrumbe**
**sound.of.landslide C-sound earth landslide**
“*Mbrônh*”, sonó el derrumbe.
“*Mbrônh*,” the landslike sounded.

(2.71) *“Wë$^7$ wë$^7$ wë$^7$” nbèzh chǐb.* (Example from SMigC, not SBL)
**grito.del.chivo H-R1-gritar chivo**
**sound.of.the.goat H-R1-scream goat**
“*Wë$^7$ wë$^7$ wë$^7$*” grita el chivo.
“*Wë$^7$ wë$^7$ wë$^7$*”” screams the goat.

(2.72) *Xè-ḿ ngwtêzh “akwisa”.*
**nariz=3hr C-R2-gritar sonido.del.destornudo**
**nose=3hr C-R2-scream sound.of.sneezing**
Su nariz gritó, “*akwisa*”.
Her/his nose screamed, “*akwisa*.”

(2.73) *“Mbë̌w”, ngwtêzh yèn mě.*
**sonido.de.eructarse C-R2-gritar pescuezo 3hr**
**sound.of.burping C-R2-scream neck 3hr**
“*Mbë̌w*”, gritó su pescuezo.
“*Mbë̌w*,” screamed his throat.

(2.74) *“Klo$^7$k klo$^7$k” nbèzh má gór nâ nzho$^7$b má ndô yëˆ tě má.*
**grito.de.gallina.al.poner H-R1-gritar 3a hora REL H-estar 3a cara nido POS 3a**
**call.of.laying.hen H-R1-scream 3a hour REL H-AUX 3a face nest POS 3a**
Dice “*klo$^7$k klo$^7$k*” la gallina culeca cuando está calentando (o abrazando) sus huevitos.
“Cluck Cluck” says the hen when she is on her nest.

(2.75) *“Xǔr xǔr nbèzh sérrúch.*
**sonido.de.serrote.cortando.madera H-gritar serrucho**
**sound.of.saw.cutting.wood H-scream saw**
“*Xǔr xǔr*” suena el serrucho cuando está uno cortando la madera.
“*Xǔr xǔr*” goes the saw (when cutting wood).

(2.76) *“Aj”, ngwdòb mě látyo*$^{7}$*-m´.*
**sonido.de.sorpresa C-R2-jalar corazón=3hr**
**sound.of.surprise C-R2-pull heart=3hr**
*“Aj”*, jaló su corazón (o estómago).
*“Aj*,” came a sound from the pit of his stomach.

(2.77) *Nâ nbo*$^{7}$ *kwri*$^{7}$*s ngǔtz ya*$^{7}$*-n^.*
**1s H-R1-sacar sonido.de.chasquido dedo mano=1s**
**1s H-R1-take.out snap finger hand=1s**
Yo trueno mis dedos.[18]
I snap my fingers “*kwri*$^{7}$*s.*”

I collected almost all of these onomatopoetic words from my main consultant from San Baltazar Loxicha one afternoon in 1998. A few came later from texts and from at least one other speaker who happens to be from SMigC. Since the very nature of sound symbolic words is that they are less arbitrary than other words in a language, they are also more easily invented words. Anyone can attempt to mimic any noise, especially if prompted as in an elicitation session. I am fairly confident that the overwhelming majority of these words are consistent with the onomatopoetic words used by other CLZ speakers. In some cases this has been confirmed when another consultant has used one of the words documented here in a text. Besides brainstorming with my consultant and dropping things on the floor, I also used as an elicitation tool a list of sound symbolic words collected by Terrence Kaufman from an Isthmus Zapotec speaker from Juchitán (JCH). Some onomatopoetic words look to be cognate in CLZ and JCH. This provides further corroboration for some others of these words not being spontaneous inventions. A few other onomatopoetic words appear to be borrowings from Spanish, as I note below where appropriate. Despite these various pieces of evidence for random examples of these words not being made up, because I have collected most of these words from only one speaker it is necessary to issue the disclaimer that most of these words have not been checked with other speakers. Even if any new words were coined on that day in 1998 (though I do not necessarily expect this to be the case), it is still interesting to note that most of these words conform more to Zapotec than to Spanish phonology, where they conform to any language's phonology at all.

While these onomatopoetic forms are fixed to a certain extent, they are also more flexible than other words. It is never as easy to check this list as a list of regular CLZ words. Some words I have previously mistranscribed (they're harder to transcribe since they use sounds beyond the languages normal inventory), but I am also fairly sure that some of these forms have changed as far as how the form was pronounced years apart. I expect there is more phonetic variation in these words than in normal words since they are so expressive. A speaker may make one of these long or short or voiced or unvoiced on different occasions to express some more specific quality of the generic sound in a particular instance. Speakers may also feel they have more liscence to change the pronunciation of these words that other types of lexical items, because they are outside of that domain.

A few last preliminary comments are in order about the orthographic transcription of the words to follow. Besides the fact that I have forced non-phonemic segments into the CLZ orthography, I have also had to make decisions about whether or not to represent certain suprasegmental features.

Length is not indicated in the orthography because length distinctions are predictable as described in 2.2.1.3. I have simply doubled or tripled or quadrupled consonant and vowel symbols to indicate length here. The number of symbols I have used may seem a bit arbitrary and is indeed impressionistic but something about writing these words gives one the feeling that some

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[18] The translation given doesn't use an onomatopoeia, and for this reason in 2004 LDP said that although one could say this with this meaning, it would sound better to just use a real noun, *mbîtz* which means a sudden involuntary movement such as a seizure, a hiccup, a Charlie horse, or a pulse.

liberties can be taken in their orthographic representations, just as the words themselves take liberties with the language's phonology.

While CLZ words that are not sound symbolic all have one of the five tones of CLZ on each syllable, the syllables of some onomatopoetic words have pitch patterns which are not found on other native CLZ words. When there is nothing distinctive that I have noticed about pitch I simply leave the vowels blank, not marking any tone. When there is something salient about the pitch used I either put the diacritic for the closest CLZ tone or leave off the diacritics and then make a note of what the pitch pattern actually is in the righthand column in each table below.

In what follows I divide the onomatopoetic words documented into three groups: words that conform to CLZ phonology (shown in Figure 24), words that use CLZ sounds in unexpected environments (shown in Figure 25), and words that use sounds not found in non-onomatopoetic words in CLZ (Figure 26). Recordings of these words, usually at the beginning of example sentences, are included on the CD provided. Many onomatopoetic words can be repeated multiple times depending on the effect one desires. First consider the onomatopoetic words which most resemble non-onomatopoetic CLZ words.

When it comes to making a distinction between words that do conform to CLZ phonology and words that do not, the hardest distinctions to make are those involving unusual use of suprasegmentals. In most cases I have tried to put these kinds of words, e.g. words with unexpected devoicing, in Figure 25 with the words which violate CLZ phonotactics. However I have placed a few words like this in Figure 24, for example if the unusual variation seemed optional. I also included in Figure 24 some words for which I marked no tone or a variation on a tone. Slight variations on tones can occur in the rest of the lexicon as well.

### 2.3.1 Words that conform to CLZ phonology

**Figure 24: Onomatopoetic words that conform to CLZ phonology.**

| CLZ word | Spanish gloss | English gloss | Phonetic description and other comments |
|---|---|---|---|
| châj | sonido de cortar carne encima de la mesa | sound of chopping meat on a butcher block (wood surface) | cf. JCH cha$^7$a; for effect vowel can be made whispered and raspy or quickly and repeatedly |
| chíkrì | sonido de chicharra | sound of the cicada (insect) | May be said repeatedly. Said singly it is also the name of the insect that makes this sound |
| kàtkàtkàtkárét | grito de la gallina cuando acaba de poner o cuando ve un aire malo de noche o cuando se proxima que se va a morir una persona cerca | sound of a hen after laying an egg or when seeing a bad spirit at night or when a person will soon die nearby | See variant below. The final vowel is stressed: longer duration, louder, higher pitch, and closed syllable. |
| kë$^7$tkë$^7$tkë$^7$tkérét | grito de la gallina cuando acaba de poner o cuando ve un aire malo de noche o cuando se proxima que se va a morir una persona cerca | sound of a hen after laying an egg or when seeing a bad spirit at night or when a person will soon die nearby | See variant above. The final vowel is stressed: longer duration, louder, higher pitch, and closed syllable. |
| kíkíríkí | sonido del gallo | sound of the rooster | Borrowed from Spanish. Last vowel is longer due to stress. |
| klo7k klo7k | grito de la gallina culeca cuando ya terminó de poner | | |
| ko$^7$l ko$^7$l | sonido de grito del guajolote macho | sound of the male turkey | |
| kwàk kwàk | sonido del pato; grito de la guajolota hembra cuando ando buscando el macho | call of the duck; call of the female turkey in heat | |
| mbrôj | sonido de una puerta grande que se cierra | sound of shutting a big door | |
| mǔ̧ | sonido de la vaca | sound of a cow | |
| myǎw | sonido del grito del gato | sound of a cat | Higher pitched than normal. |
| ngôtzéy | chiflado de lechuza (mbzhǎzh, xôz yà) | the call of a particular owl | |
| nzính | sonido de machete contra piedra; sonido de una cosa de fierro se cae en el piso; sonido de cosa de fierro que pega contra algo duro o contra otra cosa de fierro; sonido de una botella quebra*ndose en el suelo. | sound of a machete hitting a rock; sound of a metal object falling on the floor; sound of a metal object hitting something hard or hitting another piece of metal; sound of a bottle breaking on the floor | Synonymous with *nzérình* and *ndrính.* |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| pí pí | sonido que hace la guajolota hembra cuando llama a su cría (cuando se pierden), y de la cría cuando buscan a la mamá | the sound a female turkey makes when looking for her lost young and the young looking for her | |
| po7j | sonido de rajar leña entera o de rollizo; sonido de tocar en una puerta gruesa; sonido de caminar con tacón | sound of splitting solid wood or logs; sound of knocking on a thick wooden door; sound of walking in high heels | |
| râřrâ | sonido de un pájaro que se llama “rojo” | sound of a bird called “rojo” | See a more exact imitative variant in Figure 25 |
| tâj tâj | sonido de la cagada de un pájaro cuando cae al suelo, sonido de la cagada seca en bola cuando cae de un caballo; sonido de tocar en puerta de madera delgada, sonido de cortar carne encima de madera | sound of bird excrement falling on the ground, sound of dry balls of horse excrement falling on the ground; sound of knocking on a door made of thin wood or of chopping meat on a wooden surface | |
| to$^7$j to$^7$j | sonido de caminar en el piso con tacón | sound of walking on a floor with high heels | cf. JCH tok tok tok |
| wâw wâw | sonido de perro ladrando | sound of a dog barking | short vowels and tones |
| wë$^7$ wë$^7$ wë$^7$ | sonido del grito del chivo | sound of the goat | from SmigC |
| xar | sonido de romper ropa/tela | sound of ripping fabric | |
| xar xar xar | sonido de jalar bultos en el piso | sound of pulling bundles on the floor | |
| xâr xâr | sonido de rascar uñas | sound of scratching nails | |
| xǔr xǔr | sonido de un serrote cortando madera | sound of a saw cutting wood | In the recording is heard an echo vowel that is not always present in this word(s). |
| xu$^7$p | grito de zanate | sound of crows and other birds | |

One common type of onomatopoeia in the above list is the representation of animal sounds, specifically, animal vocalizations. When considering only animal vocalizations and not other sounds animals make such as walking or eating, there are twice as many onomatopoeia of this type that conform to CLZ phonology and phonotactics than not, even though overall onomatopoeia that conform to CLZ phonology make up less than 20% of the corpus. Perhaps since animal vocalizations are the closest kinds of natural sound to human speech, they are adapted more to the rules of human speech. The sound of paper tearing doesn’t sound anything like human speech and so that type of sound may be less likely to be formed into the mold of normal phonology. Besides the fact that animal, particularly mammal and bird, vocalizations sound like human speech, there is also the fact that in cultures the world over there are folktales where animals are personified. We humans are animals and whatever our acceptance or denial of that fact, we clearly identify with animals in a way that we do not with a piece of paper or a fire cracker. This is one reason that animals’ “speech” may be treated phonologically similarly to human speech.

Certain sounds or strings of sounds occur frequently in Figure 24. Five items have /x/ (<j>) as a coda consonant. It seems that most or all of these involve what we might call a *thud* in English, a single or repeated but not continuous blow or strike. Chopping wood, shutting a door or knocking on a door are all clearly like this. Pulling up a plant seems to be going in the opposite direction but it is still a noise caused by exertion that leads to one climactic noise, not a continuous one. Snapping one’s fingers is also something you can do once or repeatedly but not continuously. When horse excrement drops to the ground it is also usually in thuds or plops and is non-continuous. The only seeming exception is the knife cutting through meat and hitting the wooden surface below. While we might imagine the knife scraping or rubbing against the wood, an action that would have been continuous, this is not the kind of verb the consultant used in the Spanish gloss. Instead he used the verb *pegar* meaning ‘hit,’ suggesting that this too is a repetitive but non-continuous sound. Although we might expect a fricative to indicate continuous sound, none of the coda /x/’s are lengthened here even though that is common in the words in the two following tables. I expect the use of the fricative here may just represent the brief resonance of the sound after the blow or strike of the action. The backness of the fricative may indicate the dull quality of a *thud*-like sound. This same symbolism may be found in some words in succeeding tables as well, e.g. *poj* is the sound of a balloon exploding---another sudden non-continuous sound.

There are four examples of onomatopoeia above which seem to share a consonantal template, with different meanings being indicated by different vowel quality and different tones (though I am not always marking the latter in these tables). These four forms begin in a voiceless retroflex fricative <x> and end in a trill <r>. This *x_r* template indicates a continuous sound caused by the actions of ripping, sawing, scratching and dragging.

### 2.3.2 Words that violate CLZ phonotactics

**Figure 25: Onomatopoetic words that violate CLZ phonotactics**

| CLZ word | Spanish gloss | English gloss | Phonetic description and other comments |
|---|---|---|---|
| ja | sonido del bostezo | sound of yawning | Voiceless and ingressive |
| akwisa | sonido de un destornudo | sound of a sneeze | |
| anhjaja | sonido del grito del burro | sound of the donkey | |
| ây ây | sonido del dolor que sufre uno cuando se corta | sound of the pain one suffers when s/he is cut | Both vowels are long. Probably the same as the following. |
| ay ay ay | sonido de una persona enferma; sonido de cocoxtle (tajacamino) | sound of a sick person; sound of the cocoxtle | Because it sounds like a sick person it is believed that the cocoxtle is an *anuncio* of illness |
| brônh brônh | sonido de agua creciente en el río | sound of the river when it rains a lot | |
| brum brum brum brum | sonido del huracán Paulina | sound of hurricane Paulina | |
| chas | sonido de reventar un mecate o de romper una ropa o de arrancar un palo o un monte o una planta sembrada (la rai*z se revienta) | sound of rope or clothes tearing or pulling up a planted tree or plant from the ground (the root tears the same as a rope) | For effect vowel can be made whispered and raspy |
| ch$^7$ch$^7$ch$^7$ch$^7$ | sonido de víbora de cascabél | sound of the rattlesnake | Can continue indefinitely |
| ch$^7$kch$^7$kch$^7$k | sonido de hojas secas | sound of dry leaves | cf. JCH cha$^7$a cha$^7$a |
| chk chk chk | sonido de sonaja | sound of a (non-metal) rattle | Voiceless echo vowels are audible on recording |
| ë`j ë`j ë`j ë`j | grito del chivo | sound of the goat | SMigC |
| fjjjjj | sonido de un pajaro o culebra volando | sound of a bird flying or a snake gliding through the air | |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| gorr gorr gorr gorr gorr | sonido de vaciar refresco en un vaso | sound of pouring a soft drink in a glass | |
| hwxhwxhwxhwxhwx | sonido de cohete que amarra en mecate | sound of fireworks wrapped in rope | |
| ính | sonido de sancudo | sound of a mosquito | [ŋ] is long |
| jajáy | sonido de las mujeres que se rían de un hombre con quién tuvieron relaciones y luego se dejaron, con coraje | sound made by women who are jilted lovers laughing at their exes | |
| jorr | sonido de llenar una ánfora con agua | the sound of filling a jug with water | Trill is long |
| jwf | sonido del viento | sound of the wind | |
| jj | sonido de un viento fuerte | sound of a strong wind | Long [x] |
| káǎ | sonido de chicharra grande | sound of a big cicada | |
| kros kros kros | sonido de zapato que tiene aqua por dentro | sound of (walking with) wet shoes | |
| kwěnh kwěnh kwěnh | sonido cuando patean al perro | sound of people kicking a dog | Rising tone is higher than normal |
| kwí | grito del gavilán | call of the hawk | If actually imitating it L will whistle, but this is the onomatopoetic word in Zapotec that represents this animal's call. The vowel is long and high and the word may be repeated. |
| kwras kwras | sonido que hace la burra hembra cuando el burro macho está encima | sound the female donkey makes when mating | Found in SMigC as well as SBL |
| kwri7s | sonido de un chasquido | sound of a snap | |
| mánhâ mánhâ | sonido de un nene llorando | sound of a baby crying | [a] is farther back than normal and more nasal |
| mbë`w | sonido de eructarse | sound of burping | Besides the predictable final[ʔ], the vowel is creaky; cf. JCH au*u$^{7}$ |
| mbôrs mbôrs | sonido de animales comiendo pastura o maiz | sound of animals grazing | Low falling tone |
| mbras | sonido de una botella que se quiebra | sound of a bottle breaking | Vowel is raspy |
| mbrúnh | sonido de derrumbe o rayo | sound of a landslide or thunder | cf. JCH braa |
| ḿm̀ḿm̀ḿm̀ḿm̀ | sonido de un carro cargado | sound of a loaded cargo truck | Successive falling tones |
| mȩ̈ˆ$^{7}$ | sonido de chivo | sound of goat | Vowel is creaky, nasal, long and followed by [ʔ] |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ndrính | sonido de una moneda que cae | sound of a coin that falls | Other variants below |
| ngo7r | sonido que hay cuando uno quiere ir al baño | sound the body makes before going to the bathroom | |
| ngru7nh | sonido de agua o comida bajando en el pescuezo | sound of a gulp | |
| nzírình  nzírình | sonido de cascabel que le ponen a los nenes | sound of a baby's metal rattle | |
| nzérình | sonido de una botella quebrándose o de una moneda cayendo al piso | sound of a bottle breaking or a coin hitting the floor | cf. JCH brin |
| nzhúnh | sonido de las tripas cuando tienen hambre | sound of stomach growling | |
| nzrính | sonido del teléfono | sound of the telephone | |
| nzhe$^7$r nzhe$^7$r | sonido de ratón comiendo maíz | sound of a mouse eating corn | |
| nzhi7r | sonido de abrir una puerta que le falta grasa | sound of opening an ungreased door | |
| nzhi$^7$s nzhi$^7$s nzhi$^7$s | sonido de comer tostadas | sound of eating tostadas | |
| nzhi$^7$r nzhi$^7$r | sonido de una silla rechinando | sound of a chair squeaking against the floor | cf. JCH dxi:$^7$ dxi:$^7$ |
| po($^7$)j | sonido del globo reventándose, una olla (de barro) quebándose, o de rajar leña con hueco adentro | sound of a baloon exploding, a clay pot breaking, and of chopping wood that’s hollow inside | |
| punh | sonido de retrocarga (rifle grueso) | sound of a thick rifle | cf. JCH bam |
| pǫpǫ pǫpǫ | sonido del tambor | sound of the drum | |
| prás pras | sonido de un pescado azotando su ala en el agua; sonido de una cosa que se cae en el agua, sonido de chapotear, botear agua en una pared | sound of a fish flipping its fin in the water; sound of something that falls in the water, sound of splashing or throwing water against a wall | |
| gwras gwras | sonido de la gente gorda cuando camina; sonido de ropa mojada (puesta cuando camina) | sound of overweight people walking; sound of walking in wet clothes | |
| pras (1) | sonido de resbalar | sound of slipping | This sounds the same as the next one in the 2004 recordings on the CD. |
| prâs (2) | sonido cuando azota la ola | sound of the waves crashing | |
| prss | sonido de diarrea | sound of diarrhea | rr is voiceless |
| pus | sonido de picar navaja a persona o animal | sound of stabbing a person or animal with a knife | <u> is lax |
| pyj | sonido de rifles largos | sound of long rifles | with some labio-dental |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | closure |
| hrr | sonido de agua hirviendo; sonido de abrir una llave de agua | sound of boiling water; sound of turning a water faucet | voiceless [h͠r:::] |
| ranh | sonido de arrancar una moto | sound of starting a motorcycle | |
| rr rr | el grito del pa*jaro rojo (picolargo | call of the “red” bird (aka ‘longbeak’) | See a more phonologized variant in Figure 24 |
| sólstôy | sonido de tortolita | sound of the turtledove | |
| tak tak tak tak tak | sonido de gente que va corriendo | sound of people running | |
| ta$^{7}$j ta$^{7}$j ta$^{7}$j ta$^{7}$j ta$^{7}$j | sonido de una persona caminar con tacones | sound of someone walking with high heels | |
| tanh$^{k}$ | sonido de caer algo pesado | sound of something heavy that falls | |
| tánh tánh tánh | sonido de campana sonando | sound of a bell ringing | |
| prass | sonido de cachetada | sound of a slap in the face | |
| tanhj | sonido de la persona que se cae por detrás | sound of someone falling backwards | |
| tas | el sonido cuando cae cagado de pájaro | sound of bird excrement when it falls | |
| tepraka tepraka tepraka tepraka | sonido de un caballo corriendo | sound of a galloping horse | |
| tétérét | sonido de gallina | sound of a hen | |
| tinh tinh tilânh telânh telânh | sonido de repicar la campana | sound of striking the bell | Some echo vowels are heard on the recording |
| tính tính tính tính$^{7}$ | sonido de cuerda tensada | sound of a taught cord | |
| to$^{7}$kto$^{7}$kto$^{7}$k | sonido de una lata que tiene piedritas | sound of a can with rocks in it | |
| tranh | sonido de una cubeta/tambo que cae en un pozo profundo | sound of a bucket that falls in a deep well | |
| tra7s | sonido de zapatos caminando donde está mojado como en charcos; sonido cuando cae excremento de bestia | sound of shoes walking on a wet surface such as in puddles; sound of horse or mule excrement falling | |
| tràs tràs tràs tràs tràs | sonido de caminar en lodo | sound of walking in mud | Borrowed from Spanish |
| trasatrasatras | sonido de una persona corriendo dentro del agua | sound of a person running (deep)in water | |
| trr7 | sonido del teléfono cuando marca | pulse sound of telephone when dialing | <rr> is a voiceless trill |
| trrrr | sonido de molino eléctrico | sound of an electric mill | Trill is long and voiceless |
| tunh | sonido cuando se hincha el guajolote | sound of the male turkey when it displays | Rime is long |
| chunh | sonido cuando se hincha | sound of the male turkey | Rime is long |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | el guajolote | when it displays | |
| txxxx | sonido cuando cae lo crudo a lo caliente p. ej. huevo estrallado en un sartén con aceite caliente | sound of something cold or uncooked hitting something hot, like an egg in a pan | This sounds pretty much the same as the next sound |
| txxxxxx | sonido del aguacero | sound of the rainstorm | |
| xar xar xar | sonido de un caballo rascando tierra | sound of a horse scratching the earth | [a] is semi-voiced and raspy |
| xuk xuk xuk | sonido de arrugar papel | sound of scrunching up paper | [u] is voiceless |
| xj | sonido de papel que se rompió | sound of paper that’s torn | |
| x$^7$x$^7$x$^7$x$^7$x$^7$x$^7$ | sonido de semilla seca adentro | sound of hollow fruit with a dried seed inside | |
| yi$^7$i$^7$i$^7$i$^7$i | sonido de caballo cuando relincha | sound of a horse whinnying | |
| mbraja mbraja mbraja | sonido de quebrar nixtamal en metate | sound of grinding corn on a grindstone | |
| zhǔnhkú zhǔnhkú zhǔnhkú | sonido de afilar machete en una piedra de afilar | the sound of sharpening a machete on a sharpening stone | |

Many of the words above have been recorded in different years with slightly different pronunciations. I have removed comments in the right column which are not descriptive of the sounds recorded in 2004 and included on the CD with this dissertation. What was voiceless or lengthened or glottalized one year was not when last checked in October, 2004. Dif-ferent voicing modalities including breathy voice, creaky voice, and other variations are also used variably according to context and can optionally be employed as strategies to make these sounds come to life. One interesting thing to note about many words in Figure 25 is that a glottal stop which sounds just like the pre-pausal glottal stop is present in many words, especially following nasals, where the tone does not predict it. While I have described a few things of interest in the last column, it is better for the reader to listen to the sound files on the CD provided to get her or his own sense of how these words really sound.

Returning to the discussion of consonant templates there are both new and familiar examples in Figure 25. Above I described the *xVr* words from Figure 24 as all having a continuous motion and sound. That same template is used above in the onomatopoeia for a horse rubbing its hooves in the dirt. This is the same kind of continuous motion and sound as with the other items that share this template. The reason I included those items in Figure 24 and this one in Figure 25 is simply because in this one the vowels are devoiced, which is not a normal feature of CLZ phonolgy, especially in this environment.

There are several onomatopoetic items with the consonantal template *prs*. Most of these have the vowel /a/ and one lacks a vowel. Those that do have a vowel differ as to the length and tone of the vowel as well as by whether or not (or how many times) the syllable is repeated. Again there is a fairly consistent meaning associated with the template, this time it is the theme of moving (or motion in) liquid: bird excrement (which is fairly liquid) falling, fish moving or things falling in the water, spashing in or throwing water, walking in soggy clothes (e.g. shoes full of water), slipping (as with wet surfaces), waves crashing, and diarrhea.

An alternation between two tones can signify a physical alternation with the resulting fluctuation in sounds. Examples from Figure 25 are the turning of an engine, the alternation between feet (and shoes) when walking with high heels (the different position of the feet causing the sound to be slightly different and here represented by using a different tone for each foot), and a church bell ringing, with each side giving off a different sound as struck and being here represented by a different tone for each side of the bell.

There are various kinds of phonotactic violations in Figure 25. Some of these violations are also found in non-onomatopoetic Spanish loanwords. Like onomatopoetic words, loanwords also violate the rules of phonology by which most native lexical items are governed. Just because a pattern is found in loanwords does not mean that that pattern conforms to CLZ phonology and therefore is not enough to move a form from Figure 25 to Figure 24. However, in some cases these kinds of patterns may indicate that an onomatopoetic word is a Spanish borrowing. For the remainder of the discussion it can be assumed that I am excluding the corpus of CLZ loanwords when I say that some pattern is not found in the lexicon other than onomatopoeia.

The segments /s, m, ŋ/ are rare other than in onomatopoetic words and only appear in word-initial position, where they are almost always in prefixes, and word-final position as clitic pronouns. They do not occur as part of a root except in pronouns or generic nouns (i.e. the nouns for ‘animal’ and ‘person’ on which two third person pronouns are based). Thus the occurrence of these segments outside of grammatical morphemes is a violation of the pattern observed throughout the rest of the language. /x/ <j> only occurs word-finally in native non-onomatopoetic CLZ words so its appearance in initial position here is a violation as well. Although /p/ does occur in word-initial position in the very few native words cited at the beginning of this chapter (see 2.1.1.1), it is rare enough that I still consider it an abnormality for a word to have an initial /p/.

Many phonotactic violations have to do with vowels. Some onomatopoetic words lack vowels altogether which is a clear phonotactic violation. There are unusual suprasegmental phenomena involving the vowels of onomatopoetic words including devoicing and lengthening when not marked for low or rising tone. Vowel-initial words are as rare as p-initial words and so even though they exist I still consider vowel-initial words to violate the proscribed syllable structure of this language. Polysyllabic words (not repetitions of the same syllable) are also the exeption and not the norm. Some uses of glottalization don’t fit CLZ phonology. Examples of this are when there are no sonorants present to bear tone, or when the type of tone or consonants present don’t call for any glottalization as described in 2.2.1.2.

### 2.3.3 Words that have sounds not phonemic in CLZ

**Figure 26: Onomatopoetic words that use sounds not phonemic in CLZ**

| CLZ word | Spanish gloss | English gloss | Phonetic description and other comments |
|---|---|---|---|
| fwj | sonido de una culebra | sound of a snake | |
| h | sonido de sorprenderse | sound of being surprised | Ingressive [h] |
| háyhą̂ | sonido del suspiro | sound of a sigh | |
| hn | sonido de marrano caminando; sonido de rechazo (p.ej. cuando | sound of a pig walking; sound of rejection, e.g. when someone won’t | Strong nasal exhalation |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | comió cebolla uno y el otro no lo quiere besar) | kiss you after you eat onion | |
| hų$^7$ | sonido de un hombre que se ri*a de una mujer (con coraje) | sound of a man laughing at a woman with contempt | [hʊ̨ʔ] |
| (i)h´$^7$ | sonido del hipo | sound of hiccuping | A high-pitched ingressive back (uvular to pharyngeal, with variation) fricative |
| jj | sonido de una persona roncando | sound of a person snoring | Ingressive and egressive uvular trill (softer than the mad cat one) |
| jjj | sonido del gato enojado | sound of an angry cat | Uvular trill, it can be strictly ingressive or it can alternate with egressive |
| ju ju ju | sonido de una llama que está quemando un monte | sound of a grassfire | Voiceless [ʊ] |
| kũ | grito del tecolute más grande (mko$^7$) | call of the owl | /k/ followed by a very nasalized u, repeated. |
| pfyu | sonido de destapar un refresco | sound of opening a carbonated beverage | Voiceless [u] |
| pl$^7$ pl$^7$ | sonido de comer sopa o de marranos tomando agua | sound of eating soup or pigs drinking water | Linguolabial click |
| pl$^7$ pl$^7$ pl$^7$ pl$^7$ | sonido de la boca cuando está comiendo | sound of a person’s mouth while eating | Once I characterized this as an affricate formed by a voiceless pl sequence, though on the 2004 recording this sounds similar to the click above. |
| pl$^7$ | sonido de pedo de niño | sound of a child's fart | Short voiceless labio-lingual trill cut off by a glottal stop |
| ppl$^7$ | sonido de pedo de gente delgada | sound of a thin person's fart | Slightly longer labio-lingual trill |
| pplll | sonido de pedo de gente gordo | sound of a fat person's fart | Long labio-lingual trill |
| ppp | sonido de un burro o caballo soplando cuando está comiendo, sonido de la nariz de la bestia | sound of a donkey or horse blowing and vibrating its lips while eating, sound of the horse makes with its lips or nose | Voiceless bilabial trill |
| purs | sonido de tomate | sound of a tomato being squished | Bilabial trill followed by [r̃s]. LDP says there's a <u> |
| pw$^7$ | sonido de beso | sound of kissing | Labial click |
| ss$^7$h | sonido de tener frío | sound of shivering | Ingressive [sː$^7$] |
| tz$^7$ | sonido de la cuija | sound of the gecko | Alveolar click |

This group of words contains several kinds of sounds that do not exist elsewhere in the CLZ lexicon, including loanwords. Clicks, ingressive sounds, and sounds with unusual places of articulation abound in this group.

The fact that LDP recorded most words in Figures 24 and 25 with extemporaneous example sentences but the words in Figure 26 alone, suggests that they are in some way extra-linguistic. These probably also show more variation from speaker to speaker. While many are universal (e.g. the kissing sound), some are also culture-specific (e.g. the sound of masculine contempt). Some earlier generalizations I had made about words in this group have disintegrated as the forms offered have changed. For all the fart sounds I had originally transcribed these as voiced trills with different tones to reflect the girth of the person making the sound, but more recently I have only recorded these as voiceless with length and glottalization differences reflecting the differences that I once described as pitch-determined. Thus, the sounds in Figure 26 seem to be more variable and perhaps less truly lexical than the onomatopoetic words in Figures 24 and 25.

# Morphology

The next three chapters are concerned with various issues relating to multimorphemic words. There is very little to say about nominal morphology in CLZ compared to the richness of verbal morphology in this language and accordingly the bulk of this section concerns verbs.

Chapter 3 outlines the patterns of verbal morphology that constitute different classes of Zapotec verbs. Guided by Kaufman's (1989 & 2003) classification of PZ verbs, I give my own classification of synchronic CLZ verbs. Both derivational and inflectional patterns found on verbs are often restricted according to verb class. For this reason I present this chapter first to familiarize the reader with the different classes of CLZ verbs before continuing on to the various inflectional and derivational categories. Segmental and tonal morphology, both derivational and inflectional, are covered in this chapter to the extent that they define morphological differences between classes. Of special interest are issues of stem formation involving vowel cluster simplification leading to surface ablaut in classes A and C, and what Kaufman terms "replacive" prefixes, alternant stem-initial consonants, in my classes Ch and D. Class B is notable for its palatalization of stem-initial consonants in certain aspects. The many irregular CLZ verbs which show complex fossilized morphology are covered in detail class by class.

Chapter 4 covers inflection, which in CLZ is almost entirely on verbs. This chapter deals primarily with the marking of tense, aspect, and mood, both the semantic content of these categories and also how they are marked phonologically across the different verb classes.

Derivational morphology is the subject of Chapter 5. Derivational morphology explored in this dissertation includes the scarce nominal morphology to be found in the language, mostly animacy-marking but also more rarely used morphemes found in place names and the most inalienably possessed nouns. There are various morphemes used in CLZ to convert verbs into something like an adjective, including but not limited to the stative and the form I call the participle which is cognate with a morpheme labeled “infinitive” in descriptions of other Zapotec languages (for example see Butler, 1980). There are several ways that transitive verbs are derived from intransitive verbs and vice versa in CLZ including initial consonant fortition, palatalization, alternant stem-initial consonant prefixes (replacives), changes in verb class, changes in tone, and simple zero derivation or ambitransitivity. The relationship between these transitive/intransitive and active/passive pairs of Zapotec verbs is the largest topic dealt with in Chapter 5.

This section on morphology should be of special interest to those linguists concerned with suprasegmental morphology including tone, register, and palatalization, and to anyone wanting to gain a greater understanding of comparative, historical, or modern Southern Zapotec morphology. Indeed details offered here, when combined with the knowledge of other Otomangueanist researchers, have much to offer towards our knowledge of the prehistory of these languages.

# 3. Verb Classes

This chapter is concerned with the different patterns of marking that verbs take, dividing them into separate classes. My division of CLZ verb roots into different classes is partly phonologically conditioned, partly determined by transitivity, and partly subjective, since the subclasses could be combined in different ways into the larger classes depending on which similarities and differences between them one chooses to focus on. The differences between the various classes of CLZ verbs have to do with how transitivity is marked (different aspects of which are covered in Chapter 5), and with the different ways that inflectional categories are realized on individual verbs (which is covered more thoroughly in Chapter 4). In turn, an understanding of how I classify CLZ verbs will be helpful for understanding the patterns described in Chapters 4 and 5.

While there is much diversity to be covered in this chapter, from a statistical standpoint the majority of CLZ verbs follow one basic pattern, that which I'll call class A and cover in 3.1 below. There are many other patterns which are rich, complex fossils of earlier Zapotec patterns. Some of the most interesting patterns are only found in one or two or three verbs. Before dealing with each of these diverse patterns, I'll begin by giving the reader a sense of what most CLZ verbs look like. About three hundred verbs follow the most common pattern, that of class A consonant stems. In (3.1) I give an inflectional paradigm for two typical verbs of this class.

| (3.1) | **'asustarlo; scare'**<br>*-chêb* | **'asustarse; be frightened'**<br>*-zhêb* |
|---|---|---|
| **IRR** | *nhchêb* | *nhzhêb* |
| **P** | *wchêb* | *zhêb* |
| **INF** | *wchêb* | *zhêb* |
| **M** | *wchêb* | *zhêb* |
| **H** | *nchêb* | *nzhêb* |
| **C** | *mchêb* | *mbzhêb* |
| **IMP** | *bchêb* | (not attested) |
| **F** | *schêb* | *sxêb* |

The proto-typical CLZ verb is a class A (characterized by the completive prefix *mb-*) consonant-stem, occurring in a pair with another class A consonant-stem as its more or less transitive partner. This pair of proto-typical CLZ verbs will have a derivational relationship characterized by the initial consonant fortition seen on the transitive verb in (3.1) or by other patterns described in Chapter 5 including palatalization, derivational prefixes called *replacives*, or zero derivation. If transitive, the proto-typical CLZ verb takes a *w-* prefix in the potential aspect and any forms based on this one (the infinitive and "M" form), and depending on its underlying tone it may undergo surface tonal alternations when occurring with a first person singular subject. If intransitive this verb will lack the transitive *w-* prefix, and depending on its underlying tone it may undergo tonal alternations in the potential aspect or nonfinite forms based on the potential form. This is the most basic pattern, the pattern a newly-coined verb would likely take---but there is much more diversity of verbal morphology than this to be accounted for in CLZ.

CLZ verbs can be divided into several classes and subclasses depending on which segmental TAM markers a verb takes, whether or not there exist tonal alternations or palatalization, and how many different verb stems are used. My analysis of CLZ verbs is much influenced by Kaufman (1989 and 2003)'s division of Zapotec verbs into four classes A-D. I use his classification but also identify subclasses and mergers of these where CLZ verbs have further differentiated patterns compared to Kaufman's vision of PZ verbs.

CLZ verb classes are defined by the different ways in which they mark TAM categories. Kaufman's four classes and some of my subclasses are differentiated by the different allomorphs of the potential and completive aspects. Further subclasses are defined by the presence or absence of different kinds of tonal alternations to mark person and TAM categories, by transitivity, and by segmental differences involved in TAM-marking. I will treat each of the major CLZ verb classes in turn, describing general patterns first, followed by less regular verbs belonging to these groups.

I partially excerpt Kaufman's (2003) definition of four major Zapotec verb classes in (3.2).

(5.2) The four verb classes of Zapotec are defined by the allomorphs of *ki+ ~ *k+ ‘potential’ and *kwe+ ~ *ko+ ‘completive’ they occur with, as well as by whether they show replacive initials on transitive intransitive pairs.

| | **class A** | **class B** | **classC** | **classD** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **potential** | *ki+* | *ki+* | *k+* | *k+* |
| **completive** | *kwe+* | *ko+* | *ko+* | *ko+* |
| **replacives** | NO | NO | NO | YES |
| **begin with** | V | C | V,C | V,s |

The replacives Kaufman refers to are alternant stem-initial consonants (prefixes added to the root/base to form the stem) which set class D apart from the three other classes, specifically from class C which took the same potential and completive markers as class D in PZ according to Kaufman. All other class divisions are defined minimally by selection of the potential and completive aspect markers reconstructed by Kaufman as they appear above. The potential prefix[1] **k+* is an underlying or historical prefix which in modern Zapotec languages causes fortition of the stem-initial consonant (consonant clusters went to geminates in PZ, geminates being the ancestors of the modern fortis consonants). Kaufman’s **kwe+* contains a labiovelar segment which is usually reflected as a plain labial segment in modern Zapotec languages. The prefix **ki-* is lost in CLZ class A, but in class B is reflected as palatalization on stem-initial consonants.

Kaufman (2003) thus divides Zapotec verbs into four classes which he suggests could be further combined into two larger classes A-B and C-D based on the kinds of initial segments which can occur on verbs in each of the four classes (he points out the one problem being that both class C and D could have vowel-initial roots, though in some pre-PZ language these must certainly have formed one class). I posit five modern CLZ verb classes A, B, C, Ch, and D, which can be further lumped into the macro classes of A, B-C, and Ch-D. Much of the morphological division of CLZ verbs can be understood in the Kaufman model, but the division is not identical. I use labels similar to Kaufman’s for the various classes in order to make the correspondences with his analysis clear. While my class A-D patterns are reflexes of his PZ class A-D patterns, it

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[1] Kaufman (1989) views these pre-posed TAM markers as proclitics while I view them as prefixes.

is not the case that individual verbs he reconstructs as belonging to a particular verb class in PZ still belong to the same class in CLZ. For example, many verbs which originally belonged to class D have migrated to class A in CLZ and other Southern Zapotec languages. I posit an additional class, Ch, which has affinities with both classes B and D. Kaufman mostly reconstructs these verbs as class D. I also lump these with class D into a larger class Ch-D but I consider the differences substantial enough to separate it out at the same level as classes A, B, C, and D. As I showed in (3.2), Kaufman's division of Zapotec verb classes was defined minimally by potential and completive aspect-marking, and whether or not replacive prefixes occurred. Further lumping was possible based on the types of root-initial segments that could occur. For comparison, these same details are given for the verb classes of CLZ in Figure 27.

**Figure 27: Class divisions of CLZ verbs**

| **Macro-class** | **A** | **B-C** | | **Ch-D** | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Basic class** | | **B** | **C** | **Ch** | **D** |
| **Potential** | *Ø-, w-, g-*[2] | palatalization | *g-* | palatalization | fortition |
| **Completive** | *mbi-* | *ngw-* | *ngw-, ngo, ngu-* | *ngw-* | *ngw-* |
| **Replacives** | NO | NO | NO | YES | YES |
| **Begins with[3]:** | C, *o, u* | coronals | *a* | V | V |

## 3.1 Class A

Kaufman's (2003) class A roots begin in the vowels **u* and **e*. CLZ has class A verbs with both consonant-initial and vowel-initial stems. Many verbs from other classes, notably class D, have migrated to class A in CLZ. In some other Southern Zapotec languages, such as Miahuatecan languages spoken in places like San Agustín Mixtepec and Santo Domingo de Morelos, even verbs that are class D in CLZ and still have the characteristic replacive prefixes in those languages, nevertheless now take a labial class A completive ending (e.g. SAMZ *mbdǐ*$^{7}$*b,* the completive of the SAMZ class D verb *–g-ǐ*$^{7}$*b* 'costurearlo; sew'). This labial completive marker which has historically been the defining feature unique to class A is becoming more productive in Southern Zapotec languages, which is why in my analysis of CLZ class A includes many more individual verbs than belonged to class A in Proto-Zapotec.

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[2] Ø- occurs on intransitive consonant stems, *w-* on transitive consonant stems, and *g-* on vowel stems.

Class A verbs in Zapotec languages take a completive marker which consists of a bilabial consonant and a front vowel. This differentiates them from the other three classes which typically have a velar consonant and a back rounded vowel for their completive prefix. In CLZ the fullest form of the class A completive marker is *mbi-* although in SMaC the irregular verb 'hacer; do' has the more conservative vowel in the completive form, *mbe*$^7$*n*. The *i* of the completive prefix is only found when added to vowel-initial verb stems, where it causes deletion of the stem-initial vowel. Kaufman (1989) provides an analysis for such behavior in other Zapotec languages with a set of phonological rules for vowel cluster simplification in earlier or more conservative Zapotec languages. In CLZ, consonant-initial class A verbs take a completive marker *mb-* if the stem-initial consonant is voiced and non-nasal and *m-* if the initial consonant is voiceless or nasal.

| (3.3) | *-ôn*<br>**'saber; know'** | *-yë*$^7$*zh*<br>**'quejarse; complain'** | *-kâ*<br>**'quitarlo; remove'** |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Completive** | *mbîn* | *mbyë*$^7$*zh* | *mkâ* |

Kaufman's (2003) PZ class A consists solely of transitive verbs. Class A verbs in CLZ can be divided into three main groups: transitive consonant stems, intransitive consonant stems, and vowel stems. Each of these groups includes a few irregular verbs.

**Figure 28: Number of class A verbs (indluding compounds and irregulars) in the sample**

| | C-stem vt | C-stem vi | V-stems |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Total lexical items** | 169 | 164 | 12 |
| **Total roots** | 146 | 146 | 10 |
| **Total irregular verbs:** | 6, all with irregular 1s alternants | 9 verbs with 7 irregular patterns | 5 verbs with 5 irregular patterns |

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[3] Segments that only occur on a few irregular verbs are not included here but are discussed below.

### 3.1.1 Transitive class A consonant-stems

Transitive class A consonant stems usually begin with historically fortis consonants. There are many transitive class A verbs with roots beginning in *ch, k, l, n, t, tz, x,* and *z*. There are only two verb roots in this group that begin in *d* and four that begin in *g* (all four have a following *a* vowel). Six transitive verb roots of this class begin in *kw* and the potential *w-* prefix is lost before these due to dissimilation. There are no class A transitive verb roots beginning in *b, y, ty, w,* or *zh.* There are also no transitive verbs in this class with palatalized initial consonants.

There are actually a small number of verbs in this group that are semantically (or at least syntactically) intransitive, e.g. 'run, sneeze, bark' but these are not known to have a less transitive partner verb. Such verbs probably make up less than 5% of this class. They are morphologically identical to the class A verbs which are semantically transitive. Thus some semantically intransitive verbs are marked vtA in the forthcoming CLZ dictionary, meaning that they are class A verbs that are *morphologically* (if not semantically and/or syntactically) transitive.

Class A transitive consonant-stems are marked differently than intransitive class A consonant-stems when occurring in the potential aspect or with a 1s subject. Transitive class A consonant-stems take a *w-* prefix[4] in the potential aspect form, unless they begin in *kw*. This *w-* prefix is a portmanteau morpheme which occurs regularly on transitive class A verbs and only in the potential aspect or non-finite forms based on the potential. Unlike intransitive class A consonant-stems, these transitive class A consonant-stems show no tonal alternations associated with TAM-marking. Roots with falling, low, or glottal tone may have tonal alternations for marking first person singular subjects. The alternations are usually F→H, L→R, 7→R. The 7→R pattern is the result of two processes. The first is deglottalization which accompanies first person singular marking of transitive verbs in CLZ and is cognate with a phonologically identical process affecting alienably possessed nouns in Lachixío Zapotec (Sicoli, 1998). If the result of deglottalization is a low tone then the floating high tone creates a rising tone here the same as it does for unglottalized verbs with underlying low tone (though of course the neutralization of pitch contrasts with glottalization in CLZ causes ambiguity here since it could also be that glottalized verbs are underlyingly rising tone + glottalization, in which case there is only one phonological process at work here). A few verbs in this group have other or no alternations with 1s subjects and I list these as irregular. Tonal morphology associated with first person singular marking is not affected by aspect marking so the tonal alternant seen with a first person singular subject does not change when different aspects are marked. I give examples of regular class A transitive verbs with different underlying tones in (3.4-6), showing the presence or absence of tonal alternations for first person singular marking and the lack of tonal alternations in the potential and completive.

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[4] I recognized that this potential aspect prefix was related to transitivity in 1997 thanks to a suggestion from Thom Smith-Stark.

| *-kwǎn* | *-kìt* | *-nîth* | *-lo*$^7$*b* |
|---|---|---|---|
| **‘lastimarlo; injure’** | **‘doblarlo; bend’** | **‘perderlo; lose’** | **‘barrer; sweep’** |

(3.4) **Potential aspect with non-first person subject**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Kwǎn lô lâz nâ.* | *Wkìt mě-ý.* | *Wnîth lô.* | *Wlo*$^7$*b xa*$^7$*.* |
| **P-lastimarlo 2f cuerpo 1s** | **P.T-doblarlo 3hr=3i** | **P.T-perderlo 2f ‘abrir’** | **P-barrer 3hd** |
| **P-injure 2f body 1s** | **P.T-bend 3hr=3i** | **P.T-lose 2f** | **P-sweep 3hd** |
| Me vas a lastimar mi cuerpo. | Lo va a doblar. | Vas a perder. | Va a barrerlo. |
| You’re going to injure my body. | S/he’s going to bend it. | You’re going to lose. | S/he’s going to sweep it. |

(3.5) **Completive aspect with non-first person subject**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Mkwǎn lô lâz nâ.* | *Mkìt mě-ý.* | *Mnîth lô.* | *Mblo*$^7$*b xa*$^7$*.* |
| **C-lastimarlo 2f cuerpo 1s** | **C-doblarlo 3hr=3i** | **C-perderlo 2f** | **C-barrer 3hd** |
| **C-injure 2f body 1s** | **C-bend 3hr=3i** | **C-lose 2f** | **C-sweep 3hd** |
| Me lastimaste mi cuerpo. | Lo dobló. | Perdiste. | Barrió. |
| You injured my body. | S/he bended it. | You lost. | S/he swept. |

(3.6) **Forms with first person singular subjects**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Kwǎn nâ lâz lô.* | *Wkǐt nâ-ý.* | *Wníth nâ.* | *Mblǒb nâ.* |
| **P-lastimarlo 1s cuerpo 2f** | **P.T-doblarlo.1s 1s=3i** | **P.T-perderlo.1s 1s** | **C-barrer.1s 1s** |
| **P-injure 1s body 2f** | **P.T-bend.1s 1s=3i** | **P.T.-lose.1s 1s** | **C-sweep.1s 1s** |
| Te voy a lastimar tu cuerpo. | Lo voy a doblar. | Voy a perder. | Barrí. |
| I’m going to injure your body. | I’m going to bend it. | I’m going to lose. | I swept. |

There are six irregular transitive class A verbs. In each case the irregularity has to do with the form of the verb that occurs with a first person singular subject. One verb, *-kâ*, has rising tone rather than the expected high with a 1s subject. Five verbs, *-chë*$^7$, *-ka*$^7$*ch, –ke*$^7$, *-dò* and *–kòch*, do not undergo any tonal alternations with a 1s subject even though they have underlying tones which usually are affected by a 1s subject. The irregularities described are illustrated in (3.7).

(3.7)

| **Unexpected rising tone** | **Expected tonal alternation lacking** | |
|---|---|---|
| *-kâ* | *-ka*$^7$*ch* | *-dò* |
| **‘quitarlo; remove’** | **‘enterrarlo; bury’** | **‘venderlo; sell’** |
| *Mkǎ-nˆ-é* | *Mka*$^7$*ch nâ-ý* | *Mbdò-nˆ-é* |
| **C-quitarlo.1s=1s=3i** | **C-enterrarlo 1s=3i** | **C-venderlo=1s=3i** |
| **C-remove.1s=1s=3i** | **C-bury 1s=3i** | **C-sell=1s=3i** |
| Lo quité. | Lo enterré. | Lo vendí. |
| I removed it. | I buried it. | I sold it. |

### 3.1.2 Intransitive class A consonant-stems

Intransitive consonant-stems of class A differ from their transitive counterparts segmentally in that they typically begin in historically lenis consonants. There are several verbs each with initial *b, g, l, ty, x, y,* and *zh.* Two verbs also begin in *w* and three in *z*. Although voiceless, *ty* and *x* are reflexes of earlier lenis segments. There are only a few fortis consonants found initially in this group. One verb begins in *ch,* two in *kw*, one in *k,* and two in *tz*.

In addition to the common lenis consonants, a number of intransitive verbs in this group begin in palatalized consonants. Besides *ty*, there are verbs in this group beginning in *dy, ly,* and *zy*. Note that all of these are coronal. The fortis counterpart of /z/ (<*s) is /¢/ (<*ss) and the *zy*-initial verbs have transitive partner verbs beginning in *tz* (/¢/). In the case of /t̪, ð, ḷ/ there is no fortis/lenis distinction to be found in comparing transitive and intransitive partner verbs because of historical mergers in word-initial environment. Instead, the transitive/intransitive distinction here becomes wholly unpalatalized/palatalized. Many roots (including nouns) with historically palatalized coronal stops which would normally have a /t̪/ reflex maintain the historical palatalization when preceded by a prefix. Perhaps the transitive class A verb roots beginning in such consonants lost the palatalization even after prefixes by analogy to this pattern in which coronal consonants in class A are palatalized in intransitive verbs and not in transitive ones. Indeed this pattern dominates among coronal consonants in this class. There are no intransitive class A verbs beginning in unpalatalized *d*. There are some verbs in this group that begin in unpalatalized *l* or *z* but these do not outnumber the palatalized ones. Kaufman grouped classes A and B together into one macro-class A-B with the morphological differences being predictable based on whether a root was vowel initial and therefore class A or consonant-initial and therefore class B. In CLZ class B notably undergoes palatalization of stem-initial consonants in certain inflectional forms and consists of mostly intransitive verbs. It may be that some intransitive class A consonant-stems are immigrants from class B and the new class A verb root is based on an older palatalized class B stem, i.e. while the palatalization only occurs in certain forms of class B verbs the palatalization occurs throughout the class A paradigm (except in the infinitive form described in 4.7.1).

Again there are a small number of verbs in this group that are not really intransitive in the traditional sense. As explained in Chapter 5, most Zapotec verbs occur in pairs with one partner being more transitive or active than the other. So although I refer to *transitive* and *intransitive* class A verbs, this does not necessarily (although it usually does) refer to the ability of a verb to take an object. Rather, I am here using these terms as labels for groups of verbs which have similar morphology and happen to have relatively (but not absolutely) more or less semantic and syntactic transitivity. For example, the class A intransitive verb *-yo*$^{7}$ means ‘llevarlo, cargarlo, traer; carry, bring’ and is related to the verb *–o*$^{7}$ which has the same gloss. Both of these verbs are transitive in the usual sense because they take objects, but there is a semantic difference. The verb *–yo*$^{7}$ can be used when carrying an animal’s carcass home after hunting. If instead one is bringing home a live animal the verb *–o*$^7$ would be used. While both are transitive, having a sentient object rather than an inanimate one makes for more transitivity and so although both verbs are transitive, *-o*$^7$ is *more* transitive than *–yo*$^7$ and accordingly *–yo*$^7$ acts as an intransitive verb morphologically.

Morphologically these intransitive verbs differ from transitive class A verbs as to potential aspect marking and the presence or absence of tonal alternations. Rather than the *w*- prefix marked on potential aspect forms of transitive verbs, the potential aspect form of intransitive verbs of this class takes a *Ø*- marker segmentally. Tonally these intransitive verbs are the converse of their transitive partners. The person-marking tonal alternations of class A transitive consonant stems are absent among the intransitive consonant stems. However, the TAM-marking tonal alternations absent among the transitive verbs are found in this group of intransitive verbs.

Tonal alternations here only appear in verbs with underlying low and falling tone, not verbs with glottal tone because although a floating high tone is associated with both potential aspect and first person singular marking in CLZ, deglottalization is a process only associated with first person singular marking. Furthermore, there are segmental restrictions on the realization of the L→R and F→H alternations among intransitive class A consonant-stems. Underlyingly low-toned verbs take a rising tone in the potential. However, if the verb is an open syllable containing the vowel *ë* (/æ/ < *eCa), the potential will have high tone rather than rising. If the verb has underlying falling tone, there will be an alternation to high tone in the potential but only if the verb root is *y*-initial. If a falling-toned verb begins in another consonant there is no tone change.

Intransitive class A verbs that begin in *ly*- lose the /ḷ/ in the form marked for the habitual aspect.

Examples (3.8-10) illustrate the two patterns of tonal alternations for low-toned verbs, the segmental restrictions on tonal alternations for falling toned verbs, /l/ deletion in the habitual aspect, and the lack of person-marking tonal alternations.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *-bìd* | *-zhë`* | *-dyûd* | *-yûb* | *-lyë`th* |
| **‘secarse’** | **‘llenarse’** | **‘enrollarse’** | **‘caerse’** | **‘vaciarse;** |
| **‘dry’** | **‘fill up’** | **‘roll up’** | **‘fall’** | **‘empty’** |

(3.8) **Potential aspect with non-first person subject**

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Bǐd yû.* | *Zhë´ chíkwít.* | *Dyûd-é.* | *Yúb mě.* | *Lyëˇth-é.* |
| **P.secarse tierra** | **P.llenarse canasta** | **enrollarse=3i** | **P.caerse 3hr** | **P.vaciarse=3i** |
| **P.dry earth** | **P.fill.up basket** | **roll.up=3i** | **P.fall 3hr** | **P.empty=3i** |
| Se va a secar la tierra. | Se va a llenar la canasta. | Se va a enrollar. | Se va a caer. | Se vació. |
| The dirt is going to dry. | The basket is going to fill. | It’s going to roll up. | He’s going to fall. | It emptied. |

(3.9) **Habitual aspect with non-first person subject**

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Nbìd yû.* | *Ndzhë` chíkwít.* | *Ndyûd-é.* | *Ndyûb mě.* | *Ndyë`th-é.* |
| **H-secarse tierra** | **H-llenarse canasta.** | **H-enrollarse=3i** | **H-caerse 3hd** | **H-vaciarse=3i** |
| **H-dry earth** | **H-fill.up basket** | **H-roll.up=3i** | **H-fall 3hd** | **H-empty=3i** |
| Se seca la tierra. | Se llena la canasta. | Se enrolla. | Se cae. | Se vacía. |
| The dirt dries. | The basket fills up. | It gets rolled up. | S/he falls. | It empties. |

(3.10) **Forms with first person singular subjects**

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Nbìd nâ.* | *Zhë´-nˆ.* | *Ndyûd nâ.* | *Ndyûb nâ.* | (not attested) |
| **H-secarse 1s** | **P.llenarse=1s** | **H-enrollarse 1s** | **H-caerse 1s** | |
| **H-dry 1s** | **P.fill.up=1s** | **H-roll.up 1s** | **H-fall 1s** | |
| Me seco. | Me voy a llenar. | Me enrollo. | Me caigo. | |
| I dry myself. | I’m going to fill up. | I roll myself up. | I fall. | |

There are nine irregular viA C-stems. Four have tonal irregularities. Two *y*-initial falling-toned verbs, *-yî* and *–yëˆ*, do not undergo the expected tonal alternation in the potential, as shown in (3.11), while one falling-toned verb with another initial consonant, *-zhêb*, shown in (3.12) does,. The verb *–kë* ‘cargar; carry,’ a syntactically unusual verb, has tonal free variation (or confusion).

| | **Irregular verbs** | **Phonologically similar regular verbs** |
|---|---|---|
| (3.11) | *-yî*<br>**‘sanar; heal’**[5] | *-yîn*<br>**‘tocar; bump into’** |
| **Potential** | *Yî* | *Yín* |
| **Habitual** | *Ndî* | *Ndyîn* |

---

[5] The core meaning of this verb is perhaps something more like ‘for something wet to become drier, to some benefit.’ A homophonous and equally irregular form is recorded which means for certain foods (not tortillas but ones with higher moisture contents like corn on the cob, to be toasted. It is good for food to be cooked and it is good for an oozing or bloody wound to heal.

| (3.12) | *-zhêb*<br>**‘asustarse; be scared’** | *-zhîzh*<br>**‘emparejarse, alisarse; become level, become smooth’** |
|---|---|---|
| **Potential** | *Zhéb* | *Zhîzh* |
| **Habitual** | *Ndzhêb* | *Ndzhîzh* |

The rest of the irregularities have to do with palatalization and the presence or absence of /y/. Although most class A *ly*-initial verbs regularly delete the *l* in the habitual form, three verbs, -*lyë`d mbì***,** -*lyá* and -*lyë*$^{7}$, have certain forms recorded with both *l*-initial and *y*-initial variants, or one of these altering with *ly*-initial variants. The verb *–to*$^{7}$ ‘salir; leave,’ shown in (3.13), resembles a class B verb in having potential and habitual palatalization, but the completive marker used is the class A one, as in other languages (e.g. the verb takes the *be-* completive prefix in SJZ, cf. Nellis and Nellis, 1983). There are many possible explanations for the palatalized forms of this verb. There is a pattern with several class A verbs in which the transitive verb has an unpalatalized initial consonant corresponding to a palatalized initial consonant in the intransitive verb. The initial consonant of this verb is a reflex of PZ \**ty*. PZ \**ty* is normally reflected as *t* in CLZ but there are many cases of a /ty/ reflex occurring following prefixes. In this group of class A intransitive verbs there is only one other *t*-initial verb, -*të`* ‘escasearse; run out of something,’ but there are seven *ty*-initial verbs. What is curious about this verb is that the palatalization only occurs in the potential (which has a zero prefix anyway---not the usual environment for retention of palatalized **ty*) and the habitual, just like the class B pattern. While this set of facts might bring analogy to mind it is more likely though that this is a fossil of an older pattern. Either this verb could have migrated from class B, or perhaps it was one of the first consonant-stems to immigrate to class A from some other class and at that time the class A potential and habitual markers had the same high front vowel as the class B markers for those aspects. However, it is curious that no other class A verbs show such palatalization. Further evidence of archaism or a class B origin in this paradigm is an additional irregularity found only in a small group of 3 irregular class B verbs. The normally palatalized potential aspect form is depalatalized when there is a first person singular subject. Another irregular verb, *–yèk látyo*$^7$, shown in (3.14), is irregular because the *y* is deleted in the habitual form.

| | **Irregular verbs** | **Phonologically similar regular verbs in this class** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (3.13) | *-to*$^7$<br>**‘salir; go out’** | *-të`*<br>**‘escasearse; run out (of stock)’** | *-tye*$^7$*p*<br>**‘resbalarse; slip’** |
| **Potential** | *Tyo*$^7$ | *Të´* | *Tye*$^7$*p* |
| **Potential w/ 1s** | *To*$^7$ *nâ* | not attested | *Tyěp nâ* |
| **Completive** | *Mto*$^7$ | *Mtë`* | *Mtye*$^7$*p* |
| (3.14) | *-yèk látyo*$^7$<br>**‘tener sed’**<br>**‘be thirsty’** | *-yèn*<br>**‘acostumbrarse’**<br>**‘get used to’** | *-yêk*<br>**‘dar vuelta’**<br>**‘turn around’** |
| **Habitual** | *Ndèk látyo*$^7$ | *Ndyèn* | *Ndyêk* |
| **Completive** | *Mbyèk látyo*$^7$ | *Mbyèn* | *Mbyêk* |

One additional irregularity in a class A verb involving palatalization concerns the verb *–zya*$^7$*l* ‘perderse; get lost.’ It is normal for *z*-initial verbs to simply surface with *s* as a lone initial consonant in the future. The future prefix is *s*- and *s+z* yields a single /s/. However, in the future of this verb, which is otherwise *zy*-initial throughout the paradigm, the palatalization is lost as well, for a future form *sa*$^7$*l*. This may be a class B verb which has migrated to class A and undergone some incomplete paradigm leveling.

### 3.1.3 Class A vowel-stems

Across all verb classes in CLZ only a small percentage of verbs have vowel-initial verb stems. Though few in number, CLZ vowel-stems are some of the most commonly used verbs, to which we can probably attribute their continued existence. In class A there are at least eleven such verb roots (and more verbs counting the compounds based on these). All but one of these begin in the back rounded vowels *o* and *u*. With such a small number of verbs in this group it is hard to label some as “regular” when there cannot be more than a couple of verbs with each pattern.

Nevertheless, the morphological patterns of six of these verbs are easier to describe and analyze than the remaining five. Semantically most class A vowel-stems are transitive, but two of the irregular verbs are semantically intransitive. However, the morphological patterns which separate transitive and intransitive consonant-stems of this class do not apply to vowel-stems. For example, there may be tonal morphology that applies with both first person singular and potential aspect marking on the same verb, even though these two kinds of tonal morphology are restricted by transitivity on consonant-stems of this class.

Of the six regular class A vowel-stem verbs, low and glottal tones are found on monosyllables while three compounds have the predictable unstressed high tone on the first syllable, which is probably the historical verb root. The low-toned verbs take a rising tone in the potential aspect form of the verb. Both low and glottal-toned verbs take a surface rising tone when there is a first person singular subject. However, the second syllables of compounds are unaffected even if they bear glottal tone (they probably were not part of the verb root historically). These patterns are illustrated in (3.15-17).

| *-o$^{7}$l* | *-úxkwa$^{7}$* | *-òtz* |
|---|---|---|
| **'tocar'** | **'hacer;'** | **'abrir la boca'** |
| **'play music'** | **'make'** | **'open one's mouth'** |

(3.15) **Potential forms with non-1s subjects.**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Go$^{7}$l lô.* | *Gúxkwa$^{7}$ dûb réméd.* | *Ná gǒtz lô!* |
| **P-tocar 2f** | **P-hacer uno remedio** | **NEG P-abrir.boca.P 2f** |
| **P-play.music 2f** | **P-make one remedy** | **NEG P-open.mouth.P 2f** |
| Vas a tocar. | Va a hacer un remedio. | ¡No grites! |
| You're going to play. | (S/he)'s gonna make a cure. | Don't yell! |

(3.16) **Non-potential forms with non-1s subjects**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Ndê yo$^{7}$l xa$^{7}$ byólính.* | *Mbíxkwa$^{7}$ ta$^{7}$n.* | *Nhwtê yòtz.* |
| **H-AUX INF-tocar 3hd violin** | **C-hacer cosa** | **C-AUX INF-abrir.boca** |
| **H-AUX INF-play.music 3hd violin** | **C-make thing** | **C-AUX INF-open.mouth** |
| Está tocando violín. | Hizo la cosa. | Estuvo bostezando. |
| S/he's playing the violin. | (S/he) made the thing. | (S/he) was yawning. |

(3.17) **Forms with first person singular subjects**

*Ndǒl nâ.*
**H-tocar.1s 1s**
**H-play.music.1s 1s**
Yo toco.
I play music.

*Gúxkwa$^7$-n̂ yêtz.*
**P-hacer=1s olla**
**P-make=1s pot**
Voy a hacer una olla.
I'm going to make a pot.

*Nâ ndǒtz.*
**1s H-abrir.boca.1s**
**1s H-open.mouth.1s**
Yo abro la boca.
I open my mouth.

Each of the five irregular verb roots has a different pattern of irregularity so I will discuss them in turn.

The verb *–ùn* 'hacer; do, make' has the predictable rising tone with potential aspect but has two other unpredicted patterns of tonal morphology. In the form marked for the completive aspect the verb has a glottal tone instead of the expected low tone which is underlying to the root. When taking a first person singular subject the verb does not take the expected rising tone but instead takes a plain high tone. Bickmore and Broadwell (1998) analyze some SJZ verbs as being underlyingly toneless but taking a default low on the surface when there are no floating tones present to dock onto the syllable. Such an analysis might also explain the high rather than rising tone here if not complicated by the fact that a rising tone is produced when the floating high tone of the potential aspect is added. Furthermore there are only a few other cases of low alternating with high in other verbs and they appear to be predictable based on the segmental environment.

The verb *–ôn* 'saberlo; find out' is irregular because though it appears to have an underlying falling tone, the form marked for the habitual aspect has a low tone.

The verb *–o$^7$n* is possibly irregular due to a gap in the paradigm. The expected completive form *mbi$^7$n* is rejected (and the consultant cites the fact that it would be homophonous with the completive of 'hacer; do, make' as a factor). No other completive form is given. However, we can be sure of the verb's class A status for two reasons. Firstly, vowel-stems that begin in back rounded vowels belong to class A in CLZ. Secondly the participial form of class A verbs takes the same alternant surface vowel as the completive form and the participle of this verb is *wi$^7$n*.

The verb *–i$^7$d* is irregular in its form and its semantics. It is the only class A vowel-stem to not begin in a back rounded vowel. While its meaning is 'venir; come' it has a restricted distribution in that it cannot take a first person singular subject. There is a different verb root, *-ǎl,* in complementary distribution with this one which can only take a first person singular subject.

The verb *–o*$^7$ is only tentatively labelled as irregular. The form offered for the habitual aspect has an *n-* prefix (resembling the expected stative form) rather than the expected *nd-*. The expected habitual form *ndo*$^7$ has been given in compounds based on this root.

**Figure 29: Internal diversity of regular class A verbs**

| | **vtA C-stems** | **viA C-stems** | **vA V-stems** |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Potential prefix** | *w-* | *Ø-* | *g-* |
| **Completive prefix** | *m(b)-* | *m(b)-* | *mbi-* |
| **Tonal alternation w/ Potential Aspect** | No | Yes | Yes |
| **Tonal alternation w/ 1s subject** | Yes | No | Yes |
| **Roots begin in:** | Fortis and/or unpalatalized C | Lenis and/or palatalized C | V |
| **Out of a sample of 302 verbs:** | 146 | 146 | 10 |

### 3.2 Class B-C

All CLZ verbs which correspond to Kaufman's class B are consonant-stems, both in CLZ and in PZ. Kaufman's class C in PZ included both vowel-initial and consonant-initial roots. CLZ verbs which correspond to Kaufman's class C are vowel-stems. Given that I place both consonant-stems and vowel-stems in class A, there seems no reason to separate classes B and C in CLZ based solely on differences which are predicted by whether the initial segment in a root is a vowel or a consonant. Therefore I lump Kaufman's two classes into one class B-C in CLZ. Kaufman's class B in PZ included only transitive verbs while his class C included both transitive and intransitive verbs. The overwhelming majority of verbs in CLZ class B-C are intransitive. In the sample I am using for the description presented here,  have recorded approximately 60 verb roots which occur in over 100 lexical items when counting compounds in this combined class.

Class B-C verbs are differentiated from class A verbs by the completive aspect marker which has a labiovelar pronunciation in contrast to the plain labial found in the class A completive marker. Recall that the allomorphs of the class A completive marker are *mbi-, mb-* and *m-*

depending on the initial segment of the verb root. The class B-C completive marker has allomorphs *ngo-*, *ngu-*, *ngw-*, *ng-* and *nhw-* (i.e. [ŋw]). Some of these markers define subclasses of class B-C but others are predicted by the synchronic phonological environment. These five completive allomorphs are exemplified in (3.18).

| (3.18) | *-àb* | *-âth* | *-nâ* | *-yò* | *-zë`* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **‘caerse; fall’** | **‘morir; die’** | **‘ver; see’** | **‘pelear; fight’** | **‘caminar; walk’** |
| **Completive** | *ngòb* | *ngùth* | *nhwnâ* | *ngyò* | *ngwzë`* |

The completive forms of class B-C verbs also distinguish this class from class D. Although the *ngw-* completive marker is also found in class D, a replacive prefix (see 3.3 as well as in the introduction to this chapter) is placed between the *ngw-* prefix and the verb root in class D but *ngw-* is concatenated directly to the root in class B-C, i.e. the completive stem in class B-C is identical to the root while in class D the completive stem is formed by adding a replacive prefix before the root.

Compared to class A all other CLZ verb classes are small classes. There are also more irregularities outside of class A. Class B-C, and the class B(-C) consonant-stems in particular, have so many irregularities that it is hard to know which patterns to label “regular.” This group of verbs has many very rich and complex morphological patterns, and several of these patterns are only found on an especially small number of verbs, or often on only a single verb. When finding conflicting patterns I try to label a pattern found on more verb roots “regular” and a pattern found on fewer verb roots “irregular.” Sometimes there are many regular verb roots in contrast to only a few irregular verb roots with a contrastive pattern, but many times the numerical difference is not great and one could make a choice in either direction, excluding one or the other verb from the group of “regular” verbs. In these cases my choices are also guided by how well one pattern conforms with patterns seen elsewhere. For example if there are two conflicting patterns only seen on one class B verb each but one of these patterns is also found in class A, then I choose to label that pattern as regular. In truth, this class cannot be easily divided into two groups, one regular and the other not. Class B-C verbs show many different patterns. Some are more irregular because they only occur on one or a few verbs and only in this class. Some are regular because they occur on many verbs in this class and perhaps in other classes. If not the majority, at least a large number of class B-C verbs fall somewhere in the middle of this spectrum, falling into smaller groups of verbs that are like each other, constituting subregularities on their own, these could be used to define subclasses but in many cases I don't label them as such because of the scant number of verbs in each group.

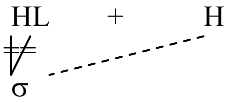
First I will describe the more general morphological patterns that can be found on both consonant- and vowel-stem verbs in class B-C. Then below in 3.2.1 and 3.2.2 I will describe the patterns found among consonant-stem or vowel-stem verbs specifically, beginning with more prolific or regular patterns and ending each section with the more scarce or irregular patterns.

Regular class B-C verbs with underlying low tone take a surface rising tone when marked for the potential aspect. However, low-toned verbs in this class will take a surface high tone rather than rising tone if the root is an open syllable. In class A there is a falling → high tone alternation that occurs with the potential aspect, but only on *y*-initial roots. In this class there is only one *y*-initial root that has falling tone, *-yô* 'vivir; live.' Instead of taking a surface high tone in the potential aspect this verb takes a surface rising tone instead. Except for one irregular verb, falling-toned verbs in this class beginning in sounds other than *y* do not undergo a tonal alternation to either high or rising with potential aspect marking, though they may exhibit upstep with potential aspect, as described in 8.2. In (3.19) I show verbs which take high and rising tone in the potential.

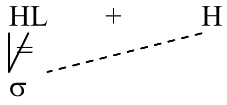
| (3.19) | *-àp*<br>**'subir; ascend'** | *-zë`*<br>**'caminar; walk'** | *-yô*<br>**'vivir; live'** |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Potential** | *gǎp* | *zyë´* | *yǒ* |

Though there is only one *y*-initial falling-toned verb root documented in this class, the difference in the tonal alternation seen on that root compared to similar roots in class A is of interest. The tonal alternations seen with potential aspect marking and first person singular marking involve a floating high tone. When there is an underlying falling tone the surface result is usually a high tone by a process of tonal contour simplification. I assume that such a process usually takes an underlying high-low-high sequence (HLH), resulting from the concatenation of the underlying root tone HL and the floating H tone, and simplifies the HLH to H. There are no surface three-tone contours found on any uncliticized word in this language. The process of tonal contour simplification could happen in one step with the three tones simplifying to one by only realizing the final tone, as shown in (3.20). Alternatively the process could normally happen by deleting the middle or root-final L tone yielding an HH sequence which will simply be realized as H, as shown in (3.21). The result of either of these hypothetical scenarios would be the same, a surface high tone. With the unusual falling → rising pattern it is as if a different kind of cluster simplification has happened in which the three tone cluster reduces by the deletion of the first tone (H) instead, as shown in (3.22).

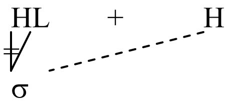
(3.20)



(3.21)



(3.22)



Though the falling → high tone alternation with potential aspect marking is not found on regular verbs in this class, it is present with first person singular marking. Falling toned verbs in class B-C take a surface high tone when the subject is first person singular. Other tonal alternations with 1s marking exist but are not uniform in all the subclasses of class B-C. They are described in turn below with the descriptions of the various subclasses. The falling → high alternation with 1s marking in this class is shown in (3.23).

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (3.23) | *-zô*<br>'estar parado; be standing' | *-âzh*<br>'mojarse; get wet' | *-âp*<br>'tener; have' |
| | *Nzyó-n̂.*<br>**H-estar.parado.1s=1s**<br>**H-be.standing.1s=1s**<br>(De por sí) estoy parado.<br>I am (habitually) standing. | *Ngózh nâ.*<br>**C-mojarse.1s 1s**<br>**C-get.wet.1s 1s**<br>Me mojé.<br>I got wet. | *Nâ ndáp dûb lò yi*[7]*.*<br>**1s H-tener uno cercado flor**<br>**1s H-have one fence flower**<br>Yo tengo un cercado de flores.<br>I have a fenced flower garden. |

Of all CLZ verb classes this class has the most internal diversity both in the number of subclasses and in the number of irregular verbs that have been recorded. I have lumped Kaufman's classes B and C together here because in CLZ the different morphological patterns associated with these verbs can be predicted by whether the roots are consonant-initial or vowel-initial. Nevertheless it is still usefull to talk about class B and class C because both consonant stems (class B) and vowel stems (class C) in this compound class B-C, have several unique subclasses. I may use the terms "class B" and "class B-C consonant stems" interchangeably, and likewise the terms "class C" and "class B-C vowel stems."

**Figure 30: Number of class B-C verbs in the sample**

| | **Class B (C-stems)** | **Class C (V-stems)** |
|---|---|---|
| **Total lexical items:** | 95 | 80 |
| **Total roots:** | 34 | 33 |
| **Total irregular roots:** | 12 | 11 |

### 3.2.1 Class B(-C) consonant-stems

Most class B verb roots begin in one of the coronal consonants /ḷ, n̪, t̪, z, ¢/ although there is only one recorded example of the affricate. Regular class B verbs undergo palatalization of their root-initial consonants to mark the potential and habitual aspects. The only verbs in this class which don’t have root-initial coronal consonants are those that are already *y*-initial and therefore do not use palatalization as a strategy for marking morphological categories.

In most cases what I am here referring to as palatalization is actually the insertion of a *y* glide following the root-initial consonant rather than a fully palatal articulation of the segment. One notable exception is with *n*-initial verbs. These verbs take a fully palatal *ñ* in the potential, an *ny* cluster in the habitual, and the normal dental *n* elsewhere in the paradigm. *l*-initial verbs in this class have an *ly* cluster in the potential form but delete the lateral in the habitual, yielding a *y*-initial habitual stem. In (3.24) I give examples of class B verbs with different kinds of consonants. The potential and habitual have palatalized stems and the completive has an unpalatalized stem which is representative of the rest of the paradigm.

| (3.24) | *-nîth*<br>**‘perderse; get lost’** | *-lâ*<br>**‘bajarse; get down’** | *-za*$^7$*b*<br>**‘volar; fly’** | *-tìd*<br>**‘pasar; pass’** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Potential** | *ñîth* | *lyâ* | *zya*$^7$*b* | *tyǐd* |
| **Habitual** | *nyîth* | *ndyâ* | *nzya*$^7$*b* | *ntyìd* |
| **Completive** | *nhwnîth* | *ngwlâ* | *ngwza*$^7$*b* | *nhwtìd* |

Besides the F → H tone alternation already described for first person singular subject marking on verbs of this class, there are some additional alternations found with 1s marking on consonant-stems only. Class B verbs with underlying low and rising tones instead have a surface glottal tone when there is a first person singular subject.

In class A there is a L → R alternation with potential aspect marking on intransitive verbs (see 3.1.2), except that if an underlyingly low-toned root is an open syllable with the vowel *ë* then the potential form will take high rather than rising tone. Among class B C-stems there is a similar exception. There is only one rising-toned verb root of the shape *-Cë* (*–lë*˅ ‘quebrar; break’) and it takes a high tone rather than the expected glottal tone when marked for a 1s subject.

The 1s alternations described thus far for class B verbs are shown in (3.25).

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (3.25) | *-zë`* | *-zŏb* | *-lëˇ* | *-lâ* |
| | **‘caminar’** | **‘sentarse’** | **‘quebrar’** | **‘bajarse’** |
| | **‘walk’** | **‘sit down’** | **‘break’** | **‘get down’** |
| | *Ngwzë*$^7$*-n̂.* | *Ndzyo*$^7$*b nâ.* | *Lyë´-nˆ-é.* | *Lyá-n̂* |
| | **C-caminar.1s=1s** | **H-sentarse.1s 1s** | **P.quebrar.1s=1s=3i** | **P.bajar.1s=1s** |
| | **C-walk.1s=1s** | **H-sit.1s 1s** | **P.break.1s=1s=3i** | **P.lower.1s=1s** |
| | Caminé. | Me siento. | Lo voy a quebrar. | Me voy a bajar. |
| | I walked. | I sit down. | I’m going to break it. | I’m going to get down. |

Besides the potentially important segmental shape of the verb *–lëˇ* it is also possible that its transitivity is related to the aberrant tonal alternation. Most class B-C verbs are intransitive. The verb *–lëˇ* can be used transitively (with the patient as the object) or intransitively (with the patient as the subject) much like the English verb *break*. A semantic requirement of this verb is that the object or the intransitive subject must be inanimate. If there is a first person subject then the verb is necessarily transitive. There are no other transitive verbs with rising tone in this class.

There is an additional tonal alternation that is more clearly morphosyntactically restricted. Class B verbs with underlying glottal tone will take a surface rising tone with 1s marking but only if the verb is transitive or causativized. Uncausativized intransitive verbs will not undergo this alternation. I show the tonal behavior of underlyingly glottalized roots with 1s subjects in (3.26) for an intransitive verb and in (3.27) for one transitive verb and one causativized intransitive verb.

(3.26) *-za*$^7$*b*
**‘volar; fly’**
*Nâ zya*$^7$*b ndô mbì.*
**1s P-P.volar cara viento**
**1s P-P.fly face wind**
Yo voy a volar al aire.
I’m going to fly.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (3.27) | *-te$^{7}$p* | *-la$^{7}$b* |
| | **‘trompezarlo; trip (someone)** | **‘hervirse; (for liquid to) boil’** |
| | | |
| | *Stěp nâ lô.* | *Mtzé lǎb nâ-ý.* |
| | **FUT-trompezarlo.1s 1s 2f** | **C-CAUS INF-hervirse.1s 1s=3i** |
| | **FUT-trip.1s 1s 2f** | **C-CAUS INF-boil.1s 1s=3i** |
| | Te voy a trompezar. | Herví el agua. |
| | I will trip you. | I boiled it. |

In 3.1.2 above I described how low-toned intransitive class A verbs normally take a surface rising tone when marked for a first person singular subject but take a surface high tone instead if the verb root is an open syllable with the vowel *ë*. Among class B-C consonant-stems there is a similar pattern with open syllable verb roots, without the restriction as to vowel quality. This pattern only affects roots with what I regard as *bimoraic* tones.

In (Beam de Azcona, forthcoming) I analyze low, rising, and glottal tones as “bimoraic tones” because the glottalization of the glottal tone and the sonorant-lengthening concomitant with the low and rising tones causes there to be increased duration and syllable weight in words with these tones. I also regard these three tones as related to each other and distinct from the monomoraic high and falling tones in CLZ because tonomechanical processes in this language, such as the suffixation of a floating high tone or deglottalization, cause alternations between the various bimoraic tones and between the two monomoraic tones but most of the time there are not productive alternations between the two types of tone.

Thus far I have described four regular tonal alternations that affect class B(-C) consonant-stems with bimoraic tones: L→R with potential aspect, R→7 and L→7 with 1s-marking, and 7→R with 1s-marking on transitive or causativized intransitive verb roots. The L→R alternation and the R→7 alternations have the variants L→H and R→H when the root is an open syllable, as already shown in (3.19) and (3.25) respectively. The 7→R alternation with 1s subject marking on transitive and causativized verbs just shown in (3.27) also has a correlate 7→H alternation when the verb root is an open syllable.

Each of these patterns has been recorded for no more than 2 verbs, but there simply aren’t more than one or two verbs each which are both phonologically and morphosyntactically eligible for these kinds of marking. When considered together these three patterns, together with the L→H variant of the L→R potential aspect marking seen in class A, form a larger pattern.

The fourth regular alternation involving bimoraic tones in this class (consonant-stems only), the L→7 alternation found with first person singular subjects, does in fact occur on an open syllabled verb root, -*zë`* ‘caminar; walk.’ This verb root does undergo the L→H alternation instead of the L→R alternation seen on closed syllabled verbs of this class in the potential aspect, but when it comes to 1s-marking it seems that the derived glottal tone is permissible here, which helps (as does depalatalization described further below) prevent homophony between forms of the verb marked for potential aspect and a first person singular subject.

In Figure 31 I show the potential aspect and 1s subject-marking tonal alternations involving bimoraic tones on both open and closed syllable class B verbs.

**Figure 31: Bimoraic tonal alternations on open and closed syllable class B roots**

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Closed syllables** | | | | |
| | *-tìd*<br>**‘pasar; pass’** | | *-zǒb*<br>**‘sentarse; sit’** | *-te*$^7$*p*<br>**‘trompezarlo; trip (someone)’** |
| | L→R | L→7 | R→7 | 7→R |
| **P** | *tyǐd* | | | |
| **(C-)1s** vi | | *nhwti*$^7$*d nâ* | *ngwzo*$^7$*b nâ* | |
| **(C-)1s** vt | | | | *nhwtěp nâ ár* |
| **Open syllables** | | | | |
| | *-zë`*<br>**‘caminar; walk’** | | *-lëˇ*<br>**‘quebrar; break’** | *-tza*$^7$<br>**‘romperlo; break’** |
| | L→H | L→7 | R→H | 7→H |
| **P** | *zyë´* | | | |
| **(C-)1s** vi | | *ngwzë*$^7$*-nˆ* | | |
| **(C-)1s vt** | | | *ngwlë´-nˆ* | *nhwtzá-nˆ* |

All three of the patterns seen with 1s-marking on closed syllables, and one of the 1s-marking patterns on open syllables involve glottalization, either the adding of it or the deleting of it. For this small group of class B verbs with bimoraic tones in CLZ, 1s marking brings glottalization with intransitivity and deglottalization with transitivity. Comparative evidence from Lachixío Zapotec indicates that this goes back to an older Zapotec pattern. Sicoli (1998) described an absence of glottalization on noun roots alienably possessed by 1s. The Lachixío Zapotec alienable possession construction involves marking a normally unglottalized root with glottalization, except when possessed by 1s. Roots that are already underlyingly glottalized are deglottalized when alienably possessed by 1s, as shown in (3.28).

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (3.28) | *chíː* | *dâna7* | **Lachixío Zapotec** |
| | **‘flute’** | **‘tumpline’** | |
| | *chíː-a* | *dâna-a* | |
| | **‘my flute’** | **‘my tumpline’** | |
| | *chíː7-lò* | *dâna7-lò* | |
| | **‘your flute’** | **‘your tumpline’** | |

Alienable possession is a more transitive kind of possession since acquiring a possession often involves agency. It is with the transitive CLZ class B verbs, not the intransitive ones, that there is deglottalization with 1s marking, just as the same kind of deglottalization with 1s occurs with alienable and not inalienable possession in Lachixío.

There are more than 60 recorded lexical items in this group of consonant-stems. Most are compounds and many of these share the same head verb root with several other verbs. Of the 30 unique consonant-initial verb roots found in this group about half are irregular or participate in subregularities, patterns like those just described which may not conflict with generalizations made about larger groups of verbs (if carefully phrased), but which don’t have many representatives of their own. Some verb roots only behave irregularly in some of the compounds in which they are found, and others show different irregularities in different compounds. The irregularities found in this group of verbs involve patterns of palatalization, tonal morphology, paradigm levelling, transitivity marking, and suppletion.

Irregularities involving a lack of the typical class B palatalization are in many cases inconsistently applied. Not only does the same verb root behave differently in different compounds, but even in the paradigm for a single lexical item I will have recorded conflicting forms, sometimes from different speakers but also often from the same speaker. This indicates that some of these verbs are in flux, undergoing analogy, so that various forms are heard by members of the speech community, just as English speakers may hear competing forms like *strived* ~ *strove.*

I will now identify more specifically the remaining types of irregularities that I have found and the consistency with which each verb root exhibits these irregularities in the different lexical items in which it occurs.

Palatalization of the potential and habitual forms of class B verbs is one of the defining characteristics of this class. Many verbs in this class are irregular in that they do not palatalize in one or both of these forms. The most interesting minority pattern is one that occurs in at least three class B verbs but also in a few verbs belonging to classes A and Ch. These verbs depalatalize in the potential form when there is a 1s subject. In (3.29) I show these verbs palatalized with other subjects in the potential and with a 1s subject in the habitual but depalatalized in the 1s-marked potential aspect form.

| (3.29) | *-tìd*<br>**‘pasar; pass’** | *-zǒb*<br>**‘sentarse; sit down’** | *-zë`*<br>**‘caminar; walk’** |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Potential w/ non-1s (“X”)** | *tyǐd X* | *zyǒb X* | *zyë´ X* |
| **Habitual w/ 1s** | *ntyi*$^{7}$*d nâ* | *nzyo*$^{7}$*b nâ* | *nzyë*$^{7}$-*n̂* |
| **Potential w/ 1s** | *ti*$^{7}$*d nâ* | *zo*$^{7}$*b nâ* | *zë*$^{7}$-*n̂* |

Many irregular morphological patterns or special combinations of these patterns are found on only one verb root in this class. Adding to the irregularity is the fact that roots found in multiple compounds may behave differently in different lexical items. I will now treat each root in turn.

Beginning with the verbs shown above in (3.29), the verbs *–tìd* and *–zë`* are only irregular in having the depalatalization already mentioned. The verb -*zǒb*, whose most basic meaning is 'estar sentado; be seated,' is used in several compounds and can be used productively as an auxiliary verb by serving as the inflected head to a larger VP requiring a non-finite form of the subordinate verb. When used alone this verb root is only irregular in having the depalatalization described above and shown in (3.29). Due to its productivity and frequent occurrence one might expect the paradigm to be used consistently with the same regularities and irregularities in each of the compounds in which this verb is used. However there are two inconsistencies.

In one or two cases there is confusion between the intransitive class B -*zǒb* paradigm and the transitive class A -*zǒb* paradigm. All of the intransitive compounds use an unambiguously class B version of the root. There are three transitive compounds headed by -*zǒb*. One has ben consistently recorded with the transitive class A form of the root. Another, -*zǒb ti*$^{7}$*n* 'eligir, nombrar; select, name' (literally to job-seat) has sometimes been recorded with the class A paradigm and other times with a paradigm with mixed forms, some from class A and some from class B. A third compound, shown below is at first ambiguous as to whether the paradigm being given for the verb root is mixed between the class A and class B forms or whether it is showing some kind of subregularity. In (3.30) consider the regular paradigms of the transitive class A verb -*zǒb* and the intransitive class B root -*zǒb* alongside the class B transitive compound verb -*zǒbcha*$^{7}$.

| (3.30) | -*zǒb* (vtA) | -*zǒb* (viB) | -*zǒbcha*$^{7}$ |
|---|---|---|---|
| | **‘sentarlo; seat’** | **‘sentarse; be seated’** | **‘sentarlo; seat’**[6] |
| **P** | *wzǒb* | *zyǒb* | *wzǒbcha*$^{7}$ |
| **H** | *ndzǒb* | *ndzyǒb* | *ndzyǒbcha*$^{7}$ |
| **C** | *mbzǒb* | *ngwzǒb* | *ngwzǒbcha*$^{7}$ |

The portmanteau morpheme *w-*, which also serves to mark potential aspect, is the only inflectional (segmental) morpheme that marks transitivity. As described in Chapter 5, transitivity in CLZ is indicated derivationally by verb class, by root shape, and by other larger morphological patterns including tonal morphology (there are a few cases of derivational tonal morphology in transitive/intransitive verb pairs and I also have described in sections 3.1 and 3.2 of this chapter how certain patterns of inflectional tonal morphology are restricted according to the transitivity of the verb). Although the compound -*zǒbcha*$^{7}$ is a transitive verb, the habitual and completive forms shown above indicate that it is headed by the intransitive class B verb -*zǒb.* Considering the potential form of this last verb, *wzǒ*b we might consider this compound irregularly uses a class A potential form but class B forms elsewhere in the paradigm. Although the *w*- prefix is seen most often on class A verbs, it is not found only in class A. For example, it is also found in class D where the potential form of the verb *–à* ‘comer; eat’ is *wǎ*. In (3.30) above we see that not only does the potential form differ from the class B verb root by the addition of the *w-* prefix but also by the lack of palatalization. This is another reason to consider this a mixed class A-class B paradigm. However, it seems that a better analysis is that *w-* can occur in class B and blocks palatalization. Since class B is almost entirely composed of intransitive verbs it is not readily apparent that *w-* occurs in class B as well. In fact the few cases of transitive class B roots I’ve shown so far do not take *w-*, e.g. the potential of *–te*$^7$*p* ‘trompezarlo; trip (someone) is *tye*$^7$*p*. However, there are two more class B verbs which behave like *-zǒbcha*$^7$ and and unlike *-zǒbcha*$^7$ are not related to any class A root. This suggests that for transitive class B verbs to have an unpalatalized potential form marked with *w-* is at least a subregular pattern rather than paradigm-mixing, however both of the compounds in (3.31) happen to be irregular in not having palatalized habitual forms (see example 3.36 below).

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[6] *Cha*$^{7}$ is a word meaning ‘despacio; slow,’ which is not related in an obvious way to the bound morpheme in this compound. The sequence *cha*$^{7}$ also occurs in the word *tu*$^{7}$*cha*$^{7}$ ‘un poco, un ratito, un segundo; a little, a short while, a second.’ The bound morpheme occurs in numerous other compounds. It occurs with other bound morphemes five times: -*úcha*$^{7}$ vtA ‘hacerlo; make,’ –*ácha*$^{7}$ viB-C ‘hacerse; become,’ –*kécha*$^{7}$ vtA ‘colgarse/lo, pegarse, guardar, enderezarse; hang, stick, keep, straighten,’ –*kécha*$^{7}$ viB ‘pegarse, colgar, guardar; stick, hang, be kept,’ and -*g-ócha*$^{7}$ vtD ‘guardar, almacenar; keep, store.’ It occurs in at least another six compounds with verb roots that occur in isolation. *Cha*$^{7}$ is combined with three different roots meaning ‘poner(se/lo); put (something), (be) place(d)’ to render compounds meaning ‘acomodar(lo); adjust,’ and ‘guardarse; be kept.’ Combined with a verb meaning ‘acostarlo; lay (something) down’ the resulting compound can also mean ‘acostarlo; lay (something) down’ or can mean ‘acomodar(lo); adjust.’ Combined with a verb meaning ‘hacerlo; make,’ the resulting compound means ‘repararlo, componerlo, arreglarlo; fix.’ Combined with the verb being discussed above, -*zǒb* ‘sentar(lo); sit, seat’ the resulting compound means ‘sentarlo; seat.’ I would suggest a reading like ‘tweak.’ In some of these compounds the *cha*$^{7}$ morpheme suggests some further manipulation beyond that implied by the main verb root. In others there may be no official change in gloss from when the head verb root is used alone but perhaps there is an added emphasis on the element of control already inherent in the meaning of that verb root. The ‘tweak’ meaning may ultimately be derived from the ‘despacio, poco; slow, a little’ independent morpheme. To

|  |  |  |
|---|---|---|
| (3.31) | *-kíkê*<br>**‘acusar; accuse’** | *-díxô*<br>**‘raspar; scrape’** |
| **P** | *wkíkê* | *wdíxô* |

One additional compound headed by the class B verb *-zǒb* is irregular in a different way than *-zǒb* in isolation or the compounds just described. The verb *-zǒbye*$^7$ ‘tener infección; have an infection’ is clearly a class B verb with the *ngw-* completive marker and palatalization in the potential aspect form but the habitual form *ndzǒbye*$^7$ irregularly lacks palatalization.

There is a class B verb root *–lá* which is a bound root that heads a few compounds with irregular morphology and one with regular morphology. It may be a reduced form of the regular class B verb *–lâ* ‘bajarse, llegar; get down, arrive.’ The unreduced form heads other compounds which have regular morphology. The three irregular compounds recorded with this root are all

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tweak something is to not move or put something down completely or all at once but to adjust it slightly, irregular due to the lack of palatalization in one or both of the forms where it is expected. One of these verbs actually has palatalized and non-palatalized potential and habitual forms in free variation. In (3.32) I show the regular verb *–lâ* from which *–lá-* is probably derived, the three irregular compounds, and the larger compound or idiom *–látê kólór* which shows regular class B morphology.

| (3.32) | *–la^*<br>**‘bajarse’**<br>**‘get down’** | *-lázô*<br>**‘atrasarse**<br>**‘fall behind’** | *-lákë`*<br>**‘rebajarse’**<br>**‘back down’** | *-látê*<br>**‘quitarse’**<br>**‘come off’**[7] | *-látê kólór*<br>**‘despintarse’**<br>**‘fade’** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **P** | *lyâ* | *lázô* | *lákë`~lyákë`* | *lyátê~látê* | *lyátê kólór* |
| **H** | *ndyâ* | *ndyázô* | *ndlákë`* | *ndlyátê~ndlátê~ndyátê* | *ndyátê kólór* |

Similar to *–látê* the *l*-initial class B verb *–la*$^7$ ‘escaparse; escape’ is irregular in having different habitual forms that vary as to whether or not there are palatalization and deletion of *l*. Unlike *–látê* there is no irregularity in the potential form of *–la*$^7$*, lya*$^7$*,* but the habitual form varies between *ndya*$^7$*~ndla*$^7$*~ndlya*$^7$.

The class B verb which has produced the most compounds is the verb *–zô* ‘pararse; stand.’ Like *-zǒb* discussed above this is a state-of-being verb which can be used as an auxiliary verb, being the inflected head verb in a VP with a non-finite verbal complement. Most of the roots *–zô* is paired with in compounds are documented free roots of various parts of speech incuding verb, noun, and adjective. *–Zô* is irregular when occuring alone and in nearly all of the numerous compounds it occurs in, which show several patterns of irregularity. As the first member of the compound *–zô* may be reduced to unstressed *–zó-* but more often it retains the same falling tone as in isolation. In (3.33) I show the irregular pattern of *–zô* when it occurs alone (it undergoes a falling → high tone alternation in the potential aspect, which is unexpected in this verb class, and

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slowly, carefully, and to not make something from scratch but to repair it, i.e. to do *a little* construction.
[7] In isolation *tê* means ‘encuerado; naked.’

it usually occurs unpalatalized in the habitual aspect) and I show two compounds, one with *–zô* reduced to *–zó* and one unreduced, which do not show any irregularities.

| (3.33) | **Irregular** | **Regular & reduced** | **Regular & unreduced** |
|---|---|---|---|
| | *-zô* | *-zóxàn* | *-zôndâtz* |
| | **'pararse; stand'** | **'iniciar; begin'**[8] | **'iniciar; begin'**[9] |
| **P** | *zyó* | *zyóxàn* | *zyôndâtz* |
| **H** | *nzô~nzyô* | *nzyóxàn* | *nzyôndâtz* |

Some *–zô*-initial compounds have an irregular pattern similar or identical to that seen on the free root *–zô*. These verbs have the irregular (for class B) tone change in the potential and either lack palatalization in the habitual or have palatalized and unpalatalized habitual forms in free variation. Other compounds have variations on this pattern or other irregularities (see below).

Many (at least 7) compounds headed by *–zô* have the falling → high tone alternation in the potential aspect. Palatalization is regular in the potential and habitual aspect of these words. Examples of this pattern of irregularity are shown in (3.34).

| (3.34) | *-zônîtz* | *-zôxîb* | *-zôzîth* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | **'sudar; sweat'**[10] | **'hincarse; kneel'**[11] | **'alejarse; get farther away'**[12] |
| **P** | *Zyónîtz* | *Zyóxîb* | *Zyózîth* |
| **H** | *Nzyônîth* | *Nzyôxîb* | *Nzyôzîth* |

One last *–zô*-headed compound has a suppletive habitual form and also has the irregular tonal alternation in the potential form. This verb is shown in (3.35).

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[8] In isolation *xàn* means 'abajo; below' and through zero derivation also 'mata; shrub' (low-growing plant).
[9] In isolation *ndâtz* means 'pie; foot.'
[10] In isolation *nîtz* means 'agua; water.'
[11] In isolation *xîb* means 'rodilla; knee.'

(3.35) *-zôlë̂*
**‘nombrarse; be named’**

| | |
|---|---|
| **P** | *zyólë̂* |
| **H** | *nzélë̂* |
| **C** | *ngwzôlë̂* |

At least four more class B-C verb roots (all of them bound roots occurring in compounds only) have no palatalization in either the potential or habitual aspects. Since nearly all consonant-stems in class B-C do have palatalization in both of these forms, or at least one of them in other irregular paradigms, the placement of these four verbs in this class may seem tenuous but the reason for doing so is that the completive form clearly does not have the labial prefix found in class A nor the replacive prefixes found in classes Ch and D. If I was not lumping classes B and C together an alternative solution would be to make this type of verb the only consonant-stems to belong to class C.

The bound roots *–kí-* and *–ké-* are the only velar-initial roots in this class, which may have to do with why they are not palatalized. In fact there are no *ky* sequences in native CLZ words. Two transitive compound verbs in this group, *-díxô* ‘raspar; scratch’ and *–kíkê* ‘falsificar, acusar; falsify, accuse,’ besides having no palatalization, take a *w-* prefix in the potential, like class A transitive verbs and like the irregular class B verb *-zǒb* discussed above. Transitive verbs are very rare in this verb class and when they do occur they frequently analogize to a class A pattern. Besides the *w-* prefix and the lack of palatalization the verb *–díxô* is also suppletive. The unpalatalized verb *–lènyîzh* ‘enfermarse; get sick’ does not have the low → high tonal alternation that is regularly seen in the potential aspect. These patterns are shown in (3.36).

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[12] In isolation *zîth* means ‘lejos; far.’

(3.36) **No palatalization and…**

| | **Otherwise regular** | ***w*- prefix** | **Suppletion** | **No tone change** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *-kíndô* | *-kíkê* | *-díxô* | *-lènyîzh* |
| | **‘arresgarse’** | **‘acusar’** | **‘raspar’** | **‘enfermarse’** |
| | **‘risk’**[13] | **‘accuse’**[14] | **‘scrape’**[15] | **‘get sick’**[16] |
| **P** | *kíndô* | *wkíkê* | *wdíxô* | *lènyîzh* |
| **H** | *nkíndô* | *nkíkê* | *nzíxô* | *ndlènyîzh* |
| **C** | *nhwkíndô* | *nhwkíkê* | *ngwdíxô* | *ngwlènyîzh* |

One final irregular class B-C consonant stem is the verb *–zùd* ‘emborracharse, get drunk.’ It’s only irregularity is the lack of the L→7 tone alternation with a first person singular subject. It undergoes the L→R alternation with potential aspect marking but remains low-toned in all of the other paradigmatic forms, with or without a 1s subject.

### 3.2.2 Class (B-)C vowel-stems

With only two (*o*-initial) exceptions, all class B-C vowel-stems begin in the vowel *a.* The overwhelming majority of these verbs are intransitive. There are at least 32 vowel-initial roots in this class. Of those, only 6 are transitive, plus a couple more that are ambitransitive.

As mentioned in 3.2, both consonant-intial and vowel-initial roots in class B-C undergo a L→R tonal change with potential aspect and a F→H change with 1s marking. Other tonal alternations for potential aspect and first person singular marking, as well as for completive aspect and irrealis mood are found in the 10 irregular paradigms which constitute nearly one third of the roots in this class. Some of these irregularities are tonal alternations which are regular in other classes, for example L→R with 1s marking. What is most unique to this verb class (although also seen on one irregular class A vowel stem, the verb *–ùn* ‘hacer; do’) is the existence of tonal alternations in the completive aspect on 6 irregular verbs.

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[13] In isolation *ndô* means ‘cara; face.’

[14] In isolation *kê* means ‘deuda; debt.’ One of the jests that people say when they sneeze is *nwi*$^{7}$*-x ndô list tě kê té-nˆ* ‘están viendo en la lista de mi deuda; they’re looking at the list of my debts (or misdeeds?).’

[15] I have not found *xô* in isolation but a similar root with a different tone, *xò*, does occur and refers to certain hard things including finger- and toenails, hooves, shells, and plastic.

As in class A, most vowel-initial roots of class B-C drop their underlying root vowel when the completive aspect prefix is added. Where class A roots dropped their vowels in favor of the /i/ in the completive marker *mbi-*, class (B-)C roots drop their underlying initial vowels in favor of the back rounded vowel of the completive marker. This was historically /o/, but roots which once had an umlaut-inducing environment (typically a high front vowel in the now-lost post-tonic syllable) raised the /o/ to /u/. Some synchronic vowel-initial roots were historically consonant-initial roots and do not drop their root-initial vowel but instead keep it and take the *ngw-* marker which otherwise only occurs before consonant-initial stems. While historically predictable, the assignment of an *ngu-*, *ngo-* or *ngw-* prefix is not so synchronically and requires subclassification.

In (3.37) I give a historical derivation for example verbs from each of the three subclasses C1-C3. The class C completive marker reconstructed by Kaufman (2003) for classes B, C and D is **ko+*. According to Kaufman (1989), when two vowels came together across what he regards as a clitic boundary there was vowel cluster simplification such that only one of the two underlying vowels surfaced. Kaufman has a set of rules to predict which vowel would surface based on the order and identity of the vowels. This full set of cluster simplification rules is not necessary to understand vowel cluster simplification in CLZ because many of the environments where these changes used to occur have been erased by non-tonic vowel deletion. In CLZ the vowel of the completive prefix always surfaces to the detriment of the stem-initial vowel. While existing reconstructions of Proto-Zapotec posit both **o* and **u*, only **o* is necessary. An examination of the words reconstructed by Fernández de Miranda (1995 [1965]) and Kaufman (2003) finds that words reconstructed by them with *u have an environment likely to produce umlaut. This environment is sometimes an adjacent palatal or palatalized consonant such as **y* or Kaufman's **ty* (FM's *r), but in other cases, such as the verb shown in (3.37), it is a high front vowel in a following syllable. Other changes which happened along the way to produce the modern forms of the CLZ verbs are shown in (3.37), although the order they are listed in is not absolute. The

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[16] The word *yîzh* means 'enfermo; sick.'

important changes to focus on are the umlaut and vowel deletion which made class C2 different from C1, and the *y* deletion which turned some consonant-stems into vowel-stems, creating class C3. The deletion of the initial *y* in certain CLZ verb roots may have taken place historically in the form of reanalysis in forms with a prefix-final *i* vowel. The reanalysis may have spread to other forms through paradigm leveling. V represents a vowel of unknown identity in the verb **-yasV*.

| (3.37) | C1 | C2 | C3 |
|---|---|---|---|
| | **'tener; have'** | **'morir; die'** | **'picar; penetrate'** |
| Historically underlying morphs | **ko+appa* | **ko+atti* | **ko+yasV* |
| Vowel cluster simplification | koppa | *kotti* | |
| **Umlaut** | | *kutti* | *kuyasV* |
| Fortis/lenis consonant shift | *gopa* | *guthi* | *guyazV* |
| SZ prenasalization | *ngopa* | *nguthi* | *nguyazV* |
| Pre-tonic vowel reduction | | | *ngwazV* |
| ***y* deletion** & leveling | | | *ngwazV* |
| **Post-tonic V deletion** | *ngôp* | *ngùth* | *ngwa*$^7$*z* |

Subclass C1 consists of vowel-stems which take the conservative *ngo-* completive marker. All roots in this subclass begin in *a*. There are about 20 verbs in this subclass, including 3 transitive verbs and 1 ambitransitive verb. Example verbs from this subclass are shown in (3.38)

| (3.38) | *-ǎl* | *-âch* | *-a*$^7$*l* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | **'nacer; be born'** | **'reventar; burst'** | **'crecer; grow'** |
| **Completive** | *ngǒl* | *ngôch* | *ngo*$^7$*l* |

There are four irregular subclass C1 verbs. The irregularities involve tonal alternations not found in the larger group of regular class C1 verbs. These irregular tonal alternations are part of the marking of completive aspect, irrealis mood, and 1s subjects on verb roots. Each paradigm may have one to three irregular tonal alternations and there is some overlap in the alternations that are found. Some alternations deemed irregular here are recognizable as regular patterns in other classes. In addition to the irregular tonal alternations, low-toned verbs in this group also have the regular L→R alternation in the potential. Below I list the irregularities found in these paradigms. 1s alternations are shown here in the habitual but occur throughout the paradigm.

**Figure 32: Irregular tonal morphology in four C1 paradigms**

| | **1s** | **Completive** | **Irrealis** |
|---|---|---|---|
| *-àb*<br>**‘decir; say’** | *Ndǎb nâ*<br>**L→R** | | |
| *-àth*<br>**‘acostarse; lie down’** | *Ndǎth nâ*<br>**L→R** | *Ngo$^7$th*<br>**L→7** | *Ngâth*<br>**L→F** |
| *-ǎk*<br>**‘ser; be’** | | *Ngòk*<br>**R→L** | |
| *-àz*<br>**‘bañarse; bathe’** | *Ndáz nâ*<br>**L→H** | *Ngôz*<br>**L→F** | |

Two irregularities involve the usage of *-ǎk* and *–àb*. The copula never occurs in the habitual (**ndǎk*) but has a stative *nǎk*, which is otherwise rare in CLZ. This stative is translated with the Spanish present, as is the habitual of other verbs. The verb *–àb* does not have a completive (**ngòb, *ngùb, *ngwàb*) attested. Instead, the habitual is used and translated with the Spanish preterite, like the completive of other verbs. (3.39) and (3.40) show how these forms are used.

(3.39) *Aba$^7$ka$^7$ nǎk yë´l ndyên tě*-*l.*
**de.por.sí S-ser [N H-oir: pensamiento] POS=2f**
**always S-be [N H-hear: thought] POS=2f**
De por sí es tu pensamiento.
You always think like that.

(3.40) *Nǎl yë$^7$ wê ndǎb lá nâ-ý.*
**esta.hora mañana DET H/C?-decir ya 1s=3i**
**this.time tomorrow DET H/C?-say already 1s=3i**
Como mañana a estas horas ya le hablé.
Tomorrow at this time I will already have told them.

Subclass C2 verbs differ from C1 only by having the *ngu-* completive rather than the *ngo-* completive. All intransitive C2 stems begin in *a* while the two transitive stems begin in *o*.[17]

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[17] One can imagine that the existence of these two *o*-initial transitive class C roots may have something to do with the *w-* transitive prefix that has been described for consonant-stems. If the *w-* that occurs before

| (3.41) | **Intransitive** | **Transitive** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | *-ádêtz* | *-ò* | *-òj* |
| | **‘dormirse; sleep’** | **‘tomar; drink’** | **‘moler; grind’** |
| **Completive** | *ngúdêtz* | *ngù* | *ngùj* |

All of the regular C2 intransitive verbs are compounds consisting of the semantically bleached bound root *–á* followed by different roots. There are four irregular C2 roots, all of them *a*-initial intransitive verbs. Three are CLZ-typical closed syllable –VC roots and the other is a compound which also begins in a heavy syllable. The “irregularities” or rather minority patterns found on these verbs mostly involve patterns of tonal morphology already seen on regular and irregular verbs of other classes and subclasses. There are also two cases of suppletion or borderline suppletion, and in one case a verb does not participate in a tonal alternation I have listed for “regular” class B-C verbs. The interesting features of these four verbs are shown in Figure 33.

**Figure 33: Irregular patterns of C2 verbs**

| | **1s** | **Potential** | **Completive** |
|---|---|---|---|
| *-ástê*<br>**‘levantarse; rise’** | | *gǎstê*<br>**H→R** | |
| *-àb*<br>**‘podrirse; rot’** | | *gáb*<br>**L→H** | *ngu*$^{7}$*d*<br>**L→7 & suppletion** |
| *-ày*<br>**‘cocerse; cook’** | | | *ngwi7y* (SBL) ~ ngùy (SMaC)<br>**L→7 & semi-suppletion** |
| *-âth*<br>**‘morir; die’** | **No** F→H | | *ngùth*<br>**F→L** |

In CLZ, C3 verbs have a completive marker *ngw-*. Comparative and philological evidence suggests that verbs in this group used to be consonant-stems but lost their initial consonant, usually *y*, throughout all or most of their paradigms, being reanalyzed as vowel-stems. From a

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consonant-stems is a reduced form of earlier **o* (and indeed Kaufman does posit a causative **o+* morpheme) it may have replaced the stem-initial vowel the same as the *o* in the class C completive marker, only throughout the paradigm. The only slight wrinkle is that *w-* occurs before the *a*-initial class D root in the potential of ‘eat’ *wǎ* already cited. However, class D vowel-stems show similarly different behavior compared to other vowel-stems with regards to the marking of the participial form (called the infinitive in other Zapotec languages, see 5.2.2). While class A vowel-stems have surface vowel alternations in the historical perspective I consider the *w* in the *ngw-* prefix to be a reduced form of the historical pre-tonic vowel *o.* Alternatively one might consider this to be the realization of the even earlier historical labiovelar consonant **kw*, the labial portion of which is lost through dissimilation in Zapotec languages whenever a round vowel follows, such as the round vowel in the completive marker. The latter analysis would entail that with the loss of the pre-tonic prefix vowel *o* (this vowel being pretonic only before consonant-stems), the underlying or historical labial feature of the consonant resurfaced. As stated I favor the former analysis but in either event the only reason for a CLZ verb to have a completive *ngw-* prefix is a past life as a consonant-stem.

There are six recorded C3 roots which occur in a few more lexical items through compounding. Two are ambitransitive, and the rest are intransitive. There are four regular C3 roots, one being a semantically bleached dummy root *–á* which occurs in two compounds. The three regular free roots are shown in (3.42).

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (3.42) | *-ǎl*<br>**‘venir; come’**[18] | *-àtz*<br>**‘saltar; jump’** | *-a$^7$z*<br>**‘picar(se); penetrate’** |
| **Completive** | *ngwǎl* | *ngwàtz* | *ngwa$^7$z* |

The two irregular C3 roots are both motion verbs. The verb *–â* ‘ir; go’ could still be analyzed as a *y*-intial verb *-yâ* because the glide has not been completely lost from the paradigm but in fact still occurs in the potential aspect and future tense forms of the verb. There is some irregular tonal and segmental morphology with a 1s subject. The falling tone yields to surface rising tone with a 1s subject instead of the simple high tone expected with regular verbs of this class. The high tone does occur though with other subjects in the potential aspect. The potential form is normally *yá*, as it would be if this were a *y*-initial verb. With a first person singular subject though the *y* is

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participle (compare *–o$^7$n* ‘llorar; cry’ to the participle *wi$^7$n*) class D vowel-stems simply concatenate *w-* and the root as in *wà* the participle of ‘eat’ *–à.*

[18] This verb can only take a 1s subject.

absent and the *g-* prefix expected of a vowel-stem occurs instead. I give a partial paradigm showing these patterns of interest in Figure 34.

**Figure 34: Partial paradigm of the verb *–(y)â***

| *-(y)â*<br>**‘ir; go’** | | |
|---|---|---|
| | 1s subject | 2f subject |
| Potential | *gǎ-n* | *yá-lˆ* |
| Habitual | *ndǎ-n* | *ndâ-lˆ* |
| Completive | *ngwǎ-n* | *ngwâ-lˆ* |

The C3 verb *–àp* ‘subir; rise’ is only irregular in having a rising tone with a 1s subject, a pattern that is regular and productive in other classes but not in this one.

**Figure 35: Internal diversity of regular class B-C verbs**

| | **B** | **C1** | **C2** | **C3** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Completive prefix:** | *ngw-* | *ngo-* | *ngu-* | *ngw-* |
| **Tonal alternations w/ 1s subjects:** | F→H<br>L→7<br>R→7<br>7→R if vt and closed σ, 7→H if vt and open σ | F→H | F→H | F→H |
| **Tonal alternations w/ potential aspect:** | L→R, L→H if open σ | L→R | L→R | L→R |
| **Segmental changes:** | Palatalization in P and H forms; l-deletion in H form; n-stems have ñ, ny, n in the P, H, C forms | Stem-initial vowel replaced by /o/ in the completive and imperative | Stem-initial vowel replaced by /u/ in the completive and imperative | Stem-initial vowel remains when completive and imperative prefixes are added |
| **Roots begin in:** | Coronal C | *a* | *a* | *a* |
| **Total roots in sample** | 34 | 23 | 6 | 7 |
| **Total transitive roots** | 3 | 4 | 2 | 1 |

### 3.3 Class Ch-D

Kaufman's class D is the most morphologically interesting class of verbs in Zapotec languages. These are stem-changing verbs which show an alternation between two unrelated consonants and may also have forms which lack a stem-initial consonant or which have a third consonant which is phonologically related to one of the other two. There is a small group of verbs in CLZ which behave somewhat like class D verbs but also differ from the regular class D pattern in certain forms for which they have more affinities with class B(-C). I label these as a separate class called class Ch, but just as classes B and C can be combined into one class whose internal morphological diversity is predictable on phonological grounds, the same goes for classes Ch and D. Nevertheless, as with class B-C this is largely a question of labels and the fact remains that there are similarities and differences between the two groups which I will now proceed to cover in detail. As with class B-C I may continue to refer to "class Ch" and "class D" when I am talking about the subclasses and "class Ch-D" when I am talking about the larger group.

Kaufman (1989) describes what he terms *replacive* prefixes, a defining feature of class D morphology. All class Ch-D roots are vowel-initial roots. Replacive prefixes are prefixes consisting of a single consonant and are added to class Ch-D roots to form inflectional stems to which may be added inflectional prefixes. The structure of a class Ch-D verb is shown in (3.43).

(3.43) [Inflectional prefix [replacive prefix [verb root]$_{\text{base}}$]$_{\text{stem}}$]$_{\text{inflected word}}$
e.g. *ngwlo*$^7$: [*ngw* [*l* [*o*$^7$ ]]]
**C-R2-sacar 'sacó'**
**C-R2-take.out 'took out'**

All class Ch-D verbs have a replacive prefix, which I'll arbitrarily call R2, which forms the completive stem. This stem is the form of the verb to which are added the completive and imperative prefixes. It is also the form used bare as the complement of a motion verb. Each class Ch-D verb has two main stems. The completive stem is always a consonant-stem because all class Ch-D verbs take an R2 prefix to form the completive stem. The irrealis stem is the form of the verb to which is added the irrealis prefix *ng*-. The irrealis stem may be either a consonant-stem or a vowel-stem. All class Ch and most class D verbs have a consonant-stem for the irrealis stem and for these verbs it is just as convenient to refer to this form as the infinitive since the infinitive is identical to the irrealis stem if the irrealis stem in consonant-initial. Likewise all verbs of this class which have a consonant-initial habitual stem have an identical irrealis stem. This consonant-initial form which could be called the infinitive, or the habitual or irrealis stem is formed by the addition of a different replacive prefix (R1). Class D "vowel-stems" are those which do not take an R1 prefix, e.g. in the habitual. However, class D verbs which have vowel-initial habitual stems (there are only a few), show a difference in the irrealis form according to transitivity. In (3.44) I show irrealis and completive forms for class Ch and class D consonant-stems and for class D verbs with vowel-initial habitual stems.

| (3.44) | Class Ch | Class D C-stem | vtD V-stem | viD V-stem |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Root** | *-èn* | *-èzh* | *-à* | *-àw* |
| | **'agarrar'** | **'gritar'** | **'comer'** | **'dolerse'** |
| | **'grab'** | **'scream'** | **'eat'** | **'hurt'** |
| **IRR (*ng* ~ *nh*-) + R1** | *nhzèn* | *nhbèzh* | *ngwà* | *ngàw* |
| **C (*ngw* ~ *nhw*-) + R2** | *nhwxên* | *nhwtêzh* | *ngwdà* | *ngwdàw* |

Like all regular low-toned class Ch-D verbs, these ones take rising tone in the potential aspect. Transitive class D vowel-stems take *w*- in the potential whereas intransitive vowel-stems take *g*-.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (3.45) **Potential** | *zyěn* | *kwězh* | *wǎ* | *gǎw* |

Class D proper is larger and more diverse than class Ch. Both transitive and intransitive verbs occur in both subclasses, with transitive verbs being more common in class D and intransitive verbs being more common in class Ch. Class D roots are productive in compounds, with there being more than twice as many class D lexical items as there are class D roots.

**Figure 36: Number of class Ch-D verbs in the sample used for this study**

| | **Ch** | **D** |
|---|---|---|
| **Total lexical items in sample** | **16** | **70** |
| **Total roots** | **14** | **33** |
| **Total irregular verbs** | **3** | **2** |
| **Transitive verb roots** | **30%** | **66%** |

### 3.3.1 Subclass Ch

(Sub)class Ch is a small class of less than twenty lexical items and not many more than ten roots. While the verb roots themselves cannot occur in isolation without derivational and/or inflectional prefixes, there are no bound roots in this class that only occur in compounds, as there are in all the other classes. Six of the documented CLZ class Ch roots have been reconstructed by Kaufman (2003) for Proto-Zapotec. Three of those have had their class membership reconstructed and Kaufman places two in class D and one in class C. In modern CLZ this group of verbs does not behave quite like regular class D verbs and there are also affinities with class B. Since the morphological behavior of this class falls somewhere between (or is a mixture of) classes B and D it should logically be called class C, but that label could cause confusion with Kaufman's class C verbs which have different patterns in CLZ than this group of verbs. Happily, Spanish supplies us with another letter of the alphabet that comes between B and D, the letter Ch ([če]).

Like class D verbs, class Ch verbs have replacive prefixes added to the root to form the stem. The R1 prefix, or a palatalized or fortis version of it, occurs in the potential, habitual, future, irrealis, and infinitive forms and the R2 prefix occurs in the completive, imperative, and M forms.

Like class B verbs, class Ch verbs have palatalization in the potential and habitual forms. I assume that the source of the palatalization in both class B and class Ch is a high front vowel in an earlier prefix, it is unclear whether this would be the same prefix. The historical prefixes for potential and habitual aspect in classes A and B had high front vowels according to Kaufman (2003), which I interpret as the source of the palatalization in CLZ class B. The historical prefixes for these aspects in classes C and D lacked a vowel according to Kaufman (1989, 2003).

Kaufman (2003) considers the ancestors of CLZ class Ch verbs to belong to class D and have an *s/x* alternation (*s* being what I call the R1 prefix and *x* being the R2 prefix). He suggests that an *i-* or *y-* prefix is likely the source for *x-*, a palatalization of *s*, making the original replacive alternation here *Ø/y* and these verb roots *s*-initial, the only consonant-initial roots in class D, Kaufman points out. Some other replacive alternations show a *y-* R2 in PZ or **ty* R2 which Kaufman says can be the concatenation of an **i-* or **y-* prefix and a **t-* or **tz-* replacive, making for two layers of prefixation on the completives of class D verbs and all forms of their intransitive partners. Thus, one possibility is that a prefix *i-* or *y-* that marked intransitivity and also acted as the R2 prefix which palatalized **s* (CLZ /z/) to *x*, when still productive, was extended further into the paradigm of class Ch verbs, which are mostly intransitive. The later palatalization (with the phonological end result of *zy* rather than the *x* that came from the earlier palatalization in the completive) could have ended up being restricted to the potential and habitual based on analogy with class C patterns. Thus there are two possible sources for the *zy*-initial forms in class Ch.

Class Ch includes both transitive and intransitive verbs. All regular class Ch verbs take a *–z-* R1 to form the irrealis stem. Class Ch-D verbs are listed in the CLZ dictionary under the irrealis stem, e.g. the class Ch verb root *-èn* shown in (3.44) above is listed as *–z-èn*. Since no class D verbs have a *–z-* R1, the membership in either subclass can thus be predicted by the R1 prefix.

In (3.46) I give a full inflectional paradigm of the representative verb *–z-èn*.

| (3.46) | *-z-èn*<br>**‘agarrar; grab’** |
|---|---|
| **Potential** | *zyěn* |
| **Habitual** | *ndzyèn* |
| **Infinitive** | *zèn* |
| **Irrealis** | *nhzèn* |
| **Future (certain)** | *sèn* |
| **Completive** | *nhwxên* |
| **Imperative** | *wxên* |
| **M (complement of motion verb)** | *xěn* |

All (regular) class Ch verbs have a *–z-* R1 and an *–x-* R2. The *s* seen in the certain future form above is the expected result of the concatenation of the future prefix *s-* and a *z*-initial stem.

Class Ch can be further divided into two groups based on patterns of tonal morphology. Excluding irregular verbs, two class Ch verbs have underlying glottal tone, the rest have underlying low tone. All class Ch-D low-toned verbs take rising tone in the potential aspect. Additionally, the first group, Ch1, has a L→7 alternation with completive aspect and a L→R alternation with 1s marking. The second group, Ch2, has a L→F alternation in the completive and these verbs, whether underlyingly low- or glottal-toned, take a surface H tone when there is a 1s subject. Like a small group of interesting and irregular class B verbs, class Ch2 verbs depalatalize their potential form when there is a 1s subject. These patterns are shown in (3.47).

| (3.47) | **Ch1** | **Ch2** |
|---|---|---|
| | *-z-àk* | *-z-ìn* |
| | **'sufrir una enfermedad; be sick'** | **'cerrar los ojos; close eyes'** |
| **Completive** | *nhwxa$^7$k* | *nhwxîn* |
| **Potential** | *zyǎk* | *zyǐn* |
| **example w/1s subject** | *Nâ ndzyǎk bìch.* | *Zín nâ.* |
| | **1s H-R1.H-sufrir vapor** | **R1-cerrar.los.ojos.1s 1s** |
| | **1s H-R1.H-suffer vapor** | **R1-close.eyes.1s 1s** |
| | Estoy ventado. | Voy a cerrar mis ojos. |
| | I'm bloated. | I'm going to close my eyes. |

There are two class Ch verbs with irregular tonal alternations, and one with some segmental irregularity. The regular class Ch verb *–z-o$^7$b* 'desgranar; shell corn' is related in a transitive / intransitive partnership to a segmentally irregular verb with an expanded meaning 'desboronar; come apart, crumble.' This verb has an identical completive form *nhwxo$^7$b* but rather than *z* or *zy* this verb has a voiced retroflex fricative *zh* in most of the paradigm. There may be some analogy going on but it is hard to tell in which direction. Words with *zh* which may be involved in any analogy here include *ndzhǒp* 'maíz; corn' (possibly a related word), and an irregular, possibly class Ch, verb ‘estar; be’ which also has a *zh~x* alternation and many homophonous forms with ‘desboronar; crumble.’ The ‘estar; be’ verb may itself be involved in an analogy with the verb *–yô* ‘haber; be’ which has a habitual form *ndzhò*, not to mention other irregularities like suppletion. These other irregular verbs are extremely hard to classify and might also be considered class Ch verbs, though that determination is not as well-justified as for the regular Ch verbs described so far. Paradigms for these irregular verbs are given in (3.48) alongside the regular verb *–z-o*$^7$*b*.

| (3.48) | *-z-o*$^7$*b* | *-zh-o*$^7$*b* | *-x-o*$^7$*b* | *-yô* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **‘desgranar; shell (corn)’** | **‘desboronar; crumble’** | **‘estar; be’** | **‘haber; be’** |
| P | *zyo*$^7$*b* | *zho*$^7$*b* | *xo*$^7$*b* | *wi*$^7$ |
| H | *ndzyo*$^7$*b* | *ndzho*$^7$*b* | *ndzho*$^7$*b* | *ndzhò* |
| IRR | *nhzo*$^7$*b* | *nhzho*$^7$*b* | | |
| INF | *zo*$^7$*b* | *zho*$^7$*b* | | |
| F | *so*$^7$*b* | *xo*$^7$*b* | | *syô* |
| C | *nhwxo*$^7$*b* | *nhwxo*$^7$*b* | *nhwxo*$^7$*b* | *ngyô* |
| IMP | *wxo*$^7$*b* | unattested | | |

The two remaining irregular Ch verbs have minor irregular tonal alternations. The verb *–z-àn* ‘parir; give birth’ has the L→H alternation with a 1s subject as in Ch2 but does not have a tonal alternation in the completive nor depalatalization in the potential form with a 1s subject. The verb *–z-i*$^7$ ‘comprarlo; buy’ does have depalatalization in the potential with a 1s subject as in Ch2 but does not have tonal alternations with a 1s subject, as does the other glottal-toned Ch2 verb *–z-o*$^7$*b* which I arbitrarily labeled “regular” out of these two. These patterns are shown in (3.49)

| (3.49) | *-z-àn* | *-z-i*$^7$ |
|---|---|---|
| | **‘parir; give birth’** | **‘comprarlo; buy’** |
| Completive | *nhwxàn* | *nhwxi*$^7$ |
| Potential w/ 1s | *Nâ zyán xìn.*<br>**1s R1.P-parir.1s hijo**<br>**R1.P-give.birth.1s offspring**<br>Voy a dar a luz a un niño.<br>I’m going to have a child. | *Ná zi*$^7$*-nˆ-é.*<br>**NEG R1-comprarlo=1s=3i**<br>**NEG R1-buy=1s=3i**<br>No lo voy a comprar.<br>I’m not going to buy it. |

### 3.3.2 Class D

While all regular class Ch verbs have an R1 *–z-* and an R2 *–x-*, class D verbs in CLZ have a non-coronal, lenis R1 of either *–b-* or *–g-* (or no R1 at all in the case of verbs with vowel-initial habitual stems) and a coronal R2 of either *–l-*, *-t-*, or *–d-*. Due to a sound change the R1 affix *–g-* is realized as *–y-* before front vowels. In the potential the R1 affix undergoes fortition: *g/y* → *k, b* → *kw*. This fortition is the reflex of historical consonant clusters formed by the potential **k-* and the R1 prefixes.

*Kw* (the fortis realization of *b*) dissimilates to *k* before a round vowel. Interestingly this is seen in two historical phases. According to Kaufman (2003) modern Zapotec *b*, and its earlier voiceless realization *[p], come from still earlier and/or underlying **kw*. Already at the PZ level there was labial dissimilation of **kw* to **k* before round vowels. According to Kaufman, the replacive alternation *kw* → *l*, which reflects as modern CLZ R1 *b* ~ R2 *l* (with fortified potential *kw*), was *k* → *l* before round vowels. Indeed there is a CLZ replacive alternation R1 *g* ~ R2 *l* which only occurs before round vowels (but see example 5.14 in Chapter 5 for an example of this alternation before *a* in a transitive/intransitive pair). Since the fortis version of this R1 in the potential is *k*, this alternation is synchronically indistinguishable from those that come from an earlier true velar R1 such as those alternations that have *k* in the potential, *g* or *y* in the habitual, and either *d* or *t* in the completive. Thus, we have the P~H~C alternation *kw~b~l* occuring before non-round vowels cognate with the alternations *k~g~l* and *k~b~l* both of which occur before round vowels. The *k~g~l* alternation represents an earlier labial dissimilation of lenis (and fortis) **kw* and the *k~b~l* alternation represents a later labial dissimilation of fortis **kkw*. It remains to be explained why in some words with round vowels labial dissimilation preceded the change of lenis **kw* > *p* > *b* while in words with a similar phonological environment it followed it.

Verbs with vowel-initial habitual stems take one of two potential aspect prefixes. Transitive vowel-stems take a *w-* prefix in the potential aspect while intransitive vowel stems take a *g-*

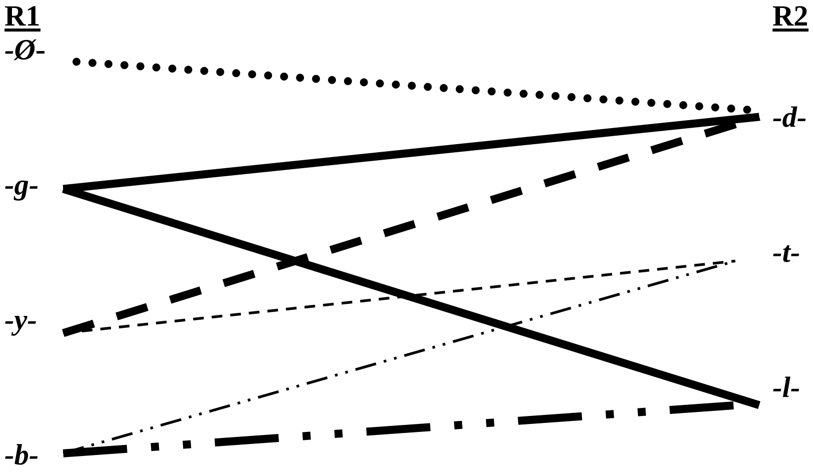
prefix. In (3.50) I show the potential, habitual, and completive forms of verbs with the various R1 and R2 affixes, and showing fortition and delabialization in the potential.

| (3.50) | *-b-o*$^7$<br>**‘sacar; take out’** | *-b-êzh*<br>**‘gritar; scream’** | *-g-a*$^7$*b*<br>**‘sobarlo; massage’** | *-àw*<br>**‘dolerse; hurt’** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| P | *ko*$^7$ | *kwĕzh* | *ka*$^7$*b* | *gǎw* |
| H | *nbo*$^7$ | *nbèzh* | *n-ga*$^7$*b* | *ndàw* |
| C | *ngwlo*$^7$ | *nhwtêzh* | *ngwda*$^7$*b* | *ngwdàw* |

Counting the zero possibility for vowel-stems, there are four possible R1 prefixes and three possible R2 prefixes for regular class D verbs. If completely arbitrary there would be twelve possible combinations of R1 and R2 co-occurring in individual verb paradigms. In fact there are only seven combinations which have been documented. These are shown in Figure 37.

While it is notable that certain combinations do not occur, the combinations that do occur do not suggest much in the way of streamlining. I have considered dividing class D into subclasses based on which R2 prefix a verb takes but this division does not predict anything else, like patterns of tonal morphology or transitivity. One could divide these verbs up by several different criteria but no criterion seems to predict any better what the other morphological behavior will be.

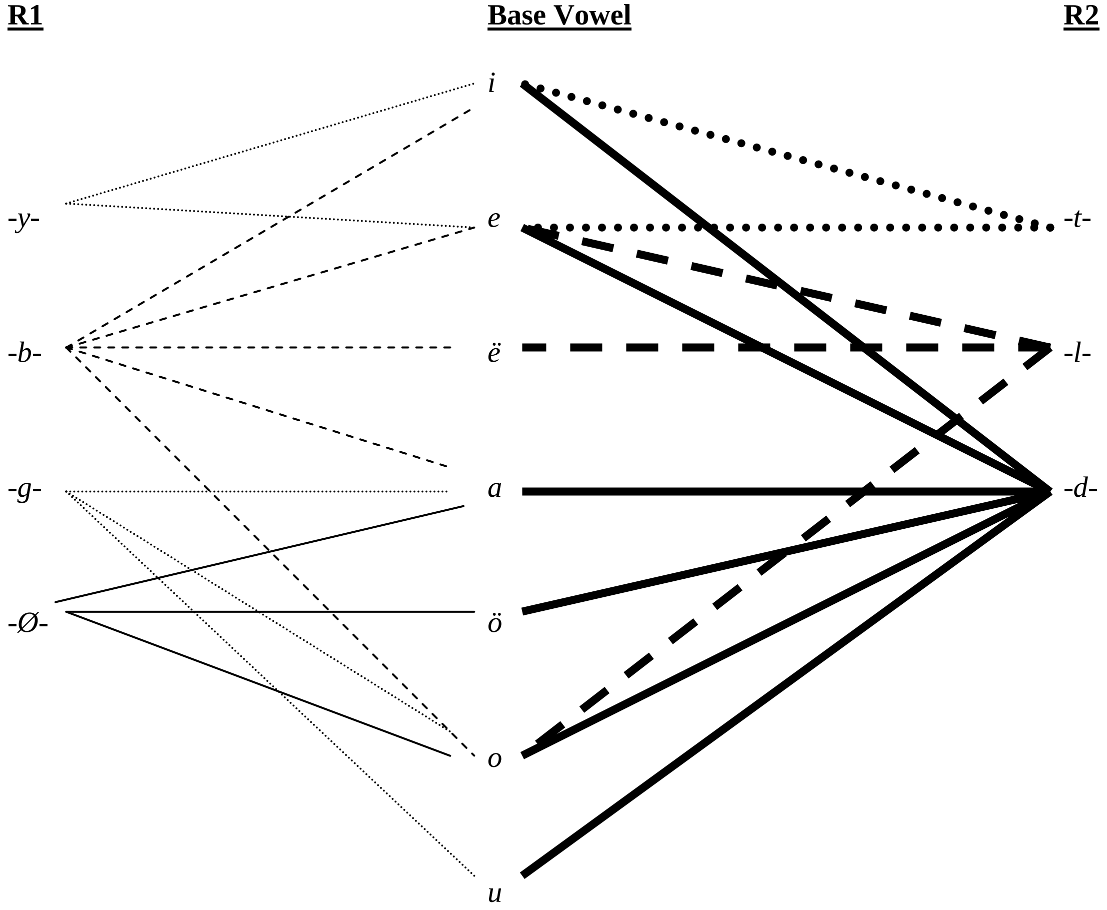
**Figure 37: Documented combinations of R1 and R2 occurring together in single paradigms**



Kaufman (2003) sees at least one of the R2 prefixes, *-*t*- (i.e. CLZ –*d*-), as cognate with an earlier Otomanguean prefix **ta* 'impersonal.' Kaufman (2003) also speculates that the zero, labio(velar) and velar replacives that I refer to as R1, might be somehow connected to the potential and completive aspect markers **ki+* and **kwe+*.

Figure 38 shows the root-, or rather the base-, initial vowels to which the derivational replacive prefixes attach. It seems that these also do not have predictive value.

**Figure 38: Documented combinations of replacives and root-initial vowels**



Of the three R2 prefixes, -*d*- is by far the most common, representing about 50% of class D verbs, with the other two R2 prefixes accounting for about 25% of the class each. Looking to the identity of the root-initial vowel, the most common R2, -*d*-, has been found attached to all five of the commonest CLZ vowels *a, e, i, o,* and *u* and to the Coatlán-only vowel *ö,* but so far there are no examples with the vowel *ë*. The R2 prefix *–t-* has only been found with the front vowels *i* and *e*. The R2 prefix *–l-* has only been found with the mid vowels *e, o,* and *ë*. Again, these factors are only partially predictive. For example, if a class D verb takes the R1 prefix *–b-* to form the irrealis stem we know that it will not take the R2 prefix *–d-* and so the choice of R2 prefix is narrowed down to either *–t-* or *–l-*. If the root-initial vowel is the front vowel *i* we can predict the R2 prefix *–t-* while if it is the mid vowel *o* or *ë* we can predict the R2 prefix *–l-*. However, if a class D verb with a *b*-initial irrealis stem has a mid front vowel *e* we cannot predict the R2 prefix. In each case the identity of the root-initial vowel and one of the replacive prefixes may be used to narrow down the choice of the other replacive prefix some of the time but not all of the time. Similarly opaque generalizations can be made about which root-initial vowels the various R1 prefixes can occur with. Only *a-* and *ö*-initial roots occur with a zero R1. The R1 prefix *–b-* occurs with all vowels except *u* and the rare *ö*. Historical **k-* occurs with all vowels except *ë* and *ö*, but has split into *–g-* before *a, o, u* and *–y-* before *i, e.*

Differing patterns of tonal morphology found in class D also appear to be unpredictable based on the segmental differences of bases and replacives. (3.51) shows potential-habitual-completive tonal patterns found in class D

| (3.51) | **HHH** | **777** | **RRR** | **HFF** | **RLF** | **RLL** | **RL7** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *-g-ódê* | *-b-o*$^{7}$ | *-y-ǐn* | *-b-ê* | *-g-ò* | *-à* | *-y-ìx* |
| | ‘maldecir’ | ‘sacar’ | ‘pegar’ | ‘jalar’ | ‘poner’ | ‘comer’ | ‘acostarlo’ |
| | ‘curse’ | ‘take out’ | ‘hit’ | ‘pull’ | ‘put’ | ‘eat’ | ‘lay down’ |
| **P** | *kódê* | *ko*$^{7}$ | *kǐn* | *kwé* | *kǒ* | *wǎ* | *kǐx* |
| **H** | *n-gódê* | *nbo*$^{7}$ | *ndyǐn* | *nbê* | *n-gò* | *ndà* | *ndyìx* |
| **C** | *ngwlódê* | *ngwlo*$^{7}$ | *ngwdǐn* | *nhwtê* | *ngwlô* | *ngwdà* | *nhwti*$^{7}$*x* |

All underlyingly low-toned roots take rising tone in the potential in class D. Likewise all underlyingly falling-toned roots take high tone in the potential. Roots which are underlyingly glottal-, high-, or rising-toned do not undergo any tonal alternations for aspect marking. Low-toned class D roots fall into one of three patterns of completive-aspect marking. One group keeps the underlying low tone in the completive. The other two groups follow the patterns identified for class Ch: one group takes falling tone and the other takes glottal tone in the completive.

There are also different tonal patterns found on class D verbs when they occur with 1s subjects. Many verbs do not surface with any tonal differences when taking a 1s subject. A very few class D verbs will take rising tone when occurring with a 1s subject, notably the common verb *–b-o*$^7$ ‘sacar; take out.’ A large number of verbs with underlying tones other than high, surface with high tone when taking a 1s subject. Based on the numbers, those verbs that take rising tone with a 1s subject might be considered irregular, dividing the “regular” class D verbs into two groups, those that mark a 1s subject with high tone, and those that don’t. Again, which of these two groups a class D verb will fall into appears to not be predictable based on the patterns of aspect-marking tonal morphology, the root shape, the selection of replacive prefixes, transitivity, or any other factor. The irregular verb *–b-o*$^7$ can be seen below in Figure 39. In (3.52) I show several verbs with no tonal marking for 1s. In (3.53) I show phonologically similar verbs which take high tone when occurring with a 1s subject. Examples are given in the completive.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (3.52) | *-y-i*$^7$*d*<br>**‘abrazar; hug’** | *-y-ǐd*<br>**‘agujerearlo; make a hole in’** | *-g-òb*<br>**‘jalar; pull’** |
| **C w/ 1s subj** | *Ngwdi*$^7$*d nâ.* | *Ngwdǐd nâ.* | *Nâ ngwdòb-é.* |
| (3.53) | *-g-a7b*<br>**‘sobar; massage’** | *-y-ǐn*<br>‘pegar; hit’ | *-y-ìl*<br>‘pedorrear; fart’ |
| **C w/ 1s subj** | *Ngwdǎb nâ mě.* | *Ngwdín nâ* | *Ngwdíl nâ.* |

Class D verbs are thus diverse in their patterns of tonal morphology, their root shape such as the identity of the root-initial vowel, and in their selection of both R1 and R2 prefixes. None of these factors can be used to divide the class up such that the other factors become predictable.

Rather, each of these factors could be used to divide the class into smaller groups, each of which would be internally diverse in ways that would overlap with the other smaller groups. To borrow a model from historical linguistics, this would require the wave model, defying classification in the family tree model. I will not attempt to show class Ch-D's internal diversity here in a table since this is not something that is easy to show in a table, with the inherent neat divisions. The internal diversity of class D proper is best shown in Figures 37 and 38 and in (3.51-53).

Irregularities found in class D verbs mostly have to do with tonal morphology. A few class D verbs are irregular for lacking a replacive in a particular form, or showing a fortis replacive where a lenis replacive is expected. Some auxiliary verbs show class Ch-D affinities though their irregularities make them difficult to classify. These are all covered in 3.4 and Figure 39 below.

Unique to class D are irregularities having to do with replacive prefixes (or the lack of them). The auxiliary verb *–b-ê* 'haber; for there to be' lacks the R1 prefix *–b-* in the habitual form *ndê*, although it is present in the irrealis form *nhbê*, and the corresponding fortis version of the replacive occurs in the potential form *kwé*. This auxiliary verb appears to be derived from a verb meaning 'sentarse en los pies; squat' which is identical except that the habitual form is the expected and regular *nbê*. The verb *–k-ìx* 'pagar; pay' is irregular in having the fortis *–k-* in both the potential and habitual, instead of having the expected lenis *–y-* in the habitual form. No other class D verbs have a fortis R1 prefix in the habitual. Partial paradigms for both of these irregular verbs are shown in (3.54), alongside the regular verb from which the irregular *–b-ê* is derived.

| (3.54) | *-b-ê*<br>**'sentarse en los pies; squat'** | *-b-ê*<br>**'haber; for there to be'** | *-k-ìx*<br>**'pagar; pay'** |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Potential** | *kwé* | *kwé* | *kǐx* |
| **Habitual** | *nbê* | *ndê* | *nkìx* |
| **Irrealis** | *nhbê* | *nhbê* | *nhkìx* |
| **Completive** | *nhwtê* | *nhwtê* | *nhwti*$^{7}$*x* |

Some compound verbs labelled irregular due to minority tone patterns, resemble subregular tone patterns already described. Low-toned class D verbs take a rising tone in the potential and in the completive may take a falling or glottal tone, or may keep the underlying low tone. The compounds in question are reduced compounds, taking high tone in the first syllable. While this first syllable takes high tone throughout most of the paradigm the completive form takes a falling or glottal tone, depending on the verb in question. While the reduction of low tone to high tone is a regular part of compound formation, the irregularity in these compounds is that the alternant tones found in the completive have not reduced. Perhaps the saliency of these completive tone patterns has contributed to their retention in the otherwise reduced verb root.

The replacives that characterize class Ch-D are heavily involved in marking the vt/vi described in Chapter 5. There is more information about this in 5.1.2, where I also give more details about the historical correspondence between Kaufman's (2003) replacives and those found in CLZ. I also describe there the evidence for a mass migration of verbs from classes C and D into class A. The interested reader should therefore consult Chapter 5 for more information on replacives.

### 3.4 Irregular Verbs

This section repeats some of the information given above about irregular verbs and groups irregular verbs from all classes together in Figure 39 for comparison and easy reference.

As in all languages, many of the most irregular CLZ verbs are also the most frequently used verbs, like auxiliaries, their frequency allowing them to resist regular changes. In other cases analogies are causing movement between verb classes and confusion between similar paradigms. CLZ irregular verbs show segmental and suprasegmental differences from regular verbs.

Tonal irregularities in CLZ verb paradigms are typically unexpected tonal marking of some morphological category, usually potential aspect or a first person singular subject, or the lack of such marking when it is expected. There also exist what can be considered subregularities, small groups of verbs which differ from the norm in the same interesting way. Not all subregularities are covered in this section, but they are treated in the earlier sections of this chapter. Sometimes irregular and subregular patterns exist in more than one class of verbs, further suggesting fossilization of older patterns. One reason that CLZ should be of interest to phonologists is the varied ways in which tone interacts with segments in this language. One example of this is a subregular pattern of L→H alternation found on open syllables rather than the expected L→R which is found on closed syllables. In some cases the minority L→H pattern seems to be further restricted to open syllables ending in the vowel *ë*. Tonal irregularities in CLZ are often tied to class membership since the expected or regular patterns of tonal morphology vary somewhat between the different classes and subclasses. A low-toned class A C-stem is expected to take a rising tone in the potential aspect if it is intransitive, but not if it is transitive. What is a regular tonal alternation for a verb in one class, marks a verb as irregular in another class or subclass.

The most salient feature of class B is the palatalization found in the potential and habitual forms of verbs in that class. Depending on how one views CLZ phonology one might consider this palatalization to be a suprasegmental feature, or simply segmental, or a little bit of both (e.g. in *n*-initial verbs one might consider the palatalization found in the *ñ*-initial potential form to be suprasegmental but the palatalization found in the *ny*-initial habitual form to be the addition of a segment). Often the most salient feature of a class is involved in patterns of irregularity, e.g. many irregular class B verbs are missing the expected palatalization in one or both forms.

Certain segments seem to have more phonological irregularities associated with them. One of those segments is *l*. *L*-initial class B verbs regularly have the palatalization associated with that class and there are several intransitive class A verbs which have initial *ly* throughout the paradigm. In such verb paradigms in CLZ, the *l* is typically deleted in the habitual form, though the *y* is not. This deletion is not seen in *l*-initial verbs which don’t have palatalization. Terrence Kaufman has suggested (personal communication) that this may have something to do with the historical relationship between *l* and *nd* in Zapotec langauges. For example the CLZ word for ‘pez; fish’ is *mbëˆl* and the Isthmus Zapotec cognate is *benda* (Britton, 2003). In this case CLZ has *l* where another Zapotec language has *nd* but there are cases of the reverse as well. For example, the CLZ word for ‘zapote’ is *ndâw* while the SAMZ word is *blá*$^{7}$*w*, CLZ possessed ‘huarache; sandal’ is *ndâb* while in SAMZ it’s *làb*, ‘diente; tooth’ is CLZ *ndë`y* SAMZ *lèy* IZ *laya*, ‘cara; face’ CLZ *ndô* SAMZ *lò* IZ *lú*. Since the CLZ habitual marker is *nd*, if at some point the initial *l* in a verb root were also *nd* (or if at some point the habitual marker was *l*) then this may have conditioned the deletion of the identical root-initial segment. Today the regular pattern is for the *l* to go missing in the habitual forms of these verbs but irregularities crop up through paradigm leveling, with the deleted *l* sneaking back in or the deletion spreading to other forms where its was not conditioned historically and is not now expected. Other segments that are especially prone to irregularities are *y* and the retroflex sibilants *x* and *zh*.

Class Ch-D is characterized by the stem-forming replacive prefixes which create two alternate stems. As described in the last section, a few verbs have irregularities related to these replacive prefixes, but most irregular class Ch-D verbs are only irregular tonally.

Figure 39 attempts to document most CLZ irregular verbs, though some verbs have been excluded. I have not included here verbs which are irregular in non-phonological ways, e.g verbs which never occur with a 1s subject, or which lack a completive form. I have also excluded verbs whose irregularity involves free variation between a regular form and an irregular form. In some cases these are verbs in flux, currently changing classes through analogy, with people using both forms interchangeably or older people using one form and younger people another. In other cases like these I may have documented a momentary speech error and later collected the correct form. These verbs are interesting too, and are usually discussed above in this chapter, but are not included in Figure 39. The table is ordered by type of irregularity and secondarily by verb class.

**Figure 39: Phonologically irregular verbs of CLZ**

| Irrealis Stem | Class/Type | Gloss | Type of/Example of Irregularity |
|---|---|---|---|
| **F→R w/ 1s subject** | | | |
| *-kâ* | vtA C-stem | ‘quitarlo; remove’ | *Wkǎ-n mbëˇz ndô bëˇ.*<br>**P.T-quitarlo.1s=1s AN-nene cara calor**<br>**P.T-remove.1s-1s AN-baby face heat**<br>Voy a quitar la criatura en el sol.<br>I'm going to take them out of the sun |
| **7→R w/ 1s subj** | | | |
| *-b-o$^7$* | vtD | ‘sacar; take out’ | *Nâ ka$^7$ ngwlǒ-m´.*<br>**1s FOC C-sacar.1s=3hr**<br>**1s FOC C-take.out.1s=3hr**<br>Yo lo saqué.<br>I took him out. |
| **L→7 in the completive and imperative, L→H w/ 1s subject** | | | |
| *-ùn* | vtA V-stem | ‘hacer; do, make’ | *Xé mód mbi$^7$n lô?*<br>**qué modo C-hacer 2f**<br>**what mode C-do 2f**<br>En qué modo hiciste?<br>How did you do (it)?<br><br>*Sún dûb nâ gán.*<br>**F-hacer uno 1s ganar**<br>**F-do one 1s achieve**<br>Voy a poder yo sólo.<br>I will do it by myself. |
| **L→F in completive and imperative, L→H w/ 1s subject** | | | |
| *-àz* | 1. viC1<br>2. vtC1 | 1. ‘bañarse; bathe’<br>2. ‘sembrarlo; plant’ | *Ngôz mě.*<br>**C-bañarse.C 3hr**<br>**C-bathe.C 3hr**<br>Se bañó.<br>S/he bathed<br><br>*Nâ ngóz yà káfé ndë$^7$.*<br>**1s C-sembrarlo.1s palo café este**<br>**1s C-plant.1s tree coffee this**<br>Yo sembré este cafetal.<br>I planted this coffee plant. |
| **L→R w/ 1s subject** | | | |
| *-àp* | vtC3 | ‘subir; go up’ | *Nâ ngwǎp yà.*<br>**1s C-subir.1s palo**<br>**1s C-go.up.1s tree**<br>Yo subí el palo.<br>I went up the tree. |
| **L→R w/1s subject, L→7 in completive/imperative forms** | | | |
| *-àth* | viC1 | ‘acostarse; lie down’ | *Álíka$^7$ ndǎth nâ.*<br>**de.por.sí H-acostarse.1s 1s**<br>**always H-lie.down.1s 1s** |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | De por sí me acuesto.<br>I always lie down.<br><br>*Go$^7$th!*<br>**IMP-acostarse**<br>**IMP-lie.down**<br>¡Acuéstate!<br>Lie down! |
| ***Y*- potential prefix w/ non-1s subject, F→R w/ 1s subject** | | | |
| *-â* | viC3 | ‘ir; go’ | *Yá-m´.*<br>**P-ir.P=3hr**<br>**P-go.P=3hr**<br>Va a ir.<br>S/he’s going to go.<br><br>*Gǎ-n.*<br>**P-ir.1s=1s**<br>**P-go.1s=1s**<br>Voy a ir.<br>I’m going to go. |
| **Expected tone change w/ 1s subject is lacking** | | | |
| *-chë$^7$* | vtA C-stem | ‘cambiarlo; change’ | *Wchë$^7$-n^ xâb nâ.*<br>**P.T-cambiarlo=1s ropa 1s**<br>**P.T-change=1s clothes 1s**<br>Me voy a cambiar la ropa.<br>I'm going to change my clothes. |
| *-ke$^7$* | vtA C-stem | ‘pintarlo; paint’ | *Wke$^7$-n^-é.*<br>**P.T-pintarlo=1s=3i**<br>**P.T-paint=1s=3i**<br>Lo voy a pintar.<br>I’m going to paint it. |
| *-dò* | vtA C-stem | ‘venderlo’ | *Ná wdò-n^-é.*<br>**NEG P.T-venderlo=1s=3i**<br>**NEG P.T-sell=1s=3i**<br>No lo voy a vender.<br>I’m not going to sell it. |
| *-kòch* | vtA C-stem | ‘revolverlo; mix’ | *Mkòch nâ-ý.*<br>**C-revolverlo 1s=3i**<br>**C-mix 1s=3i**<br>Lo revolví.<br>I mixed it. |
| *-gàz* | vtA C-stem | ‘bañarlo; bathe (someone)’ | *Wgàz nâ-ý.*<br>**P.T-bañarlo 1s=3i**<br>**P.T-bathe 1s=3i**<br>Voy a bañarlo.<br>I’m going to bathe it. |
| *-zùd* | viB | ‘emborracharse; get drunk’ | *Ngwzùd nâ.*<br>**C-emborracharse 1s**<br>**C-get.drunk 1s**<br>Me emborraché. |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | I got drunk. |
| *-z-i*$^{7}$ | vtCh | ‘comprarlo; buy’ | *Nâ zi*$^{7}$*-ý.*<br>**1s P.1s.comprarlo=3i**<br>**1s P.1s.buy=3i**<br>Yo lo voy a comprar.<br>I’m going to buy it. |
| **F→L in the completive aspect form, expected F→H alternation w/1s subject lacking** | | | |
| *-âth* | viC2 | ‘morir; die’ | *Ngùth mě.*<br>**C-morir.C 3hr**<br>**C-die.C 3hr**<br>Murió él/ella.<br>S/he died.<br><br>*Gâth nâ.*<br>**P-morir 1s**<br>**P-die 1s**<br>Voy a morir.<br>I’m going to die. |
| **Palatalization in the potential and habitual, w/ depalatalization in the potential w/ 1s subject** | | | |
| *-to*$^{7}$ | viA C-stem | ‘salir; go out’ | *Xé gór tyo*$^{7}$*-lˆ?---Yë*$^{7}$ *to7-nˆ.*<br>**qué hora P.salir=2f? mañana P.1s.salir=1s**<br>**what time P.go.out=2f tomorrow**<br>**P.1s.go.out=1s**<br>¿A qué horas vas a salir?---Mañ*ana voy a salir.<br>When are you leaving?--- I’m leaving tomorrow. |
| **Depalatalization of potential aspect form w/ 1s subject** | | | |
| *-tìd* | viB | ‘pasar; pass’ | *Ti*$^{7}$*d nâ.*<br>**P.1s.pasar.1s 1s**<br>**P.1s.pass.1s 1s**<br>Voy a pasar.<br>I’m going to pass. |
| *-zŏb* | viB | ‘sentarse; sit’ | *Nâ zo*$^{7}$*b ndô yû.*<br>**1s P.1s.sentarse.1s cara tierra**<br>**1s P.1s.sit.1s face earth**<br>Me voy a sentar en el suelo.<br>I’m going to sit on the ground. |
| *-zë`* | viB | ‘caminar; walk’ | *Zë*$^{7}$*-nˆ.*<br>**P.1s.caminar.1s=1s**<br>**P.1s.walk.1s=1s**<br>Voy a caminar.<br>I’m going to walk. |
| **No tone change in completive, no potential depalatalization w/1s** | | | |
| *-z-àn* | vtCh | ‘parir; give birth’ | *Mě nhwxàn dûb mbë̌z.*<br>**3hr C-parir uno AN-nene**<br>**3hr C-give.birth one AN-baby**<br>Ella dió a luz a un niño.<br>She gave birth to a baby.<br><br>*Nâ zyán xìn.* |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **1s P.parir.1s hijo**<br>**1s P.give.birth.1s offspring**<br>Voy a dar a luz a un hijo.<br>I'm going to have a child. |
| **No palatalization in habitual aspect form and F→H alternation in potential aspect form** | | | |
| *-zô* | viB | 'pararse, estar; stand, be' | *Yë$^7$ zyó-nh´ zé nâ ntyo$^7$ á'wtóbús.*<br>**mañana P.pararse=1i lugar REL H-H.salir autobús**<br>**tomorrow P.stand=1i place REL H-H.go.out bus**<br>Mañana vamos a estar a donde sale el autobús.<br>Tomorrow we'll be standing where the bus comes out.<br><br>*Mĕ nzô tèn tzo$^7$ xìk.*<br>**3hr H-pararse sangre espalda brazo**<br>**3hr H-stand blood back arm**<br>Él tiene sangre atrás de su brazo.<br>He's got blood on the back of his arm. |
| **F→H alternation in potential aspect form** | | | |
| *-zô ga$^7$l* | viB | 'estar parado; be standing' | *Zyó ga$^7$l lô.*<br>**[P.pararse.P derecho: estar parado] 2f**<br>**[P.stand.P straight: be standing] 2f**<br>Vas a estar parado.<br>You're going to be standing. |
| **L→H in the potential** | | | |
| *-g-ò nèd* | vtD | 'adelantarlo; advance something' | *Kó nèd mĕ mbë̌z.*<br>**P.adelanar 3hr chamaco**<br>**P.advance 3hr baby**<br>Va a adelentar el señor al chamaco.<br>The man is going to let the toddler go ahead. |
| **H→R in the potential aspect form** | | | |
| *-ástê* | viC2 | 'levantarse; get up' | *Găstê mĕ.*<br>**P-levantarse.P 3hr**<br>**P-get.up.P 3hr**<br>Se va a levantar el señor.<br>S/he's going to get up. |
| **Expected tone change in potential aspect is lacking** | | | |
| *-yî* | viA C-stem | 'sanar; heal' | *Yî zé ndàw.*<br>**P.sanar lugar H-doler**<br>**P.heal place H-hurt**<br>Va a sanar a donde duele.<br>It's going to heal where it hurts. |
| *-yëˆ* | viA C-stem | 'enverdecer; become green' | *Yëˆ-ý.*<br>**P.enverdecer=3i**<br>**P.become.green=3i**<br>Va a enverdecer.<br>It's going to turn green. |
| *-g-òl tzá* | vD | 'vengarse, reponerlo; | *Kòl tzá-ý.*<br>**vengarse=3i** |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | avenge, reinstate’ | **avenge=3i**<br>Se va a vengar.<br>It will be made right. |
| **F→L in the habitual & irrealis** | | | |
| *-ôn* | vtA V-stem | ‘saberlo; find out’ | *Ndòn mě nza$^{7}$ di$^{7}$zh nhó.*<br>**H-saberlo 3hr H-dar palabra 1i**<br>**H-find.out 3hr H-give word 1i**<br>Se dió cuenta él que platicamos.<br>S/he found out that we talked. |
| **No palatalization in potential or habitual (formerly analyzed as class C consonant-stem)** | | | |
| *-kécha$^{7}$* | vB[19] | ‘colgar, pegarse, guardar; hang, stick, keep in place’ | *Kécha$^{7}$-m´ xâb mě.*<br>**P.guardar=3hr ropa 3hr**<br>**P.keep.in.place=3hr clothing 3hr**<br>Él va a guardar su ropa.<br>S/he’s going to hang up her/his clothes. |
| **No palatalization in habitual aspect form** | | | |
| *-zôña$^{7}$l* | viB | ‘estar abierto; be open’ | *Ndzôña$^{7}$l tô yêtz.*<br>**H-[pararse-S-abrirse: estar.abierto] boca olla**<br>**H-[stand-S-open: be.open] mouth pot**<br>Está destapado la orilla de la olla.<br>The pot's opening is uncovered. |
| *-zǒbye$^{7}$* | viB | ‘tener herida; have a wound’ | *Ndzǒbye$^{7}$ lâz mě.*<br>**H-[sentarse-X: tener.herida] cuerpo 3hr**<br>**H-[sit-X: have.wound] body 3hr**<br>Está lastimado su cuerpo de él.<br>His body is damaged. |
| **Suppletive habitual form** | | | |
| *-zô lë ̂* | viB | ‘llamarse, nombrarse; be named’ | *Nâ nzé lë´*[20] *Láx.*<br>**1s H-[X nombre:llamarse] Lázaro**<br>**1s H-[X name: be.named] Lázaro**<br>Me llamo Lázaro.<br>My name is Lázaro. |
| **Suppletion in the habitual:** P: *kóndô*, H: *ndzhíndô*, C: *ngwlóndô* | | | |
| *-X-óndô* | vtD | ‘conocer; know’ | *Góndzhí ndô xa$^{7}$ bâ.*<br>**2r H-[X-cara: conocer] 3hd allí**<br>**2r H-[X-face: know] 3hd there**<br>Ud. conoce a esa persona.<br>You know that person. |
| **(L→7 and) (semi-)suppletion in the completive form** | | | |
| *-àb* | viC2 | ‘podrirse, vomitar; | *Xâl ngu$^{7}$d mbë̌z?* |

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[19] The abbreviation *v* (rather than *vt* or *vi*) denotes a verb whose valency is unknown due to a lack of examples, or, as here, an ambitransitive verb. The verb *–kécha$^{7}$* can occur with a subject only (the thing hanging) or with an agentive subject and an object.

[20] The high tone on *lë´* in this example is not part of the habitual aspect irregularity but is something that regularly happens when this compound verb has a 1s subject. Normally tonal alternations do not effect the second members of compounds, especially when those are not verb roots. In this case the tonal alternation is one seen with noun possession by 1s. Though the irregularity in part causes me to view this lexical item as a compound verb, one might also want to view it as more of an idiom. The phrase ‘my name stands’ is the literal reading, though in this H form the normal root for ‘stand’ is not used, as it is in other forms.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | rot, vomit’ | **INTERROG C-vomitar AN-nene**<br>**INTERROG C-vomit AN-baby**<br>¿Que vomitó la criatura?<br>Did the baby throw up? |
| *-ày* | viC2 | ‘cocerse; get cooked’ | *Nâ ndé wtí nzâ, tò-ý ngwi*$^7$ *nà tò-ý zë̌ta*$^7$ *gǎy.*<br>**1s H-AUX.1s P-descoger AN-frijol cuál=3i C-cocerse y cuál=3i falta P-cocerse.P**<br>**1s H-AUX.1s P-pick.out AN-bean which=3i C-get.cooked y which=3i not.yet P-get.cooked.P**<br>Yo estoy descogiendo frijol, cuál se coció y cuál falta que se cuece.<br>I’m picking out beans, which ones have cooked and which ones are not cooked yet. |
| **Suppletion: P *yǒ;* H *nzhò;* C *ngyô*** | | | |
| *-y-ô* | AUX(Ch?) | ‘haber, estar; (for there to) be’ | *Ná yǒ wlë̌th nâ gǎ-n fyěst.*<br>**NEG P.haber tiempo 1s P.1s.ir.1s=1s fiesta**<br>**NEG P.be.there time 1s P.1s.go.1s=1s fiesta**<br>No voy a tener tiempo de ir a la fiesta.<br>I’m not going to have time to go to the fiesta.<br><br>Nzhò lâd yèk Mǎx.<br>**H-haber trapo cabeza Tomás**<br>**H-be.there cloth head Terry**<br>Tiene trapo la cabeza de Tomás.<br>There’s a bandana on Terry’s head. |
| **Fortis R1 in the completive (rather than lenis R2): P xo$^7$b; H ndzho$^7$b; C nhwxo$^7$b** | | | |
| *-zh-o*$^7$*b* | viCh | ‘estar; be’ | *Ndzho*$^7$*b ngû ndô la*$^7$*z.*<br>**H-estar huevo cara nido**<br>**H-be egg face nest**<br>Hay huevitos en el nido.<br>There are eggs in the nest. |
| *-zh-o*$^7$*b* | viCh | ‘desboronarse; crumble’ | *Ngwxo*$^7$*b nzhǒp.*<br>**C-desboronarse maíz**<br>**C-crumble corn**<br>Desgranó el maíz.<br>The corn crumbled |
| **R1 absent in habitual form** | | | |
| *-b-ê* | AUXD | ‘haber; for there to be’ | *Jwánh ndê yà pán nà chókólát.*<br>**Juan H-AUX INF-comer pan con chocolate**<br>**John H-AUX INF-eat bread with chocolate**<br>Juan está comiendo pan con chocolate.<br>John is eating bread and chocolate. |
| **Fortis R1 in habitual (not just the potential)** | | | |
| *-k-ìx* | vtD | ‘pagar (dinero); pay (money)’ | *Álí ka*$^7$ *nkìx mě tmî.*<br>**de.por.si FOC H-pagar 3hr dinero**<br>**always FOC H-pay 3hr money**<br>De por sí paga el dinero.<br>S/he always pays the money. |
| **H→F in the completive** | | | |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *-g-ócha*$^{7}$ | vtD | ‘guardar, almacenar; store’ | *Ngwlôcha*$^{7}$*-m´ yà.*<br>**C-almacenar=3hr madera**<br>**C-store=3hr wood**<br>Guardó la leña.<br>S/he stored the wood. |
| **7→L in the imperative** | | | |
| *-b-i*$^{7}$*b* | vtD | ‘sacudir; shake’ | *Wtìb-é!*<br>**IMP-sacudir=3i**<br>**IMP-shake=3i**<br>¡Sacúdalo!<br>Shake it! |

# 4. Inflection

This chapter is concerned with how inflectional categories are marked phonologically in CLZ, and also what these categories mean and how they are used. Virtually all inflectional categories in CLZ are TAM categories and are marked on verbs. There is no number-marking inflectional category in CLZ. Number is only indicated through the use of quantifiers, which are verbs. Animacy is marked through derivational morphology which is covered in Chapter 5, and through the use of classifiers, which falls under the domain of syntax. The only inflection relevant to nouns in this language is the existence of marginal case marking on some pronouns in the SMaC dialect, which is covered with the discussion of pronouns in the syntax section. Morphological person-marking in CLZ only serves to mark the first person singular on a verb to which it is subject or a noun to which it is possessor. This marking is primarily achieved through tone changes which have been addressed for verbs in Chapter 4 and will be briefly covered for nouns in the section on possession in the Noun Phrases chapter. With a few verbs 1s marking also involves depalatalization in the potential aspects which has already been addressed in Chapter 3. Subjects and objects can be expressed through bound segmental morphemes but these are clitics, not affixes, and are covered in the syntax section. All that is left to focus on here is the marking of tense, aspect, and mood on verbs.

The verbal inflections covered here include irrealis and imperative moods, habitual, potential, and completive aspect, and the only category which might be considered a “tense” is the future category. However, since the use of the future rather than the potential aspect indicates a high level of certainty on the speaker’s part about the likelihood of the future event actually taking place, one could argue that this category is not a simple tense category as in a language in which the category labelled “future” simply refers to an event’s place on a timeline. Black (1994) considers both potential and future to be moods rather than aspects in QZ. Also in this chapter I cover two non-finite forms of CLZ verbs. When a verb serves as the complement to a motion verb, as in a purpose clause, it takes a special non-finite form which I label M, and when a verb serves as complement to a different type of verb, such as a state-of-being verb, it takes a different non-finite form which I call the infinitive. The latter form is not cognate with the form labelled “infinitive” by Butler (1980), and Bartholomew (1983) in Northern Zapotec languages. A cognate to the NZ infinitive does exist in CLZ but with a more limited usage. It is here called the participle and is covered in Chapter 5. Stative aspect is also covered in Chapter 5 as a derivational category because it is not productive, is used only on a small set of verbs, and is mostly found on adjectives, having been used to derive such adjectives from verb roots. Figure 40 shows the markers for the different inflectional categories as they are used with verbs of different classes and phonological shapes, along with Kaufman’s (2003) reconstruction of the corresponding PZ markers. The labels for each of the categories are the ones I use and do not match the labels used by Kaufman in every instance.

**Figure 40: Inflectional prefixes of CLZ by verb class and their PZ etymons**

| | **PZ** | **A** | | **B** | **C** | | **D** | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | **C-** | **V-** | **C-** | **C-** | **V-** | **-C-** | **V-** |
| **Potential** | _*ki+,_<br>_*k+_ | _w-,_<br>_Ø-_ | _g-_ | _Ø- (-y-)_ | _fortition_ | _g-_ | _fortition_ | _w-, g-_ |
| **Habitual** | _*tyi+_ | _nd-_ | _nd-_ | _nd- (-y-)_ | _nd-_ | _nd-_ | _nd-_ | _nd-_ |
| **Completive** | _*kwe+,_<br>_*ko+_ | _mb-_ | _mbi+_ | _ŋgw-_ | _ŋgw-_ | _ŋgw-,_<br>_ŋgo+,_<br>_ŋgu+_ | _ŋgw-C2-_ | _ŋgw-C-_ |
| **Imperative** | “ “ | _b-_ | _bi+_ | _(g)w-_ | _(g)w-_ | _w-,_<br>_go+,_<br>_gu+_ | _(g)w-_ | _w-C-_ |
| **Participle** | _*kue+_ | _w-_ | _wi+_ | | | _go+_ | _w-_ | _w-_ |
| **Future** | _*sa+,_<br>_*si+_ | _s-_ | _s-_ | _s-_ | _s-_ | _s-_ | _s-_ | _s-_ |
| **Infinitive** | | _Ø-_ | _y-_ | _Ø-_ | _Ø-_ | _y-_ | _Ø-C1_ | _y-_ |
| **Motion vb. complement** | | _Ø-_ | _y-_ | _Ø-_ | _Ø-_ | _y-_ | _Ø-C2_ | _Ø-C-_ |
| **Irrealis** | _*ni+_ | _ŋ-_ | _ŋg-_ | _ŋ-_ | _ŋ-_ | _ŋg-_ | _ŋ-_ | _ŋg(w)-_ |

Each inflectional category, (with the exception of case), may be marked in different ways on different verbs according to what class the verbs fall into, as explained in Chapter 3. In what follows I treat each inflectional category in turn, describing the different ways in which each category is marked, how each category is used semantically, and how certain categories share a morphological relationship. The *w*- transitive marker which came up frequently in Chapter 3 only occurs in certain TAM-marked forms of verbs and in a sense might be considered a portmanteau morpheme since its presence attached to a verb stem not only signifies transitivity but also a particular TAM category. However, the difficulty in calling this a portmanteau morpheme is that there is more than one TAM category that it is used with. Rather than devoting a separate section to this transitivity marker I discuss it in the description of each of the TAM categories it occurs with.

### 4.1 Irrealis mood

In classes A-C the irrealis stem, the form to which the irrealis prefix is added, is identical to the bare verb root. In class Ch-D the same is only true of intransitive verbs with vowel-initial habitual stems. Transitive class D verbs with vowel-initial habitual stems form the irrealis stem by adding *w* to the verb root. This *w*- may be seen as a transitivity prefix which only shows up on certain verbs depending on class and shape, and only in certain inflectional forms. Class Ch-D verbs with consonant-initial habitual stems form the irrealis by the adding the R1 prefix to the verb root. For these class Ch-D consonant-stems the habitual and irrealis stems are identical to each other and to the infinitive described below in 4.7.1.

Preceding vowel-initial stems and stems begining in *y*, *w* or *l*, the irrealis marker is *ng*- [ŋg]. Preceding all other consonants the allomorph used is *nh*- [ŋ]. Verb class does not affect allomorph selection for this inflectional category. Except for one irregular verb shown in Figure 39 in the previous chapter, there are no tonal alternations involved in the marking of irrealis mood. In (4.1) I list verb roots by their habitual stems and give examples showing how the irrealis is formed.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (4.1) | *–àb* **vC** | *-yě̌j* **vtA** | *-zhǎl* **vA** |
| | **‘decir; say’** | **‘fastidiarse; be fed up’** | **‘encontrar; find’** |
| **IRR** | *ngàb* | *ngyěj* | *nhzhǎl* |
| | | | |
| | *Ña$^{7}$n xé ngàb mě.* | *Ná ngyěj lô.* | *Ná nhzhǎl sâ lô.* |
| | **nada INTER IRR-decir 3hr** | **NEG IRR-fastidiar 2f** | **NEG IRR-encontrar 1e 2f** |
| | **nothing INTER IRR-say 3hr** | **NEG IRR-be.fed.up 2f** | **NEG IRR-find 1e 2f** |
| | Él no dijo nada. | No te aburriste. | No te encontramos. |
| | He didn't say anything. | You didn't get bothered. | We did not find you. |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | *-àw* **viD** | *-à* **vtD** | *-b-ë̌z* **vD** |
| | **‘dolerse; hurt’** | **‘comer; eat’** | **‘esperar; wait’** |
| **IRR** | *ngàw* | *ngwà* | *nhbë̌z* |
| | | | |
| | *Ná ngàw-é.* | *Ná ngwà-l̂-é.* | *Ná nhbë̌z lô.* |
| | **NEG IRR-dolerse=3i** | **NEG IRR.T-comer=2f=3i** | **NEG IRR-R1-esperar 2f** |
| | **NEG IRR-hurt=3i** | **NEG IRR.T-eat=2f=3i** | **NEG IRR-R1-wait 2f** |
| | No dolió. | No lo comiste. | No esperaste. |
| | It didn’t hurt. | You didn’t eat it. | You didn’t wait. |

Kaufman (2003) reconstructs the irrealis (in his terminology contrafactual) as **niy* in Proto-Zapotec. The irrealis mood is used in CLZ to mark actions which did not take place in the past, but could have. The irrealis marker is used to mark hypothetical, conditional, or deontic meaning on actions that would have taken place in the past, as in (4.2).

(4.2) Deontic *Nà-ḿ ngâ.*
**también=3hr IRR-ir**
**also=3hr IRR=go**
Él también hubiera ido.
He too should have gone.

Verbs without such readings are marked with the irrealis marker, along with a separate negative particle, as a way of forming a negative past, as in (4.3).

(4.3) Negative past *Ní mě Chán ná nhnâ xé mód nhwxên yî wê.*
**ní 3hr Luciano NEG IRR-*V*er que modo C-tocar piedra det**
**NEG 3hr Luciano NEG IRR-see what way C-touch rock det**
Ni el Sr. Luciano no lo vió que modo tocó la piedra entonces.
Nor did Mr. Luciano see how the rock was touched then.

Note that when a simple negative past reading is intended a negative word precedes the irrealis verb. When the other kind of reading is intended a negative word is not necessary. In (4.4) I give one more example of a negative past reading, with an interesting use of the obligatory negative word. Literally this sentence means ‘but nothing is what could-have-but-didn’t-happen to him.’

(4.4) *Pér ña*$^7$*n xta*$^7$ *nhzhë*$^7$*l ár.*
**pero nada REL-3i IRR-pasarle 3hf**
**but nothing REL-3i IRR-happen.to 3hf**
Pero nada le pasó a él.
But nothing happened to him.

### 4.2 Future “tense”

Future actions may be indicated in one of two ways in CLZ. Actions which are not guaranteed to take place may be marked with the potential aspect described below in 4.4. Verbs denoting events which the speaker considers certain to take place are marked with the future. We might also label this category the “certain future”, indicating that this is not just a regular future tense, but that semantically there is aspectual or modal content to this category as well. However, the likely abbreviation CF could be confused with the label contrafactual, which some (e.g. Kaufman 1989, 2003) use to refer to what I call the irrealis mood.

The future is marked with the prefix *s-* in all CLZ verb classes. The future prefix is marked onto the bare root in classes A-C, but in class Ch-D the future stem begins with the R1 prefix. Both transitive and intransitive class D verbs with vowel-initial habitual stems (i.e. verbs which lack an R1 prefix) have vowel-initial future stems. If a verb has an irrealis stem beginning in one of the voiced sibilants *z* or *zh* the future form will surface with the appropriate voiceless sibilant, *s* or *x*.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (4.5) | *–lâ* **viB** | *-zë`* **viB** | *-ùn* **vtA** |
| | **‘bajarse; come down’** | **‘caminar; walk’** | **‘hacer; do’** |
| **F** | *slâ* | *së`* | *sùn* |
| | *Nbèzh ngwzi7. Slâ yì.* | *Së` ka*$^{7}$ *tzo*$^{7}$*-n^.* | *Sún nâ-ý.* |
| | **H-gritar AN-rayo FUT-caer lluvia** | **F-caminar FOC espalda=1s** | **F-hacer 1s=3i** |
| | **H-scream AN-lightning FUT-fall rain** | **F-walk FOC back=1s** | **F-do.1s 1s=3i** |
| | El rayo está tronando. Va a llover. | Sí va conmigo. | Lo hago. |
| | It’s thundering. It will rain. | Yes, he will come with me.[1] | I will do it. |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | *-à* **vtD** | *-b-o*$^{7}$ **vtD** |
| | **‘comer; eat’** | **‘sacar; take out’** |
| **F** | *sà* | *sbo*$^{7}$ |
| | *Ségúr ka*$^{7}$ *sà-ḿ.* | *Ségúr ka*$^{7}$ *sbo*$^{7}$*-x-é.* |
| | **seguro FOC F-comer=3hr** | **seguro FOC F-R1-sacar=3hd=3i** |
| | **certain FOC F-eat=3hr** | **certain FOC F-R1-take.out=3hd=3i** |
| | Seguro tiene que comer. | Seguro lo tienen que sacar. |
| | It’s certain that s/he will eat. | They will definitely take it out. |

The examples given for the verbs *–zë`* and *–ùn* in (4.5) are taken from the text in Appendix B2, lines 234 and 192. Both are affirmative responses being given to questions or requests. Such queries are asking for assurances and the use of the future grants a higher level of certainty than the potential, which is preferable from the speakers’ points of view in the context of the text. In one case a woman is enthusiastic about a suggestion that her lover accompany her on an outing. In another a man who is being tested by supernatural beings is eager to agree to the trial which will prove his innocence.

The future cannot be used in a negative construction in CLZ. To express that an action will not take place at a future time, a negative word is used with the potential aspect form of a verb. In (4.6) I show two ungrammatical negative future constructions and in (4.7) grammatical constructions using the potential aspect.

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[1] This is the answer to a request. The request used the potential form of the verb ‘walk.’ A man wants to trick his wife and compadre, who are having an affair, and the wife responds over-enthusiastically, using the future to indicate her confidence that the compadre will join them on the outing. Also indicative of this over-enthusiasm is that this sentence (line 234, Appendix B2) is a Freudian slip, as she says that her lover will go “with me” which she corrects to “---with us” in the text.

|  |  |  |
|---|---|---|
| (4.6) | **Ná sùth mě ngëˇg.* | **Ná sà-m´.* |
|  | **NEG F-matar 3hr AN-mosca** | **NEG F-comer=3hr** |
|  | **NEG F-kill 3hr AN-fly** | **NEG F-eat=3hr** |
| (4.7) | ✓*Ná gǔth mě ngëˇg.* | ✓*Ná wǎ-m.* |
|  | **NEG P-matar.P 3hr AN-mosca** | **NEG P-comer=3hr** |
|  | **NEG P-kill.P 3hr AN-fly** | **NEG P-eat=3hr** |
|  | No va a matar la mosca. | No va a comer. |
|  | S/he’s not going to kill the fly. | S/he’s not going to eat. |

In CLZ both the future and the potential can be used for exhortation. It seems that in SMaC the potential is used more often as an exhortative while in SBL the future is more commonly used for this purpose. Potential examples can be found in 4.4. In (4.8) a future exhortative is used (line 112 in Appendix B2).

(4.8) *Gǎb lô, ‘Sâ-nh´ go*$^{7}$*z mtyë`tz’.*
**P-decir 2f F-ir=1i pesca camarón**
**P-say 2f F-go=1i hunt shrimp**
Le vas a decir, ‘Vamos a la pesca de camarón’.
You are going to say, ‘Let’s go shrimp-fishing.’

CLZ quantifiers are verbs. However they cannot take the full range of inflectional marking, and the inflectional categories they can be marked for render somewhat different meanings than when applied to regular verbs. Black (2000) has described these in Quiegolani Zapotec, as well as identifying some similar constructions in modern Isthmus Zapotec and Colonial Valley Zapotec.

In both Quiegolani (Black, 1994) and Isthmus (Pickett et al., 1998) Zapotec, the future marker added to a quantifier renders the meaning of ‘another of that many.’ This is also the case in CLZ. As in Quiegolani, the future marker can occur on any quantifier, numerical or not, but in my corpus it is much more common on numerical roots. In (4.9) I show the future marker on the number ‘seven’ and in (4.10) I show it on a non-numerical quantifier.

(4.9) *Ndǎp nâ ti7 xǐn nâ: chǒn mbzhëˆgôtz nà sgâd mbzhëˆbyî.*
**H-tener.1s**[2] **1s diez hijo.1s 1s tres AN-joven hembra y F-siete AN-joven varón**
**H-have.1s 1s ten offspring.1s 1s three AN-youth female and F-seven An-youth male**
Tengo diez hijos: tres son mujeres y otros siete son hombres.
I have ten children: three are girls and another seven are boys.

(4.10) *Nà ngòth xë7 nà bi7 mbi7l ndâtz ta7 sxa7 sme7.*
**y C-acostarse? luz y X C-tocar pie ya 3hd FUT-poco**
and **C-lie.down?**[3] **light and X C-play foot still 3hd FUT-little**
Y amaneció y todavía bailaron ellos otro poquito.
And the sun rose and they still danced there for another little while.

The future marker added to the number ‘one’ forms the word ‘other’ or ‘another’ and can be counted as a separate lexical item. It can be used transparently as the same kind of construction as the future marker added to any other quantifier, but it can also be used somewhat differently. The most common word for ‘other’ in CLZ is *stúb*. This differs from the numerical root ‘one’ in that this word has high tone rather than falling tone (so far tonal alternations have not been noted in the future-marked forms of other numbers), and in that the root-initial consonant is fortis rather than lenis. There are two dialectical variants of the number ‘one’ in CLZ. One is *dûb* and the other is *dîb*. To my knowledge, only *stúb* is used in San Baltazar Loxicha where ‘one’ is *dûb*, but both *stúb* and *stíb* are used in Santa María Coatlán where ‘one’ is *dîb*. There is likely more variation than I am aware of, but I point out these variations to show that this is one respect in which *stúb* (or *stíb*) is lexicalized and is not just another regular quantifier marked for the future.

Semantically and syntactically there are additional differences between the future marker added to the number one and added to other quantifiers. Mathematically, one times any number is that number. Zapotec has a vigesimal counting system, which is common in Mesoamerica. Higher numbers such as ‘forty,’ ‘sixty,’ and ‘eighty’ can be formed by placing the multiple of twenty before the root for ‘twenty.’ Thus, the number ‘sixty’ is ‘three twenties.’ The root ‘three’ followed by the root ‘twenty’ is thus a unique compound number, different from ‘three’ and different from ‘twenty’. Placing ‘three’ in front of ‘twenty’ changes the meaning, while placing the number ‘one’ in front of a larger number like ‘twenty’ or ‘hundred’ does not change the quantity specified. Instead, this would render a meaning like ‘some twenty X’s’ or ‘some hundred X’s.’ If instead of saying ‘some twenty X’s’ one wants to say ‘another twenty X’s,’ one can of course just add the future to the word ‘twenty’ to render this meaning, but optionally one can also add the word *stúb* (or *stíb*) in front of the number. Even if the word *stúb* appears before a quantifier, the future marker *s-* is still attached to that quantifier. Examples of this are *stúb sgâl-é* in (4.11) and *stúb sga7y* in (4.12). The word ‘other’ *stúb* occuring prior to a number is structurally different than other future-marked numbers that occur before a base number like twenty. In the latter case, the future is being marked on a compound number, [F-[three twenty]] whereas in the former case the word ‘(an)other’ precedes a number marked for the future, [another [F-[twenty]]]. The fact that numbers preceded by *stúb* are still marked with the future, while in compound numbers only the first numerical root is marked for the future, is a structural difference that is symptomatic of the lexicalization of *stúb*. In (4.11) compare *stúb gâl-é* to *schǒn gâl-é*.

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[2] A gloss of 1s preceded by the <.> used for fusional morphology indicates that there is tone sandhi on the root, indicating a first person singular possessor or subject.

(4.11) *Nâ kíx dûb áyo7 pés: gâl-é kíx nâ ndô érréró*
**1s P-pagar uno cien=3i P-pagar 1s cara herrero**
**1s P-pay one hundred=3i P-pay 1s face blacksmith**
Tengo que pagar cien pesos: veinte le pago al herrero,
I’m going to pay out some hundred pesos: twenty I’m going to pay to the blacksmith

*nà stúb sgâl-é kíx nâ ndô álbáñĭl*
**y otro FUT-*V*einte=3i P-pagar 1s cara albañil**
**and other FUT-twenty=3i P-pay 1s face handyman**
y otros veinte voy a pagarle al albañil
and another twenty I’m going to pay to the handyman

*nà schǒn gâl-é kíx nâ tě mbzhëˆndùn áyúd álbáñĭl.*
**y FUT-tres veinte=3i P-pagar 1s POS AN-joven H-hacer ayuda albañil**
**and FUT-three twenty=3i P-pay 1s POS AN-youth H-make help handyman**
y otros sesenta a los ayudantes del albañil.
and another sixty I’m going to pay the boys that help the handyman.

---

[3] The forms for other aspects of ‘amanecer’ look exactly like ‘acostarse + luz’ but in the completive ‘acostarse’ has a glottal tone and ‘amanecer’ has a low tone on *ngoth*.

(4.12) *Nâ gŭth dûb ti*$^7$ *mǎn: dûb ga*$^7$*y mbzhîn nà stúb sga*$^7$*y nděz.*
**1s P-matar.1s uno diez animal uno cinco AN-venado y otro FUT-cinco tlacuache**
**1s P-kill.1s one ten animal one five AN-deer and other FUT-five possum**
Yo voy a matar diez animales: cinco venados, y otros cinco tlacuaches.
I'm going to kill some ten animals: some five deer and another five possums.

### 4.3 Habitual aspect

"Habitual" is a term that is fairly entrenched in the Zapotec literature (see e.g. Pickett et al., 1959; Kaufman 1989, 2003; Black, 1994; and Munro & Lopez et al., 1999). Butler (1980) and Long & Butler (1999) use the term "*continuativo*." Bartholomew (1983) and López & Newberg (1999) use the lay person-friendly "*presente*" although Lopez and Newberg write that this category "indicates a contunuous or habitual action" (my translation) which can include a past continuous action. The term "habitual" is also convenient for practical reasons. The abbreviation *H* is not likely to be confused for other linguistic terms. However, "imperfective aspect" would probably be a more accurate label for this category. H-marking on verbs indicates that the action is on-going or is not being viewed as a whole, completed event. While some verbs marked in this way are referring to habitual actions or states, the same marking occurs when a verb refers to a continuous but not repetitive event or state. Nevertheless I refer to this inflectional category as the "habitual" because there is a good deal of CLZ material already created using this term, which is also used in the majority of the Zapotec literature. A variety of examples are shown in (4.13-22). The reader is also encouraged to see more examples in context in the texts in the appendices.

(4.13) *Dyáryó ndâ ár go*$^7$*z mbzhîn të*$^7$*l.*
**diario H-ir 3hf pesca AN-venado noche**
**daily H-go 3hf hunt AN-deer night**
Diaro iba a campear venado de noche.
Daily he went to hunt deer at night.

(4.14) *Ndùn be*$^7$*y xa*$^7$*.*
**H-[hacer X: pensar] 3hr**
**H-[do X: think] 3hr**
Está pensativo.
S/he's preoccupied.

(4.15) *Nkwǎn nâ dûb pósád.*
**H-buscar.1s 1s uno posada**
**H-seek.1s 1s one lodging**
Yo busco una posada.
I’m looking for a place to stay.

(4.16) *Xta*$^{7}$ *nzyàk lô.*
**INT-cosa H-sufrir 2f**
**INT-thing H-suffer 2f**
¿Qué cosa tienes tú?
What’s the matter?

(4.17) *Wê ta*$^{7}$ *ndùn be*$^{7}$*y xa*$^{7}$*.*
**DET 3i H-[hacer X:pensar] 3hd**
**DET 3i H-[do X:think] 3hd**
Eso es lo que pensaba.
That’s what s/he was thinking.

(4.18) *Lók nzô yìch kwe*$^{7}$ *yèk xa*$^{7}$*.*
**mucho H-pararse [pelo X: cana] cabeza 3hd**
**many H-stand [hair X: grey hair] head 3hd**
Tiene muchas canas en su cabeza.
S/he has a lot of grey hairs on his/her head.

(4.19) *Bélítza*$^{7}$ *ndê yà-m´.*
[X-X-X: **todavía] H-AUX INF-comer=3hr**
[X-X-X: **still] H-AUX INF-eat=3hr**
Todavía está comiendo.
S/he’s still eating.

(4.20) *Jwánh ndê yà pán nà chókólát.*
**Juan H-AUX INF-comer pan y chocolate**
**John H-AUX INF-eat bread and chocolate**
Juan está comiendo pan con chocolate.
John is eating bread and chocolate.

(6.21) *Álí ka*$^{7}$ *ndà-m´.*
**[X-X FOC?: de por sí] H-comer=3hr**
**[X-X FOC?: all the time] H-eat=3hr**
De por sí come.
S/he eats all the time.

(6.22) *Álí ka*$^{7}$ *ndê yà-m´.*
**[X-X FOC?: de por sí] H-AUX INF-comer=3hr**
**[X-X FOC?: all the time] H-AUX INF-eat=3hr**
De por sí está él comiendo (p.ej. cada vez que lo veo está comiendo).
S/he’s eating all the time (e.g. every time I see him he’s eating).

A few verbs are irregular in lacking a completive form, and instead use the habitual form in instances where other verbs would use the completive. One of these is *–ázìn* ‘dormirse *parte del cuerpo*; for a body part to go numb.’ In this case one reason for a past tense translation of a morphologically habitual form may be that when we say in English or Spanish that ‘my foot *fell* asleep’ we are usually just noticing a state that our foot is still currently in. Even if we were referring to a situation that happened yesterday and is now over, it was an on-going state when it happened. A foot does not just fall asleep for a split second and then return to normal, nor does this refer to a permanent change of state. A more common verb with the same irregularity is *–àb* ‘decir; say.’ Speech may also be continuous, although it is less inherently so than having one’s foot fall asleep. When one is quoting someone, that person’s words are being kept alive or reincarnated, perhaps making quotes less completive in nature. For example, stories that are told all the time have the same quotes repeated frequently in the mouths of storytellers. In other situations we often repeat someone’s words to another in order to relay messages. So, although my mother may have told me something an hour ago that I am now telling my father, while in English or Spanish I might tell him ‘she *said*’ in the past or preterite, her message to him is not completed because I am still in the process of relaying it to him. Even in English many people have a style of recounting interchanges using the English “present” tense, which is of course actually used for habitual aspect in English, e.g. “...and then she says to me, she says...” or “and then he goes to the wife and he says...” CLZ examples of these two verbs appear in (4.23-25).

(4.23) *Ndázìn ndátz nâ.*
**H-[X tonto: dormirse] pie.1s 1s**
**H-[X dumb[4]: dormirse] pie.1s 1s**
Se durmió mi pie.
My foot fell asleep.

---

[4] The word *zìn* can be translated as ‘ignorante, loco, tonto, zafado; ignorant person, crazy person, fool, idiot,’ someone who is dumb or unusual. So in Zapotec your foot goes crazy or dumb. Perhaps there is a similar historical relationship between the English words *dumb* and *numb*.

(4.24) *Nǎl yë*$^7$ *wê ndǎb lá nâ-ý.*
**esta.hora mañana DET H-decir.1s ya 1s=3i**
**this.time tomorrow DET H-say.1s already 1s=3i**
Como mañana a estas horas ya le hablé.
Tomorrow at this time I will already have told them.

(4.25) *Wê ndàb mě gǒx ndô ár wê...*
**DET H-decir 3hr viejo cara 3hf aquel**
**DET H-say 3hr old face 3hf DET**
Entonces dijo la viejita a él...
Then the old lady said to that man...

The habitual is marked with *nd-* preceding obstruents and *n-* prededing sonorants. Before voiced sibilants there is an unwritten epenthetic *d*. In this case arguments could be made either that this is the underlying *d* of the prefix or that this is an epenthetic sound made during the transition from the nasal stop /n̤/ to the oral sibilant. Preceding a *g*-initial verb stem the prefix is written with a hyphen to avoid being confused for a velar nasal-stop cluster. Regular verbs of classes B and Ch have palatalization of the stem-initial consonant when marked for the habitual. Class Ch-D verbs take the R1 prefix in the habitual form if they take an R1 prefix at all. In (4.26) I show habitual forms of verbs with different stem-initial segments and belonging to different classes.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (4.26) | -*lu*$^7$ vtA | -*tìd* viB | -*àb* viC | -*z-ìn* vtCh | -*g-a*$^7$*b* vtD | -*à* vtD |
| | **‘mostrar’** | **‘pasar’** | **‘gotear’** | **‘batir’** | **‘sobarlo’** | **‘comer’** |
| | **‘show’** | **‘pass’** | **‘drip’** | **‘stir’** | **‘massage’** | **‘eat’** |
| H | *ndlu*$^7$ | *ntyìd* | *ndàb* | *nzyìn* | *n-ga*$^7$*b* | *ndà* |

## 4.4 Potential aspect

The potential aspect is used to mark a verb when the action or change of state may possibly take place, but is not necessarily certain to take place. Such examples of uncertain non-past events are given in (4.27-28). The difference between the future and the potential is one of certainty. The future form of a verb cannot be used with negation. Any doubt about the possibility of an event taking place requires the use of the potential over the future form. Verbs referring to events that take place at a future time are obligatorily marked for potential aspect if there is any overt negation, i.e. if a negative word modifies the verb then it cannot be marked with the future tense. Such negative future time uses of the potential are exemplified in (4.29-31).

(4.27) *Nàt sí kóndě-l, gǎk tá ndâ kwént.* **Uncertain future**
**ahora sí verás=2f P-hacerse 3i H-ir cuento**
**now yes see=2f P-become 3i H-go story**
Ahora sí verás, se va a cumplir lo que se habló.
Now you will see, what was foretold is going to come to pass.

(4.28) *“Xta$^7$ ndùn be$^7$y-á gǔn nà nâ?*
**INT-3i H-[hacer X: pensar]=2r P-hacer con 1s**
**INT-3i H-[do X: think]=2r P-do with 1s**
“Qué cosa piensa Ud. hacer conmigo?”
“What do you you think you’ll do with me?”

(4.29) *Lë$^7$ ár ár zìn wê pár tě-x tě ná ñâ ár xta$^7$ no$^7$ prínsésá.* **Negative future**
**FOC 3hf 3hf tonto DET para POS-3hd POS NEG P-ver 3hf INT-3i H-traer princesa**
**FOC 3hf 3hf fool DET for POS-3hd POS NEG P-see 3hf INT-3i H-bear princess**
Como está tontito entonces para ellos no va a ver que cosa lleva la princesa.
Since he is an idiot according to them he’s not going to see what the princess has.

(4.30) *Lá gǔn nâ ábís ndô mbál.* SMaC
**NEG P-hacer.P 1s aviso cara compadre**
**NEG P-do.P 1s warning face compadre**
No voy a avisar al compadre.
I’m not going to let the compadre know.

(4.31) *Ná gǎk ta$^7$ lyâ ár ndô bë$^7$ zhó wê.*
**NEG P-poder todavía P-bajarse 3hf cara cielo [X DET: entonces]**
**NEG P-be.able still P-get.down 3hf face sky [X DET: then]**
Ya no pudo bajarse del espacio entonces.
Now he wouldn’t be able to get down from the sky.

Example (4.31) is taken from line 175 of Appendix B2 and merits some explanation. The Spanish-literate reader will notice that the main verb of the Spanish translation is in the preterite yet I have included this in the set of negative *future* examples. This example occurs in a text passage in which a supernatural being is realizing that a man has disobeyed her by going on a joyride in the sky on Lightning’s back. This line is one of several lines detailing her realization of what was going on at that moment. At the moment she was thinking about this the man was still in the sky. So, even though the translation indicates past tense because the whole story takes place in the past, Lightning’s Mother was thinking about the man’s inability to get himself down out of the sky at some time that was in the future from that moment.

As already described for the future in 4.2, the potential can be used as an exhortative, an encouraging form used with a first person plural subject. The potential can also be used instead of the imperative to form a more polite command. The potential used in this way will have an overt subject, in contrast to the imperative which has an implicit but not overt second person subject. By using the potential rather than the imperative the speaker is making more of a suggestion than a demand, at least grammatically. A third type of command that uses the potential instead of the imperative is the negative command. This is used in the same way as identified by Black (1994) for Quiegolani, with the potential-marked verb taking an overt second person subject.

All three types of commands are exemplified in (4.32-40). Examples (4.32) and (4.33) are examples of exhortatives taken from the SMaC text in Appendix B1. (4.32) is part of a suggestion made by the possum in line 11 and (4.33) is the puma’s reply from line 12. Polite second person commands are exemplified in (4.34-36). Example (4.35) is taken from line 5 in Appendix B1. The reader can gain a greater appreciation of the nature of this polite command from wife to husband by consulting the text. Example (4.36) is taken from line 10 of the same text and is made even more polite, as is done in many languages, by using negation and question syntax. (4.37-40) show examples of negative commands using the potential. The example in (4.40) is also an example of an indirect command.

(4.32) *Yá nhá go7z.* SMaC **Exhortative**
**P-ir 1i.NOM pesca**
**P-ir 1i.NOM hunt**
Vamonos a campear.
Let’s go hunting.

(4.33) *“Yá nhá” ndàb mbál mbi$^7$zh.* SMaC
**P-ir.P 1i.NOM H-decir compadre león**
**P-go.P 1i.NOM H-say compadre puma**
“Vamos” dice el compadre león.
“Let’s go,” says Compadre Puma.

(4.34) *Pér wla$^7$-á nâ nzyăn zé nâ mto$^7$-n^.* **Polite command**
**pero P-dejar=2r 1s H-X.1s lugar REL C-salir=1s**
**but P-put.down=2r 1s H-X.1s place REL C-go.out=1s**
Pero déjame Ud. me voy a donde salí.
But let me go to where I came from.

(4.35) *Yá nâ lô ndô mbál.* SMaC
**P-ir M-ver 2f cara compadre**
**P-go see 2f face compadre**
Vas a ver al compadre.
You’ll go and see the compadre.

(4.36) *Kompádhr, á lá go$^7$ gá nâ?* SMaC
**compadre X NEG P-llevar 2r 1s**
**compadre X NEG P-take 2r 1s**
Compadre, ¿que no va Ud. llevar a mi?
Compadre, won’t you take me?

(6.37) *Ná yá-á.* **Negative command**
**NEG P-ir.P=2r**
**NEG P-go.P=2r**
¡No se van Uds.!
Don’t go! (plural)

(6.38) *Ná wă-l tá bâ nyâl măch tá bâ*
**NEG P-comer.P=2f 3i DET X feo 3i DET**
**NEG P-eat.P=2f 3i DET X ugly 3i DET**
¡No comes eso porque está sucio!
Don’t eat that because it’s dirty!

(6.39) *Ná ñi$^7$-lˆ di$^7$zh ka$^7$n.*
**NEG P-decir=2f palabra chueco**
**NEG P-say=2f word crooked**
¡No digas palabras chuecas!
Don’t say crooked words!

(4.40) *Xùz lô ndàb ná gúl ndâtz lô.*
**padre 2f H-decir NEG P-[tocar pie: bailar] 2f**
**father 2f H-say NEG P-[play foot: dance] 2f**
Tu papá dijo no bailas.
Your father said not to dance.

As seen in all the examples above, polite commands in the potential aspect typically have overt subjects. One exception seems to be a special verb that is used to request that a message be relayed. (4.41) shows how this verb is also used in the potential but without an overt subject, to make a request similar to those in the examples above.

(4.41) Gûd syǎl nâ wzhî nàt.
**P-decirle F-venir.1s 1s tarde hoy**
**P-tell F-come.1s 1s evening today**
Dile que regreso hoy en la tarde.
Tell him/her that I'll come back this evening.

As in QZ (Black, 1994) the potential in CLZ is also used to express purpose. One way of doing this is with a clause headed by the Spanish loanword *pár* meaning 'para; for, in order to.' CLZ also has purpose clauses which are headed by motion verbs with subordinate verbs expressing the purpose of the motion. Verbs that are complements of motion verbs typically take a form I label M and discuss in 4.7.2, which undergoes the same tonal alternations as the potential form. For some verbs these two forms are identical. However, sometimes a non-homophonous potential form is used in the same way as the M form. Both types of purpose clauses are shown in (4.42) and (4.43).

(4.42) *Wê châ ngwâ wlu*$^7$ *mě gǒx.* **complement of a motion verb**
**DET después C-ir P-enseñar 3hr viejo**
**DET after C-go P-show 3hr old**
Luego entonces fue la viejita a enseñar.
Later then the old lady went to show.

(4.43) *Nzhâ yo*$^7$ *mě byî pár ké do*$^7$ *má.* ***pár* clause**
**H-irse M-traerlo 3hr varón para P-[X mecate: amarrar] 3a**
**H-go.away M-bring 3hr male for P-[X rope: tie] 3a**
Se fue a traerlo para amarrarlo.
The man goes to take in order to tie the animal up.

For some verb classes, most notably class A, there are different potential forms for transitive and intransitive verbs. Transitivity is normally only marked derivationally, with many different ways of phonologically deriving a transitive verb from an intransitive one, or vice versa. These are all covered in Chapter 5. There is only one inflectional transitive morpheme, *w*-, and it occurs in the potential aspect forms of class A and B consonant stems and class D vowel-stems. For class A consonant-stems, transitive verbs are marked with *w*- while intransitive verbs are not marked segmentally. While class B verbs usually undergo palatalization in the potential, the few transitive verbs that take *w*- in this class do not show palatalization in this form. For class D vowel-stems, transitive verbs mark *w*- directly onto the vowel-initial stem whereas intransitive verbs take a *g*- prefix there instead. In (4.44) I show potential forms of both transitive and intransitive verbs from the groups of class A consonant-stems and class D vowel-stems for comparison.

| (4.44) | class A C-stems | | class D V-stems | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | -*kân* vtA<br>‘recogerlo; pick up’ | -*gân* viA<br>‘recogerse; get picked up’ | -*à* vtD<br>‘comer; eat’ | -*àw* viD<br>‘dolerse; hurt’ |
| P | *wkân* | *gân* | *wǎ* | *gǎw* |

Segmentally, depending of the initial segment of the stem, the verb class, and the transitivity of the root, the potential may be marked with a preposed *w*-, with a *g*- prefix, with a zero marker, with palatalization of the stem-initial consonant, or with fortition of the stem-initial consonant. Verbs of class Ch-D take the R1 prefix in the potential if they take it at all, though this prefix undergoes palatalization or fortition in this form. A few irregular vowel-stems are marked with *y*- instead of *g*-. These different kinds of segmental marking are laid out in Figure 41.

Though *w*- does occur in a few cases of class B transitive verbs it is not included in Figure 41 because it is an irregular pattern for that class. Most class B verbs are intransitive and not all of the few transitive verbs take *w*-. Although the *w*- that is marked on some transitive class B verbs clearly goes back to an older pattern which is more productive among today's class A consonant-stems, the few class B verbs that take this prefix also have other irregularities.

**Figure 41: Marking of potential aspect by initial segment and verb class**

| | **Class** | | **Segmental marking** | **Tonal alternations** | **Example** (Irrealis stem > Potential) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **V** | **A** | | *g-* | L→R | -*ùth* > *gǔth* 'matar; kill' |
| | **C** | | | L→R | -*àb* > *gǎb* 'gotear; drip' |
| | **D** | **vi** | | L→R | -*àw* > *gǎw* 'dolerse; hurt' |
| | | **vt** | *w-* | L→R | -*à* > *wǎ* 'comer; eat' |
| **C** | **A** | **vt** | | No | -*la*$^{7}$ > *wla*$^{7}$ 'soltarlo; let go' |
| | | **vi** | Ø- | L→R, F→H if *y*-initial | -*ba*$^{7}$ > *ba*$^{7}$ 'soltarse; be let go' |
| | **B** | | palatalization | L→R, L→H w/ open σ | -*lë*ˇ > *lyë*ˇ 'quebrar; break' |
| | **Ch** | | palatized R1 | L→R | -*z-èn* > *zyěn* 'agarrar; grab' |
| | **D** | | fortis R1 | L→R, F→H | -*g-a*$^{7}$*b* > *ka*$^{7}$*b* 'sobarlo; massage' |

The patterns of tonal morphology seen with potential aspect marking have already been described in Chapter 3 but I review them briefly here. There is a floating high tone associated with potential aspect marking. It does not affect transitive class A consonant-stems. Typically this floating high tone is added as a suffix following the underlying tone of the verb root and generally does not affect roots with underlying high, rising, or glottal tones. Low-toned verbs marked with this tonal suffix surface with rising tone in the potential, though if they are open syllables (usually with the vowel *ë*) they may instead surface with a simple high tone. Underlyingly falling-toned verbs surface with high tone when marked with this suffix, via a process of tonal contour simplification. Intransitive class A roots with falling tone are only affected if they are *y*-initial.

Looking at the summary of regular tonal alternations in Figure 41, transitive class A consonant-stems become a conspicuous exception. One possible historical explanation for this involves the ancestor of the *w-* prefix. In Chapter 3 I suggested that the PZ etymon of CLZ *w-* is a causative morpheme **o+* reconstructed by Kaufman (2003). I proposed that this morpheme reduced to *w-* before consonant-stems and before class D vowel stems but replaced the root-initial vowel and remained *o* in two transitive class C verbs. Kaufman reconstructs this morpheme as one that occurred in an auxiliary position. This would have intervened between TAM-markers and verb stems. As with CLZ auxiliary constructions today, including the CLZ causative auxiliary *-tze,* the auxiliary **o+* could have borne both the segmental and suprasegmental marking of TAM categories while the verb root that followed it would have been in a bare or non-finite form.

Kaufman reconstructed the potential marker **ki-* for classes A and B and **k-* for classes C and D. The *i* of the *ki-* marker could have deleted before *o* via rules of vowel cluster simplification like those proposed by Kaufman (1989). This would render a **ko* sequence across classes in CLZ. When this **ko* potential-causative sequence proceeded a vowel-initial root of class A or C the result could have been a lone *o* vowel in the verb paradigm, in the case of class A because verb roots were mostly *o*-initial anyway and an *oo* cluster would reduce to *o,* and in the case of the *a-*initial class C roots it may be that the *a* deleted, yielding to *o* via vowel cluster simplification as I suggested in Chapter 3. With the voicing of lenis **k* this would give *go*-initial (or *gu*-initial in an umlauting environment) potential forms in CLZ and this is exactly what we see on transitive vowel-stems of classes A and C.

Before consonant-initial roots the **ko-* sequence, which would be segmentally identical to the PZ completive marker for classes B-D, would also have yielded *go-* for a time but the *o* would here be in a pre-tonic syllable, much like the open first syllables of modern CLZ compound verbs, and like the *o* completive marker would have eventually reduced to *w* before consonant-stems as well as before class D vowel-stems for reasons not completely clear to me but mirroring the equally obscure reasons that class D vowel-stems take a participial prefix *w-* with no surface vowel changes. The *g* in the completive marker for classes B-D has survived thanks to the presence of a homorganic nasal that has been prefixed ahead of it but in the imperative, which is basically identical to the completive but without prenasalization, the *gw* sequence reduces to *w*.

The sequence *gw* is dispreferred initially in CLZ. In fact, it does not occur. This means that initially before consonants post-PZ *go*- reduced to *w*.

The o-initial transitive roots of classes A and C undergo tonal alternations because the vowel which historically underwent such alternations, the causative vowel that replaced the root vowel via then-synchronic rules, survives. I will not attempt to explain what happened with class D transitive vowel stems because as I said the situation with those verbs is more complicated and not yet clear to me. The few examples we have of class B transitive consonant-stems that take *w*- do not happen to have tones that would be affected by a floating high tone suffix. This leaves the large group of transitive class A consonant-stems. The potential forms of these verbs at an earlier time would have began in a pre-tonic, inflected, causative auxiliary verb **go* followed by a verb root typically shaped *CVCV* for the sequence **go ˈCVCV* (or in PZ **ko ˈCVCV*). If the tonal potential suffix was, like the segmental potential prefix, marked on the auxiliary and not on the non-finite or bare root that followed (as is the case in modern CLZ auxiliary constructions), when the *o* reduced to *w* the tone associated with the potential aspect would have lost its syllable. In (Beam de Azcona, forthcoming) I show how in CLZ floating high register only spreads rightward while floating (high) tone only spreads leftward. In my view this is why transitive class A consonant-stems do not undergo any tonal alternations (although they do undergo upstep[5]).

In Figure 42 I show how the floating high tone could have been realized historically and show how this tone survives on the surface of transitive vowel-stems of classes A and C and on consonant-stems that do not bear the causative/transitive marker, but not on transitive consonant-stems of class A. In this schematization I am ignoring the issue of whether on non-causativized verbs the floating high attached to the tonic or post-tonic vowel because even if it had only attached to the post-tonic vowel historically it could have still re-docked onto the tonic syllable after post-tonic vowel deletion since it is a tonal suffix which spreads leftward.

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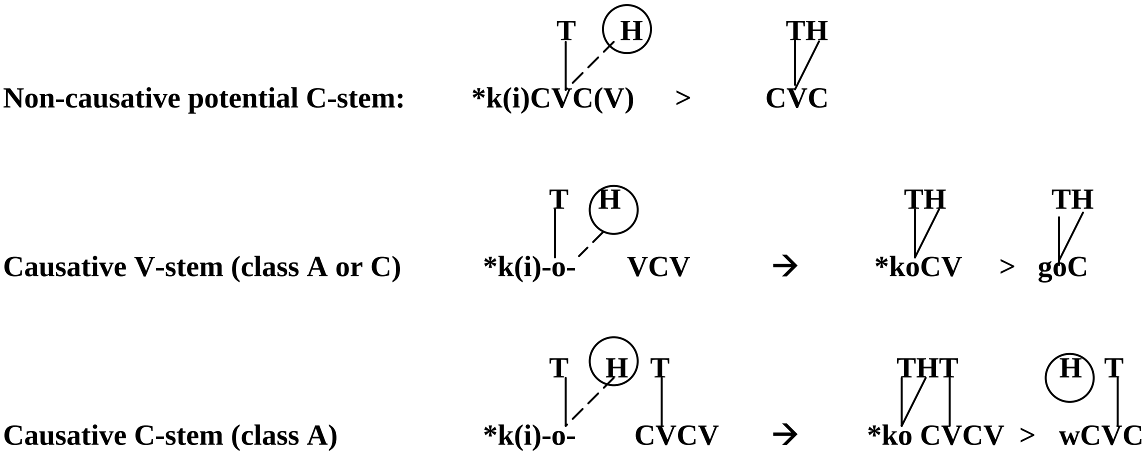
[5] I am not suggesting that the floating high register that causes upstep in CLZ was brought about (at least not exclusively) by the reduction of the causative morpheme, although it could have been. Upstep takes place on intransitive verbs as well and I assert that this is because of a high tone that existed on the potential aspect prefix, independently of the causative morpheme.

**Figure 42: Origins of the *w*- prefix and its interaction with the floating high tone**


T H
TH
Non-causative potential C-stem:
*k(i)CVC(V) > CVC
T H
TH TH
Causative V-stem (class A or C)
*k(i)-o- VCV → *koCV > goC
T H T
THT H T
Causative C-stem (class A)
*k(i)-o- CVCV → *ko CVCV > wCVC

As described in 2.2.2, verbs which are not affected tonally because of the phonological and morphological restrictions just mentioned, will instead undergo upstep. This means that the normal pitch contour of a tone is still played out (level, falling, rising with glottalization) but is realized in a higher register. The only tone which does not undergo upstep is the rising tone because it is already partially realized in the upper register. In (Beam de Azcona, forthcoming) I suggest that this process of upstep is the result of a floating high register prefix created by the deletion of an earlier high-toned pre-tonic vowel in the potential aspect prefix.

In 4.2 I described how the future is marked on quantifiers to indicate addition or excess by the number indicated. While quantifiers in CLZ are verbs they cannot take the full range of inflectional marking. The potential aspect is one of the categories that quantifiers can be marked for in Zapotec. In Isthmus Zapotec (Pickett et al., 1998; Black, 2000) the potential marker can be attached to a quantifier to indicate that that number or quantity is the total number or amount, as in (4.45).

(4.45) *Guionna' bi'cu'* Isthmus Zapotec
**P-tres perro**
**P-three dog**
Los tres perros
(Just) those three dogs

In Quiegolani Zapotec (Black, 2000) the potential marked on a quantifier also indicates the whole group, as in (4.46) while an unmarked number has a partitive meaning, as in (4.47).

(4.46) *W-eey men gy-on x-kwiib ngbaan.* Quiegolani Zapotec
**C-take 3rd P-three POS-rifle thief**
'He carried the thieves' three rifles.'

(4.47) *W-eey men tson x-kwiib ngbaan.* Quiegolani Zapotec
**C-take 3rd three POS-rifle thief**
'He carried three of the thieves' rifles.'

In CLZ I have not found potential marking on quantifiers to mark any special meaning. However, it is possible that the form of the verb normally used for counting and translated with a cardinal number, is the potential form. The irregular nature and small number of these verbs makes it difficult to tell but some quantifiers do have the tonal morphology associated with the potential aspect, e.g. rising tone instead of the low tone seen in the completive form which appears to be the form used for ordinal numbers. Compare the numbers 'two' and 'three' to the regular intransitive class A verb shown in (4.48)

| (4.48) | 'dos; two' | 'tres; three' | 'convertirse; become' |
|---|---|---|---|
| Cardinal / Potential | *tǒp* | *chǒn* | *yǎk* |
| Ordinal / Completive | *mtòp* | *mbyòn* | *mbyàk* |

## 4.5 Imperative mood

In 4.2 and 4.4 I described how the future and potential are used with an overt subject to form an exhortative, and how the potential is used to form polite and/or negative commands in CLZ.

Other (i.e. positive and blunt) commands are made using the imperative and with an implied but not overt second person subject. In CLZ the imperative mood shares a derivational relationship with the completive aspect. Verbs which undergo vowel alternations do so in the completive and imperative, with the same surface vowel in both forms. The consonants in the imperative markers are also found in the completive markers. The main phonological difference between them is the prenasalization of the completive aspect prefixes. The *g* of the class B-D completive marker is not found in the imperative marker. The *b* of the class A completive marker is found in the class A imperative prefix and is not deleted before voiceless obstruents in the imperative the way it is in the completive (see 4.6). In class Ch-D the same stem is used as for the completive, by adding the R2 prefix to the root. There are no completive/imperative stems that are vowel initial in class Ch-D because all Ch-D verbs take an R2 prefix whether or not they take an R1 prefix. Figure 43 shows the imperative and completive markers used according to verb class and root shape.

**Figure 43: Imperative and completive markers according to initial segment and verb class**

| | | **Class** | **Imperative marker** | **Completive marker** | **Example**<br>**(Irrealis stem > Imperative > Completive)** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **V** | | **A** | *bi-* | *mbi-* | *-ùth > bìth > mbìth* ‘matar; kill’ |
| | | **C1** | *go-* | *ngo-* | *-àk > gòk > ngòk* ‘hacerse; become’ |
| | | **C2** | *gu-* | *ngu-* | *-âth > gûth > ngûth* ‘morir; die’ |
| | | **C3** | *w-* | *n(g)w-* | *-àp > wàp > ngwàp* ‘subir; go up’ |
| | | **D** | | | -à > wdà > ngwdà ‘comer; eat’ |
| **C** | | **D** | | | *-g-a*$^7$*b > wda*$^7$*b > ngwda*$^7$*b* ‘sobarlo; massage’ |
| | | **Ch** | | | *-z-èn > wxên > nhwxên* ‘agarrar; grab’ |
| | | **B** | | | *-ni*$^7$ *> wni*$^7$*> nhwni*$^7$ *‘decir; speak’* |
| | **+voice** | **A** | *b-* | *mb-* | *-wîn >bwîn > mbwîn* ‘temblar; shake’ |
| | **-voice** | | | *m-* | *-cha*$^7$*n > bcha*$^7$*n > mcha*$^7$*n* ‘dejarlo; put down’ |

Operstein (2002) makes reference to colonial Western Zapotec imperatives with special forms for plural addressees. CLZ does not have a special form of the imperative when the addressee is plural, however there is a tendency for there to be an overt subject with the imperative if the addressee if plural or respected (the same pronoun is used for a respected singular second person as for a plural second person). In (4.49) compare the result when singular and plural imperatives are elicited:

| (4.49) | singular imperative | plural(/respectful) imperative |
|---|---|---|
| | *Byâ!* *‘¡Vete!; Go’* | *Byâ-á*! ‘¡Vayanse!; Go!’ |
| | *Wdà!* ‘Come!; Eat!’ | *Wdà gó!* ‘¡Coman Uds! o Coma Ud.!; Eat!’ |

### 4.6 Completive aspect

The completive aspect is used to refer to an event that has been completed by the time of the utterance, or which will be completed by some particular point in time. Examples showing typical uses of the completive are given in (4.50-4.55).

(4.50) *Mbyàk má mbë$^7$l nà mbi$^7$ mbë$^7$l.* **Past completive examples**
**C-volverse 3a AN-culebra y C-llevarlo AN-culebra**
**C-become 3a AN-snake and C-take AN-snake**
Se volvió culebra y lo llevó.
It turned into a snake and it took (him).

(4.51) *Mbzhëˆ bxìl to$^7$ ndâ yúkwa$^7$ líbto$^7$.*
**AN-muchacho [X grande/sagrado: topilillo] H-ir M-adornar**
**AN-youth [X big/holy: topilillo] H-go M-decorate**
Los topilillos se fueron a adornar la iglesia.
The topilillos went to decorate the church.

(4.52) *Yë$^7$ mbe$^7$ ngôch yîx nì.*
**nueve luna C-reventar [basura casa: placenta]**
**nine moon C-explode [trash house: placenta]**
A los nueve meses se reventó la placenta.
At nine months her water broke.

(4.53) *Ná ní-nˆ xé mód ba$^7$ ngwlâ yǎl nâ ndëˆ.*
**NEG H-saber=1s INTE modo así C-llegar M-venir.1s 1s aquí**
**NEG H-know=1s INTE manner like.this C-arrive M-come.1s 1s here**
No sé cómo llegué acá.
I don’t know how I arrived here.

(4.54) *Nǎl yë$^7$ ngwâ ndô la$^7$ mchílya$^7$-nˆ.* **Future completive examples**
**esta.hora mañana C-[ir cara: terminar] ya C-casarse=1s**
**this.time tomorrow C-[go face: finish] already C-marry=1s**
Mañana a estas horas ya terminé de casarme.
Tomorrow at this time I'll already be married.

(4.55) *Nǎl stúb áyo$^7$ li$^7$n ngùth lá nhó.*
**esta.hora F-uno cien año C-morir ya 1i**
**this.time F-one hundred year C-die already 1i**
Hoy que cien años ya nos morimos.
A hundred years from now we will have already died.

Sometimes the completive seems to be used more as a past tense then a completive aspect, as in (4.56) where the action was long-term and on-going.

(4.56) *Tǒp li$^7$n ngôd mbë̌z.*
**dos año C-mamar AN-nene**
**two year C-suck AN-baby**
Dos años mamó la criatura.
The baby nursed for two years.

As mentioned in 4.1, the irrealis form must be used instead of the completive to express a negative past. An unreal event cannot have been completed. (4.57) provides an example of real and unreal past events with the appropriate marking (lines 205-6 of Appendix B2).

(4.57) *Ná nglya$^7$n ár nzónâ lá zé nâ mbìth ár mbzhîn.*
**NEG IRR-darse.cuenta 3hf H-[X-X: llegar] ya lugar REL C-matar 3hf AN-venado**
**NEG IRR-notice 3hf H-[X-X: arrive] already place REL C-kill 3hf AN-deer**
No sintió él como llegó adonde mató el venado.
He didn't notice how he arrived at the place where he had killed the deer.

Along with the potential, the completive is one of the most diverse inflectional categories when it comes to the varied ways it is marked. Some irregular or subregular verbs have tonal alternations as part of completive aspect marking (described in Chapter 3), but most verbs do not. When such tonal morphology occurs it is most common in vowel-stems of class A, and in verbs of class Ch-D. Class A takes a bilabial prefix with a front vowel that is deleted before consonant stems while verbs in all other classes take a labiovelar prefix with a back rounded vowel which deletes before consonant-stems. Both markers are related historically since Zapotec bilabials share a historical and often synchronic relationship with labiovelars. Labiovelars in Zapotec languages dissimilate to velars before round vowels, as in the completive prefix. Furthermore the *i* of the synchronic CLZ prefix was historically *e*, making the vocalic differences both mid vowels. Verbs with vowel-initial stems of classes A and C drop the root and stem-initial vowel in the completive form in favor of the vowel of the completive prefix. Class C consists of verbs with vowel-initial roots and can be divided into three subclasses based on the form of the completive marker used. Class Ch-D verbs form the completive stem by adding the R2 prefix to the root rather than the R1 prefix found throughout most of the inflectional paradigm, as described in 4.3.

Class A verbs take *mbi*- in CLZ (a few irregular verbs take a more conservative *mbe*- in SMaC). The *i* is deleted when added to verbs with consonant-initial stems. The *b* is deleted before voiceless obstruents, as shown in (4.58).

| (4.58) | *-ùth* | *-lu*$^7$ | *-zhù* | *-to*$^7$ |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **‘matar; kill’** | **‘enseñar; show’** | **‘quemarse; get burnt’** | **‘salir; go out’** |
| C | *mbìth* | *mblu*$^7$ | *mbzhù* | *mto*$^7$ |

As described in the previous chapter, class C has three subclasses. Subclass C1 verbs take the more conservative *ngo*- prefix. C2 verbs historically had an umlaut-inducing environment and now take *ngu*-. C3 verbs were historically consonant-stems and fail to drop the synchronically-initial vowel of the stem and take the completive allomorph *ngw*- which otherwise only occurs before consonant-stems in the language. An example from each subclass is shown in (4.59)

| (4.59) | C1 | C2 | C3 |
|---|---|---|---|
| | *-àk* | *-âth* | *-a*$^7$*z* |
| | **‘costar; cost’** | **‘morir; die’** | **‘picar; pierce’** |
| C | *ngòk* | *ngùth* | *ngwa*$^7$*z* |

Class B and class Ch-D verbs all have consonant-initial completive stems. Even class D verbs which have vowel-initial irrealis stems have consonant-initial completive stems. The class B completive stem is identical to the bare underlying form of the verb root, i.e. it is identical to the irrealis stem. The class Ch-D completive stem differs from the irrealis stem by taking the R2 prefix rather than the R1 prefix. The completive prefix *ngw-* reduces to *nhw-* before voiceless obstruents. In (4.60) I give examples of verbs (cited in the irrealis stem) from classes B and Ch-D with their completive forms.

| (4.60) | B | Ch | D | D |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *-la*$^{7}$ | *-z-ìn* | *-b-ìb* | *-à* |
| | **'escaparse; escape'** | **'batir; stir'** | **'sacudir; shake'** | **'comer; eat'** |
| C | *ngwla*$^{7}$ | *nhwxi*$^{7}$*n* | *nhwtìb* | *ngwdà* |

As already seen with the future and perhaps the potential, the completive aspect is an inflectional category that is marked on quantifiers in Zapotec languages. In both Quiegolani and CVZ (see Anonymous, 1823), the completive marker may be attached to a quantifier to indicate time in the past, as in (4.61) and (4.62), cited by Black (2000) and repeated here:

(4.61) *co-roopa beo* Colonial Valley Zapotec
**C-two month**
'two months ago'

(4.62) *W-deb iz w-ya x-mig noo lgyëz.* Quiegolani Zapotec
**C-one year C-go POS-friend 1EX town**
'Last year my friend went to the village.'

In Quiegolani Zapotec, the completive added to a quantifier can also be used as an ordinal number, as in (4.63):

(4.63) *Per chene w-ya Jose w-rup tir w-za-no Jose Jwan.* Quiegolani Zapotec
**but when C-go José C-two time C-walk-take José Juan**
‘But when José went the second time, he took Juan.’

In CLZ, the completive can also be marked on quantifiers for both of the uses described by Black for Quiegolani.

(6.64) *Nàt mtòp mbe7 nzhǒ-n nì té-n̂.*
**ahora C-dos luna H-haber=1s casa POS=1s**
**now C-two moon H-be.there=1s house POS=1s**
Hace dos meses estaba yo en mi casa.
Two months ago I was in my house.

(4.65) *Nâ mě gôtz mtòp tě chë7l nâ.*
**1s 3hr hembra C-dos POS esposo 1s**
**1s 3hr female C-two POS spouse 1s**
Soy la segunda mujer de mi esposo (p.ej. si se le murió la primera).
I’m my husband’s second wife (e.g. if he was a widower when we married)

In at least one case a quantifier has a different stem allomorph in the completive than when used alone, e.g. as a cardinal number. The number ‘tres; three’ *chǒn* has an initial *y* instead of the usual affricate, and has a low tone rather than a rising tone, when marked with the completive. The tonal change may indicate that the form usually translated with a cardinal number is the potential form of the verb since that form in many verb classes takes a floating high tone, producing a rising tone from an underlying low tone, like the one seen here in the completive (see also example 4.48). However, this verb would seem irregular for also having the rising tone in the future form *schǒn*. The completive form of this verb is shown in (4.66).

(4.66) *Mbyòn bés ndê yòj-é.*
**C-tres vez H-haber SUB-molerse=3i**
**C-three time H-be.there SUB-get.ground=3i**
Tres veces se ha molido.
There’s been grinding three times.

While ‘two’ and ‘three’ take the completive marker that is used with class A verbs, the numbers ‘four’ through ‘ten’ take a form related to the other completive marker. Instead of the typical *ngw*-, only *w*- is used, as seen in (4.67). Although not productive, *w*- does appear on a few irregular verbs in the completive in the Loxicha dialects, and this form is also more common among regular verbs in the Coatlán dialects of CLZ.

(4.67) *Nàt wti7 wìzh.*
**ahora C-diez sol**
**now C-ten sun**
Hace diez días.
It’s been ten days.

It appears that this process is not obligatory and is becoming less productive with (at least some) higher numbers, as seen in (4.68). TAM-marking *is* possible with these higher numbers though (see example 4.55 above).

(4.68) *Nàt tǒp gâl li7n.*
**ahora dos veinte año**
**now two twenty year**
Hace cuarenta años.
Forty years ago.

There is plenty of semantic and syntactic foundation for the claim that quantifiers in CLZ are verbs and that the kind of marking described here is the same inflectional categories seen on other kinds of verbs in the language.

### 4.7 Marking on complement verbs

When two verbs in a sentence have subjects that are co-referent, either there will be one overt subject to be shared between the two verbs, or there will be two occurrences of the subject. When there is only one overt subject the second of the two verbs serves as complement to the first. In this case the subject may follow the second verb or be fronted to focus position preceding the first verb, but it may not intervene. However, when each verb has its own overt subject, if the first verb has its subject fronted to focus position, the second verb may optionally lose it's overt subject if it is coreferent with the fronted subject of the first verb. Thus, two verbs in a non-complementary relationship with coreferent subjects may have the order VSVS, SVVS, or SVV, while two verbs with a complementary nature will always share one overt subject and may occur in the orders SVV or VVS. Note that the SVV order is ambiguous as to which type of relationship the two verbs are in. Sometimes the marking on the second verb disambiguates. The possible and impossible verb and subject orders for verbs in both types of relationships are illustrated in (4.69) and (4.70).

(4.68) Él va caminando y comiendo tortilla'. Non-complementary verbs
'S/he's walking and eating tortilla(s).'

*Nzyë`-m´ ndà-m´ yë`th.*
**H-caminar=3hr H-comer=3hr tortilla**
**H-walk=3hr H-eat=3hr tortilla**

*Mě nzyë` ndà-m´ yë`th.*
**3hr H-caminar H-comer=3hr tortilla**
**3hr H-walk H-eat=3hr tortilla**

*Mě nzyë` ndà yë`th.*
**3hr H-caminar H-comer tortilla**
**3hr H-walk H-eat tortilla**

**Nzyë` ndà-m´ yë`th.*
**Nzyë`-m´ ndà yë`th.*
**Mě nzyë`-m´ ndà yë`th.*
**Nzyë`-m´ mě ndà yë`th.*
**Mě nzyë` mě ndà yë`th.*

(4.70) 'Él se fue a matar mosca (a eso se fue)'. Complementary verbs
'S/he went to kill fly(s) (for that purpose s/he went)'

*Nzhâ yǔth mě ngëˇg.*
**C-irse M-matar 3hr mosca**
**C-go.away M-kill 3hr fly**

*Mě nzhâ yǔth ngëˇg.*
**3hr C-irse M-matar mosca**
**3hr C-go.away M-kill fly**

**Nzhâ-m´ yǔth ngëˇg.*
**Nzhâ-m´ yǔth mě ngëˇg.*
**Mě nzhâ yǔth mě ngëˇg.*

A verbal complement may occur in one of two non-finite forms or it may be inflected for a particular tense, aspect, or mood. Which of these forms the complement will occur in depends on the head verb and the semantics of the entire clause. (4.71) gives an example of the complement of a state-of-being verb, in this case an auxiliary verb which implies that the subject is seated. The complement verb is in another non-finite form labelled INF. (4.72) gives an example of the same verb as the complement of a motion verb in a purpose clause (repeated from above). The complement verb is in a non-finite form labelled M. (4.73) gives an example of this verb as the complement of the verb ‘poder; be able to.’ This verb takes a fully inflected complement.

(4.71) *Nzhâ yǔth mě ngëˇg.*
**C-irse M-matar 3hr mosca**
**C-go.away M-kill 3hr fly**
Él se fue a matar mosca (a eso se fue).
S/he went to kill fly(s) (for that purpose s/he went)

(4.72) *Mě ndê yùth ngëˇg.*
**3hr H-AUX INF-matar mosca**
**3hr H-AUX INF-kill fly**
Él está matando moscas.
S/he is killing fly(s).

(4.73) *Sàk gǔth mě ngëˇg.*
**F-poder P-matar 3hr mosca**
**F-can P-kill 3hr fly**
Él va a poder matar la mosca.
S/he will be able to kill the fly.

The non-finite form exemplified in (4.71) is here called the infinitive and is covered below in 4.7.1. The non-finite form shown in (4.72) is the form used when a verb is the complement of a motion verb in a purpose clause. This form is covered below in 4.7.2.

### 4.7.1 Infinitive

The CLZ infinitive is not to be confused with the form called the infinitive in Northern Zapotec languages which I call the participle and cover in Chapter 5. What I here refer to as the infinitive is the form of the verb that occurs as the complement of a state-of-being verb and/or an auxiliary verb, including in causative constructions. This verb form could perhaps also be called a gerund or participle. However, I do not view it as a noun or an adjective and so I am avoiding those labels. In contrast, what I call the participle (cognate with the NZ "infinitive") does indeed behave adjectivally. The infinitive does not carry any tense, aspect, or mood marking. The TAM category semantically associated with the action or state denoted by the verb in the infinitive form is marked only on the head verb. Examples (4.74) through (4.80) show infinitives used with different auxiliary and state of being verbs.

(4.74) *Ndê yòj xa*[7] *gôtz.*
**H-AUX INF-moler 3hd hembra**
**H-AUX**[6] **INF-grind 3hd female**
Están moliendo las señoras.
The women are grinding.

(4.75) *Nâ ntzé kèn mbzhë̂.*
**1s H-CAUS INF-apurarse muchachos**
**1s H-CAUS INF-hurry boys**
Yo apuro a ellos
I hurry them.

---

[6] This most common of the auxiliary verbs appears to be derived from the verb –b-ê 'sentarse; sit' but is irregular and different from that verb in lacking the R1 prefix in the habitual form *ndê* (vs. *nbê* 'H-sentarse/sit'). It is translated as 'haber; for there to be.'

(4.76) *Nzô yàk n-gătz-é.*
**H-pararse INF-ponerse S-negro**
**H-stand INF-become S-black**
Se está poniendo negro.
It is turning black.

(4.77) *Nzhâ bé dò-ý cha*$^7$*ga*$^7$.
**H-irse M-AUX INF-vender=3i despacito**
**H-go.away M-AUX INF-sell=3i slowly**
Se va vendiendo poco a poco.
It goes selling little by little.

(4.78) *Nzŏb yêtz mě.*
**H-sentarse INF-dormir 3hr**
**H-sit INF-sleep 3hr**
Está dormitando (sentando durmiéndose).
S/he is sitting asleep.

(4.79) *Kwé yà-m´.*
**P-AUX.P INF-comer=3hr**
**P-AUX.P INF-eat=3hr**
Va a estar comiendo.
S/he is going to be eating.

(4.80) *Mě ngwtê yùth ngë̌g.*
**3hr C-AUX INF-matar mosca**
**3hr C-AUX INF-kill fly**
Él estuvo matando mosca.
S/he was killing fly(s).

The infinitive is usually identical to the bare irrealis stem if that stem is consonant-initial. This means that there is no palatalization or fortition of the stem-initial consonant in classes B and Ch, and that Class Ch-D verbs take the R1 prefix. The only consonantal changes happen on class A verbs. A small group of intransitive class A consonant-stems begin in palatalized consonants. These verbs have palatalized consonants in every form discussed thus far: the irrealis, the future, the habitual, the potential, the imperative, and the completive. This palatalization does not only occur on one or two forms as happens with class B verbs and thus I have analyzed it as an underlying part of the verb root. Nevertheless these verbs experience depalatalization (or do not undergo palatalization) in the infinitive. This suggests that perhaps the infinitive is the form to look to in order to find the true underlying form of the root and there is a process of palatalization involved in all the other forms. A re-examination of the corpus of class A intransitive verbs finds that the majority of these verbs that begin in coronal consonants are palatalized. Analyzing the palatalization as underlying and stipulating that there is depalatalization in the infinitive form makes it unnecessary to distinguish between these verbs and those coronal-initial verbs in the same group which are not palatalized. An alternative would be to label those coronal-initial verbs without palatalization in the other forms as “irregular.” The other case where there is a difference between the infinitive and the irrealis stem of verbs with C-initial stems affects most transitive C-stems of class A. These verbs add the transitive *w-* prefix to the irrealis stem to form the infinitive, making the infinitive identical to the potential for that group of verbs. This homophony, along with the fact that the potential is used in other Zapotec languages (for example see Black, 1994) when complement to another verb, suggest that the infinitive may be in a derivational relationship with the potential. Nevertheless, the infinitive is distinctive from the potential for all other groups of verbs in CLZ because the infinitive lacks the tonal and segmental changes normally found in the potential.   For vowel-stems of any class (A, C, D) a *y-* prefix is added to the root to form the infinitive. Although transitive class D V-stems take the *w-* prefix in the potential they do not in the infinitive. The surface tone of the infinitive is identical to the underlying tone of the verb root. Example verbs in Figure 44 are cited first in the irrealis stem, followed by a full example with the infinitival form.

**Figure 49: Infinitive marking according to verb class and stem shape**

| | Class | | Infinitive prefix | Example verb | Example sentence |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **C** | **A** | **vt** | *w*- | -*chë*ˆ vtA<br>**‘calentarlo; heat’** | *Mě ndê wchë ˆ nîtz.*<br>**3hr H-AUX P-calentarlo agua**<br>**3hr H-AUX P-heat water**<br>Él está calentando el agua.<br>S/he is heating water. |
| | | **vi** | (depalatalization) | -*dyûd* viA<br>**‘enrollarse; get rolled up’** | Ndê dûd-é.<br>**H-AUX INF.enrollarse=3i**<br>**H-AUX INF.get.rolled.up=3i**<br>Se está enrollando.<br>It’s getting rolled up. |
| | | | *Ø*- | -*yûb* viA<br>**‘caer; fall’** | *Ndê yûb meˇ.*<br>**H-AUX INF-caer 3hr**<br>**H-AUX INF-fall 3hr**<br>Se está cayendo.<br>S/he is falling. |
| | **B** | | | -*la*$^{7}$*b* viB<br>**‘hervirse; boil’** | *Ndê tzé la*$^{7}$*b mě nîtz.*<br>**H-AUX INF-CAUS INF-hervirse 3hr agua**<br>**H-AUX INF-CAUS INF-hervirse 3hr agua**<br>Él está herviendo el agua.<br>S/he is boiling water. |
| | **Ch-D** | | | -*b*-*o*$^{7}$ vtD<br>**‘sacar; take out’** | *Ndê bo7 bxìl.*<br>**H-AUX INF-sacar chispa**<br>**H-AUX INF-take.out spark**<br>Está sacando chispa.<br>(S/he) is producing sparks. |
| **V** | **A** | | *y*- | -*ùn vtA*<br>**‘hacer; do’** | *Mě ndê yùn yë´l wa*$^{7}$*n.*<br>**3hr H-AUX INF-hacer NOM PART-robar**<br>**3hr H-AUX INF-do NOM PART-steal**<br>Él está robando.<br>S/he is stealing. |
| | **C** | | | -*àz* vtC<br>‘sembrarlo; plant’ | Mě ndê yàz-é.<br>**3hr H-AUX INF-sembrarlo=3i**<br>**3hr H-AUX INF-plant=3i**<br>Él está sembrando.<br>S/he is planting. |
| | **D** | | | -*à* vtD<br>**‘comer; eat’** | Nàx yà-m´.<br>**S-acostarse INF-comer=3hr**<br>**S-lie.down INF-eat=3hr**<br>Él o ella está acostado comiendo.<br>S/he is lying down eating. |

There are at least two irregularities found in the infinitive forms of a few verbs. One class C verb is irregular in not taking a prefix and thus having a vowel-initial infinitive form. One class A verb has an irregular tonal alternation. This verb takes falling tone elsewhere in the paradigm but low tone in the infinitive. Both of these verbs are shown in (4.81).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (4.81) | *-ákwàn* | *-zhëˆ* |
| | ‘cansarse; tire’ | ‘calentarse; get hot’ |
| | | |
| | *Nzô ákwàn-é.* | *Ndê zhëˆ-ý.* |
| | **H-pararse INF-cansarse** | **H-AUX INF-calentarse=3i** |
| | **H-stand INF-tire** | **H-AUX INF-get.hot=3i** |
| | Se está cansando. | Se está calentando. |
| | It’s[7] getting tired. | It’s getting hot. |

### 4.7.2 Motion verb complement

There is an additional non-finite form of the verb in CLZ which is used when the verb is the complement of a motion verb, typically in a purpose clause. I label this form with the abbreviation M. This type of construction is illustrated in (4.82-84).

(4.82) *Mbyë*$^{7}$*d ni*$^{7}$ *mě-ý ndó-nˆ.*
**C-venir M-decir 3hr=3i cara=1s**
**C-come M-say 3hr=3i face=1s**
Él me lo vino a decir a mí.
S/he came to tell it to me.

(4.83) *Yá yǎz mě-ý.*
**P-ir.P M-sembrarlo.M 3hr=3i**
**P-go.P M-plant.M 3hr=3i**
Lo va a ir a sembrar.
S/he’s going to plant it.

(4.84) *Mě nzëˇ dǎ.*
**3hr H-venir M-comer.M**
**3hr H-venir M-comer.M**
Él viene a comer.
S/he comes to eat.

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[7] For example, the inanimate pronoun here could refer to a body part, like one’s foot when walking.

Some Zapotec languages, such as Yatzachi (see Butler, 1980) and Yalálag (see López and Newberg, 1990), have two secondary aspects which Kaufman (1989) calls andative and venitive, and which the SIL publications call *alejamiento* and *acercamiento*. These two forms of verbs indicate that the action is performed while in a going or coming motion. These aspects are formed with preposed markers that are reduced forms of the verbs ‘go’ and ‘come,’ and are not found in CLZ. As seen in example (4.77) above, to indicate in CLZ that an action is performed while one is in a going or coming motion the motion verb is followed by an irregular M form of the auxiliary verb *–b-ê*, followed by the infinitive of the verb denoting the action.

Purpose constructions can also be formed with the loan preposition *pár.* When a *par* clause is used to express purpose there are two overt subjects and the verb following *pár* is inflected for some finite category, which is usually the potential but sometimes another category. (4.85) shows the M form used without *pár* and with only one overt subject for the whole sentence. (4.86) shows the potential used with *pár* and with two overt subjects in the whole construction.

(4.85) *Yë7 yá dǎ-nh´ kált ngǐd.*
**mañana P-ir.P M-comer.M=1i caldo AN-gallina**
**tomorrow P-go.P M-eat.M=1i broth AN-chicken**
Mañana vamos a comer caldo de gallina.
Tomorrow we’ll go to eat chicken broth.

(4.86) *Yë*$^{7}$ *yá-nh´ pár wǎ-nh kált ngǐd.*
**mañana P-ir.P=1i para P-comer.P=1i caldo AN-gallina**
**tomorrow P-go.P=1i for P-eat.P=1i broth AN-chicken**
Mañana vamos para que vamos a comer caldo de gallina.
Tomorrow we’ll go so that we’ll eat chicken broth.

The rejected examples (4.87-88) show that here the use of the potential on the second verb requires a *pár* clause and thus another overt subject.

(4.87) **Yë*$^{7}$ *yá wǎ-nh kált ngǐd.*
**mañana P-ir.P P-comer.P=1i caldo AN-gallina**
**tomorrow P-go.P P-eat.P=1i broth AN-chicken**

(4.88) **Yë$^{7}$ yá pár wǎ-nh kált ngǐd.*
**mañana P-ir.P para P-comer.P=1i caldo AN-gallina**
**tomorrow P-go.P for P-eat.P=1i broth AN-chicken**

The rejected or ungrammatical examples in (4.89-91) show that the M form is disallowed with a *pár* clause and with or without *pár* the M form cannot have its own overt subject separate from the head verb. However, the potential, as a finite form, can have it's own overt subject separate from the preceding verb even without *pár* as shown in (4.92). In this case there are really two sentences though the semantics of purpose can be taken from the context here as easily as when it is spelled out either with a *pár* clause or with the use of the M form.

(4.89) **Yë7 yá-nh´ pár dǎ-nh kált ngǐd.*
**mañana P-ir.P=1i para M-comer.M=1i caldo AN-gallina**
**tomorrow P-go.P=1i for M-eat.M=1i broth AN-chicken**

(4.90) **Yë7 yá pár dǎ-nh kált ngǐd.*
**mañana P-ir.P para M-comer.M=1i caldo AN-gallina**
**tomorrow P-go.P for M-eat.M=1i broth AN-chicken**

(4.91) **Yë$^{7}$ yá-nh´ dǎ-nh kált ngǐd.*
**mañana P-ir.P=1i M-comer.M=1i caldo AN-gallina**
**tomorrow P-go.P=1i M-eat.M=1i broth AN-chicken**

(4.92) *Yë$^{7}$ yá-nh´ wǎ-nh´ kált ngǐd.*
**mañana P-ir.P=1i P-comer.P=1i caldo AN-gallina**
**tomorrow P-go.P=1i P-eat.P=1i broth AN-chicken**
Mañana vamos y comemos caldo de gallina. (o 'Mañana vamos a comer caldo de pollo.')
Tomorrow we'll go and we'll eat chicken broth. (or 'Tommorrow we'll go eat chicken broth.')

Black (1994) states that many Zapotec languages (those lacking the infinitive found in some Northern Zapotec languages) use the potential marker on embedded verbs such as those found after motion verbs in purpose clauses. There are certain similarities between the P and M forms in CLZ which suggest a morphological relationship. Primarily, the M form has the same tonal alternations as the P form. In other instances the two forms are often identical, if only by coincidence since the M form does not have a prefix and many verbs are also zero-marked in the potential. Despite the exhaustive examples just provided to show the complementary distribution of the P and M forms, there are certain verbs for which either form can be used as the complement of a motion verb. The patterns of M marking and the comparative syntactic distribution of the P and M forms vary according to verb class and transitivity.

Transitive class A consonant-stems can use either the potential or the M form as the complement of a motion verb, sharing a single overt subject with that verb. The M form only differs from the potential and the homophonous infinitive of transitive class A consonant-stems by the lack of the transitive *w-* prefix which occurs in both of those other forms. There is no tonal morphology associated with either the potential or the M form of these verbs[8]. Examples (4.93-94) show that these forms can be used interchangeably.

(4.93) *Mě̆n ngwâ lâ má.*
**gente C-ir M-bajar 3a**
**human C-go M-lower 3a**
La gente lo fue a bajar.
The person went to lower it (the animal).

(4.94) *Mě̆n ngwâ wlâ má.*
**gente C-ir P.T-bajar 3a**
**human C-go P.T-lower 3a**
La gente lo fue a bajar.
The person went to lower it (the animal).

Intransitive class A consonant-stems show no difference between the P and M forms since any tonal morphology found in the potential is also found in the M form and there is no segmental marking on either of these forms for this group of verbs. For the identical forms in (4.95) and (4.96) it is assumed, based on the discussion of *pár* clauses above, that the form in the *pár* clause is the potential and the form in (4.95) without *pár* is the M form, even though it has just been shown that transitive class A C-stems can use the potential in the latter type of construction.

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[8] The lack of tonal alternations in class A transitive C-stems would seemingly be a strike against the historical analysis I presented above in 4.4 in which I claimed that the ancestor of the *w-* prefix prevented the potential-marking floating high tone from docking onto the verb root. Across verb classes the M form takes the same floating high tone and the M form of transitive class A C-stems does not take *w-* but still lacks tonal morphology. However, the M form is probably a recent creation, for example it does not occur in Quiegolani, and since it appears to be based on the potential the tonal pattern is simply copied from the potential, without regard for the historical reasons potential tone patterns are what they are.

(4.95) *Nzhâ-ḿ pár bǐzh mě.*
**C-irse=3hr para P-calentarse.P 3hr**
**C-go.away=3hr for P-warm.up.P 3hr**
Se fue a calentarse.
S/he went away to go warm up.

(4.96) *Nzhâ bǐzh mě.*
**C-irse M-calentarse.M 3hr**
**C-go.away M-warm.up.M 3hr**
Se fue a calentarse.
S/he went away to warm up.

Class A V-stems form the M form with a *y-* prefix and the same tonal alternations as found in the potential. Examples are given in (4.97) and (4.98).

(4.97) *Nzhâ yǔth mě.*
**C-irse M-matar.M 3hr**
**C-go.away M-kill.M 3hr**
Se fue a matar(lo).
S/he went away to kill.

(4.98) *Nzhâ yǒtz mě.*
**C-irse M-abrir.la.boca.M 3hr**
**C-go.away M-open.one’s.mouth.M 3hr**
Se fue a regañar.
S/he went away to scold.

There are at least two patterns of M-marking on class B verbs. The first is illustrated with two verbs in (4.99) and (4.100), one intransitive and one transitive, which have an M form which differs from the potential by the lack of palatalization. Not having any tonal alternations the verbs shown here are homophonous with the infinitive forms.

(4.99) *Nzhâ nêtz mě.*
**C-irse M-orinar 3hr**
**C-go.away M-urinate 3hr**
Se fue a orinar.
S/he went away to urinate.

(4.100) *Nzhâ nâ mě-y.*
**C-irse M-ver 3hr=3i**
**C-go.away M-see 3hr=3i**
Lo fue a ver.
S/he went to see it.

A small set of transitive-only class B verbs uses the transitive/causative *w-* prefix. (4.101) shows this pattern of M-marking.

(4.101) Nzhâ wtza7 mě-y.
**C-irse M.T-romperlo 3hr=3i**
**C-go.away M.T-break 3hr=3i**
Se fue a romperlo.
S/he went away to break it.

Like class A V-stems, class C verbs mark the M form with a *y-* prefix and any tonal alternations found in the potential. Examples are given in (1.102) and (1.103).

(4.102) *Nzhâ yǎth mě.*
**C-irse M-acostarse.M 3hr**
**C-go.away M-lie.dow.M 3hr**
Se fue a acostar.
S/he went away to lie down.

(4.103) *Nzhâ yâd mbë̌z .*
**C-irse M-mamar.M nene**
**C-go.away M-suck.M baby**
**S**e fue a mamar la nena.
The baby or toddler went to nurse.

The most interesting M forms belong to class Ch-D. Like verbs of the other classes, class Ch-D verbs take the same tonal morphology found in the potential. The M form is not marked segmentally with a prefix in class Ch-D but the form of the verb that is used is the completive stem, which is formed by adding the R2 prefix to the verb root. This differs significantly from the potential which in this class has a fortis version of the R1 prefix if a C-stem or lacks a replacive in the potential if a V-stem, and also from the infinitive which takes the R1 prefix (or no prefix if a V-stem). Thus in class Ch-D the M form is segmentally most like the completive and imperative but tonally most like the potential. (4.85) above gives an example of a class D V-stem in the M form. Here I give examples of the M forms of one class Ch and one class D consonant-stem.

(4.104) *Nzhâ xǒn mě.*
**C-irse M-cagar.M 3hr**
**C-go.away M-defecate.M 3h**
Se fue a cagar.
S/he went to defecate.

(4.105) *Mbi7d lǒ mě-y.*
**C-venir M-echar 3hr=3i**
**C-come M-toss 3hr=3i**
Vino para echarlo.
S/he came to toss it.

The formation of the M form can be generally stated as follows: if the verb has tonal alternations in the potential it will have the same tonal alternations in the M form. *Some* transitive verbs of class B will take the *w*- marker in this form. Otherwise all C-stems of classes A and B take a zero marker. V-stems of classes A and C take a *y*- prefix. All verbs of class Ch-D take the R2 prefix in the M form. These generalizations are schematized in Figure 45.

**Figure 45: How the M form is marked on CLZ verb roots**

| **Root-initial** | **Verb Class** | **Transitivity** | **Prefix on root** | **Tonal marking** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **C** | **A** | | **Ø-** | **Same as on potential, if any** |
| | **B** | **vi** | | |
| | | **vt** | **w-** | |
| **V** | **A** | | **y-** | |
| | **C** | | | |
| | **D** | | **R2-** | |

# 5. Derivation

This chapter is devoted to the different types of marking in CLZ which produce new lexical items. Here I will describe the ways in which adjectives and nouns are derived from verbs, the way verbs are derived from each other, and other ways in which roots are marked, sometimes irregularly, for a difference in part of speech or meaning. The largest topics covered are the different types of marking found on related pairs of transitive and intransitive verbs, and the different types of animacy marking found on nouns, which differs in SZ languages by the addition of a nasal prefix not present in other Zapotec languages. The bulk of the description in this chapter is of segmental morphology. Tone changes involved in derivation are not as regular or as well understood as those involved in inflection. However, tone is marked on all the data presented in this chapter and I make note of any semi-regular patterns.

All CLZ segmental derivational morphology takes place at the left edge of the base, either through prefixation or through altering (through fortition or palatalization) the base-initial consonant. All tonal operations in CLZ (i.e. tonal but not register morphology) take place to the right of the base's underlying tone(s). Most tonal morphology in CLZ can be explained by the addition of a floating high tone suffix.

Probably the most interesting and complex derivational topic in Zapotec languages is the derivational relationship shared by pairs of transitive and intransitive verbs. Most Zapotec verbs exist in pairs with one verb being more active or transitive and the other verb being more passive or intransitive, like the pair in (5.1).

| (5.1) | -*òj* **vtC2 irregular**<br>**‘molerlo; grind’** | -*yôj* **viA**<br>**‘molerse; be ground’** |
|---|---|---|
| **P** | *gǒj* | *yój* |
| **H** | *ndòj* | *ndôj* |
| **C** | *ngùj* | *mbyôj* |

Some transitive verbs are derived from their intransitive partners, while other pairs share the opposite relationship, and there are others still which share a derivational relationship where the directionality is not clear. This is a derivational topic because of the significant semantic changes which accompany such morphology. I regard these verb pairs as sets of two independent lexical items. The derivation of verbs from other verbs is accomplished through multiple and varied means including segmental and suprasegmental changes as well as differences in verb class. *Replacives* are prefixes used to form the two main stems of class Ch-D verbs (see 3.3). Just as pairs of replacive prefixes are used to form the inflectional stems found in class Ch-D verb paradigms they are also used to form the stems of transitive/intransitive verb pairs.

Apart from issues of stem-formation, two important derivational categories marked on verbs are what has been called "stative aspect" in other Zapotec languages and a participial form which has been called the "infinitive" in the Zapotec literature.

Many nouns are marked with animacy classifiers and some are marked with two layers of animacy marking, one going back at least to PZ and another layer which was added in SZ only and which marks a subset of the larger group of animate nouns. A small group of nouns are marked derivationally for inalienable possession with the *x*- prefix which interestingly is used for alienable possession in other Zapotec languages. I conclude the chapter by discussing other, mostly rare, derivational prefixes found in CLZ.

## 5.1 Verb stem formation

In CLZ derivational bases are identical to verb roots, the minimal form of a verb which is seen in most of its surface forms and/or which can be predictably altered by regular phonological rules to produce other surface forms. There are two types of stem formation in CLZ. Certain processes create the various paradigm-internal stems to which the inflectional markers presented in Chapter 3 are added. Many of these same processes are also used to create verb stems that function as separate lexical items. As shown in Chapters 3 and 4, in CLZ there may be only one or up to three separate stems which occur in an inflectional paradigm. For example consider the potential, habitual and completive forms of the verbs in (5.2).

| (5.2) | -*o*$^{7}$*l* **vtA** | -*nîth* **viB** | -*bèzh* **vD** |
|---|---|---|---|
| | **'tocar (instrumento'** | **'perderse'** | **'gritar'** |
| | **'play (instrument)'** | **'get lost'** | **'scream'** |
| **P (*g*- ~ Ø-)** | *go*$^{7}$*l* | *ñîth* | *kwĕzh* |
| **H (*nd*- ~ *n*-)** | *ndo*$^{7}$*l* | *nyîth* | *nbèzh* |
| **C (*mbi*- ~ *nhw*-)** | *mbi*$^{7}$*l* | *nhwnîth* | *nhwtêzh* |

In CLZ the formation of stem variants in individual lexical items like those shown in (5.2) is best considered part of inflectional morphology because there is no significant semantic generalization that goes along with stem formation in these paradigms. I have not found that semantic similarities between certain inflectional categories dictate the use of one stem over another, e.g. I do not find that there are past vs. non-past stems or realis vs. non-realis stems used in combination with the different TAM categories described in Chapter 4. However, Kaufman does describe replacives (see 3.3) as derivational prefixes.

The processes involved in the formation of these paradigm-internal alternate stems are identical to some of the derivational processes involved in forming related verb stems which act as separate lexical items, one which is typically more active or more transitive than the other and the other therefore being more intransitive or more passive.

Replacives prefixes are involved in both paradigm-internal stem formation and also in the formation of transitive/intransitive verb pairs. Just as replacive prefixes are used to form the two main stems of class D inflectional paradigms, the stem found in the completive (with what I arbitrarily label the R2 prefix, like the *t* in *nhwtêzh* above) is identical to the stem of its partner in a transitive/intransitive verb pair, such that a transitive class D verb historically had an intransitive partner verb in another class which took the same stem as the completive of the class D transitive verb. For example, if the verb 'scream' in (4.2) is a transitive class D verb with a habitual stem –*bèzh* and a completive stem –*têzh*, we can imagine there might have been an intransitive or passive verb meaning ‘be screamed’ belonging to another verb class and having a single stem, -*têzh*, identical to the completive stem of the transitive verb. Thus, the type of paradigm-internal stem formation seen in the single paradigm of a class D verb like ‘scream’ is morphologically related to a type of derivation found in transitive/intransitive verb pairs, where indeed there is a significant semantic difference. This use of the completive stem to form less transitive and less active verbs is similar to the use of the English past participle in passive formation, and similar processes in other languages.

The formation of alternant stems in inflectional paradigms outside of class Ch-D, typically through palatalization or depalatalization, also has correlates in the corpus of transitive/ intransitive verb pairs. However, paradigm-internal stem formation does not usually involve semantic change (or changes in lexical category) and therefore falls more under the umbrella of inflection than derivation. Thus, there are various processes involved in stem formation and these processes may be regarded as inflectional if we are discussing stems which occur in the inflectional paradigm of a single verb, or they may be regarded as derivational if we are considering the relationship between multiple lexical items. Paradigm-internal stem alternations that have already been described include vowel alternations (3.1.3, 3.2.2, 4.5, and 4.6), palatalization and depalatalization (3.2.1, 3.3.1, 4.3, 4.4, and 4.7.1), fortition (3.3.2 and 4.4) and replacive prefixation (3.3 and throughout Chapter 4). These have derivational correlates among transitive/intransitive verb pairs, which I will now describe in more detail.

As mentioned above, most Zapotec verbs exist in pairs. In these pairs, except for rare cases of suppletion, there are obvious phonological similarities between the two verbs. Semantically, one verb is more transitive and/or active than the other which is consequently more intransitive and/or passive. The pair meaning ‘kill’ and ‘die’ has a clear transitivity distinction. The verb ‘die’ is not just a passive form meaning ‘be killed’ because of course someone can die without being murdered. Other verb pairs do necessarily involve agentive action and many of these pairs are not just vt/vi pairs but are in fact active/passive pairs like ‘sweep’ and ‘be swept.’ Some illustrative examples of transitive/intransitive and active/passive pairs are given in (5.3) and (5.4).

| (5.3) | **Transitive** | **Intransitive** |
|---|---|---|
| | -*ùth* **vtA** | -*âth* **viC** |
| | **‘matar; kill’** | **‘morir; die’** |
| | -*gâd* **vtA** | -*âd* **viC1** |
| | **‘amamantar; suckle’** | **‘mamar; suck’** |

| (5.4) | **Active** | **Passive** |
|---|---|---|
| | -*kìt* **vtA** | -*yìt* **viA** |
| | **‘doblar; fold’** | **‘doblarse; get folded’** |
| | -*lo*$^7$*b* **vtA** | -*go*$^7$*b* **viA** |
| | **‘barrerlo; sweep’** | **‘barrerse; get swept’** |

Some verb pairs show interesting differences having to do with the person or animacy of their arguments. For example, a pair of compound verbs is used to express the naming of heads of household to the different year-long *cargos* or community service posts. Both compounds are formed by the verb ‘sit’ (vtA) or ‘be seated’ (viB), which both have the form -*zǒb* and differ only by verb class, and take an incorporated noun *ti*$^7$*n* ‘job.’ Interestingly, it is unacceptable to have a 1s subject with the passive compound. (5.5) shows a 3hr subject with the passive compound verb and (5.6) shows that that same verb is rejected or with a 1s subject. The closest acceptable way to express a 1s theme with a downplayed agent here is to use the active verb with a 3hd pronoun used like a dummy subject, as in (5.7).

(5.5) *Ngwzǒb ti*$^7$*n mě.*
**C-sentarse trabajo 3hr**
**C-be.seated job 3hr**
Se nombró él.
He was selected.

(5.6) **Ngwzǒb ti*$^7$*n nâ*.
**C-sentarse trabajo 1s**
**C-be.seated job 1s**

(5.7) *Mbzǒb ti*$^7$*n xa*$^7$ *nâ*.
**C-sentarlo trabajo 3hd 1s**
**C-seat job 3hd 1s**
Me nombraron.
They selected me.

Some verbs exist in a derivational relationship which is not technically transitive/intransitive or active/passive, but a few of these do seem to involve a transitivity continuum. For example, the verbs *–o*$^7$ and *–yo*$^7$ both mean to ‘take, bring or carry’ something. Both can be used with inanimate objects but there are restrictions on the animacy of the object of *–yo*$^7$. Animate objects can only be used with *–o*$^7$ and not with *–yo*$^7$. This is illustrated nicely in the texts in Appendix B. The verb *–yo*$^7$ is used in Appendix B1 in lines 39 and 41 when the object is meat from a hunt, similarly in Appendix B2 in lines 10, 24, and 209 when the object being taken is the carcass of a dead animal and in line 269 of that text when the object is a water-pourer. The verb *–o*$^7$ is used in Appendix B1 in lines 6 and 10 when the object is an anthropomorphic possum, and in lines 26, 28, and 33 of Appendix B2 when the object is a live man who is being taken away. While both verbs take objects and are therefore transitive, one can argue that the verb *–o*$^7$ is *more* transitive since it requires more power on the subject’s part to be able to take a man than a water-pourer.

I will now describe the different kinds of morphology used to derive one verb stem from another. There are two main criteria one can use to deduce (or in some cases guess) in which direction the derivation took place in each pair of CLZ verbs: semantics and morphology. For example, semantically, the transitive and active verb ‘sweep’ is more basic than the intransitive and passive verb ‘be swept.’ Morphologically, certain verbs look more suspiciously like the derived ones or the original ones. For example, when a verb pair differs only by having either a lenis or a fortis version of an obstruent at the same place of articulation, the verb with the fortis consonant was probably derived from the other verb historically, as earlier Zapotecan consonant clusters yielded geminate PZ consonants from which come modern fortis consonants (in the view of Swadesh, 1947; Suárez, 1973; Benton, 1988; Kaufman, 2003; Operstein, 2003 & 2004; and many other Zapotecanists including myself). Therefore a fortis consonant may be the reflex of a consonant cluster created by prefixation. In other cases it is not so obvious which direction the derivation might have gone in, especially from a purely morphological perspective. Two such cases are where there is phonological zero derivation but a change in verb class, and where replacives, which are phonologically unrelated consonantal prefixes, are used to differentiate two related verb stems. I begin my account with these two types of derivation and then move on to types of stem formation which seem more clearly in one direction or the other.

### 5.1.1 Derivation through a change in verb class

One difference seen between derivationally related verbs is a difference in verb class. This may accompany phonological differences between the two verb stems or may be the only difference between two homophonous stems, one zero-derived from the other. In the latter case the verbs with homophonous stems will of course have non-homophonous forms when marked for certain inflectional categories. All the cases like this that I have found have class A marking when transitive and class B marking when intransitive. Since class B verbs begin in coronal consonants I have only found such verb stems beginning in /n̪, ḷ, z/. I show these in Figure 46.

**Figure 46: Zero-derived vtA/viB pairs**

| | **vtA** | **viB** |
|---|---|---|
| *-la*[7] | **‘soltarlo; let go’** | **‘soltarse; get loose’** |
| *-látê* | **‘despegarlo; take off’** | **‘despegarse; come off’** |
| *-lâ* | **‘bajarlo; lower something’** | **‘bajarse; get down’** |
| *-nîth* | **‘perderlo; lose’** | **‘perderse; get lost’** |
| *-zǒb* | **‘ponerlo, sentarlo; put, seat’** | **‘estar puesto, sentarse; be (in a place), sit’** |

Sometimes there is a tonal change accompanying a change in verb class. It is already known from the inflectional morphology discussed in Chapters 3 and 4 that certain tones often result when a floating high tone is added to a particular underlying tone. Thus, if two verbs differed by one having low tone and the other rising tone, we might suspect that the low-toned verb is the original verb from which the other one was derived, if derivational tonal morphology similar to the better understood inflectional tonal morphology exists or existed. However, there are tonal correspondences in verb pairs which do not point to the basicness of one form. The verb *–lákë*$^{7}$ (vtA) with final (stressed) glottal tone means ‘rebajarlo; reduce’ while the verb *–lákë*` (viB) with final low tone means ‘rebajarse; to be reduced.’ In this case the difference in valence is indicated both by a difference in tone and also by a difference in verb class but neither difference suggests that one form is morphologically more basic. The pair *–të*$^{7}$ (vtA) ‘acabarlo; finish off’ and *–të*` (viA) ‘escasearse; become scarce’ similarly differ tonally but here they both belong to class A. However, in class A transitivity defines a difference in subclass, e.g. whether or not a verb will take *w-* in the potential and whether or not it will be eligible for different kinds of tonal morphology, as described in 5.1. In this pair of verbs the derivational mechanism could have been glottalization or deglottalization, though perhaps the former is a bit more likely than the latter.

Verbs which have vowel-initial stems throughout their inflectional paradigms (and not just in certain forms like certain class D verbs) belong either to class A or class C. Class A vowel-stems typically begin in a back rounded vowel while class C v-stems typically begin in /a/. While both classes have both transitive and intransitive verbs, most class A vowel-stems are transitive and the overwhelming majority of class C verbs are intransitive. The verb pair *–ùth* (vtA) ‘matar; kill’ and *–âth* (viC) ‘morir; die’ differ by tone, verb class, and by the quality of the initial vowel, *u* in the transitive verb and *a* in the intransitive verb, though here the difference in vowel is not really independent from the difference in verb class but rather either fact predicts the other. However, in light of my analysis of the CLZ transitive marker that developed from the earlier PZ causative verb **o* (Kaufman, 2003) discussed in 3.2.2 and 4.4, it would seem that ‘kill’ *–ùth* is derived from ‘die’ *–âth* by the addition of this causative morpheme. The relationship between low and falling tone is an intriguing one which I do not yet fully understand. There are some interesting correspondences between low and falling tone in SZ languages and it may be that falling tone arose independently in CLZ, e.g. it does not exist in SAMZ. Besides pondering the historical development of these tones in these and other words, one can easily come up with hypotheses about how a tonal correspondence could develop morphologically here, but at this point such suggestions are overly speculative. Other tonal differences between verb pairs are concomitant with segmental differences and are described below.

There are a few other class A and C vowel-stems which share a similar relationship but without the tonal morphology seen in *–ùth/-âth.* The compound verb *–úcha*$^7$ (vtA) 'hacerlo; make' is related to the verb *–ácha*$^7$ 'hacerse; be made,' and this is probably another pair produced by the causative morpheme **o*. The pair *–úcha*$^7$*/-ácha*$^7$ appear related to a similar pair *–úzha*$^7$*/-azha*$^7$ which differ from the former pair by their stem-medial consonant. The difference in meaning is interesting too. While *–úcha*$^7$ means to 'make' something, i.e. to be productive, *-úzha*$^7$ means to 'waste' something ('desperdiciar'). Likewise, whereas *–ácha*$^7$ means to 'get made' *–azha*$^7$ means 'to fall apart' ('descomponerse'). The two pairs are semantic opposites.

While I view the morphology of class A and C vowel-stems somewhat conservatively in terms of historical Zapotec morpho-phonology (Beam de Azcona, 1999), the relationship between the verb pairs just mentioned suggests an alternative synchronic analysis. Class A and C vowel-stems, both transitive and intransitive, exhibit surface vowel alternations in the inflectional paradigm but I do not analyze these vowels as belonging to different stem variants. Rather, one vowel is the underlying root-initial vowel (typically *o* or *u* for class A and *a* for class C) and it is deleted when the prefix contains a vowel which would result in a vowel cluster. Thus by my analysis the completive vowel is a prefix vowel and not a true stem vowel. This analysis follows the historical analysis of Kaufman (1989, 2003).[1] (5.8) represents some ancestor of CLZ when most prefixes still had vowels (e.g. before consonant-initial stems all the vowels remained and were thus still known to the speakers to be part of the prefix). The vowels of many prefixes, including the habitual represented here, deleted before a stem-initial vowel via some phonological process like those described by Kaufman, whereas the stem-initial vowel deleted following the prefix vowel for the completive. (5.9) shows that in CLZ there is no vowel in prefixes like the habitual, but the vowel of the completive prefix remains (because it was the surface tonic vowel in these vowel-initial stems). In (5.10) I give inflectional paradigms for *–ùth* and *–âth*.

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[1] Kaufman's analysis predicts the deletion of either the first or the second vowel in a vowel cluster formed by prefixation (for him, procliticization) based on the identity of each of the two vowels. I do not find these rules necessary in modern CLZ since non-tonic vowel deletion has resulted in fewer possible combinations of underlying vowels.

(5.8) H /*CV$_1$-V$_2$CV/ → [*CV$_2$CV]
C /*CV$_1$-V$_2$CV/ → [*CV$_1$CV]

(5.9) H /C-V$_2$C/ → [CV$_2$C]
C /CV$_1$-V$_2$C/ → [CV$_1$C]

| (5.10) | *-ùth*<br>**‘matar; kill’ vtA** | *-âth*<br>**‘morir, die’ viC** |
|---|---|---|
| P | *gǔth* | *gâth* |
| F | *sùth* | *sâth* |
| H | *ndùth* | *ndâth* |
| IRR | *ngùth* | *ngâth* |
| INF | *yùth* | *yâth* |
| M | *yǔth* | *yâth* |
| C | *mbìth* | *ngùth* |
| IMP | *bìth* | *gùth* |

The analysis just presented borders on the line between synchrony and diachrony. A more synchronic analysis, one made without any consideration of Zapotec historical morphology, could have two vowel-initial stems in each paradigm, the *i*-initial class A and back round vowel-initial class C forms being the stem found in the completive and imperative, and the forms of these verbs with other vowels being the stems found in the rest of the paradigm. A synchronic analysis could be proposed in which two stems exist and one could view the alternant initial vowels of these two stems as prefixes much like the replacives of class Ch-D except that here the stem-forming prefixes would be vowels rather than consonants, being added to the minimal root *–th.*

Like class Ch-D verbs these vowel-initial verbs of classes A and C have two main forms with one occurring in the completive and imperative and the other occurring in the rest of the inflectional paradigm. Historically and in more conservative modern languages class D verbs are often in a derivational relationship with a verb of another class and that verb has throughout its paradigm the stem seen in the completive form of the class D verb, according to Kaufman (1989). In CLZ this is no longer the case, as described in the following section, because of the great migration of verbs out of class D and into class A, but one does still find that there are pairs of transitive/intransitive verbs whose stems differ by what are recognizeable as replacive prefixes. Comparing this to the CLZ vowel-initial verbs in a derivational relationship, one does find the vowels in the paradigms in (5.10) behaving very much like replacives. The vowel throughout most of the transitive class A paradigm is identical to the vowel found in the completive and imperative forms of the intransitive class C verb. Even the tone is the same between the completive of ‘die’ and the root of ‘kill’ but this may be analogy towards the ‘kill’ paradigm, facilitated by the vowel similarity. For true replacives historically the relationship was the other way around according to Kaufman (1989) with the class D verb being the transitive one and the other verb based on the class D completive being intransitive. However, since this pattern for consonant-stem transitive/intransitive pairs has lost some of its integrity in modern CLZ, there seems to be little reason other than history to analyze these vowels the way that I do (above).

### 5.1.2 Replacives as transitivity markers

As described in 5.3, *replacives* (a term coined by Kaufman, 1989) are stem-forming prefixes found on class D verbs. According to Kaufman (2003) class D verbs in PZ took one replacive (my R1) in most of the paradigm of transitive (causative) verbs but another replacive (my R2) in the completive form and in the intransitive (semantically “versive”) partner of that verb.

Since the TAM markers taken by verbs of Kaufman’s PZ classes C and D were the same, the intransitive partner verbs taking the R2 prefix might be considered class C since the lack of stem allomorphy found on transitive class D verbs would make these unrecognizeable as class D verbs, other than a known connection to a transitive class D partner verb. Furthermore Kaufman (2003) notes that PZ class C consonant-stems began in various consonants but not in **p* or **kw*, the very consonants that are found in the non-completive forms of transitive class D verbs (i.e. **p* and **kw* were the R1 prefixes in PZ). The only thing keeping Kaufman from uniting classes C and D was the fact that class C also contained many vowel-initial stems. In CLZ the vowel-stems are all that remain of class C. It appears that historically class C consonant-stems have migrated to class A in CLZ. Thus in CLZ there are class Ch-D transitive verbs that have intransitive partners in class A. This pattern is not restricted to class D proper but includes class Ch, as seen in (5.11) where I show a transitive class Ch verb and an intransitive class A verb with the same stem-initial consonant as the completive of the class Ch verb. I give the infinitive, habitual and completive to show the main alternations in the class Ch paradigm. There are no tonal alternations in the potential for either verb.

| (5.11) | *-z-i*$^{7}$<br>**‘comprarlo; buy’ vtCh** | *-xi*$^{7}$<br>**‘comprarse; get bought’ viA** |
|---|---|---|
| INF | *zi*$^{7}$ | *xi*$^{7}$ |
| H | *ndzyi*$^{7}$ | *nxi*$^{7}$ |
| C | *nhwxi*$^{7}$ | *mxi*$^{7}$ |

While CLZ does have vt/vi verb pairs that differ by replacive consonants, for most of them there is one important difference from the pattern reconstructed by Kaufman for PZ and shown in a rare conservative example in (5.11). While in PZ and above in (5.11) the intransitive verb stem begins in the same replacive consonant as the completive stem of the transitive verb (the consonant I call the R2 prefix), in CLZ most vt/vi pairs that differ by replacives begin instead in the R1 prefix, the replacive consonant seen not in the completive but in the habitual form of class D transitive verbs. This is illustrated with the example verb pairs shown in Figure 47, for which I give a partial paradigm. These verbs also show tonal changes between the vt and vi paradigms.

**Figure 47: The use of the R1 prefix in vtD/viA pairs**

| | vtD | | viA | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | ***-y-ěn*** | ***-y-ìb*** | ***-yên*** | ***-yi$^7$b*** |
| | escarbarlo<br>dig | arrancarlo pluck | escarbarse<br>get dug | arrancarse<br>be plucked |
| | | | | |
| **P** | ***kěn*** | ***kǐb*** | ***yén*** | ***yi$^7$b*** |
| **H** | ***ndyěn*** | ***ndyìb*** | ***ndyên*** | ***ndyi$^7$b*** |
| **C** | ***ngwděn*** | ***ngwdìb*** | ***mbyên*** | ***mbyi$^7$b*** |

In one case a class D verb has both a transitive and an intransitive verb derived from it in class A. In (5.12) the class A intransitive verb with the most similar meaning to the class D transitive verb, has a stem beginning in the R1 prefix seen in the class D paradigm. A transitive class A verb with a narrowed meaning takes the R2 prefix seen in the class D paradigm. This is further indication that in CLZ the role of the two replacives has been reversed from PZ in vt/vi pairs such that the R1 replacive is usually used to derive intransitive verbs and the R2 prefix is usually used to derive transitive verbs.

| (5.12) | **vtD** | **viA** | **vtA** |
|---|---|---|---|
| | *-b-ìb* | *-bi$^7$b* | *-ti7b* |
| | **‘sacudirlo; shake something’** | **‘sacudirse; shake’** | **‘colar; winnow, strain’** |
| | | | |
| P | kwǐb | bi$^7$b | wti$^7$b |
| H | nbìb | nbi$^7$b | nti$^7$b |
| C | nhwtìb | mbi$^7$b | mti$^7$b |

Class C consonant stems are not the only group that has made a mass migration to class A. There is evidence that many class D verbs have found a new home there as well. The consonantal R1 prefixes found in class D in CLZ are the [-coronal] *b* and *g*, and *y* when earlier *g* occurs before a front vowel. The R2 prefixes found in class D in CLZ are the coronal sounds *l, t,* and *d*. There are a number of vt/vi pairs which differ by one of these consonants, but in which both verbs take class A morphology. This makes it appear that many class D verbs along with their intransitive partners (typically belonging to class C historically) have made the journey to class A together. Once in class A, formerly class D verbs no longer show the stem allomorphy famously associated with class D but instead have only one consonant-initial stem[2]. Here again the pattern is reversed from that of PZ, with transitive class A verbs taking R2-initial stems and intransitive class A partners of these taking R1-initial stems, as shown in (5.13-15) below.

| | **vtA w/ R2** | | **viA w/ R1** | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (5.13) | **t-initial** | | **b-initial** | |
| | *-ti*$^7$*x* | **medirlo**<br>**measure (something)** | *-bìx* | **medir**<br>**be measured** |
| | *-tǐl* | **rebanarlo, pelarlo**<br>**peel** | *-bǐl* | **rebanarse**<br>**to have a hard covering removed** |
| (5.14) | **l-initial** | | **g-initial** | |
| | *-la*$^7$*b* | **contarlo**<br>**count** | *-ga*$^7$*b* | **contarse**<br>**be counted** |
| | *-lo*$^7$*b* | **barrerlo**<br>**sweep** | *-go*$^7$*b* | **barrerse**<br>**be swept** |
| (5.15) | **l-initial** | | **b-initial** | |
| | *-lên* | **pesarlo**<br>**weigh (something)** | *-bên* | **pesarse**<br>**get weighed** |
| | *-la*$^7$ | **soltarlo**<br>**release** | *-ba*$^7$ | **soltarse**<br>**be let go** |

The last verb pair listed in (5.15), *-la*$^7$*/*-ba$^7$ 'soltar; release', is also related to another intransitive verb *–la*$^7$ of class B which means 'escaparse; escape.' Likewise, the second verb pair in (5.14), *-lo*$^7$*b/-go*$^7$*b* 'barrer; sweep,' is related to a verb pair *–g-òb/-yo*$^7$*b* 'arrastrar; drag' shown in (5.16) further below.

Kaufman (2003) reconstructs a replacive combination of *Ø/y* which is not found in class Ch-D verbs in CLZ. As mentioned in 3.3.1, Kaufman (2003) reconstructed two levels of prefixation for intransitive verbs (and the related transitive completive forms) of class D verbs, with an *i-* or *y-*

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[2] The same is not true of at least some Miahuatec languages which may continue to take different replacive consonants in forms like the habitual and completive even though they are marked with a class A-type

prefix marking this intransitivity in addition to or instead of other R2 prefixes. In CLZ there are a number of vt/vi pairs which have a *y*-initial, usually class A, intransitive verb and a transitive verb that either belongs to class D or is a class A verb with a consonant that also occurs in class Ch-D as an R2 prefix. Again, based on Kaufman (2003) we do not expect the R2 prefix to mark transitivity but rather intransitivity, but as we have just seen the transitivity status of the R1 and R2 prefixes has been reversed in many CLZ paradigms.(5.16) gives examples with regular class D transitive verbs and their *y*-initial class A intransitive partners and (5.17) gives an irregular and partially suppletive example of a similar pair.

| | **vtD** | **viA w/ y-** |
|---|---|---|
| (5.16) | -*g*-*a*$^7$*b* (-*g*- R1, -*d*- R2) | -*ya*$^7$*b* |
| | **‘sobarlo; massage’** | **‘sobarse; get a massage, be rubbed’** |
| | -*g*-*òbxêx* (-*g*- R1, -*d*- R2) | -*yo*$^7$*b* (*xêx*) |
| | **‘arrarstrarlo; drag (something)’** | **‘arrastrarse; be dragged’** |
| (5.17) | -*k*-*ìx* (-*k*- R1, -*t*- R2) | -*yâx* |
| | **‘pagar; pay’** | **‘pagarse; be paid for’** |

The second pair in (5.16) ‘arrastrar; drag’ is derivationally related to another vt/vi pair ‘barrer; sweep’ shown in (5.14) above. All four of these related verbs show replacive patterns of derivation but interestingly in different ways. The ‘sweep’ pair has an R2-initial transitive verb and an R1-initial intransitive verb while the ‘drag’ pair uses the same R1, -*g*-, in the transitive verb and *y*- in the intransitive verb. Of these four only the transitive form of ‘drag’ is a class D verb. The other three belong to class A. The root *–ob* has been even more productive in CLZ. These verbs are related to nouns like *nǒb* ‘huella; imprint, footprint, tracks’ and *go*$^7$*b* ‘popote; straw.’ Though semantically more tenuous, these words may also be related to the verbs -*tǒb* ‘tirar; throw,’ *–z-o*$^7$*b* ‘desgranar; shuck (scrape corn kernels off the cob)’ and words that are in turn derived from these like *–zh-o*$^7$*b* ‘desboronar; crumble’ and *ko*$^7$*b* ‘masa; dough.’

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labial prefix in the completive.

Example (5.18) is similar to (5.16) and (5.17) except that the *y*-initial intransitive verb belongs to class B-C rather than class A. This is perhaps a rare conservative example showing that such verbs did not originally take a bilabial completive marker (the hallmark of class A in CLZ).

(5.18) *-g-ò* **'poner; put' vtD (-*l*- R2)** *-yô* **'ponerse; get put, placed' viB-C**

An interesting and irregular verb pair is given with a partial paradigm in (5.19)

| (5.19) | *–b-o*$^{7}$ **'sacar; take out'** | *-to*$^{7}$ **'salir; go out.'** |
|---|---|---|
| P | *ko*$^{7}$ | *tyo*$^{7}$ |
| H | *nbo*$^{7}$ | *ntyo*$^{7}$ |
| C | *ngwlo*$^{7}$ | *mto*$^{7}$ |

The verb *–b-o*$^{7}$ is a regular class D verb with no special morphology other than that all class D verbs have. The verb *–to*$^{7}$ is unusual however in having palatalization in the potential and habitual, following a class B pattern but belonging to class A, as evidenced by the completive marker *m*-. The two verbs are clearly related in a derivational transitive/intransitive relationship, however the intransitive verb does not take the same replacive found in the completive of the transitive verb, the pattern reconstructed by Kaufman based on other modern Zapotec languages, particularly NZ and CZ for which there are more complete data. Rather, in this pair the intransitive verb takes another consonant which often occurs in the completive forms of other class D verbs, though not the one in this pair. Both *–l*- and *–t*- are common enough R2 prefixes in CLZ. /t̪/ comes from PZ **ty*, which according to Kaufman (2003) was a replacive that resulted from the concatenation of two prefixes, one being *–i*- or *–y*- and the other being *–t*- or *–tz*-.

To explain the existence of the palatalization in the potential and habitual of *–to*$^{7}$, there are a few details to consider. One is the fact that there was (or still is in an unproductive, sporadic way) a *y*- prefix associated with intransitivity for verbs that were partnered with transitive class D verbs. In 3.3.1 I speculated that this prefix might be the source of potential and habitual palatalization in class Ch combined with analogy to the class B pattern. This could be the case here as well. Another possibility is that these forms simply preserve the palatal nature of **ty*. In CLZ **ty* and **tty* have undergone depalatalization and other conditioned sound changes but in a stem-initial and word-medial environment, i.e. following a prefix or in a compound, palatalization has often been maintained (Beam de Azcona, 2001). This is apparent in several animal words such as *mtyë`tz* ‘camarón; shrimp’ and *mtyë*ˆ ‘piojo; louse,’ and in the compound *látyo*$^{7}$ ‘corazón; heart’ (< ‘holy liver’). If like these nouns the verb *–to*$^{7}$ is maintaining its palatalization because of a medial environment like that found after the habitual marker *n*-, the obvious question is why there would also be palatalization in the potential which has a zero marker and thus makes *ty* an initial sound, and why would there be no palatalization in all the other inflected forms of this verb which in fact do have prefixes. Remembering that Kaufman reconstructed the same potential and habitual markers for classes A and B, one might imagine that this verb migrated to class A while those prefixes still had vowels and here underwent the same kind of palatalization as class B verbs, but this idea is unsatisfying since this is virtually the only class A verb to show this pattern. Any of these factors may be at play here. The palatalization probably does come from the intransitive *y*- prefix but it is unclear if this is from the original application of this prefix to **t*- or **tz*- that produced **ty*-, or from a reapplication of this prefix later. While it is possible that the palatalization also comes from the vowels of earlier class A potential and habitual prefixes, I suspect that these only had an influence in the form of analogy to the modern class B pattern.

A few class A verb pairs have an *x/y* alternation. If this is also a replacive alternation, the *x* of the transitive verb may be the R2 seen in class Ch verbs. Two of these verb pairs are shown in (5.20) and in (5.21) I show a set of three related verbs, two of which show this same correspondence.

| (5.20) | **vtA x-initial** | **viA y-initial** |
|---|---|---|
| | *-xël*$^{7}$ **‘abrir; open (something)’** | *-yël*$^{7}$ **‘abrirse; open up’** |
| | *-xë*$^{7}$*d* **‘desatarlo; untie’** | *-yë*$^{7}$*d* **‘desatarse; become untied’** |

| (5.21) | *-xǎp* vtA | *-yàp* viA | *-àp* viC3 |
|---|---|---|---|
| | **‘subirlo; llenarlo’** | **‘subir de precio; llenarse’** | **‘subir’** |
| | **‘raise, lift; fill’** | **‘go up in price; get filled’** | **‘rise, go up’** |

The first two verbs in (5.21) have two glosses. *-Xǎp* can mean to raise something up or to fill something up. If paying attention to the first gloss which means to lift something, then it seems the intransitive partner verb is a vowel-initial class C stem which means to go up. If instead one focuses on the *fill* meaning of *-xǎp* then the intransitive partner verb would be *–yàp* which follows the *x/y* pattern of the verbs in (5.20). The verb *–yàp* has the ordinary intransitive reading ‘to get filled’ but also has another meaning which means to go up in price. Focusing on the Spanish and English glosses, the inflation meaning of *–yàp* seems most closely related to the first gloss of *-xǎp* and the gloss of *–àp*, but it is hard to say if in the Zapotec worldview the metaphor is the same or whether instead prices are conceived as containers of a limited amount, which can be filled to capacity. Perhaps a noteworthy price increase is thought of as audacious and complained of in such a way as to say “this is enough, you can’t possibly raise it any more.” I do not know which of these interpretations is right, or even if they are mutually exclusive.

Some class A vt/vi pairs, shown in (5.22), have a *z/y* correspondence. If this is also a replacive relationship, it is noteworthy that *z* is the R1 prefix used in class Ch. This would be the opposite of the previous set, in which the transitive verbs begin in *x*, the R2 prefix found in class Ch.

| (5.22) | **vtA z-initial** | **viA y-initial** |
|---|---|---|
| | *-zo*$^{7}$*l* **‘quemarlo; burn (something)’** | *-yôl* **‘quemarse; get burned’** |
| | *-zàt* **‘lavarlo; wash (something)’** | *-yàt* **‘lavarse; get washed’** |
| | *-zu*$^{7}$**’empedazarlo; break into pieces’** | *-yû* **‘estrellarse, empedazarse, embiuxar**[3]**; get smashed, be made into tiny pieces’** |

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[3] This is a Zapotec loanword into Spanish coming from the word *bǐx* meaning ‘small.’

Some class A vt/vi pairs have a *tz/y* alternation. Examples are given below in (5.23). Kaufman (2003) mentions **tz* as a replacive (R2), but PZ **tz* is *zh* in CLZ, not *tz* which is a reflex of PZ **ss* which is not listed as a replacive. The last verb pair in (5.23), -*u*$^{7}$, is reconstructed by Kaufman. The intransitive verb ‘apagarse; get doused’ is reconstructed by him as *y-uwi$^{7}$, which matches what we see here. The transitive verb is reconstructed as an *s*-initial counterpart to this verb (*s* being a replacive which is reflected in the CLZ R1 prefix of class Ch) but bearing a causative prefix (or proclitic) *ok*-. The *o* of this prefix would have been pretonic and therefore lost in SZ. The *ks* cluster that would have resulted from the concatenation of the causative prefix and the –*s*- replacive would have yielded **ss* which is the ancestor of CLZ *tz* seen in the verbs in (5.23).

| (5.23) | **vtA tz-initial** | **-viA y-initial** |
|---|---|---|
| | -*tze*$^{7}$*k* **‘darle vuelta; turn something around’** | -*yêk* **‘dar vuelta; turn around’** |
| | -*tzà* **‘taparlo; cover’** | -*yǎ* **‘taparse; get covered’** |
| | -*tzûb* **‘tumbar; knock down’** | -*yûb* **‘caer; fall’** |
| | -*tzu*$^{7}$ **‘apagarlo; douse’** | -*yu*$^{7}$ **‘apagarse; get doused’** |

Here I note one final vt/vi pattern with *y*-initial intransitive stems. This pattern is different because the transitive verb is a class C vowel-stem. The second pair given here is also partially suppletive.

| (5.24) | **vtC V-initial** | **viA y-initial** |
|---|---|---|
| | -*òj* **‘molerlo; grind’** | -*yôj* **‘molerse; get ground’** |
| | -*àz* **‘sembrarlo; plant’** | -*yâzh* viA **‘sembrarse; get planted’** |

Similar to the pattern in (5.24) is is an all-class A pair of two transitive verbs already mentioned above in the introduction to this section under the general heading of 5.1. The verbs –*o*$^{7}$ and –*yo*$^{7}$ both mean to ‘bring, take, carry’ but only the verb –*o*$^{7}$ can take an animate object.

There are a few more verbs which show, or potentially show, replacives in the transitive member of vt/vi pairs. These have vowel-initial intransitive partner verbs and are covered in the following section.

### 5.1.3 Intransitive vowel-stems and their partners

In (5.21) I gave the first example of an intransitive vowel-stem with a transitive consonant-stem partner. There are many more such verbs in CLZ. In some of these cases the consonant of the transitive stem may very well be a replacive. In class D, both in CLZ today and historically in PZ as reconstructed by Kaufman (2003), there are verbs which take no R1 prefix and therefore have vowel-stems throughout most of their paradigm except in the completive, imperative, and M forms where the R2 prefix is seen. Some of the verb pairs I will describe in this section could be following this pattern, with one verb taking a replacive and the other verb not. Again, following Kaufman (2003) one would expect the vowel-stems in such a relationship to be transitive and the consonant-stems to be intransitive, the opposite of what is found here, but we have already seen that such a reversal of PZ replacive patterns is common with CLZ vt/vi pairs. In most cases of transitive consonant stems partnering with intransitive vowel-stems though, the consonant-stem appears to be derived from the intransitive verb by the addition of another prefix, not a replacive. I will first describe verb pairs that differ only by the presence or absence of an initial consonant, and a few that are suppletive. Secondly, I will describe verb pairs that have the same root-final consonant but differ as to their vowels as well as by the presence or absence of a stem-initial consonant.

The replacive consonants found on transitive verbs that partner with intransitive vowel stems without a differnce in vowel are all consonants described above as replacives: *g*, *y*, and *z*. These transitive consonant-stems mostly belong to class A but two partially suppletive verbs belong to class Ch-D. These pair mostly with intransitive vowel stems of class C, and one of class A.

(5.25) gives several vt/vi pairs with *g*-initial transitive verbs and intransitive vowel-stems. The first two pairs have been reconstructed by Kaufman with a vowel-initial intransitive verb of class C, and an identical causative form except for the addition of the preposed causative **ok* morpheme. Thus, in this set of vt/vi pairs the initial *g* of the transitive verbs is historically not a replacive but is the reflex of a causativizer.

(5.25)

| **vtA** | **g-initial stems** | **viC1** | **V-stems** |
|---|---|---|---|
| *-gàz* | **'bañarlo; bathe (someone)'** | *-àz* | **'bañarse; bathe'** |
| *-gàzh* | **'mojarlo; cause to get wet'** | *-âzh* | **'mojarse; get wet'** |
| *-ga$^7$l* | **'crecerlo; raise (young)'** | *-a$^7$l* | **'crecer; grow (up)'** |
| *-gâd* | **'darle de mamar; suckle'** | *-âd* | **'mamar; suck, nurse'** |
| *-gân* | **'darle hambre; make hungry'** | *-ân* | **'tener hambre; be hungry'** |
| *-gàb* | **'bajarlo; lower (something)'** | *-àb* | **'caerse, gotear; fall, drop'** |

The last pair in (5.25) is related to another transitive class A verb with a fortis version of the consonant in the transitive class A verb given here. The verb -*kăb* means 'tragarlo; swallow.' These three verbs may also be related to the 'knock down/fall' pair *–ub* given in (5.23) above.

Three somewhat irregular pairs of semi-auxiliarly verbs shown in (5.26) have derivational relationships such that one verb is *y*-initial and the other vowel-initial. In these pairs the *y*-initial verb seems to be farther toward the transitive end of the spectrum and the vowel-initial verb farther toward the intransitive end of the spectrum but the semantic difference between the two verbs is not as clean of a transitive/intransitive split as for other verb pairs described throughout this larger section.

(5.26)

| ***y*-initial** | | **V-initial** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| -*yàk* v(t)A | **'convertirse/lo; transform'** | -*àk* viC1 | **'hacerse; become'** |
| -*yùn* vtA | **'hacerlo; do or make'** | -*ùn* vtA | **'hacer; do or make'** |
| -*yâ* viA | **'irse; go away'** | -*â* viC3 | **'ir; go'** |

I have found two verb pairs with a transitive *z*-initial verb and a vowel-initial class C intransitive verb. One pair is regular and the other suppletive.

| (5.27) | **vt C-stem** | | **vi V-stem** | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | -*zándô* vtA | **‘acabar; finish (something)’** | -*ándô* viC3 | **‘acabarse; end’** |
| | -*z-àn* vtCh | **‘parir; give birth’** | -*ǎl* viC1 | **‘nacer; be born’** |

The verb -*ǎl* ‘nacer; be born’ shown above is perhaps the etymon of a homophonous verb root which is semantically irregular and which has a different completive than this verb. The class C3 verb -*ǎl* means ‘come’, as do other CLZ verbs, but is only used with a first person singular subject.

The remaining verbs to be discussed in this section all differ as to the quality of the stem vowel between the transitive and intransitive verb. The first verb pair I show here consists of two vowel-initial stems which differ by that vowel as well as by tone and verb class (though this is predicted from the identity of the stem-initial vowel), but which share the final glide *y*. The intransitive class C verb –*ày* shown in (5.28) is a regular class C2 verb in SMaC with the completive form *ngùy* but an irregular class C3 verb in SBL with the completive form *ngwi*$^{7}$*(y)*.

(5.28) -*i*$^{7}$*y* vtA **‘cocer; cook (something)’** –*ày* viC **‘cocerse; get cooked’**

The remaining vowel-initial intransitive stems to be discussed belong mostly to class C, with one exception from class A. These all have transitive counterparts which are consonant-stems and which have a different surface stem vowel than found in the intransitive paradigm. Both class A and class D patterns of TAM-marking are found among the transitive verbs in these pairs. In the final case shown the verb pair is completely suppletive. The only phonological similarities between the two verbs being the tone and the fact that they both end in a voiceless fricative. I show this rather diverse set of verbs in (5.29-33). As the reader may note with the first verb pair, the difference may not be neatly one of transitive/intransitive, but may instead be the relative position of the two verbs along a semantic continuum with there being more agency on the part of the subject on one end of the continuum than on the other.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (5.29) | **vA *yë*-initial** | | **viA *i*-initial** | |
| | -*yë*$^7$*d* | **‘venirse; come back’** | -*i*$^7$*d* | **‘venir; come’** |
| (5.30) | **vtD -*g*-*o*-initial** | | **viC2 *a*-initial** | |
| | -*g*-*óyë*ˆ (R2 *l*) | **‘madurarlo; make ripe’** | -*áyë*ˆ | **‘madurarse; ripe’** |
| (5.31) | vtA *xi*-initial | | **viC2 *a*-initial** | |
| | -*xìstê* | **‘levantarlo; lift up’** | -*ástê* viC2 | **‘levantarse; get up’** |
| (5.32) | **vtD *yi*-initial** | | **viC *a*-initial** | |
| | -*y*-*ǐd* (R2 *d*) | **‘agujerearlo; make a hole in’** | -*ǎd* viC1 | **‘agujerearse; get pierced, get a hole made in’** |
| | -*y*-*ìch* (R2 *d*; $^7$ in C) | **‘reventar; explode (something)’** | -*âch* viC2 | **‘reventarse; (for something to) explode’** |
| | -*y*-*i*$^7$*ch* (R2 *d*) | **‘quebrarlo; break (something)’** | -*ǎch* viC1 | **‘quebrarse; get broken’** |
| | -*y*-*ìx* (R2 *t*) | **‘acostarlo; lay (it/him) down’** | -*àth* viC1 | **‘acostarse; lie down’** |

The two middle pairs of verbs in (5.32) may themselves be related derivationally. They only differ from each other by tone and the glottal tone in –*y*-*i*$^7$*ch* ‘break’ is also found in the completive form of –*y*-*ìch* ‘explode.’

The existence of vt/vi pairs with one partner being vowel-initial and the other consonant-initial with a different vowel, reminds me of the paradigm-internal morphology found in CLZ vowel-stems such that the stem-initial vowel that exists throughout most of the paradigm is replaced by a prefix vowel when the CV- completive and imperative prefixes are added. With more uniformity in this group one could posit a CV- derivational prefix used to derive transitive verbs from intransitive verbs. However such uniformity is lacking here. There are four different CV combinations found on the transitive verbs given here. The most common of these is *yi* but this is found only on class D verbs where one can separate the *y* from the *i* easily since the *i* is part of the root and is found throughout the paradigm while the *y* is in fact only one of the replacives used with the verbs in question. The completive, for example, will not have a *y*-initial stem but one that begins in *t* or *d*. The vowel differences seen here probably do go back to old prefixes, likely pre-PZ prefixes, but these prefixes are not synchronic and are not one and the same as the morphemes to which the stem-initial consonants belong.

### 5.1.4 Fortition

The most common way for transitive verbs to be derived from intransitive verbs in CLZ is through fortition of the intransitive stem-initial consonant, as in the verb pair *–chù* 'burn (something/someone)' and *–zhù* 'get burned.' The majority of the transitive verbs in these pairs are semantically causative and in my view the leading candidate for the historical source of the fortition is the preposed causativizer reconstructed by Kaufman (2003) as**ok.* In 3.1.3 I mentioned this morpheme as combining with a replacive to produce a fortis reflex in a transitive verb paradigm. The same is probably the case in this larger group of verbs.

Most verbs in these pairs belong to class A but there are also a few class B and class Ch roots. This is one of the most regular kinds of derivational morphology in CLZ. There is very little tonal morphology seen in this group, but there is some. Most of these verb pairs have the same tone on both verbs. For those that have tonal differences the most common pattern in glottal tone in the transitive verb and low tone in the intransitive paradigm. Some verb pairs also have a rising~falling correspondence. Little more needs to be said about these verb pairs since the data speak for themselves. The reader should remember that *kw* and *b* share a fortis/lenis relationship historically, that *tz* and *z* come from PZ **ss* and **s* respectively, and that *y* has merged with *g* before front vowels such that *y*-initial intransitive verbs have transitive counterparts with *k*. I show all patterns in (5.33-41). The two pairs in (5.39) are not true vt/vi pairs since all four verbs can take objects, but these are pairs of verbs related through fortition and I include them for comparison with the similar patterns in (5.37-38). The verbs in (5.41) have palatalization of the intransitive C-stem besides the fortition of the transitive C-stem. This intransitive palatalization is part of a larger pattern to be described in the next section.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (5.33) | **vtA kw-initial** | | **viA b-initial** | |
| | *-kwi*$^7$*d* | **‘secarlo; dry (somthing)’** | *-bìd* | **‘secarse; dry’** |
| | *-kwăn* | **‘lastimarlo; hurt (someone)’** | *-băn* | **‘enconarse; to become infected after almost healing’** |
| | *-kwa*$^7$*n* | **‘despertarlo; wake (someone)’** | *-bàn* | **‘despertarse; wake up’** |
| | *-kwa*$^7$*n* | **‘buscar; look for’** | *-ba*$^7$*n* | **‘descuidarse; be careless’** |
| (5.34) | **vtA k-initial** | | **viA g-initial** | |
| | *-kûx* | **‘regañarlo; scold’** | *-gûx* | **‘regañarse; get scolded’** |
| | *-kân* | **‘recogerlo; pick up’** | *-gân* | **‘recogerse; get picked up’** |
| | *-kâ* | **‘quitarlo; remove’** | *-gâ* | **‘quitarse; be removed’** |
| | *-kôn* | **‘esconderlo; hide (something)’** | *-gôn* | **‘esconderse; vanish’** |
| | *-ka*$^7$*ch* | **‘enterrarlo; bury’** | *-ga*$^7$*ch* | **‘enterrarse; be buried’** |
| | *-ka*$^7$*d* | **‘machucarlo; smash’** | *-ga*$^7$*d* | **‘mallugarse; get bruised’** |
| | *-kòch* | **‘revolverlo; mix’** | *-gòch* | **‘revolverse; get mixed’** |
| | *-ka*$^7$*b* | **‘encargarlo; oblige’** | *-ga*$^7$*b* | **‘encargarse; be obligated’** |
| | *-ku*$^7$*d* | **‘enblandarlo; make soft’** | *-gu*$^7$*d* | **‘enblandarse; soften’** |
| | *-ku*$^7$ | **‘peinarlo; comb’** | *-gu*$^7$ | **‘peinarse; get combed’** |
| (5.35) | **vtA k-initial** | | **viA y-initial** | |
| | *-ke*$^7$ | **‘pintarlo; paint’** | *-ye*$^7$ | **‘pintarse; be painted’** |
| | *-ke*$^7$*l* | **‘añidirlo; add’** | *-ye*$^7$*l* | **‘añidirse; join, be added’** |
| | *-kǐb* | **‘costurear; sew’** | *-yǐb* | **‘costurearse; get sewn’** |
| | *-kìt* | **‘doblarlo; fold’** | *-yìt* | **‘doblarse; get folded’** |
| | *-ki*$^7$*x* | **‘tostarlo; toast’** | *-yi*$^7$*x* | **‘tostarse; get toasted’** |
| | *-kî* | **‘asarlo; roast’** | *-yî* | **‘asarse; get roasted’** |
| | *-kë´* | **‘enderezarlo; make straight’** | *-yë´* | **‘enderezarse; straighten’** |
| (5.36) | **vtA tz-initial** | | **viB z-initial** | |
| | *-tza*$^7$*b* | **‘tirarlo; throw’** | *-za*$^7$*b* | **‘brincar; jump’** |
| | *-tzi*$^7$*d* | **‘sonar; make something sound’** | *-zìd* | **‘sonar; for something to sound’** |
| | *-tzǔy* | **‘hacerle cosquillas; tickle’** | *-zûy* | **‘darle cosquillas; be tickled’** |
| (5.37) | **vtB tz-initial** | | **viB z-initial** | |
| | *-tza*$^7$ | **‘romperlo; break (something)’** | *-za*$^7$ | **‘romperse; get broken’** |
| (5.38) | **vtA tz-initial** | | **viA z-initial** | |
| | *-tzëˇ* | **‘repartirlo; divide up’** | *-zëˇ* | **‘repartirse; spread out’** |
| | *-tzë*$^7$ | **‘acarrearlo; transport’** | *-zë`* | **‘acarrearse; be transported’** |

| (5.39) | **vtA tz-initial** | | **v(t)Ch –z- initial** | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *-tzàk* | **‘aguantar; put up with’**[4] | *-z-àk* | **‘sufrir enfermedad; be ill’** |
| | *-tzèn* | **‘blanquear; shoot’** | *-z-èn* | **‘agarrar; grab’** |

| (5.40) | **vtA ch-initial** | | **viA zh-initial** | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *-chon*$^7$ | **‘batirlo; mix’** | *-zhon*$^7$ | **‘batirse; get mixed’** |
| | *-chêb* | **‘asustarlo; frighten’** | *-zhêb* | **‘asustarse; be frightened’** |
| | *-chîzh* | **‘alisarlo; straighten’** | *-zhîzh* | **‘alisarse; get straightened’** |
| | *-chu*$^7$*n* | **‘exprimirlo; squeeze’** | *-zhu*$^7$*n* | **‘exprimirse; get squeezed’** |
| | *-chë*$^7$ | **‘cambiarlo; change, exchange’** | *-zhë*$^7$ | **‘cambiarse; get (ex)changed’** |
| | *-chu`* | **‘quemarlo; burn (something)’** | *-zhu`* | **‘quemarse; be burned’** |

| (5.41) | **vtA tz-initial** | | **viA zy-initial** | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *-tza*$^7$*l* | **‘perderlo; lose (something)’** | *-zya*$^7$*l* | **‘perderse; get lost’** |
| | *-tzŏn* | **‘destruirlo; destroy’** | *-zyŏn* | **‘destruirse; be destroyed’** |
| | *-tzómbî* | **‘limpiar; clean’** | *-zyómbî* | **‘limpiarse; get cleaned’** |

### 5.1.5 Palatalization

Many intransitive class A verbs begin in palatalized consonants. These correspond to transitive verbs, usually also belonging to class A, with the appropriate unpalatalized consonants. This palatalization occurs in all forms but the infinitive of the inflectional paradigm. Examples are given in (5.42).

| (5.42) | **vtA C-** | | **viA Cy-** | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *-dûd* | **‘enrollarlo; roll (something) up’** | *-dyûd* | **‘enrollarse; get rolled up’** |
| | *-dò* | **‘venderlo; sell’** | *-dyŏ* | **‘venderse; be sold’** |
| | *-tzi*$^7$ | **‘exprimirlo; squeeze’** | *-tzyi*$^7$ | **‘exprimirse; get squeezed’** |
| | *-lë*$^7$*th* | **‘desocuparlo; empty, make free’** | *-lyë*$^7$*th* | **‘desocuparse; get freed up’** |
| | *-tê* | **‘repartirlo; distribute’** | *-tyê* | **‘repartirse; be distributed’** |
| | *-tûb* | **‘deshojarlo; de-leaf’** | *-tyûb* | **‘deshojarse; get de-leafed’** |

Two additional pairs require special explanation. The vt/vi pair given in (5.43) has a transitive class B verb rather than a class A verb. This is exceptional both because it is the only non-class A verb in this group and because class B is overwhelmingly intransitive. As a member of class B –

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[4] This pair is probably related to another transitive class A verb *-xĭk* ‘aguantarlo; put up with.’

*te$^7$p* itself has palatalized potential and habitual forms, but this palatalization is absent elsewhere in the *–te$^7$p* paradigm while it is present throughout the *–tye$^7$p* (except in the infinitive).

(5.43) -*te$^7$p* vtB **'trompezarlo; trip (someone)'** -*tye$^7$p* viA **'trompezarse; trip'**

Already in this chapter I have mentioned a PZ causative morpheme **ok*. In CLZ there is a productive auxiliary verb used to form causative constructions. This auxiliary verb occurs with nouns and with verbal and adjectival roots, some of them bound roots that do not occur alone, with which the causativizer forms a compound. In (5.44) I show a vt/vi pair in which the transitive verb contains the causative morpheme and an unpalatalized root, corresponding to the intransitive verb which is a palatalized version of the bound root in the transitive compound. The adjective related to this verb pair is *btëˆl* 'chueco; crooked,' which bears a derivational prefix discussed later in this chapter. Here as with the verb pairs in (5.42-43), we see palatalization in the intransitive verb and a lack of palatalization in the transitive verb root, yet the need for the causative morpheme suggests that it is not the intransitive root that is derived but the other way around. The unpalatalized root that occurs with the causative morpheme may either be interpreted as the adjectival root minus the prefix *b*- which is marked on the adjective in isolation, or as the unpalatalized infinitive of the intransitive root. Either the causative means 'to cause to become crooked' or 'make crooked.' Likewise, one can make an argument for the intransitive verb being derived through palatalization from the adjectival root.

(5.44) *–tzétëˆl* vtA **'enchuecarlo; make crooked'** -*tyëˆl* **'enchuecarse; become crooked'**

The palatalization seen in this group of intransitive verbs is perhaps related to the *y* prefixalready discussed as a PZ prefix marked on the intransitive partners of class D verbs.

### 5.1.6 Feature loss

A small handful of related class A verbs in CLZ have a stem-initial complex phoneme *ty* or *kw* corresponding to simple glide *y* or *w* in the partner verb. (5.45) gives two vt/vi pairs with *kw*-initial transitive verbs and *w*-initial intransitive verb. (5.46) gives a pair of related verbs, both glossed intransitively. The verb on the right is likely the less transitive one (if there is such a difference) and it is on this root that the causative *–tzéyë*$^{7}$*l* is based. The adjective *wte*$^{7}$*l* though seems based on the verb on the left. Both verbs are probably related to the verb *–a*$^{7}$*l* ‘grow.’

(5.45) -*kwîn* **‘moverlo; move (something)’** -*wîn* **‘moverse; move’**

-*kwa*$^{7}$ **‘poner encima; put (something) on top’** -*wa*$^{7}$ **‘encimarse; get on top’**

(5.46) -*tye*$^{7}$*l* **‘engruesarse, engordarse; get fat’** -*yël*$^{7}$ **‘engordarse; get fat’**

### 5.2 Other derivational marking on verb roots

In 5.1 I described many ways in which verb stems are derived from each other. Most of these are cases of pairs of transitive/intransitive verbs, including active/passive and causative/intransitive pairs. There are two other kinds of marking on verb roots which instead of producing a semantically different verb produce a different part of speech and are therefore also derivational, although they may be related to inflectional marking in other Zapotec languages. These are the so-called “stative aspect” and another form I call the participle which is called the “infinitive” in other Zapotec languages. In addition to these there are cases of adjectives and nouns related to verbs derivationally through zero derivation. I deal with each of these three types of change in lexical category in turn.

### 5.2.1 Stative “aspect”

Kaufman (2003) reconstructs the PZ stative marker *na+*. As in QZ (Black, 1994), in CLZ the stative marker is *n-*, SZ languages having lost the pretonic vowel reconstructed by Kaufman.

According to Black (1994) in QZ the stative marker cannot be used on most verbs but occurs on "the two copular verbs, *uu* "be" and *ak* "become", and on most adjectives and some quantifiers." Examples of how the stative form of the copula is used in CLZ are given in (5.47-49).

(5.47) *Mě byî ndë7 mǎch nǎk.*
**3hr varón este feo S-hacerse**
**3hr male this ugly S-become**
Este hombre es malo.
This man is bad.

(5.48) *Mě gôtz ndë7 nǎk chë7l nâ.*
**3hd hembra este S-hacerse esposo/a 1s**
**3hd female this S-become spouse 1s**
Esta mujer es mi esposa.
This woman is my wife.

(5.49) *Sàk chílya7-ḿ per tél ná nǎk mě fámíl.*
**FUT-poderse SUB-casarse=3hr pero si NEG S-hacerse 3hr familia**
**FUT-be.able SUB-marry=3hr but if NEG S-become 3hr family**
Se pueden casar pero si no sean familiares.
They can get married but only if they aren't related.

Black also states that the stative may be marked on some active verbs to form a "depictive adjunct" as in her example (46) repeated here as (5.50).

(5.50) *Z-ëëd men n-bib men gway.* **Quiegolani Zapotec**
**Progressive-come 3RD S-mount 3RD horse**
'He comes riding on a horse.'

To render this type of meaning CLZ instead would use an inflected form of a state-of-being verb like the auxiliary *–b-é*, followed by the infinitive rather than the stative, as in (5.51).

(5.51) *Nzhâ bé yùth mě ngë̌g.*
**H-irse M-AUX INF-matar 3hr mosca**
**H-go.away M-AUX INF-kill 3hr fly**
Él va matando moscas.
S/he goes away killing flies.

In CLZ the stative is found fossilized on certain adjectives, particularly names of colors like *nê* ‘red’ and *n-gǔd* ‘white.’ Morphologically it seems like color names may be derived historically from verbs since they are marked like this with the stative. For example, the verb -*gǎtz* means ‘ponerse negro; become black’ while the word ‘negro; black’ is *n-gǎtz.*

When *n-* is added to a *y*-initial base the result is *ñ* as in the *ñǎ* ‘closed’ (see line 41 of Appendix B2) form of the verb -*yǎ* ‘cover,’ and *ña*$^{7}$*l* ‘open’ from the verb –*ya*$^{7}$*l* ‘open.’

Other adjectives containing the stative marker include *nǎx* ‘acostado; lying down,’ the suppletive stative form of –*àth* ‘acostarse; lie down.’ The stative adjective *no*$^{7}$*l* ‘largo; long’ is related to the words –*tógo*$^{7}$*l* ‘enlargarse; become long,’ –*g-ógo*$^{7}$*l* ‘enlargarlo; make long,’ *ko*$^{7}$*l* ‘largo; long,’ and probably also to the words –*a*$^{7}$*l* ‘crecer; grow’ and *mbgo*$^{7}$*l* ‘ancient, elder.’

The copula –*àk* ‘be, become’ more often occurs in the stative form *nǎk* than the habitual form *ndàk*, probably because the very nature of this verb is to refer to states. In this form there also appears to be a floating high tone, with the same surface rising tone seen in the potential.

(5.49) gives an example of the stative in a sentence in CLZ, showing an irregular form of the verb –*ày*. In SBL this verb takes an irregular completive form *ngwi*$^{7}$ which has the irregular stem –*i*$^{7}$*(y)* and takes a C3 completive marker *ngw-*. The stem seen in this stative form, also from SBL, seems to form the stem as if subtracting the *ng-* from the completive form through back-formation. Perhaps this is due to a semantic connection between the completive and stative. Completive forms of verbs in CLZ are often used like stative adjectives and translated into Spanish as such. For example, *má ngùth* might be translated literally as ‘the animal died’ but could also be translated as ‘the dead animal.’ Another example of the completive used as an adjective is the word *mbyàx* ‘espeso; thick’ which is used specifically to refer to hair or to underbrush. This is zero-derived from the completive of the intransitive class A verb -*yàx* ‘envejecer; grow old.’ Since people’s hair can thin as they grow old the hair meaning must be secondary and the original derivation refers to plants growing closer with the passage of time.

(5.49) *Ába*$^7$ *ka*$^7$ *ndǎk nwi*$^7$ *yë`th.*
**de.por.si FOC H-poderse S-cocerse**
**always FOC H-can S-get.cooked**
De por sí se puede cocer la tortilla.
Tortillas always can be cooked.

While most of the time the stative form of a verb is used as an adjective, in at least one case a noun has been derived with the stative prefix. In example (5.16) above I gave a vt/vi pair based on the root *–ob* ‘arrastrar; drag.’ From this verb root is derived the noun *nǒb* ‘huella; imprint.’ This is the mark left by something that grazes the ground, such as one’s foot.

### 5.2.2 Participle formation

Many Northern Zapotec languages have a form of the verb which has been called the infinitive by Butler (1980), Bartholomew (1983), Kaufman (1989), and Newberg (1990). I have found no description of it in the Valley Zapotec languages documented by Munro (1999), and Stubblefield (1991)[5]. Black (1994) states explicitly that there is no infinitive in Quiegolani. Mark Sicoli (p.c.) says that no such form exists in the Western Zapotec language of Lachixío, but that a sound change affecting labiovelars could have done away with it. Likewise, Natalie Operstein (p.c.) says that this form does not exist in Papabuco (a branch of Zapotec which includes the languages spoken in Zaniza and Texmelucán, the latter of which is documented by Speck, 1978). The lack of the infinitive-participle’s documentation outside of NZ makes its existence in CLZ, in the SZ branch, significant.Butler has described the uses of the infinitive as two-fold: 1) to be used as a complement of the verbs ‘come’ and ‘go’ (separate from the andative and venitive aspects that exist in NZ); and 2) to modify nouns as a participle.

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[5] However, Natalie Operstein (p.c.) points out that Córdova’s (1578, p. 99) grammar gives an adverb *hua* that looks suspiciously like the infinitive prefix.

CLZ has a participial form which provides the second function of the infinitive described by Butler. This form is not used for the complements of motion verbs, as the M form is used for that instead in CLZ.

In NZ, this form of the verb is typically marked by a preposed bound morpheme which consists of a labial *w* or labiovelar *gw* consonant and possibly a vowel, depending on the phonological nature and/or class membership of the verb root which follows, and also depending on whether the language in question has undergone pre-tonic vowel deletion. Most infinitives seen in Northern Zapotec have the same surface vowel as in the completive form of the verb.

The CLZ participle is related to the infinitive of other languages and is marked with *w*- on consonant-initial stems. Vowel-initial stems of class A are marked with *wi*- and delete the underlying root vowel, the same as in the completive and imperative forms. No participles have yet been found for vowel-initial verbs of class C in CLZ.

The class D participles are, predictably, the most interesting. Based on the similarities between the completive and infinitive prefixes discussed thus far we might expect that the infinitive be marked on the completive stem in class D (which is formed with the R2 prefix), but such is not the case. In NZ languages the infinitive of class D verbs is formed by adding *gw*- to the stem found in the habitual (which is formed with the R1 prefix). In CLZ, the class D verbs for which I have found participles, attach *w*- to a bare root, with no replacive. Without an intervening consonant, we might expect that there would be some change in the surface vowel as there is in class A verbs with vowel initial stems, but there is none. The answer may be that these forms used to have a replacive consonant prefix between *w*- and the root, as in other languages, and that any vowel that was part of the participle/infinitive marker was pretonic before this consonant and therefore underwent historical deletion. If then more recently the replacive consonant has been lost in this one form, this would explain the lack of vowel alternation in CLZ class D participles.

To summarize, in CLZ the participle is marked with *wi-* before vowel-initial verbs of class A and *w-* before all other verbs for which participles are found. Class D verbs have no replacive prefix when the participial *w-* is present.

I call this form a participle rather than an infinitive in CLZ because this form is never used as a complement of other verbs, but is rather a derivational prefix that transforms a verb into a noun or adjective. In some cases though, a subject and/or object are still present, which make the participle look like it is still a verb, but the entire phrase translates as a noun. When used without accompanying nouns the participle usually translates as an adjective. Some examples are given in (5.50). The first participle given there is optionally used with the nominalizer *yë´l*.

| (5.50) R**oot** | **Gloss** | **Participle** | **Gloss** |
|---|---|---|---|
| -*o*$^{7}$*n* viA | **'llorar; cry'** | (*yë´l*) *wi*$^{7}$*n* | **'llorón; crybaby'** |
| -*à* vtD | **'comer; eat'** | *ár wà xe*$^{7}$*n* | **'comelón; glutton'** |
| -*ùth* vtA | **'matar; kill'** | *ár wìth mĕn* | **'asesino; murderer'** |
| (-*b*-*a*$^{7}$*n* vtD) | **('robar; steal')** [6] | *wa*$^{7}$*n* | **'ladrón; thief'** |
| -*tye*$^{7}$*l* viA | **'engordarse; get fat'** | *wte*$^{7}$*l* | **'gordo; fat'** |
| -*lyá* viA | **'amargarse; turn sour'** | *wlá* | **'amargo; sour'** |
| -*la*$^{7}$*p* vtA | **'piscar mazorca; harvest corn'** | *wla*$^{7}$*p* | **'pisca de mazorca; corn harvest'** |
| -*lë*$^{7}$*th* vtA | **'desocuparlo; empty, make free'** | *wlë̌th* | **'tiempo; time'**[7] |
| -*lyàtz* viA | **'endelgazarse; lose weight'** | *wlàtz* | **'delgado; thin'** |
| -*lyë*$^{7}$ viA | **'aflojarse; loosen up'** | *wlë*$^{7}$ | **'flojo; loose'** |
| -*tyî* viA | **'ponerse dulce; become sweet'** | *wtî* | **'dulce; sweet'** |
| -*tyo*$^{7}$*l* viA | **'resbalarse; slip'** | *wto*$^{7}$*l* | **'resbaloso; slippery'** |
| –*tzéte*$^{7}$*l* vtA | **'engruesarlo; cause to thicken'** | *wte*$^{7}$*l* | **'grueso; thick'** |
| -*yâ* viA | **'ponerse angosto; become narrow'** | *wyâ* | **'angosto, apretado; narrow, tight'** |
| -*yàp* viA | **'subir de precio; go up in price'** | *wyă*p | **'caro; expensive'** |
| -*yén* vA | **'negarse; refuse'** | *wyén* | **'negativo, negón; negative, person who refuses all the time'** |

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[6] This form no longer exists in CLZ. Instead the verb –*ùn* 'do' is used along with the participle to mean 'do thievery.' –*b-a7n* is the expected, but non-existent, CLZ class D verb that would be cognate to 'steal' in other Zapotec languages.

[7] Some may think that my suggestion of these two words being related is a stretch. Nevertheless, all the examples I have of the word *wlë̌th* are people talking about 'having' time to do things.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| -*yi*$^7$vi | **‘estar enojado; be angry’** | *wyi*$^7$ | **‘bravo; fierce’** |
| -*yò* viA | **‘pelear; fight’**[8] | *wyò* | **‘guerra; war’** |
| -*zhîzh* viA | **‘alisarse; become smooth’** | *wzhîzh* | **‘liso; smooth’** |
| -*zë`* viB | **‘caminar; walk’** | *wzë`* | **‘viaje; trip’** |
| -*z-àn* vtCh | **‘parir; give birth’** | *wzàn* | **‘el más grande, padrote; the biggest, the mother of them all’** |

I stated above that class D roots took the *w-* marker on the bare root without any replacive prefixes. One expects the same pattern for class Ch. There is one example of *w-* marked on a class Ch verb, the last example tiven in (5.50), *-z-àn* ‘parir; give birth.’ This verb has interesting derivational relationships with several words. The class A verb *–tza*$^7$*n* ‘ponerse en dieta; go on a restricted diet’ is something new mothers do for 40 days after giving birth. *Zàn* is a bound adjective meaning ‘child-bearing.’ The class Ch verb *–z-òn* means ‘cagar; defecate.’ A noun which may or may not be related to *–z-àn* is *bzàn* ‘cross-sex sibling or cousin.’ The participial form listed above, *wzàn*, means the biggest of some thing or person, in local Spanish slang called ‘padrino’ (godfather) or *padrote* (big daddy). The English *the mother of them all*, as in *the mother of all baseball games* or *the mother of all dissertations* is a closer match to the Zapotec since of course godfathers are not child-bearing.

The morphology seen in the participle *wzàn* contradicts the expectation of *w-* marked on the bare root *–àn* (rendering the unattested **wàn*) as with the class D verbs seen near the top of (5.50). It could simply be that the participial stem takes the R1 prefix in class Ch but not in class D. However, this pattern recalls Kaufman’s (2003) statement that the pattern I regard as the ancestor of the CLZ class Ch pattern was in fact the only pattern in which class D verbs actually had consonant-initial roots and not just consonant-initial stems formed by prefixing replacive consonants to the root. For Kaufman, these verbs had **s*-initial roots and the palatalization to **x* in the completive was caused by a replacive *–*y*-. My analysis of class Ch verbs up to this point has treated them much like other class D verbs with two replacives, -*z*- and –*x*-, and additionally the palatalization not found on verbs of class D proper. An advantage of this analysis is that one can acknowledge the synchronic palatalization to *zy* in the potential and habitual forms while leaving the different palatalization to *x* in the completive in the realm of historical linguistics, treating it as synchronically opaque. However, the participial form *wzàn* is one indication that the true underlying form of the verb root is, or at least *was*, *z*-initial.

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[8] This verb bears a phonological similarity to the class C verb *–ò* ‘drink.’ Since arguments often start when people are intoxicated, there is also a semantic possibility of these two verbs being related.

In some of the Northern Zapotec languages there is not just a labial segment like the CLZ *w*-, but there is also a velar preceding it. This velar has likely been deleted in these forms in CLZ. The one environment where a velar would be most likely to show up in a CLZ participle is in a class C verb. Since the class C completive marker in CLZ and NZ, and the class C “infinitive” marker in NZ, have round vowels, labiovelars should dissimilate to plain velars. This dissimilation is found throughout Zapotec and easily could have predated the loss of the velar portion of the prefix in other verb classes in CLZ. Although I have not found definite examples of class C participles, there are some suspicious words that could be related to class C verbs with vowel initial stems. These possible class C participles begin in *go* and do not have the same vowel as the initial vowel of the verb root to which they may be related. This would not be surprising since the infinitive in other languages typically has the same surface vowel as the completive form of the same verbs. Class C vowel-stems fall into three subgroups depending on the completive marker they take. In (5.51) below the first two verbs belong to subgroup C1, taking the *ngo*- completive which has the same vowel as the possible participle shown here. However, the verb –*a*$^7$*z* is a C3 verb, maintaining it’s underlying *a* vowel and taking a *ngw*- marker in the completive. The verb –*ân* is irregular in that it lacks a completive so the relevance of whether the infinitive is related to the completive is a moot point for that verb.

| (5.51) | **Verb root** | **Possible participle** | **Gloss** |
|---|---|---|---|
| | -*àx* viC1 **‘envejecer; grow old’** | *gǒx* | **‘viejo; old’** |
| | -*àb* viC1 **‘gotear; drip’** | *go*$^{7}$*b* | **‘popote; straw’** |
| | -*a*$^{7}$*z* vtC3**‘picar;prick’** | *go*$^{7}$*z* | **‘pesca; hunt’** |
| | -*ân* viC **‘tener hambre; be hungry’** | *gôn* | **‘limosna; handout’** |

One other class C root is related to a derived adjective that could also be the elusive participial form but with a rare fortis labiovelar stop. The adjective *kwàzh* ‘mojado; wet’ is related to the verb pair –*gàzh* vtA ‘mojarlo; get (something) wet’ / -*âzh* viC1 ‘mojarse; get wet.’ This adjective is tonally more like the transitive class A verb than the intransitive class C verb. There are no *g*-initial verbs given with participles in (5.50) above. Perhaps if the original labiovelar infinitive marker affected velar-initial verb roots differently, producing the fortis labiovelar seen here.

### 5.2.3 Zero derivation

A few adjectives and several nouns are derived from verbs, or verbs are derived from them, through zero derivation. The examples given here are all of nouns and adjectives identical to the underlying root of a verb, without the palatalization and tonal changes that affect individual forms of that verb root. There are no vowel-stems or class D roots shown here, though such roots are certainly related to nouns and adjectives and will come up elsewhere in this chapter, e.g. under animacy marking. (5.52) gives examples of verbs related to homophonous nouns and adjectives.

| (5.52) | **Verb** | **Gloss** | **Noun/Adj** | **Gloss** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | -*bìd* viA | **‘secarse; get dry’** | *bìd* | **‘seco; dry’** |
| | -*kwi*$^{7}$*d* vtA | **‘secarlo; dry (something)’** | *kwi*$^{7}$*d* | **‘estítico; sticky’** |
| | -*chë*$^{7}$*l* vtA | **‘unirlo; join together’** | *chë*$^{7}$*l* | **‘esposo; spouse’** |
| | -*ga*$^{7}$*b* viA | **‘encargarse; take responsibility’** | *ga*$^{7}$*b* | **‘encargo; responsibility’** |
| | -*yìt* viA | **‘doblarse; get folded’** | *yìt* | **‘papel; paper’** |
| | -*kwân* viA | **‘ponese espeso; become thick’** | *kwân* | **‘espeso; thick’** |
| | -*nêtz* viB | **‘orinar; urinate’** | *nêtz* | **‘orina; urine’** |
| | -*zë`* viB | **‘caminar; walk’** | *zë`* | **‘viaje; journey’** |

A very few verbs appear to be zero-derived from each other, sometimes with a change of verb class, other times the result is polysemy. One example is a pair of class A verbs. They differ by transitivity but are not vt/vi partners. The transitive class A verb -*kë´* ‘enderezarlo; to straighten (something)’ has an intransitive class A partner verb –*yë´* ‘enderezarse; to become straight.’ The intransitive class A verb –*kë´*, which only differs from the transitive verb –*kë´* by the transitive potential marker *w*-, means ‘hacer el amor; to make love.’ I assume that this is zero-derived from the first verb based on the straightened quality of an erection. To proposition your lover in CLZ you literally say ‘let’s make (it) straight.’

### 5.2.4 Other changes in lexical category

There are other kinds of derivational marking that are used to derive other parts of speech from verbs or vice versa. Since there are fewer examples of these I am grouping them together in this one section. These means of derivation include tonal changes, segmental changes, palatalization or depalatalization, and replacive prefixation.

In (5.52) above I gave the words ‘urine’ and ‘urinate,’ both *nêtz* in CLZ. This form is clearly derived through a vowel change from the word for ‘water’ *nîtz*.

(5.53) shows nouns related to verbs but with tonal changes.

|  |  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (5.53) | -*nèd* viB | **‘adelantarse; go ahead’** | *ně̌d* | **‘adelante; ahead’** |
|  | -*chu*$^{7}$*k* vA | **‘escupir; spit’** | *chúk* | **‘saliva’** |
|  | -*lë*$^{7}$ vtA | **‘tener antojo; crave’** | *lëˆ* | **‘antojo; craving’** |

The word *to*$^{7}$*l* has two meanings, ‘caracol; snail’ and ‘babas; drool.’ It is related to a verb root with palatalization –*tyo*$^{7}$*l* ‘resbalarse; slip.’ The verb is palatalized in all inflectional forms except the infinitive. The participle *wto*$^{7}$*l* ‘resbaloso; slippery’ also lacks palatalization. The noun could be derived from one of these forms or simply be a depalatalized version of the verb root. Likewise the verb could be derived from one of these meanings through palatalization.

Nouns can be derived from class D verbs using a particular stem. I do not have many examples of this but in one case a noun clearly has an R2 prefix that suggests a former life in class D for a now-class A vt/vi pair. The pair of verbs -*kǐb* ‘costurear; sew’ and -*yǐb* ‘costurearse; get sewn’ have lenis and fortis versions of what must have been the R1 prefix **k*- (> *g* > *y*). The noun *dǐb* ‘señas de cortada, cicatriz; scar’ is like these verbs down to the tone but bears a familiar R2 prefix –*d*-.

### 5.2.5 Non-vt/vi verb pairs

In 5.1 I described the many ways in which pairs of more and less transitive verbs are marked. In that section I also included some pairs of verbs whose status as a true vt/vi pair is questionable, or which clearly are not vt/vi pairs but which I included there for comparison’s sake. There are more verbs which are related to each other and which do not show a difference in transitivity. For the most part these do not show new kinds of marking not presented in 5.1, but they are often of semantic interest.

The pair -*lë7th* vtA ‘desocuparlo, vaciarlo; make free, empty’ is related to the tonally different verb –*lë`th* vtA ‘quitar, librar, defender, salvar; take away, free, defend, save.’ This derivation conjures up an image of Zapotec warriors emptying a town of an occupying force, or of a hero removing (emptying) a victim from an agressor’s clutches.

Many compounds and idioms in Zapotec languages are formed by incorporating the noun referring to the organ that is the spiritual seat, traditionally the liver but often now conceived of as the heart or stomach. In CLZ this is *látyo*$^{7}$. Most often such compounds contained verbs also used in isolation. However, in the cases shown in (5.54) *látyo*$^{7}$ is partnered with derived forms of verbs which occur in isolation, but the derived *y*-initial forms in the compounds do not occur in isolation themselves. Similarly, a *y*- prefix is added to the third compound shown here, a verb which has a vowel-initial stem when in isolation has a *y*-initial stem used in the compound with *wàt* ‘hondo; deep.’ As with *–yàw* and *–yo*$^{7}$*n*, *-ya*$^{7}$*z* is not found in isolation.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (5.54) | -*àw* viD (R2 –*d*-) ‘dolerse; hurt’ | -*yàw látyo*$^{7}$ vA ‘odiarlo; hate’ |
| | -*o*$^{7}$*n* viA ‘llorar; cry’ | –*yo*$^{7}$*n látyo*$^{7}$ viA ‘ponerse triste; become sad’ |
| | -*a*$^{7}$*z* vC3 ‘picarse; penetrate’ | –*ya*$^{7}$*z wàt* viA ‘hundirse; be submerged’ |

The verbs -*gàzh* vtA ‘mojarlo; get (something) wet’ and –*gàz* vtA ‘bañarlo; bathe (someone)’ have obvious phonological and semantic similarities. It is unusual in CLZ to find a pair of words that share a derivational relationship where any phonological difference is found at the right edge of the words rather than the left edge, where virtually all CLZ segmental morphology takes place.

## 5.3 Animacy marking

I now turn away from verbal morphology for a closer look at nouns, and, to a lesser extent, adjectives, in CLZ. The most commonly marked derivational category on non-verbs in CLZ is animacy. Zapotec languages have animacy markers that occur as bound preposed elements in animal, fungus, and hallucinogenic plant names, as well as the names of (super)natural forces. Some languages, including CLZ, have also developed new animacy classifiers that are separate words rather than bound morphemes.

Much animacy marking in CLZ resembles completive marking on verbs because coincidentally there were two homophonous markers for each of these categories. In earlier Zapotec class A verbs marked the completive with **pe*- and other classes of verbs marked the completive with **ko*- historically. At the same time there were two animacy markers, **pe*- and **ko*-. In SZ languages, both the completive (and habitual) aspect markers and a large set of animate words, mostly animals, have undergone prenasalization, continuing to make the completive and animacy morphemes very similar phonologically. However, while the completive markers are inflectional and in general have the kind of regular morphology associated with inflection, the animacy markers are derivational. There are some quirks, phonological opacities, that go along with the nature of derivation, and there are also the semantic differences that one finds. Indeed, by adding or subtracting the animacy marking from a word one can find the difference between an animal and a place name, a spark of fire and a star, and other significantly different things. In CLZ there are multiple layers of animacy marking with the older markers closest to the root and then the nasal-marking outside of this. I will now begin with the older type of marking.

One animacy marker that is common in Zapotec languages is CVZ *pe-*, reconstructed by Kaufman as **kwe*. Marcus and Flannery (1978) suggest that *pe-* is related to the word for ‘breath,’ ‘wind,’ or ‘spirit,’ identified by Córdova (1576) as *pèe*. An example of this morpheme is the Zapotec loanword found in Yucatec Maya *peek’* ‘dog.’ Kaufman (2003) gives the etymon for this borrowed word as the Proto-Mixean word for ‘dog’ **7uku*, which comes from the Proto-Mixe-Zoquean word for ‘agouti.’ The PZ animacy marker was added and the word underwent vowel cluster simplification. Kaufman (2003) gives the underlying PZ form **kwe+u*$^{7}$*kku*$^{7}$ which would have yielded surface **kwe*$^{7}$*kku*$^{7}$, the ancestor of modern Zapotec forms like *be*$^{7}$*ko*$^{7}$, *mbak*$^{w}$ and *mbèk*. Kaufman (2003) says this early Zapotec word for ‘dog’ was borrowed into Yucatec and Huastec. The Maya must have borrowed this word from Zapotec and not from Mixe (and it cannot be a Maya > Zapotec loan as Marcus and Flannery, 1978, speculate) because the Maya words have the Zapotec animacy marker fossilized in them.

Since the ‘dog’ word borrowed from Mixe was perceived by Zapotecs as vowel-initial, the vowel of the animacy prefix replaced the root-initial vowel in this word,( whose identity we only know from the Mixe source) as it would in a native vowel-initial root. Modern roots beginning in *b* and a front vowel thus may have come from earlier vowel-initial roots marked with *pe*. In at least one case there is still a CLZ vowel-initial verb root that is likely the base for derivation with *bi-*. The class A verb *–òtz* means ‘abrir la boca; open one’s mouth.’ The mouth is the place where good and bad air, i.e. spirits, enter and leave the body. The word *bìtz* means ‘pena, imaginación;

spirit that haunts.' This is the animate entity that goes around knocking things over and closing doors, especially when one is first waking up in the morning. If a CLZ word begins in *be* or *bi* it is possible that it contains the fossilized remains of this animacy prefix. However in most cases it is impossible to know whether this is the case or whether the root itself has always began in the same sounds as the animacy marker under consideration here. In (5.55) I give a list of nouns beginning in these sounds which *may* contain the fossilized prefix *be*- or *bi*-.

According to Marcus and Flannery (1978) the ancient Zapotecs saw animacy in many items that Westerners would not, such as the foam in a cup of hot chocolate, so each word deserves careful consideration. I am not censoring semantically dubious forms from the list below, nor am I suggesting that all of these are truly animate, though in fact most do seem plausible to me. I am, however, leaving out many additional lexical items that contain roots listed here, e.g. different types of diseases with the root "pimple" in the name, or different types of tomatoes or seeds. The interested reader can consult the Zapotec wordlist in Appendix A1.

| (5.55) | **CLZ** | **Spanish** | **English** |
|---|---|---|---|
| | *bě* | **peine** | **comb** |
| | *bèch* | **rajad(ur)a** | **crack** |
| | *bèx* | **penca de plátano** | **banana stalk** |
| | *běz* | **cuaconito, guajolote tierno** | **baby turkey** |
| | *bêth* | **epazote** | **epazote (an herb)** |
| | *Béwnè* | **Santa María Colotepec** | **(a town)** |
| | *bêx* | **hoguera de perico, nido de perico** | **parakeet's nest** |
| | *bíyì* | **tiempo de lluvia, tiempo de agua** | **rainy season**[9] |
| | *bìch* | **vapor** | **steam** |
| | *bǐch* | **gato** | **cat** |
| | *bǐn tǔzh* (CN) | **cuaconitos** | **baby turkey**[10] |
| | *Bít tě Yë`l* | **Agua del Rayo (un pozo de agua pegado a un peñasco en el lindero de SCL y SMigC)** | **"Lightning's Water" (a well near a gorge on the border between SCL and SMigC)**[11] |

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[9] 'Rain' is *yì* so here *bí* means 'season' and may be related to the word for 'moon, month' *mbe*$^7$.

[10] *Tǔzh* means 'little,'

[11] 'Thunder's Water' is a translation of the Spanish, not the Zapotec toponym. In the Zapotec name, the morpheme *Bít* is unrecognizeable to me. It seems like an old-fashioned root not used anymore except in

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *bìtz* | **pena, imaginación** | **spirit (who haunts)** |
| *bíx* | **bixe, orina de nene chiquito**[12] | **baby's urine (used medicinally)**[13] |
| *bi$^7$z* | **anillo que redondean al tronco del palo** | **ring of bark that is cut out of a tree**[14] |
| *bîd* | **semilla; ovario** | **seed; ovary** |
| *bît* | **granito** | **pimple** |
| *bîx* | **tomate** | **tomato** |
| *bîzh* | **semilla de algodón** | **cottonseed** |
| *Yè Nké Bi$^7$zh* | **Cerro León** | **Puma Hill**[15] |
| *Yè Bèw* | **Cerro Javalín** | **Peccary Hill** |

Before consonant-initial roots the *pe-* prefix underwent pre-tonic vowel deletion in SZ and the earlier *p* (<**kw*) lenited to *b*. In some cases there is evidence that the prefix was deleted altogether before consonants. For instance, certain Spanish place names were borrowed from CVZ and have the *be-* prefix where the CLZ name does not have a reflex of this prefix. An example is *Cerro Betecó* "Betecó Hill," which in CLZ is most commonly known as *Yètko$^7$*. *Yè* means 'hill' so a translation from CLZ rather than Spanish would be "Tko$^7$ Hill." A lesser-used variant does preserve the *b-* prefix, *Yèbko$^7$*. In CLZ the lesser-used variant could actually have a transparent meaning since *bko$^7$* is 'altar' (*yè* + *bko$^7$* = 'altar hill') but neither *yèt* nor *ko$^7$* are attested words in SBL, though in SMaC *yèt$^7$* is 'ocote; pine tree.' Interestingly a different hill with a similar name appears to have been borrowed recently from Spanish with the Zapotec animacy prefix intact---

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this toponym, so its true meaning is unclear. As for the rest of the toponym, *tě yë`l* means 'of the water hole.'

[12] Ocupan para medicina para niños que lloran mucho (o para niños ojeados, o para gente grande con dolor de barriga). Toman *bixe* con mezcal y hoja de bule. No puede usar orina de mujeres grandes porque atonta al niño.

[13] They use this medicine to treat children who cry a lot, such as young children who have been given "the eye," and also for adults with abdominal pain. Called *bixe* in a Zapotec-to-Spanish loanword, it is drunken with mezcal and the leaf of the gourd vine. While a baby's urine is good medicine, a grown woman's urine is harmful and could cause mental problems in a child who ingested it.

[14] The forestry committee enforces the rules set by the town and by the Mexican government to limit deforestation. A person who wants to clear a field for planting, or who wants to harvest timber to build a house or furniture, must seek permission and perhaps pay for a permit. However, trees that fall on their own or that die without falling may be cut and removed. Some try to skirt the rules by cutting a ring of bark out of a tree so that the tree will die. Since this causes the trees death this ring of bark is perhaps perceived as animate to some degree.

[15] This and other toponyms in (5.55) have animal names which are nasalized when not in toponyms. This is an issue which will be dressed below. A separate issue, highlighted here, is whether these very roots also have an earlier layer of animacy marking with a *be-* or *bi-* prefix.

too intact to not be a loanword, since the pre-tonic vowel is present, even though the word has been phonologized to modern CLZ syllable structure: Cerro Betecá “Betecá Hill” is known as *Yèbétkâ* “Bétkâ Hill.”

Where it has survived, in CLZ this prefix is realized as *b*-, [ɸ] before voiceless consonants and [β] elsewhere. This prefix is found initially on both nouns and adjectives, which leads me to question whether these are in fact the same morpheme on both kinds of lexical items or whether there is a separate derivational marker used to derive adjectives which is homophonous with this animacy prefix.

Adjectives that are *b*-initial could be a different participial form than the *w*-initial form covered in 5.2.2. A few are clearly related to verbs. For example, *btëˆl* ‘chueco; crooked’ is obviously related to *–tyëˆl* viA ‘enchuecarse; become crooked.’ However, a word that casts a doubt on the analysis of *b*- as two separate morphemes is *bchi*$^7$*n*. *Bchi*$^7$*n* means ‘arrugado; wrinkled’ and is related to the verb *–chi*$^7$*n* vA ‘arrugarse; wrinkle.’ The problem is that *bchi*$^7$*n* also means ‘foam’ and is in fact one of the CVZ words specifically highlighted by Marcus and Flannery (1978) as containing the animacy morpheme, in their view. Either ‘wrinkled’ and ‘foam’ are accidental homophones or they are two meanings (or translations) of one polysemous word *bchi*$^7$*n*. If they were semantically distant it would be easy to say that they are homophones but the two meanings are not that far apart. The surface of a foamy cup of hot chocolate could indeed appear to someone like a person’s wrinkled face or a wrinkled blouse laying on a table.

If we do separate *b*-initial nouns from adjectives, assuming that *b*-initial nouns may be marked for animacy and that *b*-initial adjectives may be derived particles, we will have new problems crop up when we consider compounds, since roots in compounds may not be clear as to their original lexical category if they no longer (or never did) occur in isolation. One example is *yàbôtz* ‘malacate; spindle’ (also the name of a plant that either resembles or is echinacea), a word used in SBL. The first morpheme *yà* is segmentable and means ‘tree’ or ‘wood.’ This word is a generic noun often used as a classifier in names of trees, woody plants, and items made of wood like a spindle or an axe handle. The remaining morpheme *bôtz* would not obviously contain the animacy prefix because in CLZ we expect to see *b-* before a consonant, or if the original root was vowel-initial we expect now to only see the prefix vowel *i* or *e*, but here we have *b* preceding an *o*, suggesting that this is just some unanalyzeable morpheme that has to do with spinning yarn. However, in SMaC the form of the word is more revealing: *yàbgôtz*. This comparative evidence tells us that the weak consonant *g* was lost in this word (and others with the same environment, compare 'knot' in SBL *bô* to SMaC *bgô*). We can analyze *bgôtz* into a prefix *b-* and a root *gôtz* which means 'female[16].' Spinning is traditionally women's work. What is unclear is whether *bgôtz* should have adjective or noun status and whether the *b-* prefix can be interpreted as animacy or whether it has some more mundane interpretation. Since the spindle is used to *transform* fiber into thread, I can imagine it being ascribed some degree of animacy, but this does not mean that this is the correct interpretation.

In trying to find examples of the *b-* animacy prefix in CLZ I view adjectives with suspicion. *B*-initial adjectives are probably words that contain a different but homophonous prefix. I mentioned above in 5.2.1 that in CLZ sometimes the completive is used the way the stative is used in other Zapotec languages. The *b-* prefix on adjectives could be a non-nasal version of the class A completive. Nevertheless I have my doubts. Therefore, in (5.56) below I include all native adjectives and nouns which show a *b-* prefix before a consonant-initial root. As above, the reader may wish to consult Appendix A1 for the fuller list of such words as I omit multiple uses of the same root here. When a word has both an adjective and a noun gloss, or two glosses of the same part of speech that are semantically different, these are separated by a semi-colon, while similar glosses are separated by a comma.

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[16] Perhaps also related to *gôtz* is the SMigC term for (maternal) grandfather *xùz xòtz*

| (5.56) | **CLZ** | **Spanish** | **English** |
|---|---|---|---|
| | *bchân* | **ídolo (SMaC); tarado, zonzo, lento, pasmado, paciente (SBL)** | **idol (SMaC); mentally retarded, slow, low-key, patient, easy-going(SBL)**[17] |
| | *bchi$^7$n* | **arrugado; espuma** | **wrinkled; foam** |
| | *bdì* | **fino, delgado (como pelo de conejo, vela de novia)** | **fine (like rabbit fur, down feathers, or a bridal veil)** |
| | *bdo$^7$* | **plátano** | **banana** |
| | *bgô* (SMaC), *bô* (SBL) | **nudo** | **knot** |
| | *bkèn* (SMaC) | **pronto** | **soon** |
| | *bko$^7$* (SMaC) | **altar** | **altar** |
| | *bku$^7$* (SBL),<br>*bkwi$^7$* (SMaC) | **brasas de lumbre** | **embers** |
| | *bléy* (SMaC),<br>*blë$^7$* (SBL) | **almácigo** | **plant nursery** |
| | *blô* | **hueco** | **hollow** |
| | *blë$^7$* | **cuñado de hombre** | **man's brother-in-law** |
| | *brèl* | **redondo** | **round**[18] |
| | *bte$^7$l* | **grueso** | **thick** |
| | *btîth* | **un codo, cuarta** | **unit of measurement that extends from the tip of the middle finger to the elbow**[19] |
| | *bto$^7$* | **tronco, mocho** | **trunk, stump** |
| | *bto$^7$tz* (SMaC) | **canal donde echan agua en la construcción de una casa** | **trench for water to run through while building** |
| | *btzi$^7$yî* | **tamales de elote con frijoles** | **fresh corn tamales with beans** |
| | *btzîn* | **incensor, candilero** | **incense or candle holder** |
| | *btzo$^7$* | **pared** | **wall** |
| | *btzya$^7$* | **carnecuil** | **type of *guaje* (tree with edible seed pods)** |
| | *btzya$^7$n* | **sereno** | **frost** |
| | *btzyûb* | **corriente de agua** | **water current** |
| | *btzë$^7$* | **soplador** | **fan** |
| | *btëˆl* | **checo** | **crooked** |
| | *bxìd* | **un enredo; enredado** | **a tangle; tangled** |
| | *bxìl* | **chispa** | **spark(s)** |
| | *bxìtz* | **prima (SBL) o concuña (CN) de mujer** | **woman's female cousin (SBL) or sister-in-law (CN)** |
| | *bxi$^7$zh* | **piña** | **pineapple** |
| | *bxûb* | **corto** | **short, undersized** |
| | *bxë$^7$ch* | **ralo** | **thin, sparse** |
| | *byôn* | **yerba buena** | **peppermint** |

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[17] My first take on the two meanings of this word was that perhaps people such as those with Down's syndrome were viewed with special spiritual properties. This may still be true, but another possibility is that people who are very laid-back and are slow to respond to questions may seem immobile like an idol.

[18] The *r* in this word is the tell-tale sign of a loanword, but I don't know whether it is from Spanish or Zapotec (or another language) and I include it here out of doubt.

[19] Cf. 'bone' *tìth*.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *byë´zh* | **pichanche** | **colander** |
| *bzàn* | **primo o hermano del otro sexo** | **cross-sex sibling or cousin** |
| *bzhílòd* | **flauta de carrizo** | **reed flute**[20] |
| *bzhìn* | **chehuizle, chahuizlado** | **plants which sprout late and are of poor quality (can be applied to people as slang, like 'runt')** |
| *bzhòl* (SMaC) | **talón** | **heel** |
| *bzhu*$^7$ | **carbón** | **charcoal** |
| *bzhëˆ* (CN) | **caliente** | **hot** |
| *bzë*$^7$ | **colindancia, lindero** | **borderline, boundary**[21] |
| *yàbyêk* | **palo torcido** | **knotty tree or wood** |
| *Yèbdòn* | **Cerro Remolino** | **Twister Hill** |
| *Yèbzóy* | **Cerro Escalero** | **Stepped Hill** |
| *Yêzh Bzyá* (CN) | **Ejutla** | **Ejutla (Beantown)**[22] |
| *Yîbzhi*$^7$*l* | **Piedra de Juego** | **Fortune Rock** |

I have expressed my doubts about the animacy of some of the words in (5.55) and (5.56) but the majority do seem like they could have more animacy that something that is completely inanimate. Many of the words identified refer to plants which are living things, and other features of nature which may be perceived as part of the vital force. There are also several kinship terms on these lists.

Earlier Zapotec also had another animacy classifier which occurs in the well-known CVZ name of the Zapotec Thunder or Lightning deity *Cocijo* /kosiyo/ (today known by many Oaxacans as /kosixo/ through spelling pronunciation). This being's name is *ngwzi*$^7$ in CLZ today, reflecting a later wave of nasal animacy marking which I discuss further below. We have already seen that not all words marked with the CLZ prefix *pe/i*- were nasalized so one suspects that there might also be some with an non-nasal reflex of the CVZ *ko*- prefix. Because of the very weak nature of *g* it is often lost in clusters, as we already saw with the word *bgô* ~ *bô* 'knot.' In (5.57) I give the few words beginning in *gu* or *go* which could be instances of this prefix marked on vowel-initial roots. Some of these are verby similar semantically[23] to words shown in (5.55-6), e.g. ‘frost’ and the unit of measurement called *jemen* in Spanish.

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[20] *Lòd* means 'carrizo; reed.'

[21] This word appears to be derived from the verb *–zë*$^7$ vtA 'embarrar; cover in mud' which suggests that boundaries were marked with adobe. This is one of the few nouns on the list that is analyzeable and related to a verb, which could be an indication that this is not the animacy marker but another derivational prefix.

[22] The Nahua toponym which has stuck in Spanish, *Ejutla*, has the same etymon as *ejotes* and so this could in English be called "Beantown." The Zapotec word for bean(s) is *nzâ* in CLZ, which is quite similar to *bzyá* with some interesting morphological differences between the two: older *b*- vs. more recent N-animacy marker, palatalization or lack of it, and a tonal difference. The *b*- prefix in this toponym collected

| (5.57) | CLZ | Spanish | English |
|---|---|---|---|
| | *gò* | **vergüenza** | **shame (a disease)** |
| | *gòx* | **loma** | **hill** |
| | *go$^7$d* | **jemen** | **unit of measurement from tip of thumb to tip of index finger when outstretched** |
| | *gô* | **camote** | **tuber** |
| | *gôp* | **sereno** | **frost** |
| | *gôtz* | **hembra** | **female** |
| | *gùzh zo$^7$b* | **yerno de planta** | **matrilocal son-in-law** |

In CLZ today, most names of animals and (super)natural forces (e.g. *mbè* ‘fog’ and *ngwzi7* ‘thunder’), and some words for young people, (e.g. *mbë̌z* ‘baby’ and *mbzhë̂* ‘child’ or ‘adolescent’) begin with nasals. For Smith-Stark (2003) this nasalization in animal words is a defining feature of SZ. As mentioned in Chapter 1, CLZ is a Coatec language by Smith-Stark’s subgrouping and it is also the westernmost SZ language. Immediately to the east of Coatec languages are the Miahuatec languages and to the east of the Miahuatec languages are the Cisyautepecan languages. Miahuatec and Coatec languages have a nasal element added to the already-consonant-initial animal words to form prenasalized clusters whereas Cisyautepecan languages have a simple nasal in many animal words[24], as pointed out by Smith-Stark. For example, ‘fish’ QZ *mël* (Black, 2004) ~ CLZ *mbë̂l* and ‘large feline’ SJMZ *me$^{ʔe}$dz* (Nelson, 2004 ‘tiger’) ~ SAMZ *mbè$^7$s.*

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from a CLZ speaker from CN, is replaced by the prefix *w-* in the cognate given by speakers from SBL and elsewhere.

[23] To play devil’s advocate, since these two earlier animacy markers are identical to the two earlier completive markers, if there were a derivational prefix based on the earlier, unnasalized, completive markes, e.g. a prefix to derive a stative adjective (we already saw that the modern completive can be used in this way), then such markers would themselves produce semantically similar words. Thus, if some words in each group were never marked for animacy, those words may also have semantic similarities.

[24] Nasal-obstruent clusters *do* occur in Cisyautepecan animal words but in words with a certain phonological environment clusters resulted in Coatec and Miahuatec and not Cisyautepecan and it is this

Swadesh (1947) pointed out that outside of SZ /m/ was rare in Zapotec languages except for the word ‘animal,’ e.g. CLZ *mǎn* CVZ *máni, mane*. In SZ the word for ‘person’ is similar, e.g. CLZ *měn* whereas other languages do not have *m* in this word, e.g. CVZ *pèni, bèni*. In CLZ there are two pronouns based on these words, *mě* ‘3hr’ and *má* ‘3a.’ The same shortened forms used as pronouns are also used as classifiers, e.g. *mě gôtz* ‘mujer; woman’ (female human) and *má lwê* ‘animal de ala; winged animal.’ Similar classifiers in CLZ are used for different types of plants. For example, *yà* means ‘palo; tree’ and it is found in virtually every tree name. *Yèd* is the word for ‘ocote; pine’ in CLZ but you can’t use it in isolation to refer to the tree itself, though you can omit *yà* if you are referring to products made from it or to a specific part of it, like a pinecone, rather than the whole tree. To refer to this tree you must say *yà yèd*. A quick look at the *yà* section of Appendix A1 will show how many tree names there are which obligatorily use this classifier. The same goes for other plant classifiers. Look up *là* to find a list of leafy plants. However, look up names of animals in Appendix A2 and you will find single word items, mostly beginning in *m* and virtually all of them beginning in a nasal. The *má* animal classifier is not used as much in CLZ today as are the plant classifiers. While the plant classifiers are used with each named plant that falls in their category, the *má* classifier is found with more general terms like *má yìch* ‘animal de pelo; furry animal,’ or *má du*$^7$*b* ‘animal de pluma; feathered animal.’ My theory for the development of nasalized animal words is that the *má* classifier used to be used obligatorily for all animal names the way *yà* is still used for all tree names, and this classifier became truncated and finally became a simple nasal prefix.

As for words with this prefix which aren’t exactly animals, words like *Ngwzi*$^7$ ‘Rayo; Lightning,’ there are a few possibilities. Some words could have had the same thing happen with the *mě* classifier. It is also possible that the concept of “animal” extended to certain nouns that

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type of word that I speak of here. For an example of such a cluster in a Cisyautepecan word consider the SJMZ word for ‘iguana’ cited by Nelson (2004) [ŋ$^w$ktsiěts]. This word lacks a cluster in CLZ *wàch.*

would not be considered animals in a European language but are in other Mesoamerican languages, words like ‘mushroom.’ The new nasal animacy marker may also have been extended in certain cases to other words that were traditionally marked for animacy but which were not animals and did not originally take the *má* classifier. If a few words that took the *mě* classifier, perhaps a word like *ngwlèy* ‘sacerdote; priest,’ underwent the same process, this would have created the semantic opacity or “pivot” necessary for the prefix to be further extended. Since *mě* and *má* would both reduce to *m-* the distinction between human and animal would be lost in the new prefix and whereas *ma* clearly meant ‘animal’ *m-* would mean some larger category, a category that could include other animate beings like Lightning which may not have originally taken either *m*-initial classifier.

In other Zapotec languages animal names often begin with the animacy prefix cognate with CLZ *bi-* seen in (5.55-6) above, e.g.: ZZ *biziny* ‘mouse’ (Operstein, 2004), CVZ *pichìna* ‘venado’ (deer) (Córdova, 1578), and YZ *bexjoni’* ‘alacrán’ (scorpion) (ILV, 2000). In CLZ these words have two layers of prefixation, *m-* and *b(i)-*, as in *mbzìn* ‘ratón; mouse,’ *mbzhîn* ‘venado; deer,’ and *mbéwnè* ‘alacrán; scorpion.’ This *mb* sequence occurs before sonorants and voiced sibilants in the Loxichas and in SMigC but in SMaC it only occurs before glides and vowels. When a root begins in any consonant other than a glide in SMaC, the *b* is deleted, e.g. *mxi*$^7$*zh* ‘tejón; coatimundi,’ SMaC *mzhîn* ‘venado; deer.’ When *m-* precedes an animal name that does not contain the *b(i)-* prefix (some words having never taken it, others having lost it some time before the SMaC loss of pre-consonantal *b*), if the root begins in a voiced obstruent the *m* undergoes homorganic nasal assimilation, e.g. *ngǐd* ‘gallina; hen’ (< PZ **kiti(k)* ‘grouse’ according to Kaufman, 2003), *nděz* ‘tlacuache; possum’ (< PZ **tesa*, based on CZ and SZ data with other initial consonants posited by Kaufman based on WZ data). Thus, not all nasal-initial animal words have the same internal morphological make-up. A root beginning in a voiced obstruent might take a homorganic nasal prefix, e.g. *ngǒn* 'livestock' or might instead be marked with *mb-*, or just *m-* in SMaC as in *mgô* 'tecolute; owl.'

Above I mentioned an earlier Zapotec animacy marker *ko-*. This marker is not as common as the *bi-* animacy marker but it does exist in CLZ. Above in (5.57) I gave some *go*-initial words which were possible cases of this prefix. Those would be cases where the prefix's vowel had taken over for the root-initial vowel. When pre-tonic *go-* occurred before a consonant-initial root there would have been reduction or deletion of the vowel. CLZ does not permit *g*-initial consonant clusters in non-onomatopoetic words. There are no lexical items that begin in *gw-*.[25] Since *g* is a very weak consonant, often leniting to *w* and *y* and *Ø* in SZ languages, another possibility is that this prefix reduced to simple *w-*. One does find several words beginning in *w*-initial consonant clusters in the word list in Appendix A1. Many of these are participles discussed above in 5.2.2. Others are in fact words that contain the reflex of the *ko-* animacy marker and these entries are all from SMaC. Interestingly, these were given by an elderly female consultant, ECS, in 2000 and many of the same words were given with *mw-* by a 65-year old male consultant, JSV, from the same town in 1996, and correspond to words beginning in *ngw-* and *nhw-* in SBL. JSV's pronunciation of these words, e.g. *mwzi*$^{7}$ 'rayo; lightning,' is supporting evidence for the proposal I made above, that nasalization of animate words came from the reduction to *m-* of the classifiers *mě* and *má*. In the case of the *gw-* animacy prefix (the reflex of earlier *ko-*) the *g* has dropped out in SMaC but it is preserved in SBL when the root following the prefix begins in a voiced sound (in SBL whenever the phonological sequence /ŋɣw/, usually realized as [ŋgw], precedes a voiceless obstruent the /g/ drops out and /ŋw/ precedes the voiceless sound). Homorganic nasal assimilation of the prefix *m-* takes place before voiced obstruents only which means that where *g* is preserved in SBL *m* assimilates to /ŋ/ rendering *ngwzi*$^{7}$ while in

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[25] A few *l*-initial verb roots may take *gw-* to mark the completive but this marginal occurrence of word-initial *gw* otherwise does not occur in CLZ.

SMaC the *ko*- prefix has reduced to *w*- which is not a voiced obstruent and therefore the later animacy prefix remains *m*- as in JSV’s *mwzi*$^7$ or drops out altogether as in ECS’s *wzi*$^7$.

One might think of CLZ today as having two classes of animate nouns, the *mb*- class and the *ngw*- class, the same way that CLZ verbs can be divided into the class with the *mb*- completive and the classes with the *ngw*- completive. Evidence that speakers may conceive of *mb*- and *ngw*- as variants of the same morpheme(s) comes from an SBL consultant. The animal known in Spanish as *chupamiel* ‘honey-sucker[26],’ is called *mchînh* in SMaC and this is also the word that the SBL consultant reported in 1999. However, in 2002 the same consultant gave another form for the same animal, *nhwchînh*. I do not know whether this was a one-time speech error or whether both forms are in use in SBL but either way it shows that both types of animacy marking have the same function in CLZ. (5.58) gives some words with phonologically similar roots but which take different types of animacy marking. The forms given are from the SBL dialect.

| **(5.58)** | ***m(b)-*** | | ***n(g)w-*** | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *mbzhîn* | **‘venado; deer’** | *ngwzhûl* | **‘avispa petate; (type of) wasp’** |
| | *mbzìn* | **‘ratón; mouse’** | *ngwzi*$^7$ | **‘rayo; lightning’** |
| | *mxi*$^7$*zh* | **‘tejón; coatimundi’** | *nhwxî* | **‘chinchatlao; black widow spider’** |
| | *mblë*$^7$*zh* | **‘chuchupaxtle; (type of) garden snake’** | *ngwlâ* | **‘gusano ahuatudo, ixcatón; type of spiny caterpillar’** |

I have shown that diachronically the sequences *mb*- and *ngw*- reflect two layers of animacy marking each. Closest to the root are the older animacy prefixes *b(i)*- and *gw*- and outside of those is the more recent SZ animacy prefix *m*-. It is tempting to think of each sequence as one synchronic animacy morpheme since there seems to be one meaning, animacy, indicated by the whole sequence, and also since the sequence shows some phonological unity, with the nasal articulated at the same place as the following obstruent. However, even synchronically these sequences are not unitary but continue to be morphologically complex. In (5.59) I give a few examples of a words marked with *m*- to indicate that the each represents a child, animal or supernatural force, and corresponding words without this marker which indicate a semantically similar but inanimate (or less animate) object.

(5.59)

| **w/o *m*-** | | **w/ *m*-** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *bêx* | **‘oguera de perico; perikeet’s nest’** | *mbêx* | **‘arador, comején; wood-boring insects that produce the sawdust perikeets use to make nests.’** |
| *bë7* | **‘llama; flame’** | *mbë7* | **‘estrella; star’** |
| *bì* | **‘pena, alma; disembodied soul’** | *mbì* | **‘viento; wind’** |
| *bë`z* | **‘billote; young blossom of a coconut or banana tree’** | *mbëˇz* | **‘nene; baby’** |

A common place to see nouns stripped of their usual *m*- prefix is in toponyms. Above I briefly discussed the synchronic use of CLZ plant classifiers and suggested that the *m*- animacy prefix came from the classifiers *mě* and *má* used similarly. In toponyms that include plant names such plant classifiers are sometimes used and sometimes left out and the same goes for toponyms that include animal names. Here I will focus on the toponyms which leave out animal and plant classifiers but those that include them can be found by looking in Appendix A1 under the geographic classifiers that commonly occur in toponyms such as *yêzh* ‘pueblo; town,’ *yè* ‘cerro; hill,’ *yî* ‘piedra; rock,’ *làt* ‘llano, valle; plain, valley,’ and *na*$^{7}$*t* ‘arroyo; creek.’ *Yà do*$^{7}$*ch* is a tree that in Spanish is called ‘palo de pipa,’ which produces fruits that used to be strung and used as necklaces that lasted 3-4 months. I do not know the proper English name of this tree but I’ll call it ‘pipe tree’ here based on the Spanish. The town of Santo Tomás Tamazulapan is known to at least some CLZ speakers (a speaker from CN offered this toponym) as *Yêzh Yè Do*$^{7}$*ch* which translates literally as Pipe (tree) Hill Town. The classifier *yà*, which would be obligatory if one were discussing the actual pipe tree, is absent from this toponym, although it does in fact occur in

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[26] I am not entirely sure what animal this is or what its English name should be. This is not a hummingbird, which is often called *chupamirto* or *chuparrosa* ‘flower-sucker’ because it is classified as *má yìch* ‘furry animal.’ My best guess is that this is an anteater but I have not checked this out.

other, similar toponyms. Similar to this permissable omission of *yà*, the *m*- prefix may also be left off of nouns in toponyms (and included in others). I show four such cases in (5.60).

**(5.60)**

| Common nouns | | Toponyms | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *mbi$^7$zh* | **'león; puma'** | *Yè Nké Bi$^7$zh* | **'Cerro León; Puma Hill'** |
| *mbdòn* | **'remolino; tornado'** | *Yè Bdòn* | **'Cerro Remolino; Twister Hill'** |
| *mbé wnè* | **'alacrán; scorpion'** | *Bé Wnè* | **Sta. Ma. Colotepec[27]; (St. Mary) Scorpion (Hill)'** |
| *mxi$^7$zh* | **'tejón; coatimundi'** | *Yè Lxi$^7$zh* | **'Cerro Tejón; Coati Hill** |

The last two sets of examples showed that the preposed sequence *mb*- is synchronically parseable into two prefixes, *m*- and *b(i)*-. Not only can the form be split up phonologically, but the two prefixes make two separate, although quite similar, semantic contributions to the words they mark. While all the prefixes discussed here mark animacy, there are different types of animacy and each prefix seems to have its own flavor. The lack of examples of nouns with the *gw-/go*- prefix compared to the wealth of examples with the *b(i/e)*- prefix makes it difficult to say what if any difference there is between these two. Both can be marked on animals and non-animals, and their distribution is not phonologically determined. These markers are old enough in Zapotec that I feel lisenced to chalk the difference between them up to history. More historical research may show that these were semantically and/or phonologically predictable in an earlier Zapotec language than CLZ. The addition of the *m*- animacy prefix is more recent and it is easier, and more necessary, to here discuss the semantic difference between this marker and the older *b*- and *gw*- markers. Following my theory of *m-'s* development from two classifiers, *má* 'animal' and *mě* 'human,' the development of this prefix from the earlier fuller (and differentiated) forms saw a semantic broadening. Whereas before (and still today where the CV forms are used) *má* and *mě* specified what type of animate a noun was, *m*- simply indicates that there is a certain degree of higher animacy. Although in this sense the *m-* prefix is semantically broadened, it is still more semantically narrow than the *b(i)-* prefix. The *b(i)-* prefix also marks animacy but includes both nouns which are marked with *m-* also and many other nouns which are not high enough on the animacy hierarchy to take the *m-* marker. These include many plant names. Plants are alive but are not as animate as animals. Other types of nouns marked with *b(i)-* but not with *m-* include places where air, fire and water pass through or frequent (a flute, an incense holder, a trench), and other places which might be considered sacred (an altar, a hollow). Edible plants and other food items (tamales) are included perhaps for their magical power to feed humans and animals, to make them grow or make them sick. Likewise, non-living objects imbued with some transformational power (a spindle) are marked this way as well. The embers in a fire are not seen as having a full spirit the way that Lightning is but they are seen as having a connection to this magical world that the spirits inhabit, and the different marking on these two words reflects this. The same can be said for the difference between a flame *bëˆl*[28] and the stars. The *m-* prefix reflects a higher degree of animacy than *b)i)-*.

### 5.4 Inalienable possession: *x-* and *la-*

In CLZ, as in other Zapotec languages, there is both alienable and inalienable possession. These types of possession are primarily distinguished syntactically. The inalienably possessed noun phrase has the order $NP_{POSSESSED}$ $NP_{POSSESSOR}$. The alienably possessed noun phrase has the same order but separates the two NP's by the preposition *tě*. Most of what there is to say about

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[27] *Colotepec* is Nahuatl for 'scorpion hill,' hence the Zapotec name. In the English translation above, items in parentheses are being translated from the Spanish and Nahuatl names only while the 'scorpion' out of parentheses reflects the Zapotec (and Nahuatl) names.

[28] This word was not included in the list in (5.55) because it is *bë*-initial rather than *bi-* or *be*-initial, but it quite possibly is also marked with *b-*. The development of the *ë* vowel in CLZ seems to have come about when a tonic *e* preceded a post-tonic *a* and so this word would have once been something like *bela*.

possession in this language falls under the realm of syntax but there is one morphological detail that I will discuss here and that is the prefix *x*-.

Of those nouns that are inalienably possessed, a small subset take the prefix *x*- when possessed. This prefix is cognate to a similar or identical marker found in most Zapotec languages. However, in many of those languages *x*- marks nouns that are alienably possessed. For example, in Yatzachi (see Butler, 1980) and Isthmus (see Pickett et al., 1998) Zapotec *x*- is added to possessed farm animals, items of clothing, furniture, money, and other household items, but is not added to body parts or kinship terms. In these languages many nouns undergo fortition of their initial consonants when *x*- is added. This does not occur in CLZ. These languages also add *x*- to the possessive preposition which is cognate to CLZ *tě*, another way in which they differ from CLZ. Another SZ language, SAMZ, differs from CLZ in each of the ways just mentioned.

In CLZ *x*- is used for the nouns that are most inalienably possessed, including the closest relatives and body parts. Both ‘mother’ and ‘sister’ are inalienably possessed but only ‘mother’ is marked with *x*-. There is some arbitrariness though. Even though ‘sister’ is not marked with *x*-, ‘aunt’ and ‘comadre’ are. Perhaps one could here make an argument about sibling rivalry and the maternal role of one’s aunt, but this seems a stretch. In the case of animal parts and products that are used by humans, *x*- can be used when referring to the animal’s possession while if a human is in possession of the object this is marked as alienable possession and without *x*-:

(5.61) (a) *Xngû mbě.*
**POS-huevo AN-tortuga**
**POS-egg AN-turtle**
Huevo de la tortuga.
The turtle’s egg.

(b) *Ngû tě-m.*
**huevo POS-3hr**
**egg POS-3hr**
Su huevo (que tiene una persona para comer).
His/her egg (for eating).

However, it is also possible to mark a case like (5.61a) above, with alienable possession, e.g. *ngû tě mbě*. In this case though the prefix may not be used, i.e. **xngû tě mbě* is ungrammatical.

This kind of overlap does not apparently correspond to any semantic difference since both phrases can be used in the same context.

Some words seem to never occur without *x*-, including ‘tail, excrement, Adam’s apple, soul’ and some kinship terms. Indeed I expect that some *x*-initial nouns have a frozen prefix. For example, *x*-initial *xâb* ‘clothing, outer covering’ seems to always be posessed while *l*-initial *lâd* ‘clothing, cloth’ isn’t. The way to say ‘thank you’ or to greet a friend or relative is to say *xnà* followed by the second person pronoun or a noun referring to that person. This phrase looks like it must have come from a possessed NP expression, or still be one, although the word *nà* without preposed *x*- can only mean ‘with, and, also,’ which hardly seem related. Again, although many of these concepts seem especially inalienable, sometimes the difference seems arbitrary. There is no reason that a cross-sex sibling-in-law, a word I’ve never seen without *x*-, is more inalienable than a comadre, a word that takes *x*- when possessed but can occur without *x*- when unpossessed. It may also be the frequency of use of the word that cements *x*- as part of the lexical item. Cross-sex siblings-in-law are probably rarely referred to without making reference to the person with whom they have that relationship, whereas *compadrazgo* is an important enough and oft-discussed enough topic that the word for ‘comadre’ may come up frequently in an unpossessed state.

There are a number of words that begin with *x* followed by a consonant. Consonant clusters in CLZ are usually indicators of morphological complexity: they tend not to occur in monomorphemic words. However, some words begin with consonant clusters that cannot synchronically be separated into different morphemes, although perhaps they could in the past. Examples of these kinds of words are *xkwǎ* ‘cloud,’ *xlêy* ‘silver maple,’ *xnèw* ‘soursop’, *xmbǐ* ‘clear water from corn for making atole’ and *Xwe7z* ‘Rancho Latihueche’ (presumably the *we7z* portion of the word is cognate with *hueche* in ‘Latihueche’).

There is one example of *x*- attached to a word whose grammatical status is unclear:

(5.62) (a) *Ndá xgâp nâ-ý.*
**H-comer.1s POS?-arriba 1s=3i**
**H-eat.1s POS?-up 1s=3i**
Estoy comiendo y me da asco.
I’m eating and getting nauseous.

(b) *Xgâp bìd*
**POS?-arriba seco**
**POS?-up dry**
Asco seco.
Dry heave.

This sentence was offered by a CLZ speaker from SBL. In SMaC the word ‘up’ is *gâp*. The cognate in SBL has a different tone, *ga*$^{7}$*p*. I do not completely understand the example above in (5.62a) but I imagine that it could literally mean something like ‘the state of eating is equivalent to my (throwing) it up.’ Under this or a similar interpretation, the possessive marker *x-* is added to *–gâp* whether it is normally a verb root or an adjective root (or a noun for that matter). Two verbs (or a verb and an adjective) are being treated as nouns and are juxtaposed in a zero copula construction. Perhaps putting nominal marking on *gâp* is a way of downplaying what is actually being referred to: nausea and vomiting.

While SBL has different tones on ‘up’ and the form seen here, *gâp* (with falling tone) is used as part of a compound verb phrase meaning ‘to be nauseous’ or ‘to make nauseous.’ In that compound the TAM marking goes on *–gâp* which is followed by *látyo*$^{7}$ meaning ‘heart’ or ‘emotional center.’ There is no verb *gâp* used on its own in SBL as far as I am aware. The compound with *látyo*$^{7}$ is shown in (5.63) alongside the construction already introduced. Slightly different subject-verb order is given here in Spanish but the meanings seem basically equivalent.

(5.63) (a) *Ndà xgâp lô-ý.*
**H-comer POS?-arriba? 2s=3i**
**H-eat POS?-up? 2s=3i**
Estás comiendo y te da asco.
You're eating and getting nauseous.

(b) *Ndà-lˆ nà n-gâp látyo*$^{7}$*-lˆ.*
**H-comer=2s y H-arriba? corazón=2s**
**H-eat=2s and H-up? heart=2s**
Comiendo esta*s y te da asco.
You're eating and getting nauseous.

Another possibility is that there is an *x-* prefix (maybe somehow related to possession, maybe not) that is used to derive nouns from verbs. I have found two other cases to add to *xgâp*. The verb *–yêk* viA ‘dar vuelta, enrollarse, enredarse; turn around’ has derivational forms with *b-* and *x-*. *Yà byêk* is a twisted or gnarly tree. *Xyêk* is a curve. The verb *–y-ìl* means ‘echar pedos; fart.’

The *x*-initial form *xyìl* is a noun meaning ‘pedo; fart.’ Perhaps *xgâp* is a noun ‘asco; nausea’ derived from the verb seen in the compound in (5.63a).

There are two intriguing words in CLZ that suggest the possibility of a fossilized *la*- prefix related to possession. The word *yë`th* means ‘tortilla’ but the suppletive form, *la*$^7$, also meaning ‘tortilla,’ is only used when the tortilla is possessed. While the noun *yë`th* can be possessed, it is possessed alienably. It refers to any old tortilla that anyone could acquire. In contrast, *la*$^7$ is inalienably possessed. It *belongs* to someone. Reminiscent of this is a possessed form of the word ‘pueblo; town.’ The regular word for a town is *yêzh* and this word can be alienably possessed. A phonologically similar word to this is *lâzh* which also means ‘town’ but which is inalienably possessed and only occurs with a possessor, never unpossessed. Derived from this word is the adjective *gúlâzh* which means ‘native’ as shown in the following examples.

(5.64) *Nǎk Bríj měxt gúlâzh.*
**S-ser Brígida maestra criollo**
**S-be Bridget teacher native**
Brígida es maestra criollo del pueblo.
Bridget is the (town's own) home-grown teacher.

(5.65) *Yi*$^7$*n gúlâzh.*
**chile criollo**
**chile native**
Chile del pueblo.
The town's native chile.

(5.66) *Mě gúlâzh.*
**3hr criollo**
**3hr native**
Gente del pueblo.
Native residents of the town since birth.

In the *la*-initial nouns above as well as this last adjective based on one, there is a sense of innate belonging that seems to go along with inalienable possession. While the pair *yë`th/la*$^7$ are phonologically dissimilar, the pair *yêzh/lâzh* share segmental and tonal similarities, leading me to believe that at an earlier time there could have been a *la*- prefix, or some other short element like a clitic or function word, which became fossilized in these few words I have shown.

### 5.5 Other prefixes

Any word in CLZ which begins with two consonants, the second of which is not a glide, looks like a bimorphemic word. Some such words are not really bimorphemic but are nativized loanwords from an earlier time when pretonic vowel deletion was still productive, e.g. ‘jícama’ *xgàm* (Nahuatl *xicama*) and ‘dinero’ *tmî* (Spanish *tomín*). There are one or two isolated cases of words being shortened to prefixes, not clitics because they are not productive and regular, but just isolated cases of shortenings becoming lexicalized. The word that best represents this is *xta7* which is shortened from *xé ta7* ‘what thing?’ There are a few words beginning in *tC* clusters which may be instances of a *t*- prefix (e.g. *tlǎ* ‘centro; middle’ and *tnìx* ‘vara; rod’) but these are not yet understood. Setting aside these and the prefixes already identified, there are only a few rare and unproductive prefixes left to describe in CLZ. I tell what I know about each of these one by one in the remainder of this chapter. In some cases I will have little commentary but will present the data for the readers’ consideration.

#### 5.5.1 *B*-

Above in 5.3 I described a *b(i)*- animacy prefix and I also expressed some doubt that all the words I included there were really being marked for the same semantic category. While I included both nouns and adjectives in that section and did not attempt to separate these into groups based on any semantic interpretation of my own, there is one use of a *b*- prefix which seems clearly unrelated to animacy and I have reserved it for discussion here. A bound *b* morpheme is found in certain complex numbers:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (5.64) | *Ti$^{7}$ bdyûb* | *Ti$^{7}$ btyŏp* | *Ti$^{7}$n bchŏn* | *Ti$^{7}$n btyŏp* |
| | **diez DER-uno** | **diez DER-dos** | **quince DER-tres** | **quince DER-dos** |
| | **ten DER-one** | **ten DER-two** | **fifteen DER-three** | **fifteen DER-two** |
| | Once. | Doce. | Diez y ocho. | Diez y siete. |
| | Eleven. | Twelve. | Eighteen. | Seventeen. |

In these numbers *b* is an addition morpheme. It follows the base number, ten or fifteen in these examples, and precedes the number to be added to the base. This bound morpheme can be read as “plus.” I do not know of a similar use outside of numerical terms and I do not think that this morpheme is related to the sometimes-homophonous animacy marker discussed above.

### 5.5.2 *L-*

*L-* is another rare derivational prefix whose semantics are not entirely clear. The word *lwê* ‘ala; wing’ looks suspiciously bimorphemic because of its complex onset but it is not related to any known similar form not beginning with *l*. The word *lzàn* ‘consuegro’ resembles the word *bzàn* ‘cross-sex sibling’ and is probably based on the ‘child-bearing’ morpheme discussed above listed above in 5.2.2.

The best example of *l-* though is found in the name of people from the town of San Baltazar Loxicha, and the cognate word found in English and Spanish names of towns in the region and in the name of this language. Brandomin (1992) cites the following etymologies for ‘Loxicha’:

> Significa en zapoteco: “Lugar de piñas; etimología: **loho**, “lugar de”; **xicha**, “piña.-M. MARTINEZ GRACIDA.El nombre de la Cabezera en Ydioma (zapoteco) es **Xizt,** qe. en Castellano significa “Piña”. El pueblo de Sn. Agtn., así en Ydioma como en Castellano no tiene mas nombre que este sucediendo lo mismo con los pueblos de Sta. Marta y el de Sta. Catarina. –GASPAR VICTE. DOMINGUES. “CUESTIONARIOS PARROQUIALES”. (pp. 192-193).

This same *lo-* prefix, perhaps from an earlier form of Zapotec and/or a non-Southern Zapotec language used in some official way in colonial times, appears in a few other place names in Brandomin’s book. In Ejutla, the northernmost ex-district in the Southern Zapotec area, the placename *Logolava* is broken down as *loa* ‘lugar’ and *golava* ‘acólito.’ In the ex-district of Miahuatlán, the heart of the Southern Zapotec area, there are two place names beginning in *lo* that are documented by Brandomin, *Logueche* and *Lovene*. He cites various previous works. According to Martínez Gracida the *lo* portion of the names comes from *loho* and means ‘lugar, asiento.’ According to Basilio Rojas the source is *loo* which is a preposition meaning ‘principio, ojo.’ One other place name with *lo*- was cited by Brandomin and it was a Zapotec town in Choapan in the Northern Sierra. It is interesting that almost all of the place names with *lo* were in the Southern Zapotec region, save for this last one.

People from San Baltazar Loxicha are called *mě lxǐzh* meaning ‘people of Loxicha.’ Although Brandomin cites Martínez Gracida as saying that *Loxicha* meant ‘place of the pineapple,’ the word for pineapple in CLZ has the glottal tone *bxi7zh* whereas *lxǐzh* has the rising tone. I have not found another word with *xǐzh* to suggest another etymology. The only other similar word that would be a possibility is the word for the coatimundi m*xi7zh*, but it also has the glottal tone. This may just be a case of tone changing with the addition of a prefix. Interestingly, when referring to the actual town the *l*, which according to Brandomin’s sources means ‘place’, is dropped. The town is called *Yêzh Xǐzh*. *Yêzh* means ‘town.’ Perhaps a ‘place’ prefix is unnecessary when the word ‘town’ is present, since ‘town’ is already understood as being a place. This prefix-dropping in the toponym is also reminiscent of several examples discussed above where animacy prefixes drop in toponyms. However, if the very meaning of *l*- were a toponymic function it would be more surprising to see *l*- drop than some other prefix like *m*-.

### 5.5.3 *Li-*

*Li*- is another elusive prefix, probably unrelated to *l*-. I only know of one word with this prefix and that is the word *lìth* in SMaC. A narrative text like the one in Appendix B1 may end with the phrase *lìth ngwâ ndô kwént*, ‘an end came to the story.’ *Lìth* appears to be related to the verbs –

*ùth* ‘kill’ and *–âth* ‘die.’ Semantically we might expect ‘end’ to be related to the ‘die’ verb, but morphologically this word looks closer to ‘kill.’ It has the same tone as ‘kill’ and the vowel is the same as in the completive form of that verb. This form is an archaism and is not used in all dialects.

### 5.5.4 *Ti-*

Similar to *li-* is a possible prefix I have seen in two words. The word *tìth* means ‘hueso; bone’ and I suspect it could be related to the verb *–ùth* ‘matar; kill’ in the same way that *lìth* might be.

Another *ti*-initial word, *ti*$^{7}$*tz* ‘latida del corazón; heartbeat,’ looks like it *could* be related to several other words ending in *tz* but which have different tones, casting a large shadow of doubt on their interrelationship. The class A verb *–òtz,* which has low tone in SBL but rising tone in CN, means ‘abrir la boca; open one’s mouth.’ In context this verb can mean a variety of actions that all require mouth-opening including yawning, inadvertantly falling asleep while sitting up (one’s mouth falls open when one drifts into sleep), scolding, screaming and raising one’s voice in general. *(M)bìtz* means ‘alma, pena; spirit’ and it its fuller form appears to be zero derived from the completive of *–òtz.* Since one’s spirit is breath and can enter or exit through the open mouth this is the connection. Like this word but tonally different is *mbîtz* which means ‘pulso, hipo, ataque, calambre; pulse, hiccup, seizure, cramp.’ The ‘hiccup’ and ‘seizure’ meanings could relate to the ‘open mouth’ verb and the ‘pulse’ and ‘cramp’ meanings could be secondarily derived from the first meanings based on the interpretation of the word as having a meaning like ‘rhythmic involuntary body movement.’ The word *ti*$^{7}$*tz* is semantically similar to *mbîtz* since a heartbeat is an involuntary bodily rhythm and there is also a good deal of phonological similarity but it is also important to note the change in tone here.

### 5.5.5 *s-*

There is one last prefix to be counted. It is *s-* and is only known to be used in one obsolete kinship term that is today only used by elderly people if at all.

(7.65) *Swìt mbál.*
**X-hermano (de un hombre) compadre**
**X-man's.brother compadre**

This phrase is used as an address term for the brother of the compadre of one's own brother. The speaker must also be male. *Wìt mbál* without *s-* would mean '(the speaker's) compadre's brother.' The speaker and the person addressed as *swìt mbál* are brothers of the men in the *compadrazgo* relationship. Since there is no plural marking in CLZ *wìt mbál* could mean 'brothers of the compadres' as well as 'the compadre's brother.' An educated guess at the origin of *s-* is that it is a reduced form of *sâ*, the first person exclusive pronoun, and was here used in a zero copula construction, meaning literally 'we (are) brothers of the compadres.'

# Topics in Syntax

This chapter contains three sections dedicated to syntax, a topic which deserves much more treatment than it will be given here. I begin with a brief treatment of different types of multi-root lexical items in CLZ. The compounds discussed include incorporated nouns which sometimes have transparent origins as subjects and objects. Separate from compounds are idioms which are lexicalized phrases with more flexible syntax than compounds. I identify three different types of complex lexical items and discuss challenges to such a classification that come up in individual examples.

Following my discussion of multi-root lexical items I turn to the lexical category “noun” and consider the different types of noun found in CLZ and their functions. I discuss the controversial status of emergent prepositions in Zapotec as well as more well-agreed upon uses of nouns such as classifiers. I also give a description of CLZ’s pronoun inventory including data from three different dialects.

I conclude the chapter by considering several issues relating to noun phrases. The chief issue among these has to do with the syntactic distribution of pronominal clitics, of which there are two types with different phonological and syntactic distributions. In this section I also describe the alienable and inalienable possession constructions in CLZ and I share some data to compare with the larger Zapotec corpus of covert subjects, subjects that are not expressed overtly when they are co-referent with an overt possessor.

## 6.1 Multi-root lexical items

I now return to a topic I began in 2.2.3, the structure of multi-root lexical items. In 2.2.3 I discussed the type of phonological reduction seen on reduced compounds. Here I focus more on the syntactic and morpho-syntactic structure of compounds and idioms. I divide multi-root lexical items into three groups: reduced compounds, unreduced compounds, and idioms.

The three-way distinction I make here is based on phonological and (morpho-)syntactic grounds. The distinction between reduced and unreduced compounds is a phonological one but it has morphological repercussions when one considers the presence or absence of tonal morphology on compound verbs. The distinction between what I am calling compounds and what I am calling idioms is a syntactic one. I will mostly be describing verbs and verb phrases in this chapter and when the subject must follow an incorporated noun I consider the verb-incorporated noun sequence to be a compound. When the subject can be inserted into the middle of two or more roots that occur in sequence in a lexical item then I consider the lexical item to be an idiom rather than a compound.

### 6.1.1 Reduced compounds.

A reduced compound is a fixed, impenetrable sequence of two roots, at least one of which is phonologically altered from the form of the root that occurs in isolation, if it does occur in isolation. As stated in 2.2.3, the basic suprasegmental pattern for reduced compounds is that such compounds have final stress and that pre-tonic syllables are generally high-toned open syllables. Segmentally these compounds tend to have reduction at the right edge of the first root and the left edge of the second root. The initial root in such compounds often loses its coda and the second root, if it was morphologically complex or otherwise had a complex onset in isolation, also commonly undergoes reduction. An example of two roots that occur in isolation being put together and reduced to form a compound is the formation of the noun *yíchèk* ‘cabello; head hair’ from the nouns *yìch* ‘pelo; hair’ and *yèk* ‘cabeza; head.’

While many reduced compounds are composed of recognizeable independent lexical items, many other reduced compounds contain one or more cranberry morphs. Even if both roots in such compounds are ones that do not occur in isolation, they can still be grouped into the category of reduced compounds if they show the same phonological properties as other reduced compounds, i.e. if they have a high/unstressed tone on their first syllable, which is probably a light CV syllable. Some of these reduced compounds with cranberry morphs are given in (6.1) where in bold I show roots which I know to occur elsewhere with a similar meaning. Some, such as *látyo*$^7$ ‘corazón; heart’ < PZ **la*$^ʔ$*t*$^y$*i*$^ʔ$*tawo*$^ʔ$ ‘centro de emociones; emotional center + grande; big’ (Kaufman, 2003) are older compounds that have become at least partially opaque.

(6.1) (Partially) unanalyzable compounds:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *látyo*$^7$ | *bé**lë***$^7$ | *gá**tla***$^7$ | *ngírsi*$^7$ |
| corazón | mismo | la mitad | vivelula |
| heart | same, -self | half | dragonfly |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **-**_á_**_cha_**$^7$ | *-ádêtz* | *-ágàl* | **-**_á_**_kwì_** | *-ákwa*$^7$ | **-**_á_**_yë_**ˆ |
| hacerse | dormirse | fermentar | acedarse | adornar | madurarse |
| become | sleep | ferment | become sour | decorate | ripen |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *yíbe*$^7$*y*[1] | *Yí**ke***$^7$ | *Yí**tzî***[2] | *yíxôl* |
| siete pelo | San Pablo Coatlán | Cuixtla | llovizna |
| (a sickness) | San Pablo Coatlán | Cuixtla | drizzle |

Many CLZ verbs are multi-root lexical items. When a second root (verb, noun, adjective) is incorporated into the verb, with the subject following it, I deem the fixed sequence of roots to be a true compound rather than an idiom. Some compound verbs undergo phonological reductions and others don’t. It is slightly more likely for transitive compounds to reduce than for intransitive compounds to do so.

As a group, unreduced verbal compounds do not show any TAM-marking tonal morphology. CLZ is a left-headed, VSO language, which makes the head verb root the left-most root in a compound. Because CLZ is a language with final stress, reduced verbal compounds take the unstressed high tone on their first root, a tone which is not able to be affected by the floating high tone which causes most tonal morphology in CLZ. There are at least two cases of 1s-marking tonal morphology in this group of verbal compounds. In both cases the final syllable is targeted. The final syllable of a reduced compound is the stressed syllable and can bear the same tonal contrast as when the root occurs outside of the compound. This ability to bear contrastive tone makes this syllable a phonological candidate for morphological tonal alternations. The final root of the compound is usually not a verb root and so when there are 1s-marking tonal alternations these may (historically or synchronically depending on the transparency of the root) be marking something like possession on an incorporated noun, though even in semantically transparent cases there is often syntactic ambiguity as to whether the first person singular (possessor) might also be interpreted as the subject.

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[1] The *yí* reduced root may be a form of the noun *yìch* ‘pelo; hair,’ hence the Spanish name of this illness. The phonological sequence *be*$^7$*y* shows up elsewhere including the compound verbs meaning ‘pensar, desear; think, desire’ and ‘mandar; sent,’ and the nominal compounds meaning ‘palo que ocupan los policías para medir a los muertos; pole used by the authorities to measure dead bodies’ and ‘piedra de fortuna; besuara (lucky stone found inside a deer).’ This sickness also has a tonally different variant *yíbèy*.

[2] The *yí* in these two placenames may be from *yî* ‘piedra; rock.’ So Sta. Catarina Cuixtla would be ‘Piedra de Águila; Eagle Rock.’ I do not know another meaning for *ke*$^7$ but it does occur in the Zapotec name of CLZ, *di*$^7$*zh ke*$^7$ ‘palabra de San Pablo Coatlán; word of San Pablo Coatlán.’

Whether a cranberry morpheme or a recognizable root that occurs outside of the compound, the first root of a compound verb is always a verb root which bears the inflectional marking. The second and final root in a compound verb may be a noun, as in *–xíbô* ‘amarrar; tie’ which is literally ‘peinarse; comb’ + ‘nudo; knot.’ Some nouns, especially body parts, are used prepositionally in CLZ, with a common one being *ya*$^7$ ‘mano; hand’ which is seen in the compound verbs *–zéya*$^7$ ‘entregarlo; hand (something) over’ and *–chílya*$^7$ ‘casarse; get married.’ Some nouns which normally take the animacy marker *m-* may lack it in verbal compounds, such as the noun *mbì* ‘aire; wind’ which is seen in the compounds *–lábì* ‘soplar; blow’ and *–yóbì* ‘(a)botarse; get thrown). More rarely a second verb root is incorporated as in *–bíxla*$^7$*b* ‘hervir; boil’ (*-la*$^7$*b* also means ‘boil’), or *–lánzhá* ‘llegar; arrive’ where the second root is frozen into the compound with an inflectional marker. This verb may be a reduced sequence of *lâ* ‘bajarse; get down’ and *nzhâ* ‘se fue; went away’ which is an irregular form to begin with since it looks like a habitual but translates like a completive).

### 6.1.2 Unreduced compounds

As mentioned above, there are compounds which don't undergo the kind of reduction I've just described. If both syllables remain stressed, i.e. do not take high tone, and if they do not show any segmental changes, I view this as a different level of compounding. In a sample of almost 70 unreduced compound verbs, it was found that intransitive verbs were much more common than transitive verbs of this type, with more than 50 intransitive verbal compounds being reduced.

I write reduced compounds orthographically as a single word with no space but I write unreduced compounds separated by a space, unless one is a cranberry morpheme. For example, *nîtz kwàl* 'refresco; soft drink' is composed of two unreduced roots which can occur independently. The compound literally means 'agua fría; cold water.'

The same root may reduce in one compound but not in another. One compound minimal pair is based on the same two roots and only differ from each other by the lack of stress on the first root in the reduced compound. Both compounds are composed of the verb *–à* 'comer; eat' and the noun *tô* 'boca; mouth.' The tonally reduced *–átô* means 'masticar; chew' and the tonally unreduced *–à tô* means 'besar; kiss.'

Cranberry morphemes are more likely to occur in reduced compounds than in unreduced compounds. Phonological reduction may over time change a root so that is is no longer recognizable. At the same time, in certain cases where the first root of a two root compound is especially recognizable this may contribute to its maintaining stress. For example the word for 'mar, océano; ocean' is *nîtzdo*$^{7}$. *Nîtz* is the word for 'agua; water' and so is a common word with an obvious semantic relationship to the compound. *Do*$^{7}$ comes from a Zapotec root meaning 'grande; big' or perhaps 'sagrado; holy.' This root is found in other compounds in CLZ such as 'iglesia; church' and 'corazón; heart.' However, the reflex of this morpheme, reconstructed by Kaufman (1993) as **tawo*$^{ʔ}$ in PZ, takes three different forms in each of these three compounds and is not a common word on its own, although there is an unrelated homophone meaning ‘mecate; rope.’ Since *do*$^7$ is the second root in the compound it is stressed. While the first root, *nîtz*, is in a position where it could reduce, it does not and it is possible that its semantic transparency helps to maintain its stressedness.

In the previous section I mentioned that the animate noun *mbì* ‘wind’ reduces to *bì* as the second member of a reduced compound, but the same noun appears with all its morphology in unreduced compounds, e.g. *–lyë`d mbì* ‘ventilarse, soplarse; get blown (on), get ventilated’ and *–yô mbì* ‘columpiar; swing.’

Zapotec languages commonly have verbal constructions which include the noun *látyo*$^7$ ‘heart.’ These are syntactically ambiguous as to whether the noun that usually translates into Spanish as the subject is actually the Zapotec subject or whether it is simply the possessor of the true subject which is ‘heart.’ Some details about the examples in (6.2) and (6.3) suggest that ‘heart’ is the subject and that these are idioms rather than compounds.

(6.2) *Mbyë*$^7$ *látyo*$^7$*-ý.*
**C-[aflojarse corazón: desmayarse]=3i**
**C-[loosen.up heart: faint]=3i**
(El carro) ya no tiene jalón. o “Se cobardó”.
It (the car) won’t start. or “It gave out.”

(6.3) *Ntyo*$^7$ *látyo*$^7$*-nˆ wîn nâ.*
**H-[salir corazón: querer]=1s P-moverse 1s**
**H-[go.out heart: want]=1s P-move 1s**
Quiere mi corazón que me muevo.
My heart wants me to move, i.e. “I want to move.”

The multi-root lexical items seen in (6.2) and (6.3) can be translated as ‘faint’ and ‘want’ but consultants who like to give very literal translations will sometimes gloss these as ‘cobardar el corazón’ (for the heart to turn a coward) and ‘querer el corazón’ (for the heart to want) as is partially revealed above. This suggests that although you could translate these verbs into English and Spanish with the nouns that follow *látyo*$^7$ as subjects, *látyo*$^7$ itself may be the head of the subject NP. Thus, (6.2) may literally be ‘Its heart gave out (loosened).’ However, the reason that we can even entertain the hypothesis that *látyo*$^7$ is a subject rather than an incorporated part of the verb is that we can recognize *látyo*$^7$ as a noun that occurs independently with the meaning ‘heart’ and likewise we can recognize the irregular class A verbs *–lyë*$^7$ and *–to*$^7$ as the same verbs that mean ‘loosen’ and ‘go out’ in isolation.

When the first root is not identical to one that occurs in isolation it makes the multi-root sequence look more like a compound than an idiom, as in (6.4) and (6.5) where the head verb roots resemble verbs that occur in isolation but have phonological differences.

(6.4) *Ndyo*$^7$*n látyo*$^7$*-nˆ.*
**H-X.llorar corazón=1s**
**H-X.cry heart=1s**
Estoy triste.
I’m sad.

(6.5) *Lyë*$^7$*látyo*$^7$*-nˆ.*
**P.X-corazón=1s**
**P.X-heart=1s**
Me voy a rajar.
I’m going to chicken out.

In these compounds *látyo*$^7$ acts as an incorporated argument of the verb. In many ways it seems that *látyo*$^7$ is the subject of the verb that precedes it. Sometimes Spanish translations indicate that speakers view it this way. However, at the same time *látyo*$^7$ is part of the verbal lexeme. To render the particular meaning desired, *látyo*$^7$ must be included following the verb root. Furthermore, in many cases the verb root used with *látyo*$^7$ would have no meaning, or at least would not be used, without *látyo*$^7$. *Látyo*$^7$ seems at once to be the subject and also part of the verb. In the sense that it is part of the verb, the noun or pronoun that follows it is the subject. Nevertheless this noun or pronoun seems pretty transparently to be the possessor of *látyo*$^7$. This relationship is more than just historical, but is very transparent and hence translations like ‘my heart wants.’ One analysis is that *látyo*$^7$ is an incorporated subject, elevating its possessor to subject position. The other analysis is that *látyo*$^7$ continues to be the subject and that such phrases are more idiomatic than they are single compound lexemes. While there is this ambiguity, in a sense both things are true. *Látyo*[7] may be the primary subject of the verb but its possessor may be a more indirect subject. The possessor of *látyo*[7] is semantically more like a subject in these constructions than the possessor of another subject would be. If I say 'my mother cried' it does not mean that *I* was sad but if I say 'my heart cried' then indeed I was sad. It is not the case that the entity that is *me* is somehow disconnected from the heart and spared the sorrow.

(6.6) gives a different example of a compound with subject incorporation. The verb *–yô* 'haber, estar; for there to be' (the habitual form seen below is the irregular *nzhò*) is an auxiliary verb that has been grammaticalized from a similar verb *–yô* that means 'vivir; live.' The pronominal phrase that is the subject of the Spanish, English, and in my view also the Zapotec sentence, looks to originally have been either a locative phrase or the possessor of the original subject which is now incorporated into the verb. Depending on whether the locative or the possessor interpretation is the correct one for the original status of *ár*, the example could literally translate either as 'there is a child (in) her, eh?' or 'her child exists, huh?' Unlike the compounds with *látyo*[7] I have never heard a Spanish translation of this verb in which the child is the subject. In fact, no noun refers to the child in the Spanish translation.

(6.6) *Nzhò xìn ár bâ kárǎ?*
**H-haber hijo 3hf DET X**
**H-AUX offspring 3hf DET X**[3]
¿Está embarazada esa?
Is she/that one pregnant?

While (6.6) gives an example of subject incorporation, the more common compounding strategy is object incorporation. An example of this is given in (6.7).

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[3] I am not sure how to gloss *kárǎ* but it is a particle used to point out, to question, to call someone's attention to some fact or proposition. Here it is used to turn a statement into a question. In non-interrogative examples it is often translated as 'verás; you'll see!' In some dialects of Spanish I think this would be equivalent to *¡Fíjate!*

(6.7) *-ùn ti$^7$n* **'ocupar; use'**

Ba$^7$ nyâ lâd ndùn ti$^7$n Mě Gǒx Mǎx.
**así H-verse tela H-hacer trabajo 3hr viejo Tomás**
**like.this H-look cloth H-do job 3hr old Thomas**
Así se ve la ropa que usa Don Tomás.
This is what the bandana Terry wears looks like.

The main difference between compounds and non-compounds (be they idioms or non-idiomatic phrases) is a syntactic one. Compounds form single, indivisible syntactic units. There are usually also semantic differences. For example compare the difference in meaning between the compound above in (6.7) and the verb phrase below in (6.8). These two examples also show the crucial syntactic difference between compounds and multi-word phrases. In (6.7) the noun *ti$^7$n* is incorporated and the subject follows it. In (6.8) the same noun occurs as an object following the subject of the verb.

(6.8) *Gǔn nhó ti$^7$n ástá lás dyés.*
**P-hacer.P 1i trabajo hasta las diez**
**P-do.P 1i job until the ten**
Vamos a trabajar hasta las diez.
We're going to work until ten o'clock.

### 6.1.3 Idioms

In the previous section I began to focus more on the distinction between compounds and idioms or other phrases. While compounds may or may not undergo phonological reduction, idioms as a rule do not. The main difference between compounds and idioms is a syntactic one. Compounds are an indivisible syntactic unit while idioms are lexicalized phrases that can be modified and can undergo syntactic movement and insertion.

Here my notion of an idiom is different than the way that syntacticians generally view English idioms. For exammple, in English one is not supposed to be able to insert words between the component words of the idiom, e.g. to modify as in 'he kicked the big red bucket' to mean 'he died (perhaps on the Big Red Boat cruise chip)' or to move any of the words internal to the idiom as in a cleft like 'it was the bucket that he kicked,' although an English speaker certainly can say either of these things in a creative or humorous context. In CLZ I consider any phrase which means something more or something different than the sum of its parts to be an idiom. Because of CLZ's VSO syntax it is actually common for words to be inserted between some of the words that make up an idiom. An idiom may consist of a fixed verb and object but the object is not incorporated the way it is in  acompound and the subject can intervene between verb and object in normal VSO word order.

This distinction between compounds and idioms is nicely illustrated with the morpho-syntactic (and phonological) minimal pair *–zádi*$^{7}$*zh* shown in (6.9) and *–za*$^{7}$ *di*$^{7}$*zh* shown in (6.10). *–Zádi*$^{7}$*zh* is a reduced compound with object incorporation in which the verb root *–zá* is a tonally reduced form of the verb *–za*$^{7}$ seen in the idiom *–za*$^{7}$ *di*$^{7}$*zh*.

(6.9) *-zádi*$^{7}$*zh* **'platicar; talk'**

(a)*Bélí ndê zádi*$^{7}$*zh mě.*
**asi H-AUX INF-[dar-palabra: platicar] 3hr**
**so H-AUX INF-[give-word: talk] 3hr**
Así están platicando ellos.
So they are talking.

(b) *Xé mód nzádi*$^{7}$*zh má tzâ má?*
**INTE modo H-[dar-palabra: platicar] 3a compañero 3a**
**INTE way H-[give-word: talk] 3a companion 3a**
¿En que forma platica a su compañera?
How does the animal call to its mate?

(c) *Nzádi*$^{7}$*zh mě di*$^{7}$*zh ke*$^{7}$.
**H-[dar-palabra: platicar] 3hr palabra Coatlán**
**H-[give-word: talk] 3hr word Coatlán**
Ella platica zapoteco.
She speaks Zapotec.
(d) *Yë´l mkwi*$^{7}$*n yë´l wza*$^{7}$ *di*$^{7}$*zh tě-l tá wê ngwdǐn xa*$^{7}$ *lô.*
**NOM C-fallar NOM P-dar palabra POS=2s 3i DEG C-R2-pegar 3hd 2f**
**NOM C-fail NOM P-give word POS=2s 3i DEG C-R2-hit 3hd 2f**
Porque falló tu palabra por eso es que te pegaron.
The failure of your speech, that's why they hit you.

(6.10) *-za*$^7$ *di*$^7$*zh* **‘dar permiso, dejar; give permission, let (something happen)’**

(a) *Sa*$^7$*-m´ di*$^7$*zh gǎb mě ndô yû.*
**F-dar=3hr palabra P-caer.P 3hr cara tierra**
**F-give=3hr word P-fall.P 3hr face earth**
Él se va a dejar caerse en el suelo.
He’s going to let himself fall on the ground.

(b) *Gǎn tě-l ná wza*$^7$ *di*$^7$*zh chílya*$^7$ *xìn lô nà mbzha*$^7$ *wê.*
**difunto POS=2s NEG P-dar palabra P-casarse hijo 2s con muchacha DET**
**dead POS=2s NEG P-give word P-get.married offspring 2s with girl DET**
Tus difuntos no dan permiso para que se case tu hijo con esa muchacha.
Your ancestors won’t give permission for your son to marry that girl.

(c) *Bza*$^7$ *di*$^7$*zh lya*$^7$*b te*$^7$*-ý.*
**IMP-dar palabra P-hervir todavía**
**IMP-give word P-boil still**
¡Deja que se hierve de una vez!
Let it boil!

It is easy to see the semantic connection between ‘give word’ and ‘give permission’ and ‘talk,’ and at the same time the compound *–zádi*$^7$*zh* and the idiom *–zá*$^7$ *di*$^7$*zh* are more than the sum of –*za*$^7$ and *di*$^7$*zh.* They are their own lexical entries separate from the component roots that make them up, and separate from each other. Phonologically they are different because of the reduction seen in the compound, but there are other compounds which do not show this kind of reduction, as discussed above. What makes ‘give permission’ an idiom rather than a compound is the syntactic difference that the subject can follow *za*$^7$ in the idiom as seen in (6.10a) but the subject follows *di*$^7$*zh* (an incorporated object) in the compound as seen in (6.9a-c). Examples (6.9d) and (6.10b-c) happen to not have post-verbal subjects but they illustrate the semantics of the compound and idiom. When nominalized in (6.9d) the compound renders the meaning ‘speech.’ The permission given in (6.10b) illustrates a meaning close to the concept of giving words but in (6.10a) and (6.10b) actual words are not necessary to allow the event indicated by the potential-marked verb to take place.

In 6.1.2 I mentioned the difficulty of categorizing multi-root lexical items with *látyo*$^7$. Some idioms (or compounds) not involving *látyo*$^7$ are similarly difficult to interpret. In (6.11) *mbè* ‘neblina; fog’ is either the subject in an idiom or an incorporated noun in a compound. It is used with the verb *–xo*$^7$*b* which means ‘poner, tapar; put, cover.’

(6.11) *Nxo*$^7$*b mbè ngùz ndô.*
**H-poner neblina [fruta cara: ojo]**
**H-put fog [fruit face: eye]**
Se pone nublado el ojo.
The eye gets foggy/slimy.

(6.12) *Të*$^7$*l nàt mxo*$^7$*b mbè.*
**noche ahora C-poner neblina**
**night now C-put fog**
Esta noche estuvo nublado.
Tonight it was foggy.

While ‘eye’ could be the subject of a compound verb in (6.9), more likely it is a locative phrase and *mbè* is the subject of the verb, with these words used together idiomatically. (6.12) has ‘tonight’ as a preverbal temporal phrase, though perhaps someone might interpret this as the subject. It is also possible to make an idiomatic statement that it is cloudy without using any of the temporal or locative words used here. In such an instance if *mbè* were not the subject and was instead part of the verb this would mean the verb can be used by itself without any arguments at all. This is possible with other verbs in CLZ but usually at least a subject is present.

Idioms are multi-word items with their own unique lexial semantics, but which do not form an impenetrable syntactic unit. Oftentimes the word that is inserted into the middle of an idiom is the subject as in (6.13), but it can also be an adverb, or another word such as the quantifier seen in (6.14) (quantifiers in CLZ are usually verbs but it is also possible that *lûzh* is an adverb since I haven’t seen any inflected forms like there are for numbers).

(6.13) *-ùn yë´l nděz* **‘mentir; lie’**

*Ndùn mě yë´l nděz.*
**H-hacer 3hr NOM AN-tlacuache**
**H-do 3hr NOM AN-possum**
Hace ella sus mentiras.
She tells lies.

(6.14) *-yèk látyo*$^{7}$ **‘tener sed; be thirsty’**

*Ndèk lûzh látyo*$^{7}$*-n̂.*
**H-X mucho corazón=1s**
**H-X lots heart=1s**
Tengo mucha sed.
I’m really thirsty.

The idiom in (6.14) passes my test for idiom-hood because a word like *lûzh* can be inserted into the middle of it. *Látyo*$^{7}$ is a necessary part of the idiom and cannot be left out. However, the verb root *yèk* does pose a problem since it does not occur in isolation. This would suggest that it should be treated like a compound with *látyo*$^{7}$ but that is impossible since the two words can be separated syntactically.

In this chapter I have defined three types of multi-root lexical items: reduced and unreduced compounds, and idioms. I defined each of these based on phonological and syntactic criteria. While these categories have proven useful to a certain extent, careful examination of the data reveals that there are many cases that are problematic either due to syntactic ambiguity or due to the fact that these categories are idealized types that real data do not always fit perfectly.

## 6.2 Nouns

In the category *noun* I include common nouns, proper nouns, pronouns, classifiers, and the emergent category of preposition. Some other kinds of words may also be nouns including some interrogative words, determiners, and adverbs.

### 6.2.1 Common nouns

Common nouns can be monomorphemic, compounds, or noun roots marked with one or more animacy prefixes, and can be native or borrowed, as seen in (6.15).

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (6.15) | *Nì.* | *Yíchèk.* | *Mbì.* | *Kóněj.* |
| | **casa** | **pelo-cabeza** | **AN-aire** | **conejo** |
| | **house** | **hair-head** | **AN-air** | **rabbit** |
| | Casa. | Cabello. | Viento. | Conejo. |
| | House. | Head hair. | Wind. | Rabbit. |

### 6.2.2 Proper nouns

Proper nouns are names of individual people or places, as in (6.2.2). Personal names are usually borrowed from Spanish though some nicknames are native words (see 7.3). Toponyms can be mono-morphemic, morphologically complex, or compounds and can be native or borrowed.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (6.2.2) | *Mǎx.* | *Mbi*$^7$*zh.* | *Lǎ.* | *Xyè.* |
| | **Tomás** | **león** | **Oaxaca** | **[X-cerro: tianguis]** |
| | **Thomas** | **puma** | **Oaxaca** | **[X-hill: market** |
| | Tomás. | Leo(ncio). | Oaxaca de Juárez. | Miahuatlán de Porfirio Díaz. |
| | Thomas. | Leo(n). | Oaxaca City. | Miahuatlán. |

| | |
|---|---|
| *Na*$^7$*t Yî N-gǔd.* | *Yêzh Sántlín.* |
| **arroyo piedra blanca** | **pueblo santa-Catarina** |
| **creek rock white** | **town saint-Catherine** |
| Arroyo Agua Blanca. | Santa Catarina Loxicha. |
| White Rock Creek. | Santa Catarina Loxicha. |

### 6.2.3 Classifiers

There are two kinds of classifiers used in CLZ. One is the bound morpheme *m-* described in 5.3. There are also several free nouns which are used as classifiers. These include the words *mě* ‘persona; person,’ *má* ‘animal,’ *yà* ‘palo; tree,’ *là* ‘hoja; leaf,’ *lùt* ‘bejuco; vine,’ *yêzh* ‘pueblo; town,’ *yè* ‘cerro; hill,’ *yî* ‘piedra; rock,’ *yi*$^7$ ‘flor; flower,’ *yîx* ‘zacate; grass’ and *yû* ‘tierra; land.’

The classifiers *mě* and *má* are identical to the pronouns which are reduced forms of the full nouns 'person' and 'animal.' The pronoun *xa*$^{7}$ is also frequently used as a classifier. The other classifiers are not reduced but are identical to full nouns which occur in isolation, although it is notable that only two classifiers in the preceding list have consonantal codas. These might also be called generic nouns.

Classifiers are mostly used to categorize the natural world, although people and human settlements can also be referred to with classifiers identified above. Many manufactured items can also be referred to with the classifier that indicates what they are made of. For example, many wooden items are referred to with the classifier *yà*. Many lexical items in CLZ are multimorphemic nouns headed by classifiers. It is rare to speak of a particular plant using only the morpheme that refers specifically to that plant, and when one does use only that morpheme it is usually to refer to it as a tradable good or building material or to refer to its use as a resource in some other way rather than to refer to the living, whole plant itself. One normally refers to a plant with the appropriate classifier followed by the morpheme that indicates that particular plant. Examples of noun phrases headed by classifiers are given in (6.17).

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (6.17) | *Yà bdo*$^{7}$*.* | *Yà bástónh.* | *Yà yîn.* | *Mě gôtz.* | *Yêzh Xǐzh.* |
| | **palo plátano** | **palo bastón** | **palo palma** | **3hr hembra** | **pueblo SBL** |
| | **tree banana** | **tree cane** | **tree palm** | **3hr female** | **town SBL** |
| | Platanar. | Bastón; muleta. | Palmar. | Mujer. | San Baltazar Loxicha. |
| | Banana tree. | Cane; crutch. | Palm tree. | Woman. | San Baltazar Loxicha. |

### 6.2.4 Prepositions

One of the most hotly contended issues in Zapotec, indeed Otomanguean (see Macaulay, 1996 for a discussion of this issue in Mixtec), syntax is whether or not prepositions exist in these languages or whether the native words that function like prepositions in Zapotec languages are in fact nouns (for recent work on this topic in Zapotec see Lillehaugen 2003 and 2004). In my view of CLZ, the majority of words which act prepositionally, i.e. by preceding nouns and indicating things like location and direction, are in fact body part nouns.

These nouns are not reduced or otherwise phonologically altered. One might make a semantic distinction between when *ya*$^7$ is translated as ‘mano; hand’ and when it is translated as ‘por; by,’ but there is no phonological, morphological, or syntactic distinction. The would-be prepositional phrases are syntactically no different than inalienably possessed noun phrases. The strongest evidence for labeling these words as prepositions is the fact that some words used in this way are not homophonous with body part words nor do they have other meanings that are more clearly nouns. I see these words as historical nouns which we might consider (emergent) prepositions. One could perhaps label as nouns those words that still be have nominally in addition to prepositionally and label as prepositions those words which have lost their purely nominal meaning and usage. Nevertheless, both types of words can head what look structurally like the same type of phrase, whether we choose to call it a possessed noun phrase or a prepositional phrase. Examples of phrases headed by these types of words are given in (6.18)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (6.18) | *Lèn chŏn mbe*$^7$. | *Wâtz bku*$^7$. | *Nì té-n̂.* |
| | **barriga tres luna** | **cerca lumbre** | **casa POS=1s** |
| | **belly three moon** | **near fire** | **house POS=1s** |
| | Dentro de tres meses. | Cerca de la lumbre. | Mi casa. |
| | Within three months. | Near the fire. | My house. |

Many body part words can be combined with a word *gál* to form something like a compound preposition. One possible derivation for this word is the word *ga*$^7$*l* ‘derecho; straight.’ As the first member of the compound this word predictably loses its distinctive tone to take a simple high tone. Compound emergent prepositions with this morpheme include *gálèn* ‘por dentro; inside,’ *gálndâtz* ‘al pie; at the foot of,’ *gálndô* ‘en frente de; in front of,’ *gáltzo*$^7$ ‘despues, atrás; after, behind,’ and *gálxàn* ‘abajo de; below.’ Examples are shown in (6.19).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (6.19) | *Nâ mchílya$^{7}$ gáltzo$^{7}$ ndô-m´.* | *Gálndô nì.* |
| | **1s C-[X-mano: casarse] X-espalda cara=3hr** | **X-cara casa** |
| | **1s C-[X-hand: marry] X-back face=3hr** | **X-face house** |
| | Yo me casé despues que él/ella. | En frente de la casa. |
| | I got married after her/him. | In front of the house. |

### 6.2.5 Pronominal categories

In this section I discuss the different pronominal categories found in CLZ. I identify the ten core pronouns of CLZ, including dialectical variations, and describe their meaning.

CLZ has at least 10 different pronouns. There are three first person pronouns: singular, inclusive, and exclusive. The inclusive and exclusive pronouns are always plural in the Loxichas, but the exclusive pronoun is sometimes used to refer to the first person singular in the Coatlanes. In Santa María Coatlán there is emergent case marking on the first person inclusive which has one form for subjects and possessors, and another form for verbal objects.

The second person is divided into two categories, familiar and respectful. The respectful pronoun can be used for either singular or plural addressees. However the second person familiar pronoun can only be used to represent a single person. The second person familiar pronoun is the other pronoun that has one form for subjects and another for objects in SMaC.

The third person is divided according to the animacy hierarchy of human, animal, and thing. The third person human category is further divided into three main pronouns that are selected according to the relative social status and age of the speaker and referent, as well as other factors such as whether the two people know each other or are strangers. The third person familiar pronoun *ár*[4] is used to refer to people who are friendly and typically of the same age set or younger than the speaker. There are also three words which are used as generic nouns to refer to young, unmarried people. These can be used in free variation with *ár*. The remaining two third person human pronouns are *xa*$^{7}$ and *mě*. *Mě* is used to refer to people who are older or who are deserving of one’s respect. *Xa*$^7$ is typically used to refer to outsiders or people whom one does not know, such as foreigners or people from other towns[5], as in the following phrase from SBL.

---

[4] I have not heard this form in SMaC. Besides its use in SBL I am aware of a cognate in the language to the South of San Baltazar Loxicha, which is spoken in Santo Domingo de Morelos and other towns.

(6.20) *Bzë*$^7$ *mě lxǐzh nà xa*$^7$ *lálǎn.*
**lindero 3hr SBL y 3hd San.Antonio.Lalana**
**border 3hr SBL and 3hd San.Antonio.Lalana**
Colindancia de los Baltazareños y los de San Antonio Lalana.
The border shared by the people of San Baltazar Loxicha and the people of S. A. Lalana.

There is no plural morpheme in CLZ. However, there are some number distinctions within the pronoun inventory, which I suspect are innovatory and are possibly emerging due to contact with Spanish. As stated above, the second person pronouns are partly restricted according to number, although both can be used with singular reference. In the third person the three core human pronouns can all be used with either singular or plural reference. However, if a singular Spanish pronoun is used in elicitation, *mě* is usually given in Zapotec, while *xa*$^7$ is used to translate a plural Spanish pronoun. The difference between *mě* and *xa*$^7$ is coming to include a number distinction. However, the respectful/stranger distinction remains and within that context both pronouns, as well as *ár*, can be used to refer to either singular or plural entities, as seen below.

(6.21) *Tǒp mě wê nzhò Éstádós Únídós. Ndùn mě ti*$^7$*n.*
**dos 3hr DET H-haber Estados Unidos H-hacer 3hr trabajo**
**two 3hr DET H-AUX States United H-do 3hr job**
Los dos de ellos están en Estados Unidos. Están trabajando.
The two of them are in the U.S. They’re working.

(6.2.2 *Dûb xa*$^7$ *gǔn ti*$^7$*n nâ.*
**uno 3hd P-hacer trabajo 1s**
**one 3hd P-do job 1s**
Una persona voy a ocupar.
I’m going to use one person.

---

[5] This distinction has been most clearly described to me by my main SBL consultant. One SMaC speaker described the *xa7* pronoun as referring to ‘just anybody’, as opposed to the more respectful pronoun. It may be that *xa7* in that town refers to known people to whom one does not owe special respect, or perhaps in a small town the people you know and the people you have to show respect to are one and the same.

In Figure 48 I show the inventory of independent pronouns in CLZ. The forms which have dialectal variants appear in bold.

**Figure 48: Dialectical variants of CLZ pronouns**

| | **SBL** | **SMigC** | **SMaC** | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **possessive/subject** | **object (when different)** |
| 1s | *nâ* | *nâ* | *nâ* | |
| 1i | ***nhó*** | ***ñé*** | ***nhá*** | ***ná*** |
| 1e | sâ | sâ | sâ | |
| 2f | ***lô*** | ***lô*** | ***lâ*** | ***lô*** |
| 2r | *gó* | *gó* | *gó* | |
| 3hr | **mě** | **mě** | **mę́**[6] | |
| 3hf | *ár* | *ár* | | |
| 3hd | *xa7* | *xa7* | *xa7* | |
| 3a | *má* | *má* | *má* | |
| 3i | *ta7* | *ta7* | *ta7* | |

Similar to these pronouns in usage but with bulkier phonological forms and semantics are the set of generic nouns (see Butler, 1980 and Marlett, 1985) in CLZ. These are full nouns with a very general meaning, such that a more specific full noun that has already be used can subsequently be referred to either with a generic noun or with a pronoun. These nouns act pronominally in many ways but have not undergone the phonological reduction characteristic of true pronouns in CLZ. Some of the true CLZ pronouns are in fact reduced forms of generic nouns, but not all generic nouns have reduced counterparts. Of this set, which is shown below, *ta*$^7$*n* is used the least since the pronoun *ta*$^7$ is used more often. However, although the pronouns *mě* and *má* are used quite often, the generic nouns *mĕn* and *măn* are still used frequently. The remaining forms which I consider generic nouns all refer to younger humans. The form *mbë̌z* can refer to a baby or an older child, up to the early teenage years. Once a minor looks and behaves like a grown up (typically around 15 but it could be as young as 12) they are referred to with the adolescent pronouns *mbzha*$^7$, *mbyô*, and *mbzhë̂ / mbzhâ*.

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[6] In the other dialects this pronoun has rising tone. It may be here too since it is a common error in my SMaC transcription to have high tone in words later shown to have rising tone. The nasalization is a legitimate difference though.

**Figure 49: Generic nouns**

| | |
|---|---|
| ‘thing’ | *ta*$^7$*n* |
| ‘animal’ | *mǎn* |
| ‘person’ | *měn* |
| ‘child’ | *mbë̌z* |
| ‘young woman’ | *mbzha*$^7$ |
| ‘young man’ | *mbyô* |
| ‘young people’ | SBL: *mbzhë̂* SMaC: *mbzhâ* |

Much as with the true pronouns, with these last three generic nouns there is a partial number distinction. The noun which is *mbzhë̂* in SBL and *mbzhâ* in SMaC can only have plural reference. The female noun *mbzha*$^7$ and the male noun *mbyô* typically have singular reference, in complementary distribution with *mbzhë̂*, however these can be used with quantifiers to indicate more than one female or male adolescent, as in (6.23).

(6.23) *Nàxnǎ-n chǒn mbzha*$^7$.
**S-[acostarse-X: tener]=1s tres AN-AN-muchacha**
**S-[lie.down-X[7]: have]=1s three AN-AN-girl**
Tengo tres chamacas.
I have three girls.

Having identified the main types of nouns in CLZ I will now turn my attention to some ways in which these are used in phrases.

## 6.3 Noun phrases

In this section I describe some issues surrounding noun phrases in CLZ. I begin by describing the two syntactic constructions used for marking alienable and inalienable possession and the latter’s structural similarity to what some consider prepositional phrases. The largest topic I deal with here is the phonological and syntactic distribution of pronouns. I give examples of full and reduced pronouns in the different syntactic positions in which they occur. 6.3.2.2 introduces the reduced forms of CLZ pronouns, beginning a discussion of their status as clitics. This argumentation is continued in 6.3.2.3 which looks at the syntactic constraints on bound person markers compared to free pronouns. I compare clitic pronouns that consist of a single consonant to those that consist of a single vowel and I explore the wider distribution of the 3i pronoun compared to clitic forms of other pronouns. I end this chapter with a brief look at covert subjects in CLZ.

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[7] The only free *nǎx* morpheme I know of means ‘virgin’ or ‘older woman.’ Most examples I have of this compound are of having children but I have also seen it used once to refer to having a certain color hair.

### 6.3.1 Possession & prepositional phrases

CLZ, like other Zapotec languages, has two different types of possession, alienable and inalienable. Syntactically both types are very much like in other Zapotec languages. Morphologically though CLZ has two important differences. The *x*- prefix which is used productively to mark alienably possessed nouns in other Zapotec languages is in CLZ used to mark the most inalienably possessed nouns and is not regular or productive. In other Zapotec languages that have the *x*- prefix, the stem-initial consonant which follows the prefix often undergoes fortition. This never occurs in CLZ. The behavior of the *x*- prefix is described in 5.4. Below in this section I describe the syntactic patterns of possession in CLZ.

#### 6.3.1.1 Inalienable possession

Inalienable possession is realized in CLZ simply by postposing the possessor following the possessed noun or noun phrase, as in (6.25).

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (6.25) | *Xâb yà.* | *Xna*$^7$*-s.* | *Ya*$^7$ *Béd.* | *Ngùz ndô-lˆ.* |
| | **cáscara palo** | **POS-mamá=1e** | **mano Pedro** | **fruta cara=2f** |
| | **bark tree** | **POS-mother=1e** | **hand Peter** | **fruit face=2f** |
| | Cáscara de palo. | Nuestra mamá. | La mano de Pedro. | Tu ojo. |
| | Tree’s bark. | Our mother. | Peter’s hand(s). | Your eye(s). |

Some inalienably possessed noun phrases are lexicalized as compounds, as in (6.26).

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (6.26) | *Di*$^7$*zhke*$^7$*.* | *Ngùz ndô.* | *Yîd mbǎd ya*$^7$*.* | *Yîx nì.* |
| | **palabra-Coatlán** | **fruta cara** | **cuero palma mano** | **basura casa** |
| | **word-Coatlán** | **fruit face** | **skin palm hand** | **trash house** |
| | **ZCL.** | **Ojo.** | **Palma de la mano.** | **Placenta.** |
| | **CLZ.** | **Eye.** | **Palm of the hand.** | **Placenta.** |

When the inalienable possessor is the first person singular, there may be tonal morphology on the possessed noun. The main patterns that are found are also found on verb roots with potential aspect or first person subjects: F→H and L→R. The cause of such alternations is a floating high tone suffix added to the underlying tone of the possessed noun. If the possessed noun is a compound, only the final root in the compound undergoes the tonal change. Furthermore not all roots that are phonologically eligible end up being marked in this way, e.g. *wìt yìx nâ* ‘mi hermano del monte; my illegitimate half-brother’ shows no tonal change.[8] The deglottalization seen on some verbs with first person subjects in CLZ and on 1s-possessed nouns in other Zapotec languages (Sicoli, 1998; Beam de Azcona, 2004) is not found on possessed nouns in CLZ. In (6.27) compare the tonally altered 1s-possessed nouns to the 2s-possessed forms which follow and show the underlying tones.

---

[8] In this case the head noun root *wìt* ‘brother’ would show a tonal change if used alone and not in the compound, in *wìt nâ* ‘my brother.’ *Yìx* is a noun meaning ‘monte; scrub forest’ referring to the fact that such a brother may have been conceived out in some clandestine meeting place. This is a noun which in isolation would never be possessed by the first person.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (6.27) | *Xuž nâ.* | *Xùz xǐt*[9] *nâ.* (SMigC) | *Ngùz ndó-nˆ.* |
| | papá.1s 1s | papá tío.1s 1s | fruta cara.1s=1s |
| | father.1s 1s | father uncle.1s 1s | fruit face.1s=1s |
| | Mi papá. | Mi tío. | Mi ojo. |
| | My dad. | My uncle. | My eye(s). |
| Compared to 2s-possessed: | *Xùz lô.* | *Xùz xìt lô* | *Ngùz ndô-lˆ.* |

### 6.3.1.2 Phrases headed by emergent prepositions

Native words used prepositionally in CLZ are historically, and for the most part synchronically, nouns. Many of what I consider emergent prepositions in CLZ are body part nouns. The phrases headed by these words are structurally identical to inalienably possessed noun phrases. Inalienable possession is the type of possession that is used with body parts. Consider the following examples:

(6.28) *Ndàb ár ndô yû.*
**H-caer 3hf cara tierra**
**H-fall 3hf face earth**
Se cayó al suelo.
S/he fell to the ground.

(6.29) *Ngòb nâ yèk nì.*
**C-caer 1s cabeza casa**
**C-fall 1s head house**
Me caí del techo.
I fell from the roof.

(6.30) *Ndi$^7$b yìx tô nêz.*
**H-haber monte boca camino**
**H-AUX underbrush mouth road**
Hay montes en la orilla del camino.
There are plants alongside the road.

(6.31) *Ndê yîx tzo$^7$ nì.*
**H-AUX basura espalda casa**
**H-AUX trash back house**
Hay basura atrás de la casa.
There is trash behind the house.

---

[9] In SBL 'uncle' is simply *xìt*, but in CN (where the SMigC variety is spoken) *xìt* occurs in a compound with the 'father' root to render the same meaning. This example was given by a CN speaker. In SBL the same example would mean 'my uncle's father' which would probably be an overly-roundabout way of saying 'my grandfather' and therefore would not be used in SBL.

Some native words used in the same way do not have any nominal meanings synchronically, such as the words *wâtz* ‘next to’ and *tě* ‘possession of’ in (6.32). The preposition *tě* is similar to English ‘of’ and is mostly used for alienable possession in CLZ, but is also used to head the phrasal arguments of certain verbs, as seen further below in (6.34). In (6.32) notice that *tě* undergoes a tonal alternation with the first person singular just as do nouns inalienably possessed by the first person singular.

(6.32) *Nì bâ nzŏb wâtz nì té-nˆ.*
**casa DET H-sentarse junto.a casa POS=1s**
**house DET H-sit next.to house POS=1s**
Esa casa está junta a mi casa.
That house is next to mine.

Although words like *wâtz* and *tě* may as well be called prepositions because unlike words like those seen in (6.3.4-7) they don’t have a stronger noun identity, prepositional phrases in Zapotec and other Oto-Manguean languages are arguably the same constructions as possessed noun phrases (see Macaulay, 1996; Maclaury, 1989; Marlett, 1985 & 1993). *Most* native words used prepositionally are transparently the same words as the names of various body parts. Those that are not can often be shown to have an earlier history as nouns, now obscured with the loss of the noun usage. Most Zapotec languages also have a new class of loan prepositions from Spanish (see Marlett, 1985 and 1993) which behave somewhat differently with respect to pronoun selection than do native words used as prepositions, as I discuss further below. The objects of native prepositions in CLZ follow the prepositions just as possessors follow possessed body parts and other inalienably possessed nouns. A good example of how objects of native prepositions behave more like possessors is provided by the marginal case marking found on some SMaC pronouns. Objects of prepositions in that dialect take the same case marking as possessors of nouns (and subjects of verbs), even when semantically they are patients. Consider examples (6.33-35) from SMaC.

(6.33) Possessor *Xna7 nhá* SMaC
**POS-madre 1i.nom**
**POS-mother 1i.nom**
Nuestra mamá.
Our mother.

(6.34) Direct object *Lá nkëˇlédyo7 xa7 ná.* SMaC
**NEG H-X-corazón 3hd 1i.acc**
**NEG H-X-heart 3hd 1i.acc**
No nos quieren.
They don’t love us

(6.35) “Object of preposition” *Mkë7 mę́ tě nhá* SMaC
**C-pegar 3hr POS 1i.nom**
**C-hit 3hr POS[10] 1i.nom**
Él nos pegó.
He hit us.

Ultimately the question of whether such words as have just been considered are prepositions or nouns comes down to a question of labels. Structurally they are no different from possessed nouns. They undergo the same tonal morphology as 1s-possessed nouns and the “objects” of these prepositions, if they are pronouns eligible for case-marking in SMaC, do not take the accusative case but rather the nominative case which is also used with pronominal possessors. Such facts are not only true for prepositions that also have noun glosses but even for the most prepositiony words, those without alternative straight noun translations. Thus, I consider prepositions to be nouns in CLZ. Perhaps they might be considered a special type of noun, but nouns nonetheless.

### 6.3.1.3 Alienable possession

Nouns that one does not have a long-term or intimate relationship with are possessed differently than nouns that one does have such a connection to. In 6.3.1.1 I described how nouns like body parts and close relatives are possessed inalienably. More disposable possessions are possessed alienably in CLZ. While with inalienably possession the possessor follows the possessee, with alienably possession what follows the possessed noun is a phrase headed by *tě*, an emergent preposition roughly meaning ‘possession of’ which itself is inalienably possessed by the noun that is the alienable possessor of the noun preceding *tě*. As mentioned in the last section, *tě* changes its tone to high *té* when followed by the first person singular, and in SMaC the pronoun that follows *tě* will be nominative (if it is a pronoun that has case-marking in the first place). Some examples of alienably possessed nouns are given in (6.36). While the word *chë*$^{7}$*l* ‘spouse (of either sex)’ is inalienably possessed, the noun phrase *mě gôtz* ‘woman’ shown below may be possessed alienably, perhaps reflecting the fact that a wife is acquired.

---

[10] This is not a loan preposition although it looks it. It is cognate with the morpheme that is *če* in Yatzachi (see Butler, 1976, her examples of the “reflexive of possession”).

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (6.36) | *Mě gôtz tě-m.* | *Mbèk tě xǔz nâ.* | *Báy tě-m* |
| | **3hr hembra POS=3hr** | **AN-AN-perro POS papá 1s** | **pañuelo POS=3hr** |
| | **3hr female POS=3hr** | **AN-AN-dog POS father 1s** | **kerchief POS=3hr** |
| | **(**Su) mujer de él. | (Sus) perro(s) de mi papá. | Su pañuelo. |
| | His woman. | My father’s dog(s). | His kerchief. |

When the second person respectful pronoun is the alienable possessor it may optionally be omitted and *tě* alone is understood as representing possession by the respected second person, as seen in (6.37).

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (6.37) | *Nì tě.* | *Mbèk tě.* | *Mbëˆl tě.* |
| | **casa POS** | **AN-AN-perro POS** | **AN-AN-pescado POS** |
| | **house POS** | **AN-AN-dog POS** | **AN-AN-fish POS** |
| | Su casa de Ud. | Su perro de Ud. | Su pescado de Ud. |
| | Your house. | Your dog. | Your fish. |

Nominalized verb phrases are typically alienably possessed, as shown in (6.38).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (6.38) | *Yë´l ndyên tě-l.* | *Yë´l chílya*[7] *tě-m.* |
| | **NOM H-oir POS=2s** | **NOM P-[unir-mano: casarse] POS=3hr** |
| | **NOM H-hear POS=2s** | **NOM P-[join-hand: marry] POS=3hr** |
| | Tu pensamiento. | Su casamiento de ellos. |
| | Your thinking. | Their wedding. |

Both the inalienably possessed noun phrase and the alienably possessed noun phrase are each sequences of two noun phrases, the difference being that the second noun phrase internal to an alienably possessed noun phrase, is headed by *tě*. The phrase headed by *tě* can be fronted to in front of the first noun phrase if one wishes to form a sentence with a zero copula construction rather than a simple noun phrase. The difference between these is shown in (6.39).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (6.39) | *Tě-m yǐ.* | *Yǐ tě-m.* |
| | **POS=3hr cal** | **cal POS=3hr** |
| | **POS=3hr lime** | **lime POS=3hr** |
| | De él es la cal. | Su cal de él. |
| | The lime is his. | His lime. |

Some nouns that are alienably possessed have similar meanings to some nouns that are inalienably possessed. This shows that there is a certain level of arbitrariness involved in what type of possession a noun takes but such a distinction may also indicate something about the lexical semantics of the noun in question. A house may be referred to by the alienably possessed noun *nì* or by the inalienably possessed noun *lìd*. Based on the type of possession that each of these nouns takes in CLZ, we might translate them into English as ‘house’ and ‘home’ respectively.

### 6.3.2 Distribution of free vs. clitic pronouns

Like other Zapotec languages (see Marlett, 1993 for a good summary), CLZ has both clitic and free versions of pronouns. Free pronouns can occur in any phonological environment but are dispreferred where clitic pronouns can occur. Clitic pronouns have both phonological and syntactic restrictions and not all clitics have the same phonological and syntactic restrictions. In the next four sections I will describe the phonological and syntactic differences between free pronouns and both types of clitic pronouns in CLZ. I begin with describing the syntactic positions that free pronouns can occur in.

### 6.3.2.1 Positions where pronouns can occur

CLZ pronouns (b below) can occur in the same positions as full nouns (a below):

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (6.40) Following the verb as subject | (a) *Ngùth Béd.*<br>**C-morir Pedro**<br>**C-die Peter**<br>Pedro se murió.<br>Peter died. | (b) *Ngùth mě.*<br>**C-morir 3hr**<br>**C-die 3hr**<br>Él se murió.<br>He died. |
| (6.41) Following the subject as object | (a) *Mbìth xa7 mbzhîn.*<br>**C-matar 3hd venado**<br>**C-kill 3hd deer**<br>Él mató el venado.<br>S/he killed the deer. | (b) *Mbìth xa7 má.*<br>**C-matar 3hd 3a**<br>**C-kill 3hd 3a**<br>Él mató el animal.<br>S/he killed it. |
| (6.42) As a fronted subject | (a) *Mǎx wǎ.*<br>**Tomás P-comer**<br>**Thomas P-eat**<br>*Tomás* va a comer.<br>*Thomas* is going to eat. | (b) *Lô wǎ.*<br>**2f P-comer**<br>**2f P-eat**<br>*Tú* vas a comer.<br>*You* are going to eat. |
| (6.43) As a possessor following a noun | (a) *Xìn Láx.*<br>**hijo Lázaro**<br>**offspring Lázaro**<br>El hijo de Lázaro.<br>Lázaro's son. | (b) *Xìn gó.*<br>**hijo 2r**<br>**offspring 2r**<br>El hijo de Ud.<br>Your son. |
| (6.44) Following a preposition | (a) *Nì tě Lǎx.*<br>**casa POS Nicolás**<br>**house POS Nicholas**<br>La casa de Nicolás.<br>Nicholas's house. | (b) *Nì tě ár.*<br>**casa POS 3hf**<br>**house POS 3hf**<br>La casa de él.<br>His house. |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (6.45) Following a quantifier | (a) *Tǒp gǎn.* | (b) *Tǒp nhó.* |
| | **dos difunto** | **dos 1i** |
| | **two dead.person** | **two 1i** |
| | Dos difuntos. | Nosotros dos. |
| | Two dead people. | The two of us. |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (6.46) In isolation | (a) *Ngwlèy, wyë´ ka$^7$ gǒx mě.* | (b) *Lô, sí wyë´ ka7 bchân lô .* |
| | **sacerdote cierto sí viejo 3hr** | **2f sí cierto FOC pasmado 2f** |
| | **priest true yes old 3hr** | **2f yes true FOC slow 2f** |
| | El padre, sí cierto que está viejo. | Tú, sí cierto eres pasmado. |
| | The priest, yes it's true that he's old. | You, it's true, you are slow. |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (6.47) Following a copula | (a) *Nǎk Bríj měxt.* | (b) *Nǎk nâ měxt.* |
| | **COP Brígida maestro** | **COP 1s maestro** |
| | **COP Bridget teacher** | **COP 1s teacher** |
| | Brígida es maestra. | Soy maestra. |
| | Bridget is a teacher. | I'm a teacher. |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (6.48) Preceding a copula | (a) *Béd nǎk ngwlèy.* | (b) *Mě nǎk ngwlèy.* |
| | **Pedro COP sacerdote** | **3hr COP sacerdote** |
| | **Peter COP priest** | **3hr COP teacher** |
| | Pedro es sacerdote. | Él es sacerdote. |
| | Peter is a priest. | He is a priest. |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (6.49) Following an adj. w/o a copula | (a) *Gǒx ngwlèy.* | (b) *Gǒx mě.* |
| | **viejo sacerdote** | **viejo 3hr** |
| | **old sacerdote** | **old 3hr** |
| | Es viejo el padre. | Él es viejo. |
| | The priest is old. | He's old. |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (6.50) Following a question word | (a) *Mà Bríj?* | *Má ár?* |
| | **adónde Brígida** | **adónde 3hf** |
| | **where Bridget** | **where 3hf** |
| | ¿Adónde está Brígida? | ¿Adónde está ella? |
| | Where is Bridget? | Where is she? |

Pronouns can also occur in a few places where full nouns cannot occur with the same meaning. (6.51a) is a noun phrase while (6.51b) is a sentence, a zero copula construction with the pronoun in focus. (6.52a) is interpreted as vocative, an address term, while (6.52b) is a sentence, again a zero copula construction.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (6.51) Preceding an adj w/o a copula | (a) *Yà zi*$^7$*l.* | (b) Lô bchân. |
| | **palo grande** | **2f pasmado** |
| | **tree big** | **2f slow** |
| | **Palo grande.** | *Tú* eres pasmado. |
| | **Big tree.** | *You're* easy-going. |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (6.52) Following a noun w/o a copula | (a) *Mĕ̌xt Bríj!* | (b) *Mĕ̌xt mĕ̌.* |
| | **maestro Brígida** | **maestro 3hr** |
| | **teacher Bridget** | **teacher 3hr** |
| | **Maestra Brígida!** | **Es maestro él.** |
| | Miss Bridget! | He's a teacher. |

### 6.3.2.2 Reduced forms

The three most distinctive third person pronouns are reduced forms of fuller nouns meaning 'person,' 'animal,' and 'thing.' These have been described in other Zapotec languages as *generic nouns*, first by Butler (1980). Marlett (1985) gives a good description of these and how they function in different Zapotecan languages. In CLZ the shortening of these three generic full nouns into pronouns involves the loss of the final consonant, which in all three cases is /n/, and in one case tonal simplification. In SMaC there is nasalization of the vowel of the human pronoun, but not of the vowels of the other two pronouns, even though all three generic nouns end in /n/.

| (6.53) | Generic noun | | → | Pronoun | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *mĕ̌n* | 'person' | → | *mĕ̌* , SMaC *ę́* | 3hr |
| | *mă̌n* | 'animal' | → | *má* | 3a |
| | *ta7n* | 'thing' | → | *ta7* | 3i |

Like these shortened forms of the generic nouns, most CLZ pronouns are of the shape CV (the glottal stop in *ta7* does not count here as a consonant but rather as a tone). Of the pronouns with this shape in SBL, most have a corresponding shorter bound clitic form of the shape *=C*. These bound consonants attach to the end of verbs, nouns (including prepositions) and some other words that end in vowels. If the consonant is a sonorant the tone is maintained on the lone sonorant consonant after the vowel is deleted. In this case a rising tone is reduced to a high tone though (see 3.1.4). There are also three clitic forms of pronouns that consist of a single vowel or glide. Clitic pronouns of the shape =C can only occur following vowels and they are preferred in that environment. In Figure 52 I show the short and long forms of pronouns that occur in SBL.

**Figure 50: Short and long form pronouns in San Baltazar Loxicha**

| | Following consonants | Following vowels (when different) |
|---|---|---|
| 1s | *nâ* | -*n̂* |
| 1i | *nhó* | -*nh´* |
| 1e | *sâ* | -*s* |
| 2f | *lô* | -*l̂* |
| 2r | *gó* ~ -*á* | |
| 3hr | *mě* (<*měn* ‘person’) | -*m´* |
| 3hf | *ár* | |
| 3hd | *xa7* | -*x* |
| 3a | *má* (<*mǎn* ‘animal’) | |
| 3i | *ta7* (<*ta7n* ‘thing’) | |
| | -é | -ý |

I deal with *–á*, -*é*, and *–ý* in section 6.3.2.4. Of the remaining pronouns, I have only seen two bound forms used in the Coatlán varieties of CLZ. In San Miguel Coatlán the same bound first person inclusive pronoun, -*ńh*, is found as in San Baltazar Loxicha. This is the case even though the SMigC independent pronoun has a palatal nasal rather than a velar nasal. The bound pronoun in SMigC is optional though, occuring in free variation with the independent form. In Santa María Coatlán, when the first person singular morpheme follows a word with a vowel, it may be realized as nasalization of that vowel. In this same environment it is also possible to have -*ą̂.*

While the known bound forms in the Coatlanes are optional, in the Loxichas the full set of bound =*C* pronouns behave very regularly and are almost obligatory. The remainder of the discussion of bound pronouns will be confined to data from the Loxichas, except where noted. Short pronouns of the shape =*C* cannot occur following consonants. Following vowels they are strongly preferred but occasionally the longer pronouns are used for emphasis. Thus, the longer free pronouns are not limited to any one phonological environment while the short bound =*C* pronouns are limited in that they can only attach to vowel-final words. This preferred distribution is shown in (6.54) while (6.55) shows that having a =*C* clitic follow a vowel-final root is a preference and not in fact a requirement.

|  |  |  |
|---|---|---|
| (6.54) | (a) *Yèk lô.* | (b) *Ndô-l̂.* |
|  | **cabeza 2f** | **cara=2f** |
|  | **head 2f** | **face=2f** |
|  | Tu cabeza. | Tu cara. |
|  | Your head. | Your face. |

|  |  |  |
|---|---|---|
| (6.55) | (a) *Xâl ndáxla*$^7$ *lô-ý?* | (b) *Xâl ndáxla*$^7$*-lˆ-é?* |
|  | **INTE H-oler 2s=3i** | **INTE H-oler=2s=3i** |
|  | **INTE H-smell 2s=3i** | **INTE H-smell=2s=3i** |
|  | ¿Que lo hueles tú? | ¿Que lo hueles tú?[11] |
|  | Do you smell it? | Do you smell it? |

Thus the only phonological constraint on the occurrence of =*C* clitics is that they cannot occur following vowels. I deal with the syntactic constraints on these pronouns in the next section.

#### 6.3.2.3 Syntactic constraints on bound =*C* pronouns

In addition to the phonological limitation of only occurring following vowels, there are also syntactic constraints on the occurrence of bound =*C* pronouns. Some of the places where bound =*C* pronouns *may* occur are as subjects following verbs, as possessors following nouns, following prepositions (though these may alternatively be analyzed as nouns), following a question word or an adjective in a zero copula construction, and following a quantifier (which is a type of verb).

|  |  |
|---|---|
| (6.56) As subject following a verb | *Ná gǎk lánzhá-m´.* |
|  | **NEG P-poder P-[bajar-irse: llegar]=3hr** |
|  | **NEG P-be.able P-[lower-go.away: arrive]=3hr** |
|  | Él no va a poder llegar. |
|  | S/he won’t be able to arrive. |

---

[11] This is a local Spanish gloss. The first word here is not the Spanish interrogative *qué* but in fact the complementizer *que*. This is a proposition that is being put forth as a true or false question. This construction in Spanish is a calque from CLZ, as described in 1.7.3.

(6.57) As possessor following a noun
*Xna$^7$-ń̂.*
**POS-madre=1s**
**POS-mother=1s**
Mi mamá.
My mother.

(6.58) Following a preposition
*Ndô-ń̂wni$^7$ di$^7$zh ke$^7$.*
**cara=1s IMP-hablar palabra Coatlán**
**face=1s IMP-speak word Coatlán**
A mí ¡háblame idioma!
To me, speak Coatlán-Loxicha Zapotec!

(6.59) Following a question word
*Tò-l̂?*
**quién=2f**
**who=2f**
¿Quién eres?
Who are you?

(6.60) Following an adjective
*Yápa$^7$ wtî-lˆ.*
**mucho dulce=2s**
**a.lot sweet=2s**
Estás muy dulce.
You’re very sweet.

(6.61) Following a quantifier
*Yë$^7$-s.*
**nueve=1e**
**nine=1e**
Somos nueve.
There are nine of us.

As the subject, bound pronouns can attach not only to verb roots but to noun roots that are part of a lexical verb-noun compound, and other noun roots that are incorporated into the verb.

(6.62) Bound subject with a compound
*Ndǎl látyo$^7$-ń̂ lô.*
**H-nacer corazón=1s 2f**
**H-be.born heart=1s 2f**
Te amo.
I love you.

(6.63) Bound subject with an incorporated object
*Mxo$^7$b blë$^7$-ń̂ yà yi$^7$n.*
**C-poner almácigo=1s palo chile**
**C-put plant.shed=1s tree chile**
Puse el almácigo de chilar.
I made a greehouse for chile seedlings.

Some adverbs can intervene between verb and subject. Of these I have not found any adverbs to which subjects can attach. Instead, free pronouns are always used.

(6.64) *Lá* (a) *Sxâl nzhâ yǎth lá lô?* **Sxâl nzhâ yǎth lá-lˆ*
**INTE H-ir SUB-acostar ya 2f**
**INTE H-go SUB-lie.down by.now 2f**
¿Ya te vas a ir a acostar?
Are you going to lie down now?

(b) *Lô mbyěj lá lô tzâ-l̂.* **Lô mbyěj lá-lˆ tzâ-lˆ.*
**2f C-enfadar ya 2f compañero=2f**
**2f C-annoy by.now 2f companion=2f**
Tú ya estás enfadando a tu compañero.
Now you’ve annoyed your buddy.

(6.65) *Ká* (a) *Nî ká lô.* **Nî ká-lˆ*
**H-saber siempre 2f**
**H-know always 2f**
Ya sabes.
Now you know.

(b) *Xâl sâ ká lô kárǎ?* **Xâl sâ ká-lˆ kárǎ?*
**INTE F-ir siempre 2f X**
**INTE F-go always 2f X**
¿Que vas a ir siempre?
Are you still going?

(c) *Ndǎ ká nâ go*$^{7}$*z mbzhîn*. **Ndǎ ká-nˆ go*$^{7}$*z mbzhîn*.
**H-ir.1s siempre 1s pesca AN-AN-venado**
**H-go.1s always 1s hunt AN-AN-deer**
Siempre voy a campear venado./Sí (de por sí) voy a campear venado
I always go to hunt deer.

(6.66) *Ta*$^{7}$ *Ngyóxàn ná wǎ ta*$^{7}$ *mě yë`th.* *\*Ngyóxàn ná wǎ ta*$^{7}$*-m´ yë`th.*
**C-empezar NEG P-comer ya 3hr tortilla**
**C-begin NEG P-eat anymore 3hr tortilla**
Empezó ya no comer tortilla.
S/he started to not eat tortillas anymore.

There are some words which can precede verbs, that might conceivably be labeled adverbs by someone else, but which usually[12] modify nominal arguments. Most of these examples involve the topicalization of nouns, placing the nouns in focus, or putting some other kind of emphasis on the noun adjacent to these words. *Nà* and *bélë7*, which mean ‘also’ and ‘same’ respectively, could perhaps be analyzed as nouns or have a historical noun status if not a synchronic one. *Nà*, or its homophone, also means ‘and’ and ‘with’. Most other words that are used as prepositions in CLZ are either transparently nouns or can be shown to have been nouns historically. *Bélë7* usually has an emphatic meaning as in ‘I did that *myself*.’ It may also be related to the focus marker *lë*$^{7}$,[13] the cognate of which in turn has been analyzed as a noun by Lee (1997a). Alternatively *bélë7* and *nà* may be some of the adjectives Marlett (1985) described as being able to host to a bound pronoun.

(6.67) *Nà* *Nà-n̂ngwǎl.*
**también=1s C-venir**
**also=1s C-come**
Yo tambien vine.
I also came.

(6.68) *Bélë*$^{7}$ *Bélë*$^{7}$*-n̂ka*$^{7}$*b nâ nâ.*
**mismo=1s P.sobar 1s 1s**
**same=1s P.massage 1s 1s**
Yo mismo me voy a sobar.
I’m going to massage myself, myself.

In CLZ words can be put into focus by being fronted to pre-verbal position. In this focus position words may optionally be further marked by one of two focus markers. One of the possible focus markers, *ka*$^{7}$, follows words that are in focus. The other marker, lë$^{7}$, occurs preceding such words rather than following them, and is the cognate of the focus marker identified in several other Zapotec languages (see Piper, 1994; Black, 1994; Lee, 1997a among others). The cognate of *lë*$^{7}$ in other Zapotec languages can serve as a base to which clitic pronouns attach according to Lee (1997b), Jones and Church (1985), Marlett (1993) and Piper (1994). In CLZ, bound pronouns can attach to *lë*$^{7}$ as in other Zapotec languages, while they cannot attach to *ka*$^{7}$, if for no other reason than that these pronouns attach to preceding words and not to following ones. As for the origin of *ka*$^{7}$ which may be a home-grown CLZ focus marker, it often translates as an affirmative ‘yes.’ Lee (1997a) has argued convincingly that the cognate of *lë*$^{7}$ “is a nominal predicate meaning ‘the one’ (or ‘the thing/place’).” She points to the cognate *laa* documented by Córdova (1578) and identified by him as a demonstrative pronoun. The two CLZ focus markers are optional. For example, the sentence in (6.70) can instead be said beginning with the full pronoun *mě* and without a focus marker. Also, post-posing *ka*$^{7}$ after *mě* would give the same meaning. All three variations would be translated the same.

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[12] The word *ka7* can modify the verb, adverbs, or other words also, but the cases we are concerned are the ones where *ka7* modifies pronouns.

[13] In fact, *bélë7* reduces to *lë7* in San Miguel Coatlán.

(6.69) Independent pronoun with *ka*$^{7}$ *Mě ka*$^{7}$ *ndâp kê.*
**3hr FOC H-tener culpa**
**3hr FOC H-have fault**
*Él* tiene la culpa.
*He* is at fault.

(6.70) Bound pronoun with *lë*$^{7}$ *Lë*$^{7}$*-m´ nkë´ zë` kwa*$^{7}$*n nâ.*
**FOC=3hr H-andar SUB.buscar 1s**
**FOC=3hr H-walk SUB.seek 1s**
*Él* me anda buscando.
*He* is looking for me.

Emphatic pronouns cannot reduce. The imperative form of a verb does not take an overt subject, so when the second person pronoun is expressed it is being used emphatically. In (6.71) I show a grammatical non-imperative with a reduced pronominal subject, a regular imperative phrase without an overt subject, an imperatives with an emphatic second person pronoun, and an ungrammatical imperative with a reduced, clitic pronoun.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (6.71) | Ngwdà-lˆ-é | Wdà-y´ | Wdà lô-y´ | *Wdà-lˆ-é |
| | **C-R2-comer=2s=3i** | **IMP-R2-comer=3i** | **IMP-R2-comer 2s=3i** | |
| | **C-R2-eat=2s=3i** | **IMP-R2-eat=3i** | **IMP-R2-eat 2s=3i** | |
| | Lo comiste. | ¡Cómelo! | ¡Cómelo tú! | |
| | You ate it. | Eat it! | Eat it, you! | |

All third person pronouns, but especially the three described earlier as being based on the nouns ‘person,’ ‘animal,’ and ‘thing,’ can be used as classifiers. For a brief description of these and other words used as classifiers in CLZ, see 6.2.3 and also 5.3. These generic pronouns cannot reduce when used as classifiers, even though they may occur following the same lexical items to which their reduced counterparts can attach.

(6.72) Reduced pronoun *Nà-ḿ bǐ.*
**también=3hr se.va**
**also=3hr go.away**
Él también se va.
He’s also going.

(6.73) Unreduced classifier *Nà mě byî nà mě gôtz.*
**también 3hr varón también 3hr hembra**
**also 3hr male also 3hr female**
También el hombre y también la mujer.
Both man and woman.

With the exception of a special clitic pronoun, *-é* (see 6.3.2.4), bound pronouns cannot occur as objects following subjects in CLZ. The restriction on bound objects following subjects holds regardless of whether the subject is free or bound (the 2r pronoun in 6.74c below is described in section 6.3.2.4), and regardless of whether the subject ends in a vowel or a consonant. Since there would be nothing to attach to, bound *=C* pronouns cannot occur in isolation or as fronted subjects. Instead, free pronouns are used in these three cases.

(6.74) Full pronoun objects

(a) *Stzǔy mě̌ lô.*
**F-hacer.cosquillas 3hr 2f**
**F-tickle 3hr 2f**
Él te va a hacer cosquillas.
S/he's going to tickle you.

(b) *Nkwǎn nâ lô.*
**H-buscar.1s 1s 2f**
**H-seek.1s 1s 2f**
Te amo.
I love you.

(c) *Xâl ña7n dûb mód wla7-á nâ*
**INTE NEG uno modo P-dejar=2r 1s**
**INTE NEG one way P-put.down=2r 1s**
¿Qué no hay una forma que Ud. me deja?
Isn't there a way you could let me go?

(6.75) Fronted subject

*Nâ wá chíklé.*
**1s P-comer.1s chicle**
**1s P-eat.1s gum**
Estoy masticando chicle.
I am chewing gum.

There is one possible exception to the ban on short bound *C* pronouns as fronted subjects or in isolation. This is the phrase *swìt mbál* which I presented in section 7.5.5. I analyzed *s* as a reduced form of *sâ* in this archaic greeting, and suggested that it was a zero copula construction meaning 'we (are) brothers of the compadres.' If this analysis is correct, this is the only known occurrence of one of the short *C* pronouns occurring without a phonological host preceding it. In CLZ, two nouns can be juxtaposed in a zero copula construction $NP_1$ $NP_2$ and the translation into Spanish or English will be $NP_1$ copula $NP_2$. Alternatively a copular verb may be used. If a copular verb is used the regular VS order may be used with copula $NP_1$ $NP_2$ order. Alternatively the subject may be fronted to preverbal position, as with other verbs, for the order $NP_1$ copula $NP_2$. A fancy analysis could posit that there really is a zero copula, a copular verb that is deleted on the surface. This kind of analysis would nicely resolve the syntactic problem posed by *swìt mbál*, by claiming that in that utterance *s* is not in isolation, nor is it a fronted subject, but rather it is attaching to the verb, as subject pronouns are allowed to do. However, the obvious problem with such an analysis is that although an underlying syntactic host is shown for the clitic pronoun, there is no surface phonological host, and a phonological host is required by the clitic pronoun.

Under certain conditions a clitic pronoun can attach to a question word. In example (6.59) above *tò* is used predicatively and the second person pronoun is bound to it: *tò-î* meaning 'who are you?' In example (6.76) below the first person exclusive pronoun is also bound to the question word 'who' for the meaning 'who of us?' which as a unit acts as the subject of the verb *ndùn*. However, in example (6.77) the third person unknown human pronoun follows *tò* but cannot reduce. Note that example (6.77) is also the only one of the three examples that is translated with a cleft.

(6.76) *Wni7-á ndô-n̂! Tò-s ndùn-é?*
**IMP-decir=2r cara=1s quién=1e H-hacer=3i**
**IMP-say=2r face=1s quién=1e H-hacer=3i**
¡Dígame Ud.! ¿Quién de nosotros lo hacemos?
Tell me who of us does it!

(6.77) *Tò xa7 mbi7d.*
**quién 3hd C-venir**
**who 3hd C-come**
¿Quién es él que vino?
Who is the one who came?

While (6.77) is ungrammatical with a reduced pronoun, **tò-x mbi*$^{7}$*d*, it is grammatical with the relative pronoun *nâ*, in *tò xa*$^{7}$ *nâ mbi*$^{7}$*d*, which makes clear that what we see in (6.77) is a zero-relative construction. *Tò* acts predicatively in (6.59) and (6.77) but not in (6.76). The difference between (6.59) and (6.77) is that (6.77) has a clausal complement. In (6.77) *xa7* is subject of *mbi7d*. It is fronted to form a zero relative and forms a constituent with the verb, with which it forms the complement of *tò*. In (6.59) the second person pronoun alone acts as the complement of *tò* and therefore they form a constituent all by themselves. In (6.77) *tò* and *xa7* do not form a constituent by themselves but only together with *mbi7d* which itself shares a node with *xa7* alone.

In (6.77) *xa7* cannot reduce and attach to *tò* because it does not directly form a constituent with *tò*.

In (6.76) it is not the case that *tò* acts predicatively. There *tò* does form a constituent with the first person exclusive pronoun to mean ‘who of us’ and together these two morphemes act as the subject of *ndùn.* Although both (6.76) and (6.77) involve subject fronting, (6.76) has an interrogative subject that includes both morphemes while in (6.77) *tò* and *xa7* do not share a node to themselves.

Since CLZ is a VSO language, the issue of what constitutes the VP in this language is of interest to syntacticians. Since objects but not subjects are usually included in the notion of VP, VSO languages pose a problem for syntactic theory since the subject intervenes between verb and object. One solution, which I do not prefer since it strays from the surface reality of the language in order to make the force the data into a model that fits better-documented languages, is to suggest that underlyingly such a language is SVO and that the subject is moved via some transformation to post-verbal position in the VSO sentences that make up the majority of transitive sentences spoken in such a language. An alternative to this type of analysis is treating the subject as part of the same immediate constituent with the verb and object, whether that constituent be labelled VP or simply S. Although ideologically I prefer the latter, proponents of the former solution will find support in what happens to object pronouns when subject pronouns are fronted (to where a transformational analysis might have them belonging underlyingly). Assuming the phonological conditions are met (i.e. that the verb is vowel-final, when a subject is fronted and an object pronoun becomes adjacent to the verb the object pronoun will encliticize to the verb. This is exemplified in (6.78).

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (6.78) | *Mbi*$^7$*-á mě.* | *Gó ka*$^7$ *mbi*$^7$*-m´.* | **mbi*$^7$*-á-m´* |
| | **C-llevar=2r 3hr** | **2r C-llevar=3hr** | **C-llevar=2r=3hr** |
| | **C-take=2r 3hr** | **2r C-take=3hr** | **C-take=2r=3hr** |
| | Ud. la llevó. | *Ud*. la llevó. | |
| | You took her. | *You* took her. | |

This is important because from what we have seen so far pronouns can only attach to words with which they form constituents and *=C* object pronouns cannot encliticize to subject pronouns. This suggests that object pronouns are part of the same immediate constituent as the verb root but not part of the same immediate constituent as the subject. However, since subject pronouns do encliticize to verbs, subjects do also form an immediate constituent with the verb root as well. Perhaps the best way to express this is that this type of enclitic may attach only to the head of the phrase with which it forms the most immediate constituent. We will see later in 6.3.2.4 that there is another type of object enclitic which can attach outside of subjects.

Another important question is whether bound pronouns can follow adjectives that modify nouns, in possessed noun constructions. I have not found any grammatical examples of pronouns, clitic or free, possessing nouns modified in this way. The only similar cases I have found have been noun-noun or noun-adjective compounds. When an adjective modifies a noun and one wants to express possession of that same noun, one does this by introducing a verb, or at least another NP to act predicatively. For example, when I asked how I could say ‘my red hair’ in Zapotec I was told that you could say *ndáp nâ yìch nê* ‘I have red hair’ or *yíchěk nâ yìch nê* ‘my hair (is) red hair’ or *yìch nê nàx nǎ-n* ‘red hair I have (lays on me)’ but that you cannot say **yìch nê nâ* nor **yìch nê-nˆ.*

I mentioned above that most or all native words used prepositionally in CLZ are historically nouns, and in most cases are still nouns synchronically. This makes what might be called prepositional phrases essentially the same thing as possessed noun constructions. The semantics change but the syntax and morphology do not. However, in CLZ as in other languages pointed out by Marlett (1985) there is a class of loan-prepositions that have been borrowed from Spanish.

While native nouns that have the same meaning as prepositions in other languages, can attach bound pronouns, loan-prepositions cannot be host to bound pronouns. For example, the Spanish loanword *más* ‘more’ can be used with a native adjective followed by the Spanish loanword *ké* ‘than’ to form a comparative construction. In this construction, *ké* is followed by a free pronoun, not by a bound pronoun.

I shall now briefly summarize what has been stated about the distribution of bound consonantal pronouns compared to free pronouns in the Loxicha dialect of CLZ. Bound =*C* pronouns can only occur following words that end in vowels. Free pronouns can occur anywhere, although they usually follow words that end in consonants. Bound =*C* pronouns commonly occur following verbs to which they are subject and following nouns that they posses. Bound pronouns cannot occur in isolation. They can occur before the verb only if they are preceded by a word such as a focus marker or question word to which they can bind. They cannot occur preverbally without such a host, and they must form a constituent with that word. They cannot attach to subjects if they are objects.

Bound =*C* pronouns in CLZ are clitics and not affixes. Klavans (1982) states that affixes attach to stems to create words while clitics attach to forms that can occur alone as words. Every word that bound =*C* pronouns attach to can also occur with a separate full noun, and most can also occur in isolation.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (6.79) | (a) *Wǎ-m yë`th.*<br>**P=Comer=3hr tortilla**<br>Va a comer tortilla.<br>S/he’s going to eat a tortilla. | (b) *Wǎ Măx yë`th.*<br>**P=Comer Tomás tortilla**<br>Tomás va a comer tortilla.<br>Thomas is going to eat a tortilla. |
| (6.80) | (a) *Látyo7-n̂.*<br>**corazón=1s**<br>Mi corazón.<br>My heart. | (b) *Látyo7.*<br>**corazón**<br>Corazón.<br>Heart. |

Klavans also states that clitics do not change the lexical category of the host. We have seen that some nominals can behave predicatively in zero copula constructions, and in some of these a bound pronoun may attach to the nominal, but this is not a change in lexical category. Klavans also writes “clitics are …recognizeable members of a word class.” This is true of CLZ bound =*C* pronouns, but in comparision this is not true of CLZ TAM markers. Clitics “can neither stand alone nor receive major stress.” CLZ bound =*C* pronouns cannot stand alone. Since =*S* pronouns can bear contrastive tone one might consider them stressed to a certain degree according to the criteria I gave in 2.2.3, but we also saw in 2.2.1.4 that there is tonal simplification on the third person human respectful pronoun *mě* → *-m´,* which is an indication that these clitics are not as fully stressed as an independent word would be.

CLZ =*C* pronouns also meet several of Sadock (1991)’s criteria for clitichood. =*C* pronouns can alternate with free words. They are bound. They cannot take suffixes, but they can have an 3i enclitic attach outside of them (see 6.3.2.4). They can attach to different kinds of words: verbs, nouns, prepositions, question words, focus markers, perhaps adjectives and quantifiers.They are regular and productive: there is no vowel-final verb or inalienably possessable noun that =*C* pronouns cannot attach to. These pronouns are independent elements of syntax, e.g. they can serve alone as subject. They are phonologically dependent and concatenative. The addition of a =*C* pronoun in no case forms a new lexical item.

Judging from the criteria found in the general clitic literature, the preponderance of the evidence is in favor of an analysis of bound =*C* person markers in CLZ as clitics. Much of the general Zapotec literature (for example, Jones and Church, 1985; Black, 1994; Munro and López, 1999) comes to the same conclusion for shortened forms of person markers in various other Zapotec languages, and the same can be said for at least some other Oto-Manguean languages (see for example Macaulay, 1996).

Marlett (1993) contains the most thorough comparative description of pronouns in Zapotec. Instead of using the term “clitic” Marlett defines Zapotec pronouns as dependent or independent along two parameters: prosodic independence and syntactic independence. Syntactically dependent pronouns are also always prosodically dependent, but syntactically independent pronouns can be either independent or dependent prosodically, according to Marlett. This means that Marlett’s parameters define three possible kinds of Zapotec pronouns, although many languages only have two of these, or have only limited third person pronouns in one category (the syntactically independent prosodically dependent category).

Marlett defines prosodically independent Zapotec pronouns as ones which may do any one or more of the following: a) occur in isolation, b) occur preverbally without a host, and/or c) be the object of a Spanish loan-preposition. The free CV pronouns in CLZ can do all of these.

The bound =*C* pronouns in CLZ can do none of the above and are therefore prosodically dependent. According to Marlett, prosodically dependent pronouns may be either syntactically independent or dependent. For these, the test is whether or not the prosodically dependent pronoun may follow a non-pronominal subject, as the object. According to Marlett, a pronominal subject in usual post-verbal position, can be considered an extension of the head, and a following object would be adjacent. In CLZ the only pronoun that can follow a subject as the object, regardless of whether the subject is pronominal or not, is the inanimate pronoun *–é*, to be described in the next section. Thus, bound =*C* pronouns are both prosodically and syntactically dependent by Marlett’s definition.

### 6.3.2.4 =*V* pronouns

There are five additional bound forms of pronouns in CLZ. I consider all five to be clitics, although one of these consists only of vowel nasalization and so may be considered by some to be too phonologically abstract to be a clitic.

The second person respectful pronoun, *gó*, has an optional bound form, *–á*. It can follow both vowels and consonants, as illustrated in the following examples:

(6.81) *Nà wte7-á xmbál-á párá ké chǒn-á yá go7z.*
**y IMP-invitar=2r POS-compadre=2r para COMP tres=2r P-ir pesca**
and **IMP-invite=2r POS-compadre=2r for COMP three=2r P-go hunt**
E invitan Uds. a su compadre para que los tres de Uds. vayan a la pesca.
And invite your compadre so that the three of you will go fishing.

(6.82) *Ndàb mě "sxâl ná nî-á pǎ mbzhêb-á?"*
**H-decir 3hr INTE NEG H-saber=2r donde C-espantarse=2r**
**H-say 3hr INTE NEG H-know=2r where C-be.frightened=2r**
Dijo él "¿que no sabe Ud. adonde se espantó?
He said, "Don't you know where you were frightened?"

*-á* does not have the phonological restrictions of the bound *=C* pronouns (it can attach to words with any kind of final segment), but it does have the same syntactic restrictions. For example, it cannot occur in isolation, as a fronted subject, or as an object following a subject (see example 6.83). Where it can occur it is preferred, although *gó* may be easily substituted.

(6.83) *Gǎ*[14] *wchăn nâ gó.*
P.**1s.ir P-dejar 1s 2r**
P.**1s.go.P P-put.down 1s 2r**
Yo lo voy a ir a dejar a Ud.
I am going to go and drop you off.

The SMaC dialect of CLZ has two clitic forms of the first person singular pronoun *nâ*. These have already been described in 2.2.5. Wherever the clitic *–nˆ* can occur following a vowel-final root in SBL, the final vowel of that root can be nasalized in SMaC. When the root-final vowel bears glottal tone a nasalized *-ą* is added following the glottal stop rather than nasalizing the root vowel. See 2.2.5 for examples.

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[14] Other than the fairly common tonal alternations that occur, this is the only verb I know that undergoes stem allomorphy associated with person-marking. The potential form of 'ir' is normally *yá* but with a first person singular subject it is *gǎ*.

The inanimate pronoun *ta7* also has clitic forms. The 3i pronoun clitic has two allomorphs depending on whether it follows a vowel or a consonant. These allomorphs vary slightly in each dialect. This allomorphy is shown in Figure 51.

**Figure 51: Dialectical and allomorphic variants of the 3i pronoun clitic**

| | **After vowels** | **After consonants** |
|---|---|---|
| San Baltazar Loxicha | -ý | -é |
| San Miguel Coatlán | -ý | -á |
| Santa María Coatlán | -yá | -á |

The clitic forms of the 3i pronoun can occur in any of the places that the second person repectful pronoun clitic can occur. This is to say that *=V* clitics can attach in the same syntactic positions that *=C* clitics can attach in, but without the phonological limitations of the *=C* clitics, as shown in (6.84-88). In example (6.84b) below, a possible context would be that a piece of metal or machinery hurt the palm of the speaker's hand.

(6.84) Subject:

(a) *Nzho*$^7$*b-é, ndyôj-é.*
**H-desgranarse=3i H-molerse=3i**
**H-be.threshed=3i H-be.ground=3i**
Se desgrana, se muele.
It is threshed, it is ground.

(b) *Ngwdà-ý mbǎd ya*$^7$*-n̂.*
**C-R2-comer=3i palma mano=1s**
**C-R2-eat=3i palm hand=1s**
Lastimó la palma de mi mano.
Something hurt the palm of my hand.

(6.85) Possessor:

*Mbyë´ ndâtz-é.*
**C-enderezar pie=3i.**
**C-straighten foot=3i**
Se enderezó el pie.
It's (e.g. a chair's) foot straightened.

(6.86) Objects of prepositions: (a) *Ná yútê-l̂ndô-ý.*
**NEG meterse[15]=2f cara=3i**
**NEG meddle=2f face=3i**
¡Tú no te metas en el asunto!
Don’t you meddle in it.

(b) *Ná zhëľ mà táp tě-ý.*
**NEG X dónde tapa POS=3i**
**NEG X where top POS=3i**
Quién sabe a donde está su tapa.
Who knows where its top is.

(6.87) Complement of a question word: *Ná zhëľ mà-ý.*
**NEG X dónde=3i**
**NEG X where=3i**
Quién sabe a dónde está.
Who knows where it is.

(6.88) Attached to a focus marker *Nà lë[7]-ý lèn[16] dûb énkántó wê châ.*
**y FOC=3i barriga uno encanto aquel entonces**
**and FOC=3i belly one enchantment DET then**
Es como adentro de un encanto entonces.
And it’s in an enchantment then.

The 3i clitic pronoun is common following quantifiers. Quantifiers followed by the 3i pronoun, as in (6.89) are used when counting in CLZ, because CLZ numbers are not used to refer to abstract concepts but to quantities of actual nouns. CLZ numbers are verbs which must have subjects. The most abstract one can be when counting is to use the 3i pronoun as subject.

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[15] It is unclear what the TAM-marking on this verb is. This form is the same as the bare root. Some Zapotec languages have a so-Called “polite imperative” that uses the potential, but his hardly seems a polite context. Some languages also use the potential instead of the regular imperative form, with negative commands (see Black, 1994 for a description of both of these). The potential of this verb is zero-marked, so it may be that it is possible to use the potential for negative commands in CLZ as well. Another possibility is that this is the imperative form of this verb. The verb is irregular in that it takes only *ng-* and not *ngw-* in the completive. Most verbs that take *ngw-* in the completive take *w-* in the imperative, so perhaps this verb lost the *w* in both forms and has a zero imperative.

[16] Originally when the text containing this phrase was recorded, the word *lèn* was absent. The consultant wanted to add it to the written version of the text.

(6.89) Following a quantifier:
*Ga$^{7}$y-é.*
**cinco=3i**
**five=3i**
Cinco.
Five (things).

However, the 3i pronoun clitic is different from all other clitic pronouns in CLZ because it has fewer syntactic restrictions. For example, as an object it can attach following other pronouns, both clitic and free, as well as full nouns.

(6.90) Predicate noun in a Ø-Copula
*Gó-ý nzyàk sâ.*
**2r=3i H-parecer 1e**
**2r=3i H-seem 1e**
Ud. es me parece.
It seems to me that it's you.
San Miguel Coatlán
(this example only)

(6.91) Object following a verb
*Wda`-ý!*
**IMP-comer=3i**
**IMP-eat=3i**
¡Cómelo!
Eat it!

(6.92) Object following a full noun
*Mkë$^{7}$ Béd-é.*
**C-pegar Pedro=3i**
**C-hit Pedro=3i**
Lo pegó Pedro.
Pedro hit it.

(6.93) Object following a free pronoun
*Sún nâ-ý.*
**FUT-hacer 1s=3i**
**FUT-do 1s=3i**
Lo hago.
I will do it.

(6.94) Object following a clitic
(a) *Wla$^{7}$-ńh-é.*
**P-dejar=1i=3i**
**P-put.down=1i=3i**
Lo vamos a dejar.
We're going to put it down.

(b) *Ná ñá̂-ń̂-é.*
**NEG H-ver=1s=3i**
**NEG H-see=1s=3i**
No lo he visto.
I haven’t seen it.

Although I was unable to find examples of *=C* pronominal clitics following NP’s that included adjectives, I have found the 3i pronoun clitic attached to demonstrative adjectives that follow nouns. Thus, the evidence that *–é* is a clitic is clearer than the evidence for the bound *=C* pronouns, since it can clearly attach to a whole phrase. The compound verb in (6.95) is a lexical passive. The patient is always the subject of this verb. The agent may be absent as in (b) or may be expressed as an oblique locative as in (a). There must also be a dummy object in the form of the inanimate pronoun, as seen in both examples. In CLZ objects follow subjects in normal VSO word order, but remain following the verb if the subject is fronted. In (6.95a) the object follows the subject, in normal VSO order. In (6.95b) the subject of the first verb is followed by a demonstrative adjective. It is to that adjective that the object pronoun attaches. The subject of the second verb in (6.3.71b) is fronted for contrastive focus and the object remains in post-verbal position, now attaching to the verb.

(6.95) (a) *Ngwâ zë` Jwánh-é ya$^7$ Béd.*
**C-ir M-andar Juan=3i mano Pedro**
**C-go M-walk Juan**
Sopló Juan en la mano de Pedro.
Juan was hit by Pedro.

(b) *Ná ngá zë` Arturo wê-ý Jwánh ngwâ zë`-ý.*
**NEG IRR-ir M-andar Arturo aquel=3i Juan C-ir M-andar=3i**
**NEG IRR-go M-walk Arturo det=3i Juan C-go M-walk=3i**
No pegaron a Arturo sino pegaron a Juan.
That Arturo wasn’t hit but rather Juan was hit.

While the 3i pronoun usually has the clitic form *–ý* following vowels, when it follows *a*, especially glottalized *a*, it may be realized as *–é* and the final *a* of the word it is attaching to may also change to *e*. Consider the following examples.

(6.96) (a) *Ná ñâ ta*$^7$ *nhó-ý.*
**NEG H-ver ya 1i=3i**
**NEG H-see anymore 1i=3i**
Ya no lo vemos.
We don’t see it anymore.

(b) *Zé zîth ná ndlu*$^7$ *te*$^7$*-é.*
**lugar lejos NEG H-enseñarse ya=3i**
**place far NEG H-be.shown anymore=3i**
De lejos ya no se ve.
From far away it isn’t visible anymore.

(6.97) (a) *Nhwtza*$^7$ *xa*$^7$ *lâd.*
**C-romper 3hd ropa**
**C-break 3hd clothing**
Rompió la ropa.
S/he tore the clothing.

(b) *Nhwtza*$^7$ *xe*$^7$*é.*
**C-romper 3hd=3i**
**C-break 3hd=3i**
Lo rompió.
S/he broke it.

Although *–é* may occur in more syntactic environments than *=C* clitic pronouns, there are still restrictions on where it can occur compared to the free third person inanimate pronoun *ta*$^7$. Much like the *=C* clitic pronouns, *-é* is much preferred when it is permissible, and perhaps even required over *ta*$^7$. The clitic forms of the third person inanimate pronoun occur in all the contexts listed above. The free pronoun *ta*$^7$ occurs when fronted to pre-verbal position without a host (e.g. *lë*$^7$*)*, as often occurs with relative clauses, certain types of focus, and other contructions (see 6.98-102). The free pronoun is also used instead of the clitic pronoun if it is modified by an adjective (see 6.101-103), such as demonstrative adjectives which are common following third person pronouns[17], or if it is otherwise the head of a larger noun phrase (as in some relative clauses). In normal connected speech *ta*$^7$ varies freely with *tá*. Both forms appear in the examples below.

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[17] In some other Zapotecan languages such as Texmelucán, the third person pronouns combine with the demonstrative adjectives to form deictic pronouns (see Marlett, 1985). The differences between the deictic pronouns in those languages and in CLZ is that the CLZ pronouns that occur with demonstratives can also occur freely without them, and there is no fusional morphology or other indication of attachment between the two morphemes.

(6.98) *Mě gôtz tě-l nza$^7$ ta$^7$ nâ ndà xmbál lô.*
**3hr hembra POS=2f H-dar 3i REL H-comer POS-compadre 2f**
**3hr female POS=2f H-give 3i REL H-eat POS-compadre 2f**
Tu mujer da lo que come tu compadre.
Your wife gives that which your compadre eats.

(6.99) *Wti$^7$x ta$^7$ nza$^7$b lo^!*
**IMP-pagar 3i H-deber 2f**
**IMP-pay 3i H-owe 2f**
¡Paga lo que debes!
Pay what you owe!

(6.100) *Gǎn wê ta$^7$ nkézë` yo$^7$n të$^7$l wê.*
**difunto aquel 3i H-andar SUB-llorar noche entonces**
**dead.person det 3i H-walk SUB-cry night then**
Esos difuntos eran que anduvieron llorando de noche entonces.
Those dead people were the ones who were walking around wailing at night then.

(6.101) *Nà ngwzi$^7$ tá wê nzŏb ár tzo$^7$ yèn.*
**y AN-rayo 3i aquel H-sentarse 3f espalda pescuezo**
**and AN-thunder 3i det H-sit 3f back neck**
Y rayo es, él que está él sentado atrás de su pescuezo.
And that is Thunder, behind whose neck he is sitting.

(6.102) *Tá wê nàk ti$^7$n tě-m.*
**3i aquel S-hacerse trabajo POS=3hr**
**3i det S-become word POS=3hr**
Eso es su trabajo de ellos
That’s their job.

(6.103) *Wá-ń̂ta$^7$ gu$^7$d.*
**P-comer.1s=1s 3i blando**
**P-eat.1s=1s 3i soft**
Voy a comer cosa blandita.
I’m going to eat something soft.

Although a 3i object may cliticize following a subject (full noun, free or clitic pronoun) it may not attach to a fronted subject.

| | |
|---|---|
| (6.104) *Nâ wlǎ-y.* | **Nâ-y wlǎ.* |
| **1s P-dejar.1s=3i** | **1s=3i P-dejar.1s** |
| **1s P-put.down.1s=3i** | **1s=3i P-put.down.1s** |
| Yo lo voy a dejar. | |
| I’m going to put it down. | |

In some cases a 3hr subject preceding a 3i object, will be realized as a full pronoun rather than a clitic pronoun even when it occurs following a vowel-final root, in order to avoid having the 3hr=3i sequence *m´-é* mistaken for the 3hr pronoun *mě*. For example, speakers will avoid saying *ngù-m´-é* ‘he drank it’ since it would sound too close to *ngù mě* ‘drunk is he’ and will instead say *ngu` mě-y* ‘he drank it.’

As can be gleaned from the examples given so far, the semantics of the third peson inanimate pronoun are not as straightforward as for other pronouns. In (6.100) the inanimate pronoun refers to deceased people who are haunting a place and in (6.101) it refers to a supernatural being. Both of these have animacy though they are not (or no longer are) humans or animals. The example in (6.90) was taken from a story in which animals are behaving like humans. They address each other with the usual second person pronouns, and yet in (6.90) we find the inanimate pronoun clitic used similarly to the English ‘*it*’s you’. The inanimate pronoun is used and not the animal pronoun, although the addressee is a possum, and not any of the human pronouns, although the possum has human characteristics like speech and clothing.

The inanimate pronoun may also refer to events, such as whole clauses. In (6.105-107) the 3i pronoun clitics refer back to the bracketed events.

(6.105) “[*Nâ gǎk xìn yûzh-á]*.”
**1s P-hacerse.1s hijo yerno=2r**
**1s P-become.1s offspring son-in-law=2r**
“Yo voy a ser su yerno”
“I am going to be your son-in-law”

*Wê ndàb réy,*
**entonces H-decir rey**
**then H-say kind**
entonces le dijo el rey
then the king says

*sní-y´ ndàb réy.*
**FUT-poder-3i H-decir rey**
**FUT-can-3i H-say king**
se puede dijo el rey.
that is possible” says the king.

(6.106) *Ntyo*$^7$ *látyo*$^7$*-n̂* [*gǎ-n tzo*$^7$ *nì té-n̂*] *ña*$^7$*n pǎ-ý.*
**H-salir corazón=1s [1s.ir=1s espalda casa POS=1s] NEG donde=3i**
**H-go.out heart=1s [1s.go=1s back house POS=1s] NEG where=3i**
Quiero hacer del baño, no hay adonde
I want to go to the bathroom but there’s no place (to go).

(6.107) *Ná nǎk nâ mě nâ* [*nza*$^7$ *bë*$^7$*l ndà xmbál nâ*].
**NEG S-ser 1s 3hr REL [H-dar carne H-comer POS-compadre 1s]**
**NEG S-be 1s 3hr REL [H-give meat H-eat POS-compadre 1s]**
Pero yo no soy él que da la carne para que come mi compadre.
I am not the one who gives away the meat so that my compadre eats.

*Ní dûb ndô měn  ná nzá lë`d nâ bë*$^7$*l nâ.*
**ni uno cara gente NEG H-dar.1s X 1s carne 1s**
**NEG one face people NEG H-give.1s X 1s meat 1s**
A ni una gente no regalo la carne.
Not to anyone do I give my meat.

*Télë*$^7$ *mě gôtz ndùn-é, wni*$^7$*-á ndô-n^ tò-s ndùn-é!*
**si 3hr hembra H-hacer=3i IMP-decir=2r cara=1s quién=1e H-hacer=3i**
**if 3hr female H-do=3i IMP-say=2r face=1s who=1e H-do=3i**
Si la mujer lo hace, ¡Dígame Ud.! ¿Quién de nosotros lo hacemos?
If the woman does it, tell me which one of us does it!

The 3i pronoun is also used as a filler or dummy argument. In (6.88) and (6.90) above the 3i pronoun clitic is used as a dummy subject in a zero copula construction for the meanings ‘it’s (in) an enchantment’ and ‘it’s you.’ In (6.95) the inanimate pronoun clitic is used as a dummy object. That verb is a lexical passive. It is apparently transitive but always takes a patient as subject, and a dummy inanimate pronoun object.

I should now summarize the information that has been presented about *–é*. Other than the SMaC 1s variants, the 3i pronoun clitic is the only bound pronoun which has two bound allomorphs. This clitic pronoun together with the second person respectful clitic pronoun are the only clitic pronouns in CLZ which do not bear an obvious phonological similarity to the corresponding free pronoun. One or the other of the two phonologically conditioned allomorphs can occur attached to words of any phonological shape. Like other bound pronouns in CLZ, the inanimate pronoun clitic can attach to the right of a verb to which it is subject, to a noun which it inalienably possesses, to prepositions and a few other words such as question words and a focus marker. It can also occur in some syntactic positions where other bound pronouns cannot occur in CLZ. It can occur as an object either following a verb if the subject is fronted, or following the subject itself, whether the subject be full noun, free pronoun or bound clitic pronoun. Semantically the inanimate pronoun is a bit more diverse than its label suggests and can be used to refer back to whole clauses, to indefinite nouns, and can be used as a filler or dummy argument.

The 3i clitic pronoun in CLZ meets the same criteria for clitichood as other bound pronouns in CLZ. However, in some ways the inanimate pronoun clitic is even more prototypical as far as properties expected of clitics. It very clearly attaches to the whole phrase. For example, it can attach to an adjective which is modifying a noun, showing that the clitic attaches to the rightmost edge of a noun phrase it possesses. Having determined that bound =*C* pronouns are clitics, the short forms of the inanimate pronoun are necessarily clitic because Zwicky and Pullum’s (1983) criterion F is that only clitics can attach outside other clitics.

However, there are some ways in which the inanimate pronoun is not a prototypical clitic. Zwicky and Pullum’s criterion C is that the combination of a host and clitic should not produce phonological idiosyncracies. The pronoun *ta*$^{7}$ and other, mostly function, words ending in *a*$^{7}$ do have an unexpected phonological change, and the clitic pronoun has the unexpected allomorph when the two are combined to form words like *te*$^{7}$*-é*.

Zwicky (1977) classically identifies three types of clitics which he calls simplie clitics, special clitics, and bound words. There are clearly differences between the inanimate pronoun clitic in CLZ and the other bound person markers. The framework that I have found the most useful in distinguishing the inanimate clitic pronoun from the other clitic pronouns in CLZ is that given by

Marlett (1993). According to his criteria, the bound forms of the third person inanimate pronoun in CLZ are syntactically independent but prosodically dependent, while the other clitic pronouns of CLZ are both syntactically and prosodically dependent. The 3i pronoun clitics can occur in any syntactic position as long as they have a prosodic host to their left that they are directly syntactically associated with. Other clitic pronouns in CLZ cannot occur in certain positions even if the word to their left has the right kind of phonology required of their hosts. Only the inanimate pronoun can cliticize when an object following a subject. The bound *=C* clitics described in section 6.3.2.3 cannot occur as objects even when the adjacent subject ends in a vowel.

For CLZ to have this difference between the third person inanimate pronoun and other pronouns is typical of many Zapotec languages. In Marlett's (1993) sample of seven Zapotec languages, Atepec and Guelavía (both Northern Zapotec) only have third person pronouns in the syntactically independent but prosodically dependent category and only have other pronouns in the syntactically and prosodically dependent category. For Isthmus Zapotec the situation mirrors CLZ in that only the third person inanimate pronoun is syntactically independent but prosodically dependent. In Xanaguía, the only Southern Zapotec language in Marlett's survey, all clitic pronouns are syntactically independent and prosodically dependent.

## 6.4 Coreferent subjects and possessors

Butler (1976) identifies a construction she calls the *reflexive of possession* in which a subject may be null if it is coreferent with the overt possessor of a following object. According to Black (1994) such a construction also exists in QZ. Avelino et al. (2004) described what they call *covert subjects* in various Zapotec languages. While CLZ does not have exactly the same type of construction as described for these other languages, there are some instances in which either the subject or a coreferent possessor can become covert.

With one verb, *-kë´* 'carry on one's ___' a body part must be used instrumentally and its possessor is the only overt realization of the subject. This seems a lot like incorporation of the body part except that the word order is freer and sometimes the carried object precedes the possessed body part NP.

(6.108) *Nkëˇ chíkwít tzo*$^{7}$*-m´.*
**H-cargar canasta espalda=3hr**
**H-carry basket back=3hr**
Está cargando canasta en su espalda
S/he's carrying a basket on her/his back.

(6.109) *Nkëˇ tzo*$^{7}$*-nˆ mbëˇz.*
**H-cargar espalda=1s AN-AN-nene**
**H-carry back=1s AN-AN-baby**
Estoy cargando criatura en la espalda.
I'm carrying a baby on my back.

(6.110) *Wkë*$^{7}$ *xìk mě dà.*
**P-cargar brazo 3hr petate**
**P-carry arm 3hr mat**
Él va a cargar petate en el brazo.
S/he's going to carry (a) mat(s) on her/his arm.

Other than with this one lexical item, typically when a subject is correferent with the possessor of a following noun, both are overt. However, if the subject is fronted to pre-verbal position then the possessor may be omitted.

(6.111) (a)*Mě mkìt tzo*$^{7}$. (b) *Mkìt mě tzo*$^{7}$*-m´.*
**3hr C-doblar espalda** **C-doblar 3hr espalda=3hr**
**3hr C-bend back** **C-bend 3hr back=3hr**
Él dobló su espalda/se agachó
He bent over.

The omitted possessor does not have to possess a direct object. It can be the possessor of a noun in a prepositional phrase, as in the next example taken from line 15 of Appendix B2. Here in the English translation I gave ‘their compadre’ but it probably really means ‘her compadre’ and could even mean ‘his compadre’ (referring to the woman’s husband). In any of these cases the possessor would have been recently mentioned but since it was the woman who was most recently mentioned she is most likely the intended possessor.

(6.112) *Nà mě gôtz ndâp rélásyónés nà xmbál.*
**y 3hr hembra H-tener relaciones con POS-compadre**
**and 3hr female H-have relations with POS-compadre**
Y la mujer tiene relaciones con su compadre.
And the woman has sexual relations with their compadre.

When fronting is involved the correferent subject of a following inflected verb may optionally be omitted. In the examples below ungrammatical sentences are marked with asterisks. Note that it is the subject of the first verb which is fronted and the subject of the second verb which is optionally omitted. The subject of the second verb cannot be fronted and the subject of the first verb cannot be omitted, only fronted.

(6.113) ‘Ella está acostada y está comiendo; S/he is lying down and eating.’

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (a) *Nàx mě ndà-m´.* | (b) *Mě nàx ndà.* | (c) *Mě nàx ndà-m´.* |
| **S-acostarse 3hr H-comer=3hr** | **3hr S-acostarse H-comer** | **3hr S-acostarse H-comer=3hr** |
| **S-lie.down 3hr H-eat=3hr** | **3hr S-lie.down H-eat** | **3hr S-lie.down H-eat=3hr** |

(d)**Nàx mě ndà*
(e)**Nàx ndà-m´.*

(6.114) ‘Él va caminando y comiendo tortilla; S/he is walking and eating tortillas.’

| | |
|---|---|
| (a) *Nzyë`-m´ ndà-m´ yë`th.* | (b) *Mě nzyë` ndà-m´ yë`th* |
| **H-H.caminar=3hr H-comer=3hr tortilla** | **3hr H-H.caminar H-comer=3hr tortilla** |
| **H-H.walk=3hr H-eat=3hr tortilla** | **3hr H-H.walk H-eat=3hr tortilla** |

(c) *Mě nzyë` ndà yë`th.*
**3hr H-H.caminar H-comer tortilla**
**3hr H-H.walk H-eat tortilla**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (d) **Nzyë` ndà-m´ yë`th* | (e) **Nzyë`-m´ ndà yë`th* | (f) **Mě nzyë`-m´ ndà yë`th* |

(g) **Nzyë`-m´ mě ndà yë`th*

The only other case of a correferent noun being omitted involves an inclusory construction in CLZ which is similar but not identical to one identified by Black (1994) for QZ. In this construction a possessed noun phrase follows a number and the possessed noun is understood as numbering the value of the quantifier minus the value of the possessor, such that saying ‘three sons of John’ means ‘John and his two sons.’ One difference between the two languages is that in CLZ the quantifier phrase is not in apposition to a preceding subject pronoun but is itself the subject. The inclusory construction is reminiscent of the reflexive of possession because a possessor is a single overt noun which is taken to also indicate that nouns existence earlier in the construction. The possessor is at once both the possessor and one of the arguments of the quantifier phrase. I include several examples of this last type since they are likely to be of interest for other reasons as well.

(6.115) *Ngwdà të´ chë*$^7$*l ár má.*
**C-comer todos esposa 3hf 3a**
**C-eat all spouse 3hf 3a**
Lo comió él y su mujer (e hijos).
He ate it with his wife and family.

(6.116) *Mbìth të´ tzâ-m´ má.*
**C-matar todos hermano=3hr 3a**
**C-kill all brother=3hr 3a**
Él y sus hermanos mataron el animal.
He and all his brothers killed it.

(6.117) *Nzhâ të´ bë l me.*
**X-irse todos hermana 3hr**
**X-go.away all sister 3hr**
Se fue ella con todas sus hermanas.
She left with all her sisters.

(6.118) *Ngwâ të´ xìn me lèy.*
**C-ir todos hijo 3hr rosario**
**C-go all offspring 3hr rosary**
Fue ella con todo y sus hijos al rosario.
She with all her children to (say the) rosary.

(6.119) *Mbi*$^7$*d top xdo*$^7$*-m´ ti*$^7$*n.*
**C-venir dos POS-amante=3hr trabajo**
**C-come two POS-lover=3hr job**
Vino él y su querida al trabajo.
He and his lover came to work.

(6.120) *Mbi$^7$d nà-m´ top xdo$^7$-m´ ndô ti$^7$n.*
**C-venir con/también=3hr dos POS-amante=3hr cara trabajo**
**C-come with/also=3hr two POS-lover=3hr face job**
Trajo él a dos sus queridas en el trabajo.
His two lovers came to work with him.

(6.121) *Mbi$^7$d top xìn me ti$^7$n.*
**C-venir dos hijo 3hr trabajo**
**C-come two offspring 3hr job**
Él vino con su hijo a trabajar.
He and his son came to work.

(6.122) *Mbi$^7$d chon xìn me ti$^7$n.*
**C-venir tres hijo 3hr trabajo**
**C-come three offspring 3hr job**
Él y sus dos hijos vinieron a trabajar.
He and his two sons came to work.

# 7. CLZ and Spanish in contact

In this chapter I describe what little we know about CLZ from colonial times. I discuss information gleaned from the *relaciones*, both about linguistic features seen in Zapotec words cited and also about language vitality. I then compare this information with modern statistics about the decline of CLZ, mostly taken from the Mexican censi. One particular facet of language and culture for which we have some (but not copious) early evidence is naming practices. I discuss earlier and modern naming practices in a separate subsection below, 7.3. I conclude the chapter with a look at some ways in which the local variety of Spanish has been influenced by Zapotec.

## 7.1 Language in colonial Southern Zapotec sources

From *relaciones* and from documents found in the archives of SZ towns, a confusing picture emerges, where the lines between CZ and SZ are blurred. Zapotec words reported from this region in colonial times resemble CVZ more than modern SZ languages, leaving a doubt as to whether the words being reported were really SZ or whether so many of the historical changes which characterize SZ languages had not yet taken place in the sixteenth century.

Espíndola (1580) only establishes that the SZ towns speak *çapoteca*, and suggests that this is the same as the language of Antequera (the city of Oaxaca).  Gutiérrez's 1609 *relación* is more uniform because it is following a format set out in a questionnaire issued under Felipe III and distributed by the Count de Lemus y de Andrade. Gutiérrez notes that in, for example, Miahuatlán, the Indians write (alphabetically) in Zapotec and Nahuatl (but presumably not Spanish). Gutiérrez differentiates the Zapotec spoken in the South from that of the Valley (though he does not make it clear which one the SZ's write in), and also mentions that some Southern Zapotecs speak Nahuatl, as in this excerpt from his *relación* of Miahuatlán:

> Su lengua es la çapoteca corrupta, a diferncia de la que se habla en los Valles de Guaxaca, que es muy pulida: algunos hablan la mejicana, avnque mal, y otros la castellana.
>
> Their language is Corrupt Zapotec, as differentiated from that spoken in the Valleys of Oaxaca, which is very polished. Some speak Nahuatl, although poorly, and others speak Spanish. (my translation)

Curiously, Gutiérrez suggests that in Amatlán they speak Valley Zapotec, rather than Southern Zapotec: "Hablan la lengua çapoteca pulida, que es la del Valle de Guaxaca." What could this mean? It could be an assumption, based on Amatlán's northern location within the SZ region, or perhaps the result of a miscommunication with someone who was deemed an authority. It could be that this statement is made based on the administrative use of Valley Zapotec, or perhpas it was known that these northern Southern Zapotecs traded with groups in the Valley and one or the other side once told Gutiérrez that they could communicate with each other in Zapotec. An intriguing possibility is the idea that such a statement could have been made on linguistic grounds. Perhaps early seventeenth century Amatec had some phonological similarity to a Valley Zapotec variety known to Gutiérrez. There has been significant loss and reduction of non-tonic vowels in both Valley Zapotec and Southern Zapotec languages today, but as evidenced by Córdova's (1578) dictionary and grammar, Valley Zapotec was still polysyllabic in the sixteenth century. Perhaps the loss of non-tonic vowels began in the South and by 1609 had affected many Southern Zapotec languages (the "corrupt" ones) but not yet Amatec or Valley Zapotec. However, this is only speculation.

Espíndola (1580) refers to Coatlán, Ozolotepec and Miahuatlán as speaking the same language and having the same customs. However, it is not necessarily the case that he is excluding Amatlán on linguistic grounds. Rather, he makes this statement in referring to the war that took place during which Miahuatecs fled North to the Valley until hostilities subsided. There is no mention of Amatlán being involved in this war and so it may only be for that reason that it is not included.

There are a number of Zapotec terms that appear in the late sixteenth century (Espíndola, 1580) and early seventeenth century (Gutiérrez, 1609) *relaciones*. None of these look much like they come from any of the SZ languages spoken today. There is not one monosyllable among ca. thirty terms that appear. It is hard to tell whether this is evidence of the non-tonic vowel loss not having happened yet or whether the forms cited are not in fact in the local Zapotec languages but rather in Valley Zapotec. If the latter, this could either be evidence of the use of a Valley Zapotec language in the SZ region for certain purposes, including communicating with outsiders like the *relación* writers or their associates, or it could be that Espíndola and Gutiérrez actually collected some of the information presented from Valley Zapotec speakers rather than SZ speakers. For example, a Spaniard residing in Oaxaca might have asked a local Zapotec about the name for a SZ town, prior to or after making a trip there himself. Again, this is pure speculation and other explanations are just as likely.

The voicing of lenis obstruents was already starting during Córdova's time but was not yet complete. For example, Córdova (1578) often cites voiced and voiceless variants of the same word, e.g. 'maíz' *xòoba*, *xòopa* and 'noche' *quèela*, *guèela*. In the SZ *relaciones* there are some words with only voiceless consonants. These may be words with lenis consonants which have not yet voiced or they may be words which simply have only fortis consonants. These are given in Figure 52, with toponyms first followed by personal names followed by other terms.

**Figure 52: Words with only voiceless obstruents in Espíndola (1580) and Gutiérrez (1609)**

| **Zapotec** | ***Relación*** | **Gloss given** | **Comments** |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Quetila* | Amatlán, 1580 | 'papel blanco' (white paper) | The gloss given describes the Nahuatl toponym, not the Zapotec one |
| *Quechetao* | Miahuatlán, 1580 | 'flor de mayz' (maize flower) | The gloss given describes the Nahuatl toponym, not the Zapotec one |
| *Lachixi* | Ozolotepec, 1609 | 'Valle de Otatis' (Valley of Bamboo, the site of Ozolotepec) | *Lachi* does mean 'valley' in CVZ. Similar toponyms are given in Brandomin (1992): *Lachixío* in Sola is said to mean either 'bruise given by or home of *brujos*' or 'plain of *chamizo* (type of plant).' *Lachixía* in Yautepec supposedly means 'plain of cotton' though it seems like this gloss goes |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | better with *Lachixila*, whereas this one lacks the lateral of that morpheme. |
| *Quiatila* | Amatlán, 1609 | ‘Tierra de peleas o disension’ | *Quela***tìlla** means ‘battle’ in CVZ |
| *Colaça* | Amatlán, 1580 | ‘cosa lexos’ (far thing), a cacique of Amatlan | The *cola* morpheme resembles the modern SZ morpheme *gǒl* ‘elder’ and the CVZ antecedent *peni***còlà** ‘anciano hõbre de edad.’ The final syllable could be the ‘Zapotec’ morpheme or the 1e pronoun as in CLZ *sâ*, for a possible ‘our elder’ or ‘Zapotec elder’ |
| *Cosiosolachi* | Miahuatlán, 1580 | | The morpheme *cosio* surely means ‘Lightning.’ |
| *Cozichacozee* | Ozolotepec, 1580 | ‘Dios de las guerras’ (God of War), described as a lesser god who was a go-between (*abogado*) for Bezelao | |
| *Petela* | Ozolotepec, 1580 | ‘perro’ | *pe-* is the animacy prefix which occurs on animals, but *tela* is not the morpheme for ‘dog,’ unless it is a more archaic one |
| *Pitio* | Miahuatlán, 1609 | Rebel leader. “their father (leader?) was the devil with five horns” (my translation) | *pi-* is probably this same animacy prefix |
| *cuyapi* | Coatlán, 1580 | In Nahuatl ‘amacamotli’, in Spanish ‘rayz blanca’ (white root) | Of the Nahuatl gloss given del Paso y Troncoso (1905) notes that it means ‘raiz de papel’ (paper root) but says that in Aztec glyphs paper, salt, and heron have a representational relationship with the color white. The *yapi* morpheme resembles the CLZ *yâp* ‘chayote’ but that is not a root. |
| *coci* | Amatlán, 1609 | ‘sobra’ (left-overs) or ‘añidura’ (additional, extra) | Calendrical period of three extra days after a period of 100 days during which they fasted and believed to be given three more days of life, according to Gutiérrez. Cognate with the CVZ form spelled *cocii* by Córdova. |

There are also several Zapotec terms which surface in the *relaciones* with voiced consonants. These are shown in Figure 53, with the same organization and order as in Figure 52.

**Figure 53: Words with voiced lenis obstruents in Espíndola (1580) and Gutiérrez (1609)**

| **Zapotec** | ***Relación*** | **Gloss given** | **Comments** |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Quiegoqui* | Coatlán, 1580 | ‘sierra de culebras’ (mountain range of snakes) | More likely ‘rock of the lords’ (see 1.2). The gloss given correctly refers to the Nahuatl name, though. |
| *Quiebeche* | Ozolotepec, 1580 | ‘tierra espantoza’ (frightening land) | Not quite. The first morepheme is like that in *quiegoqui* above and probably means rock, or possibly ‘hill’. The second morpheme, *beche,* is cognate with CLZ *mbi*$^{-7}$*zh* ‘puma’ and could possibly also refer to other large cats. |
| *Quiauechi* | Ozolotepec, 1609 | ‘monte de tigres’ | 29 years later and a different writer, There are some minor phonetic or spelling changes and a more specific gloss. |
| *Guecheto* | Miahuatlán, 1609 | ‘cordel de mahueí’ (rope made of maguey fiber) | The gloss given is an interesting mistake based on syntactic (and possibly tonal) confusion, and homophony. In CLZ ‘Miahuatlán’ is *Yêzhdo*$^{7}$, which means ‘big or holy town.’ (Maguey) fiber or ‘ixtle’ *yèzh* has a different tone than ‘town’ *yêzh*. However in SAMZ, a Miahuatec language, the two words are homophonous. The CLZ bound morpheme *-do*$^{7}$ meaning ‘big or holy’ is homophonous with the free morpheme *do*$^{7}$ ‘rope.’ However, in SAMZ these two morphemes are tonally different (dó$^{7}$o ‘rope’ vs. Yìsdò$^{7}$o ‘Miahuatlán’). If this toponym had the meaning reported by Gutiérrez the order would also be reversed, as in CLZ *do*$^{7}$ *yèzh* ‘maguey fiber rope.’ |
| *Huihuogui* | Coatlán, 1609 | ‘rio de los Señores’ (river of the lords) | See 1.2. Zapotec name probably mistranscribed, but gloss is more accurate. However, the toponym probably refers to a rock rather than a river. There is a prominent river in SPabC which have been more salient to Gutiérrez than the actual meaning of the toponym. |
| *Gueguegogi* | Amatlán, 1609 | ‘rio de cañas’ (cane river), known as Coquitlan | Note the similarity between the *coqui* of the Nahuatl name and the *goqui* of the name of San Pablo Coatlán, and the *gogi* of this Zapotec word. The Spanish gloss does not look accurate for the Zapotec form given. |
| *Gozio* | Miahuatlán, 1580 | ‘Dios del agua’ (god of water) | In CVS *Cocijo* [kosiyo], in CLZ *ngwzi*$^{7}$. Lightning personified. See Appendix B2. |
| *Benelaba* | Coatlán, 1580 | ‘siete consejos’ (seven pieces of | *bene* probably means ‘human,’ not ‘7’ (see discussion of *meneyadela* below). |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | advice, but *consejos* is only 1 letter off from *conejos* ‘rabbits’) | Whitecotton (1977) suggests that the name could be *Pilalapa Caache* ‘7 Rabbit.’ |
| *Jonaji Belachina* | Coatlán, 1580 | ‘tres benados’ (three deer) | Whitecotton (1977) equates with *Xonaxi Peochina Coyo.* |
| *Bezelao* or *Besalao* | Ozolotepec, 1580 | ‘el demonio’ (the devil), Petela was one of many intercessors with Bezelao, who could ease illnesses. A universal god who protected them in war and helped in planting. | Whitecotton (1977) writes that the Ozolotepec patron god Cozichacozee was associated with the sun god Copichja who was “a refraction of Pitao Cozanna ‘the begetter’” who was associated with Pezalao. |
| Pichina Vedella | Ozolotepec, 1609 | Founder of Miahuatlán, father of founder of Ozolotepec | Note second part of name’s similarity to *Petela*. First name is similar to ‘deer’. |
| Cosichaguela | Amatlán, 1609 | ‘el que pelea de noche’ (he who fights at night) | Córdova gives *guèela* and *guèela* as variants of ‘noche’ (night). |
| *yagualachi* | Amatlán, 1609 | In Nahuatl ‘elgua’. “El hombre que se pone devajo del, se incha todo, y la leche del causa el mesmo efecto” (it causes swelling) | The Zapotec should probably be *yagalachi* without the *u*. del Paso y Troncoso suggest the Nahuatl gloss is actually *guao* from the language of the Antilles. The description given sounds to LDP like the tree known in CLZ as *yà lâch* ‘palo de tatil’ (though another, ‘palo de sandijuela’ is homophonous in Zapotec). Today *cholos* (juvenile delinquents) in SBL use this tree’s sap to perform temporary scarification, drawing initials, stars, a scorpion, or representations of Cuitlahuac on their skin, which last about six months. |
| *bigaña* | Miahuatlán, Ozolotepec, 1580 | priest in charge of performing sacrifices | The *bi* resembles the Zapotec animacy prefix. |
| *pietl* | Miahuatlán, 1580 | ‘beleño’ | Here the “Spanish” gloss given resembles a Zapotec word phonologically (though perhaps it isn’t) and the “Zapotec” word appears to be Nahuatl |
| *golave, golaue* | Miahuatlán, Ozolotepec, 1609 | ‘mandones’ (Those designated to collect the tribute in each neighborhood, and then hand it over to the cacique who | There is a similarly named *cargo* (civic duty) in SBL today. In Spanish it is called *ulabo* and in CLZ *ngwlàb*. However, this person does not collect money but rather has to provide the pig to be eaten at the feast the day before Easter, during which |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | pays the Spaniards directly) | the cargos for the following year are named. |
| *govates* | Miahuatlán, 1609 | In Nahuatl *tlapisques*, described as mine workers (or perhaps this detail is incidental). | The *go* resembles a Zapotec animacy prefix. As to the meaning of the Nahuatl gloss, Santamaría (1992) describes *tlapisqueras* as sheds where tools and seeds are kept. Kartunnen (1983) gives the entry *tlapixcal-li* ‘something harvested.’ Perhaps ‘peasant’ would be a good gloss here. |
| *agi* | Amatlán, 1609 | “Para el fluxo de sangre tienen vn gusano que exprimido hacen del vna vncion” (this is a worm who is squeezed to make an ointment to treat heavy bleeding) | The V-initial shape of this word is not at all typical of Zapotec |
| *beneguia* | Amatlán, 1609 | “para las calenturas vsan de vna rraiz pequeña” (to treat fevers they use this small root) | It may be that *be-* is the prefix here but it is also possible that *bene* ‘person’ is a classifier used here with the name of the plant. In CLZ a few plants which have special properties (hallucinogenic, curative, or venomous) are referred to with the human or higher animacy classifier which is related to the word that in other varieties of Zapotec is *bene* and in CLZ *měn*. |
| *yagagacho* | Amatlán, 1609 | ‘arbol de siete ojas’ (tree of seven leaves), “para las hinchaçones vsan de leche de vn arbol... la qual ponen en la inflamacion, y aprouecha mucho” (to treat inflammation they use the sap from this tree, which is put on the inflammation and helps greatly) | *yaga* is ‘tree’ in other and older Zapotec languages, cf. CLZ *yà* and SAMZ *yàg*. *Gacho* though does not look like it means ‘(7) leaves’. ‘leaf’ is *là* in CLZ, *làg* in SAMZ, and ‘7’ is *gâd* in CLZ, *gǎs* in SAMZ. |

There is a single word, which only appears in Gutiérrez’s 1609 *relación*, which has a phonological feature that suggests a specifically Southern Zapotec origin. This is the name *Meneyadela*, the name of the purported founder of Coatlán. Outside of the SZ branch of Zapotec the ‘person’ noun is *b*-initial as in Cajonos Zapotec *bene* (Castellanos, 2003) but in SZ languages it is *m*-initial *mĕn*. Though other branches of Zapotec have a (rare) *m*-initial ‘animal’ word they have a *b*-initial person word. The form in the name *Meneyadela* (whether this was his contemporary name or just how he was remembered in 1609), looks to be the full noun *mene*, possibly used as a preposed classifier, and demonstrates that the nasalization of *bene* → *mene* (perhaps based on an analogy to *mani* ‘animal’) existed at least as early as the early seventeenth century and seems to have preceded post-tonic vowel deletion. The majority of Zapotec terms reported in the early *relaciones* resemble Colonial Valley Zapotec more than any modern SZ language, but the *m* in this word is solitary evidence that an SZ term is being reported.

There is one possible example of a calque that appears in relaciones for Coatlán. To express a large, uncountable number the expression *quantos pelos podia tener un venado* ‘as many hairs as a deer could have’ is used more than once in the *relaciones* of Coatlán (del Paso y Troncoso, 1905, Anonymous, 1609?). One time this expression is exaggerated even more by saying mentioning *three* deers. Del Paso y Troncoso considers this an expression peculiar to the Zapotecs of Coatlán and thus it may be a calque. I have not encountered this expression in the region myself.

There are two other documents which I have been able to examine, both coming from the archives of the Coatlanes. The first is the *lienzo de San Jerónimo Coatlán*, a colonial era painted cloth with pictographic or iconographic material accompanied by Zapotec captions written alphabetically. Another *lienzo*, the *lienzo de Coatlán*, is mentioned in the *relaciones* as a pre-Columbian document which documented the arrival of Meneyadela’s party in the Coatlanes. Its whereabouts are unknown. The SJC lienzo was photographed by Cecil Welte in a fieldtrip to SJC in 1966. The photographs and notes taken by Welte are housed and the Institute he founded, the *Instituto Welte de Estudios Oaxaqueños* in the city of Oaxaca. Copies of the three photos are included, by permission of the Institute, in Appendix C as well as in digital form on the CD provided. Welte did not make a paleographic transcription of the words found on the lienzo but several are visible in the fotos. One word that appears is _latigohui_ or _latigobii_. This could possibly contain the morpheme for ‘llano, valle; plain, valley’ which appears as _lachi_ in place names in the _relaciones_ and is reconstructed as *$la^{7}ttyi^{7}$ by Kaufman (2003). In CLZ *_tty_ did not become an affricate as it did in most other Zapotec languages. Instead this word is _làt_ in modern CLZ. Although I have little context to go on to make the argument that _lati_ is ‘valley,’ this is a morpheme which is common in place names and likely to occur in a document where physical boundaries are shown, like this one in which bodies of water, mountains, and the valleys between them are shown. If my guess is right this would also tells us something about the chronology of sound changes we know have taken place in CLZ. For example, the change *_tty_>_t_ would predate post-tonic vowel loss. Another morpheme which can be read clearly is _tapa_, which may correspond to the number ‘four.’ Welte (1966) notes that the lienzo was folded and creased into four quadrants with each quadrant then divided into four smaller quadrants. Visible but not legible in one of the fotos are words that appear to be names of mountains above which the names are written along one of the borders of the lienzo. A comparison of these terms with modern CLZ toponyms would be very interesting and hopefully can be carried out at some future time.

The other colonial document (López, 1618) is one which purportedly comes from the archives of San Miguel Coatlán, although I have not verified this. I can parse a few words in this document,[1] which basically seems to be written in CVZ. Recognizeable words, include _chebichina_ ‘deer(?),’ _coquii_ ‘lord,’ _cocio_ ‘lightning’ (a local SMigC placename known today is _Yè tě Ngwzi_$^{7}$ ‘Cerro Rayo; Lightning Hill’), _cetobi_ ‘other,’ _tobi_ ‘one,’ _tapa_ ‘four,’ and _laa_ ‘name.’ A ruler is named _Cocio (Laaguelani)_, who had four sons: _pi lanaa calanaa_, _hubi izii_, _huini yagui loo_, and _tisi ya dela_. This last one’s name is reminiscent of the name of the founder of Coatlán, _Meneyadela_. There are four named _barrios_ or neighborhoods: _guenido, te la hueguia_, _beladoo,_ and *guelooticha*. The form *bene*, which I assume to be the ‘person’ morpheme, occurs six times, both by itself and as a preposed morpheme with no space following it, perhaps when it is used as a classifier. The form *mene*, which I have already highlighted as an especially Southern Zapotec form of the same morpheme, occurs one time. I hypothesize that the author or scribe, Bartolomé López, was himself a speaker of a Southern Zapotec language in which the form is *men(e)* and that he wrote this document in CVZ but this one time made a slip and accidentally wrote the SZ form *mene*, or perhaps even code-mixed giving a combined form *mene* based on *men* (if post-tonic vowel deletion had occured, for which there is no evidence) and *bene*.

Thus we get a linguistic snapshot of this part of the SZ region from the *relaciones.* Nahuatl was known and used to some extent in the region but was not the native language of the people of these four kingdoms, Miahuatlán, Ozolotepec, Amatlán, and Coatlán, which to some extent functioned like independent city-states but also had such connections as to constitute a Southern Zapotec republic or confederation. The distinctive features of modern Southern Zapotec were emerging but not yet complete. There may have already been nasalization of some words which are not nasal in non-SZ languages, but vowel deletion was not yet complete (or perhaps not even under way). Amatec may have had some differences from the other three main languages mentioned here, which made its language more similar to Valley Zapotec. Another variety or more, most similar to the CVZ documented by Córdova (1578), was also used for some purposes and it may be from such a variety that many of the terms in the *relaciones* come from, including some Zapotec toponyms which have become standard and are found today still on maps of the region. Nevertheless, the colonial information about SZ languages is scarce, not completely clear, and raises more questions about the history of these languages and this region.

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[1] What little understanding I do have of this document is thanks to Thom Smith Stark, an expert on CVZ who looked at it in 1997. However, the interpretations given above, which no doubt include numerous

## 7.2 Modern sociolinguistic information on CLZ

Today CLZ is a moribund language. Its decline was already underway in the nineteenth century according to census data cited by Rojas (1950). This process was greatly hastened during the last half of the twentieth century. I expect that this language will be dead in another 100 years or less. Today there are a handful of children who speak the language, so CLZ will survive at least for their lifetimes. Programs run by the government which offer scholarships to students who speak Zapotec are actually creating more demand for the language and so it is yet possible that this situation may turn around and that CLZ may outlast my prediction.

In 1.2 I uncovered the true identity of CLZ as the ‘language of the lords.’ Because of its political importance, the Spanish presence was heavier in San Pablo Coatlán, the ‘hilltop town of the lords,’ than in other CLZ-speaking towns. One of the eventual repercussions was that *Yêzh Yè Ke7* ceased to speak its namesake language much earlier than other *di$^7$zh ke$^7$*-speaking towns. Ironically San Pablo Coatlán is today known to Zapotec speakers as a town of Spanish speakers. Indeed, for some the idea of people from this town speaking Zapotec sounds bizarre. However, people I have met from this town, though they know nothing of the CLZ language, do share some of the body of folklore known to CLZ speakers.

In SBL there has been some stigma assigned to Zapotec during the last half century. LDP tells stories of teachers who hit children for speaking Zapotec in the 1960’s when he was in first grade. Even today there are some in SBL that look down on Zapotec as old-fashioned, and don’t want to promote it. However, these seem to be in the minority. Some people don’t care one way or another. Others want to preserve the language, even if they don’t speak it themselves. When one parent did raise an objection recently to children learning Zapotec in school, he was vehemently opposed by all the parents present at the meeting, most of whom were monolingual Spanish speakers themselves. What seems to have happened in SBL, is not so much that people have consciously chosen to abandon Zapotec, but rather that they made a positive decision to promote

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mistakes and misparsings, are all my own and should not reflect on him.

Spanish learning among children and the way this decision was implemented had the unintentional effect of discouraging Zapotec use. It is only today with Zapotec endangerment that there is now a need to promote CLZ in the schools the way Spanish was once promoted (but without the beatings).

During the last 50 years CLZ’s status has changed in SBL. Earlier in the twentieth century everyone there spoke it and there were only a few men who could communicate in Spanish. Following the zealous efforts of schoolteachers to encourage Spanish over Zapotec in the mid-twentieth century, there was a rapid language shift that took place in many, but not all, SBL families in which parents who could barely speak Spanish ending up raising monolingual Spanish-speaking kids. For my main consultant, the covert prestige that CLZ had among a group of SBL teenagers who went to work in Mexico City during the 1960’s ended up doing more for his Zapotec fluency than staying in SBL did for his monolingual Spanish-speaking brother. While both boys had a passive knowledge of CLZ neither really spoke it very well until LDP left for Mexico City with some CLZ-speaking friends of the same age when they were in their early teens. During his time working in the capital, LDP honed his CLZ skills hanging out with his friends while his brother, at home and surrounded by a community of older fluent CLZ speakers, never became a fluent Zapotec speaker. Today very few children have as much access to CLZ in the home as even LDP and his brother did growing up. There are efforts being made to use CLZ in the primary schools, though one imagines that nothing the school can do will create the kind of covert prestige that was so helpful in LDP’s development as a fluent Zapotec speaker.

The decline of CLZ in SBL over the last fifty years is even more dramatic in other CLZ-speaking towns. In Santa María Coatlán between 1960 and 1980 the percentage of townspeople who spoke Zapotec dropped from 92% to 27% (Nahmad et al, 1994, cited by Barabas, 1999), in twenty short years! Much of the trend began in the 1930’s with the Cárdenas administration (Barabas, 1999 and Kaufman, 2004) during which time well-meaning, progressive programs were started to teach Spanish to the nation’s Indigenous population to better enable them to participate in national affairs. Even kind teachers, not just the ones with the belts, were discouraging parents from teaching their children Indigenous languages. This was the beginning of a modern decline for many indigenous languages of Mexico.

Information on the health of Indigenous languages can be found in the Mexican census, the 2000 results of which are now available (INEGI, 2002). Unlike the US Census, there are not long and short versions of the Mexican census. All households are asked about language use. In rural areas locals are hired to do a house by house survey. While in the US Census results of Indigenous languages are often skewed because only 10% of households are asked about language use, in Mexico most inaccuracies come from misreporting by respondents. People may over- or under-estimate their ability to speak a language like Zapotec, or may jokingly respond that they speak some other language that they in fact do not. Reviewing the 2000 census results for SBL, LDP thinks that there is some over-reporting, with semi-speakers and non-speakers being counted. More shocking to him though are reports of small numbers of people speaking foreign languages like Chinantec and Mazatec in his town. He affirms that there are none and that these data may be the result of pranks played on or by the census takers. Other than a practical joke, it is possible that there are a few CLZ speakers who don’t know that the language they speak is called *zapoteco* by the outside world. LDP himself says that he only knew the language in Spanish as *idioma* ‘language’ until he began working with me. Indeed, when we had first started working together he once asked me if it was Mixtec or Zapotec that they spoke in his town. Today though, almost a decade later, he says most people in the town do know that it is Zapotec because teachers who have been educated outside the town have made this clear, as have programs designed to promote Zapotec use.

The census results that are readily available list numbers of speakers by *municipio* but not by smaller settlement. No one in the town of San Pablo Coatlán speaks Zapotec but since SMaC lies in the *municipio* of SPabC there are speakers listed for this municipality. Figure 54 shows the number of speakers in each of the *municipios* with CLZ speakers. The numbers I show here are the sum of the total number of respondents who claimed to speak “Zapotec” or “Southern Zapotec” but not those who answered “Valley Zapotec” since they may be outsiders such as schoolteachers. As I have arranged the table from lowest to highest speaker count, it becomes clear that the farther South one goes away from Miahuatlán the more speakers there are. All CLZ dialects are declining because of the Hispanification efforts of the twentieth century.

**Figure 54: CLZ speaker counts from the 2000 census by *municipio***

| | |
|---|---|
| **San Sebastián Coatlán** | **32** |
| **San Pablo Coatlán (includes SMaC)** | **44** |
| **San Jerónimo Coatlán** | **56** |
| **San Miguel Coatlán** | **330** |
| **Santa Catarina Loxicha** | **456** |
| **San Baltazar Loxicha** | **670** |

Of the speakers counted above, there were very few monolingual Zapotec speakers: two in SBL (with one person in his/her twenties!), three in SCL. This is not the case with all SZ languages. In the district of Miahuatlán there were a total of 3932 people who reportedly are monolingual speakers of *zapoteco* or *zapoteco sureño*. The speaker counts given in Figure 54 can be further broken down by age, as I show in Figure 55. Here I also include the total population for each age group: total speakers/total population. The first line gives the total for all people 5 years of age and older.

**Figure 55: 2000 Indigenous language speaker counts in CLZ towns according to age**

| | **SSC** | **SPabC** | **SJC** | **SMigC** | **SCL** | **SBL** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Total** | 36/2047 | 52/3451 | 72/4355 | 395/2593 | 487/3740 | 670/2474 |
| **5-9 years** | 2/308 | 2/628 | 1/853 | 9/525 | 5/786 | 11/423 |
| **10-14** | 1/342 | 2/551 | 3/769 | 13/463 | 13/707 | 19/420 |
| **15-19** | 1/283 | 1/420 | 2/552 | 16/347 | 6/392 | 26/334 |
| **20-24** | 0/213 | 0/298 | 0/437 | 11/228 | 14/285 | 36/237 |
| **25-29** | 3/125 | 1/242 | 1/350 | 22/181 | 10/217 | 33/159 |
| **30-34** | 0/98 | 4/223 | 4/279 | 17/128 | 23/263 | 61/164 |
| **35-39** | 0/136 | 3/193 | 1/246 | 20/134 | 29/214 | 68/151 |
| **40-44** | 1/119 | 1/165 | 5/197 | 40/124 | 46/210 | 70/120 |
| **45-49** | 2/85 | 0/160 | 4/152 | 57/125 | 53/192 | 101/137 |
| **50+** | 26/338 | 38/571 | 51/520 | 190/338 | 288/474 | 245/329 |

The numbers given in Figure 55 are slightly inflated since the speaker counts are for all people who speak an indigenous language, even if not CLZ, however there are very few people in these towns who speak other indigenous languages so the difference is small.

Decline is evident as one compares the different age groups. For example, looking at the numbers for SCL we see that roughly 3/5 of the people 50 and over, 1/3 of the people in their late forties, 25% of those in their early forties, 1/6 of the people in their late thirties, less than 10% of those in their early thirties, 5% of those in their twenties, and only 2% of teenagers speak CLZ.

The social programs issued in the 1930's have reduced the amount of indigenous language monolingualism in Oaxaca. Unfortunately they have also reduced the percentage of people in the state that speak indigenous languages at all. However, statewide the total number of people who speak indigenous languages is climbing due to population growth. There is population growth also in the CLZ area, partly due to lower infant mortality and increased access to health care, but the number of speakers in the CLZ area is falling, as indicated above. Compare the moribundity of CLZ with the statewide statistics in Figure 56. Here I give the percentage of monolinguals out of the total population of indigenous language speakers, the percentage of the state population who speak an indigenous language, and the total number of speakers.

**Figure 56: Speakers of Indigenous languages in Oaxaca 1930-2000 (INEGI, 2004)**

| Year | Monolingualism | Percentage speakers | Number of speakers |
|---|---|---|---|
| **1895** | | 53% | |
| **1900** | | 52.3% | |
| **1910** | | 48.8% | |
| **1930** | 60.8% | 56.3% | 500,000 |
| **1940** | 57.9% | 54.8% | 600,000 |
| **1950** | 36.4% | 48.3% | 600,000 |
| **1960** | 43.5% | 46.8% | 700,000 |
| **1970** | 30.5% | 40.1% | 700,000 |
| **1980** | 25.3% | 44% | 900,000 |
| **1990** | 18.9% | 39.1% | 1,000,000 |
| **2000** | 19.6% | 37.1% | 1,100,000 |

Despite the dismal numbers reported for CLZ among school age children, there is a small glimmer of hope which shows that a turnaround is possible (if not necessarily likely) and within the power of the community of CLZ-speaking parents. This potential is even stronger if we would consider as well all the CLZ-speaking paternal grandparents who reside with these children and help to raise them. Figure 57 shows the number of children less than five years old whose parents speak CLZ (“Zapotec” or “Southern Zapotec”). No children in this age group had monolingual CLZ-speaking parents.

**Figure 14: Children 5 and under with CLZ-speaking parents in 2000**

| | |
|---|---|
| **San Sebastián Coatlán** | **8** |
| **San Pablo Coatlán (includes SMaC)** | **8** |
| **San Jerónimo Coatlán** | **30** |
| **San Miguel Coatlán** | **145** |
| **Santa Catarina Loxicha** | **170** |
| **San Baltazar Loxicha** | **172** |

### 7.3 Naming practices

Modern naming practices in the CLZ-speaking area are mostly Spanish but continue a pre-Columbian tradition of calendrical naming. Most Spanish names are also borrowed into Zapotec, but one more authentically Zapotec way of referring to someone is with a teasing nickname which combines the Spanish loan-name with a Zapotec descriptive term.

It is well known that the ancient Zapotecs had calendrical (and other) names. These calendrical names consisted of a number between 1 and 13 combined with one of twenty named days. A person born on the day 13 Owl would be named 13 Owl (like one ruler of Monte Albán). Some possible calendrical names are given for SZ people in the colonial *relaciones* as mentioned above in 7.1, e.g. *Xonaxi Belachina* which is translated as ‘3 Deer.’ Shamans in SAL were still using a Mesoamerican calendar which appeared to be Nahua-influenced in the twentieth century

(Weitlaner et al., 1994). To my knowledge no such calendar is in use in SBL but there are interesting beliefs about *tonos* or totems, animal spirits, which are related to the Mesoamerican 260-day calendar and from which the pre-Columbian Zapotecs took their names.

People in SBL believe that people are born with an animal spirit, also called a *tono* or *tonante*, or *tonal*, based on the Nahuatl word *tonalli* ‘sun’ or ‘day’ (Kartunnen, 1983) suggesting a connection between the belief in this animal companion and the calendar. Unlike elsewhere in Mesoamerica most CLZ speakers do not know their own *tono*, although it is said that the midwife can determine a baby’s *tono* by interpreting the tracks that will appear in ashes placed under a mat that the mother squats over when giving birth. While most people don’t know their own *tono*, in SBL people make assumptions about what other people’s *tonos* are based on events that happen where someone is perceived to be bent out of shape, jealous of, or angry and someone and then some animal or supernatural force damages the person’s property or otherwise tries to cause them harm. This is how people deduce that the irritated person has a particular animal spirit that will try to avenge any perceived wrong-doing against the person. For example, a snake that appears in someone’s path after an argument is believed to be spiritually sent by the other person. If the wind blows down a patch of corn stalks that had been growing nicely it is assumed that the wind is the *tono* of the farmer on the next patch over, who had been jealous. Though many animals and supernatural forces can cause people harm, not all are considered potential *tonos*. There seem to be a fairly fixed set of around 17 or 18 entities that can be *tonos*, a number not far off from the number of named days in the 260-day Mesoamerican calendar. In CLZ there are still sayings that people know like “he who is born on the day the first snake was born on has the *tono* of snake” and “he who is born on the day of Lightning has the *tono* of Lightning.” Presumably in earlier times a person’s *tono* would have been obvious by their name, since people were named after the day they were born on.

Today in CLZ-speaking towns people officially have only Spanish names. However, there are CLZ equivalents for these names, and even more interestingly, the Spanish names have also been used calendrically, until recently.

National legislation during the 1990’s ensured indigenous people the right to chose their children’s names themselves, including giving their children names in indigenous languages. In the CLZ area, to my knowledge, no one officially has a CLZ name, or any other Zapotec name. However a change is taking place in which families are exercising more of their right to name their own baby. Until recently, and still to some extent, the names were not chosen completely at will but were more fixed. Just as the ancient Zapotecs were named after they day they were born on, like the ruler 13 Owl, the modern Zapotecs, at least in this area, are also named for the day they were born on. As with other religious practices, the Hispanic has simply been overlaid on the Zapotec structure.

In the Roman Catholic saints’ day calendar every day has its patron saints, which in Mexico are named in Spanish. When a baby is born in SBL a relative goes to the town clerk to register the baby and get a birth certificate. They go to him and say they want to *sacar un nombre* ‘take out a name.’ The clerk asks what day the child was born on and then looks it up on the calendar. Since there are multiple saints for each day there is some choice involved, perhaps with 4-6 options, and a male saint’s name can be easily adapted to a female baby’s name, e.g *Juan* → *Juana.* Until recently this was the only given name a person would receive. Today, this practice is still active but parents may add a name of their choice to form a compound name, e.g. a boy assigned the calendrical name of *Luis* was named *Luis Miguel*, and his brother has the “legitimate name” of *Adolfo* to which was added *Ángel* for Adolfo Ángel. It is not clear to me whether today in SBL a family can completely reject the calendrical name or not, but they can add a name of their own choice. This traditional naming practice is one reason why people from indigenous communities often have names which are obscure in non-indigenous Mexican communities, names like *Tiburcio, Atanacio, Ermelinda, Hipólito*. Interestingly, as this process was described to me in

Spanish, the very phrase used and cited above, *sacar nombre*, is the same as the Zapotec compound verb ‘to baptize’ *–to*$^{7}$*lë*ˆ. Baptism was how the SZ’s originally acquired Spanish names. Today Spanish names are acquired within hours or days of birth and before baptism.

The 1609 *relacion* by Gutiérrez gives the Spanish names of the *caciques* of SZ towns. Don Fernando Cortés was the descendant of Meneyadela and was the leader of Coatlán when he met a person with a very similar name, *Hernán Cortés*. In early colonial days many people were baptized with names similar to those of the conquistadors and the encomenderos, and some of the encomenderos’ surnames are common in the SZ region to this day. Fernando Cortés had a son named Juan de Ayala, and a grandson named Angel de Billafañe who was the named ruler at the time of the 1609 *relación.* Angel de Billafañe had a son named Buenaventura de Ayala y Luna. These are all borrowed Spanish names. From this short list it appears that initially the surnames were not assigned or chosen so as to match across generations but by the fourth generation it was decided to follow the Spanish pattern more and the parents of that generation, instead of assigning their own surnames to their child(ren) assigned the names of one or more of the grandparents, since the surname *Ayala* is seen here first referring to Juan de Ayala and then not again until his great-grandson.

In CLZ today people are usually referred to by loan-names from Spanish, preceded by respect terms which are classifiers like *mě* (the 3hr pronoun, here used like ‘Mr.’ or ‘Mrs.’), *mě gǒx* (‘old person’ a respectful way to address someone as well), and *mbgǒl* (‘elder’), if the person is older or deserving of respect, or *gǎn* if the person is deceased. While each of these terms may be used without a proper name, they are also often paired with a loan-name, as in *mě gǒx Mǎx* ‘Don Tomás; Mr. Terry or Mr. Thom,’ and *Gǎn Júl* ‘la finada Julia; the late Mrs. Julia.’ The respect term *mbgǒl* ‘elder’ is possibly cognate with the name given by Espíndola (1580) for the 1528 ruler of Amatlán, *Colaça.* The *ça* morpheme seems like the ‘Zapotec’ morpheme, and so if this etymology is correct this term could have come from someone referring to the ‘old/reverred Zapotec (lord).’

There is one example of a Spanish name having a calque equivalent in CLZ. Men named *León* or *Leoncio* are often called *Mbi*$^7$*zh* in Zapotec, the term for a puma (in Spanish called *león*) or jaguar. Most Spanish names though have their Zapotec equivalents through borrowing and phonologization. Most given names have monosyllabic equivalents because the names were borrowed long enough ago to go through the complete unstressed vowel deletion, though some names have the rare disyllable like *Márǐ* ‘María.’ Some of these names also show evidence of their sixteenth century pedigree. For example, the names *Juan* and *Juana* had an initial sound like [š] in sixteenth century Spanish but [x] in modern Spanish. In some cases loanwords with this sound are updated to make the Zapotec sound more like the familiar modern Spanish. In the Coatlanes such an update has taken place with the effect of distinguishing the male and female versions of the name, which would otherwise be very similar, although in this case not identical. There the female name *Xwán* is ‘Juana’ preserves the [ṣ] sound that the name was borrowed into Zapotec with while *Jwánh* is ‘Juan,’ the male name having been updated. Perhaps this happened at a time when men had more contact with Spanish speakers than women.

In the Spanish of this region final /n/ in a stressed syllable is [ŋ] and so this is also used in the loan names to distinguish a name that has a final nasal in Spanish, like *Juan*, from a name that has a medial nasal in Spanish, like *Juana*. Phonological patterns found on names and other loanwords are discussed in 2.2.3. More examples of loan names can be found in Appendix A by skimming the list for capitalized words. A disclaimer though, in the version of the lexicon presented here, the dialect from which the word comes is not always marked, and there can be dialectical differences in these loan names.

While official names are Spanish and loan names are simply translations of those Spanish names, nicknames are more creative and authentically Zapotec. When a person is of a certain age and has earned the respect of the younger adult CLZ speakers they are not referred to by nicknames so much as by respectful terms like *Mbgǒl* described above. People of the same age set though often refer to each other with nicknames, which are sometimes affectionate and usually (or always?) teasing. I cannot reveal the actual nicknames that I have collected but I can describe their properties and translate a few into English (here I'll generically use the names *Paul* and *Mary* to protect the identity of people with these nicknames). Nicknames are compound names beginning with the Zapotec version of the person's Spanish name, followed by one or more Zapotec words which are descriptive of the person some how. Many include the names of animals which are perceived to share some quality or characteristic with the person in question. Other times another descriptive term is used. The quality described is sometimes physical, like having a nose like a certain bird (*Paul Parrot*) or walking like a certain animal (*Paul Duck*), animals which are named in the nickname. A person with a large belly might be called *Paul Pig* or *Paul Jug Belly* or *Mary Belly Skin of Air*. Nicknames are not particularly complimentary and it is usually one's worst feature which makes it into a nickname, like *Paul the Stutterer* or *Paul Face-Skin of a Fish*. Other times what is described is a habit that the person has, like biting their pencil, which reminds people of an animal that bites wood (*Paul Iguana*). *Sahorines* (diviners) may be called certain names that have to do with the items they use to tell fortunes with, *Paul Cottonseed*. Some people have names that were given so long ago that nobody remembers what the joke was or why they were called that in the first place, like *Paul Avocado*.

The name *Meneyadela* used in the colonial sources to refer to the legendary founder of Coatlán appears to have a classifier preceding it. In modern CLZ nicknames the Spanish loan names are used like classifiers, especially where common names like *Béd* 'Pedro; Peter' are used, and the following terms denote the individual more specifically. The frequent use of animal terms in CLZ nicknames is a bit reminiscent of the ancient calendrical names, which often had animal names in them since so many of the twenty named days were named after animals. Before Cortés the animal name you had, and presumably the *tonal* (totem) properties you had, were set and determined by your birth day. Today a person's *tonal* as well as his or her nickname are not recorded or made official at birth, rather, they are deduced and assigned by the people who know the person later in life. Another similarity, in SBL people don't know their own *tono*, but others can guess it, as described above. People won't find out the identity of their *tono* because it would be rude and accusatory for someone who has figured it out to inform the person since the way they figured out the person's *tono* was by connecting the person's perceived negative feelings with the negative actions of an animal or force of nature. Likewise, since they are teasing and derrogatory, some people may not know their nicknames. In both cases a person's acquaintances associate the person with the negative quality of some animal, usually behind the person's back and to the person's detriment.

### 7.4 Coatlán-Loxicha Spanish

The variety of Spanish used in the CLZ speech community has been influenced by CLZ, similarly to the way that, for example, the Irish language has influenced Hiberno English. The degree of influence of CLZ on Spanish exists on a continuum. Spanish speakers who are more upwardly mobile or who have been educated outside of CLZ-speaking towns speak closer to standard varieties of Spanish. At the opposite end of the spectrum are CLZ speakers who learned Spanish when teenagers or adults. In between these two extremes there is also much variation. It would be interesting to study the Spanish of monolingual Spanish speakers in this region to see to what extent they have inherited a CLZ-influenced variety of Spanish vs. to what extent they have acquired the variety of schoolteachers who may come from outside, or other outsiders whom they may encounter when they themselves leave their home towns to study or do business. However, I have not had very much contact with non-CLZ speakers from this region. When I have I have only had brief conversations with them and did not consider their speech to be very marked compared to standard varieties (though it should be noted that I am not a native speaker of

Spanish myself). I have met such people in Miahuatlán and in SBL and impressionalistically it seemed that people, especially women, who stay in SBL most or all of the time speak a more CLZ-influenced Spanish than those who go to live in Miahuatlán or elsewhere, or who have frequent contact with outsiders (including protestant missionaries).

The specific examples cited in this section were given by CLZ-Spanish bilinguals. Some examples were given as translations for Zapotec sentences from texts. There is always a tendency to stay closer to the translated language in these cases. However, I have noticed and recorded many of the same types of features when having a monolingual Spanish conversation with the same consultants. For example, VSO word order is the type of thing that one might expect to be an artifact of translation. Indeed speakers' Spanish translations of sentences from texts usually do mirror the Zapotec word order, VSO for most sentences but SVO for focused subjects. However, I have also noticed in conversations I've had with CLZ-speaking consultants, entirely in Spanish, that there are plenty of VSO sentences there as well, when nothing is being translated.

Considering the variation that exists among speakers of Coatlán-Loxicha Spanish, and the fact that my data come from bilingual CLZ-Spanish speakers, a word about the consultants I have worked with is in order. I have personally worked with five speakers of the SMigC and SMC varieties of CLZ. These speakers spoke what I regarded as a more heavily accented Spanish. Most were older than some of the SBL speakers I've worked with. Both of the SMaC consultants I worked with had been born in the 1930's. These people grew up during times of tremendous linguistic change. In some Southern Zapotec towns, places like Santa María Coatlán and San Agustín Mixtepec, the shift to Spanish happened very abruptly by all accounts. Speakers of a certain age were caught in the middle. They were born into Zapotec-speaking households, many of them monolingual, and acquired CLZ as their first language. Then came an abrupt wave of pressure to shift to Spanish while these speakers were still in their formative years. It seems that some CLZ-speaking children had the acquisition of their native language interrupted when parents suddenly discouraged their children from using Zapotec, yet it is unclear how much access these children had to native Spanish speakers. This situation seems to have produced a few people that some linguists might consider semilinguals, though this may be going too far. I knew at least one person from the Coatlanes who would not strike a native speaker of either language as someone who has a full command of the grammar of either Spanish or Zapotec. He could communicate fine with anybody in either language, but prescriptivists would point out that, for example, he often didn't use proper gender marking in Spanish. His Zapotec was grammatical but other CLZ speakers criticized the level of code-switching he used. His Zapotec grammar was better than his Spanish grammar but he had a better command of the Spanish lexicon than the CLZ lexicon. The SMaC and SMigC speakers I've worked with mostly learned Spanish as older children or young adults. Yet, these are people who have used Spanish increasingly in their daily life for decades and in most cases are probably Spanish dominant.

The primary consultant for this grammar is Lázaro Díaz Pacheco of San Baltazar Loxicha. I have also worked briefly with, or through him obtained recordings of, several other speakers from his town and one from Santa Catarina Loxicha. From these two towns, which speak virtually the same dialect of CLZ, I have worked briefly with two older speakers, but mostly with younger speakers (in their forties). From a phonological standpoint, Spanish speakers (both bilingual and monolingual) from these two towns speak closer to the standard than their counterparts in the Coatlanes. However, this perceived geographical difference may have more to do with the age of the people I've worked with from the different towns.

Virtually all of the examples cited in this grammar come from LDP unless marked as belonging to another town's variety and not SBL's. Thus, examples of SBL Spanish below come from a person who learned Spanish as a first language from people for whom it was a second language. This is the classic pattern for how language shift creates new varieties of the target language.

The extinction of CLZ is perhaps not yet a certainty but it is close to that. The Coatlán-Loxicha variety of Spanish, if it is not replaced by a standard variety, will someday be the only living connection to this people's linguistic history.

### 7.4.1 Phonetics & Phonology

The most blatant sign of what might be termed a CLZ or SZ accent is found more often in the Coatlanes and places close to Miahuatlán than in the CLZ-speaking Loxichas, in my experience, though again this may be partly due to age. This is the loss or lack of distinction of post-tonic vowels. While both pre- and post-tonic vowel deletion took place in SZ languages historically, only post-tonic vowel deletion is still productive when new loanwords are borrowed into CLZ. Polysyllabic native words in CLZ only exist through compounding. When compounding takes place there is often reduction of all but the last syllable. Thus, the only polysyllabic words which occur in CLZ are compounds and loanwords, which all have final stress, either from the reduction of earlier syllables in native compounds or from the deletion of post-tonic syllables in loanwords. However, a post-tonic epenthetic schwa is common in the Coatlanes. In the Spanish heard in the Northern part of the CLZ area the lack of importance placed on post-tonic vowels in CLZ is apparent. In standard Spanish, final vowels often mark grammatical differences like verb class (e.g. *creí* 'I believed' vs. *creé* 'I created'), or gender on nouns and adjectives (e.g. *médico* 'male doctor' vs. *médica* 'female doctor'), and can also make lexical contrasts (e.g. *hombre* 'man' vs. *hombro* 'shoulder'). In heavily accented CL Spanish post-tonic vowels may alternately be deleted, reduced, or may occur in free variation with other vowels, all in the speech of the same speaker. Such a speaker may pronounce the Spanish word *hombre* 'man' in any one of the following ways, freely varying between them: [ˈombre, ˈombra, ˈombro, ˈombrə, ˈombr].

In the local variety of Spanish used in SBL and other towns around the CLZ area, many words have fixed vowel differences from standard Spanish. (7.1) gives examples that differ from more standard Mexican pronunciations. Here as elsewhere in this section, not all of the differences between CLS and standard Spanish come from CLZ influence. Some features are archaic Spanish also found elsewhere in Mexico though not in the standard.

(7.1)

| **Coatlán-Loxicha Spanish** | **“Standard” Spanish** | **English gloss** |
|---|---|---|
| *dearrea* | *diarrea* | ‘diarrhea’ |
| *antonces* | *entonces* | ‘then’[2] |
| *chichalaca* | *chachalaca* | (type of bird)[3] |
| *chiflido* | *chiflado* | ‘whistle’[4] |
| *carcajeada* | *carcajada* | cackle, shout, hurrah |

Though CLZ today has an /ñ/ phoneme, it did not in the early days of contact. A few Spanish words with /ñ/ lack this sound in CL Spanish. In CLZ *pañuelo* was borrowed as *báy*. In SZ Spanish (I have also heard this word in, for example, SAM) it is *paynuelo*. English speakers often perceive the Spanish /ñ/ as a sequence of nasal-palatal /ny/ as in the English loanword *canyon* whereas SZ speakers apparently perceived the same sequence in the opposite order, /yn/.

Other segmental differences include cases of clippings. For example a special kind of needle for sewing sacks of grain is called *aguja diaria* and in CL Spanish this form alternates with *aguja aria*. The Spanish word for ‘pillow’ is *almohada* but locally the vowel cluster (Spanish orthographic <h> is silent) reduces to a single vowel in *almada*. Vowel clusters historically were not allowed on the surface in Zapotec according to Kaufman (1989). Vowel-initial words are extremely rare in CLZ and other Zapotec languages. In CLZ almost all such words are Spanish loans or special sound symbolic words. Many clippings of Spanish words involve the deletion of word-initial vowels, as in the words shown in (7.2).

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[2] This may be a conservative form.

[3] This is a reduplicated Nahuatl form meaning ‘chatter’ according to Kartunnen (1983). Perhaps the difference seen here in Spanish is due to influence from a different type of Nahuatl than provided the standard form.

(7.2)

| Coatlán-Loxicha Spanish | "Standard" Spanish" | English gloss |
|---|---|---|
| *grilla* | *higuerilla* | 'castor nut' |
| *ñidirse/lo*[5] | *añadirse* | 'to add in a row' |
| *maca chiquita* | *hamaca chiquita* | 'small hammock' |
| *cedía* | *acedía, acidez* | 'heartburn' |

### 7.4.2 Morphology

Morphological differences between Coatlán-Loxicha Spanish and more standard varieties of Spanish include morpho-phonological differences as well as morpho-syntactic differences. On the phonological side differences in paradigms come about through analogy. An example of paradigm leveling has to do with the many stem-changing verbs in Spanish. Due to historical sound changes Spanish has certain verbs which have syllables which alternate between one or two vowels and a diphthong depending on where the stress in a word lies, which itself is dependent on how many syllables are suffixed onto a stem. When standard Spanish has an alternation between two vowels in part of a paradigm, there is a preference for the vowel that occurs in the infinitive, as in (7.3). On the other hand, some paradigms which involve alternations between diphthongs and plain vowels will have diphthongs in unexpected forms, including derived words, e.g. *viejez* rather than *vejez* 'old age,' based on *viejo* 'old' (both occur).

(7.3) Él está **herviendo** el agua. (Std. Sp. *hervir: hirviendo* 'boil: boiling')

Subjunctive forms of certain common verbs have similarly irregular forms in other non-standard varieties and thus here may have to do more with the type of Spanish which arrived in different parts of the Americas rather than a so-called "substrate" influence from Zapotec. For example, the second person subjunctive is used to form negative commands in Spanish. Rather than saying *¡No te vayas!* for 'don't go' a speaker of CL Spanish might use the form *vaigas*

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[4] In the standard *chiflido* means 'crazy.'

[5] Based on an older form *añidirse*. For example, Gutiérrez (1609) glosses the Zapotec word *coci* as *añididura,* not *añadidura.*

instead of *vayas*. *Vaigas* occurs in other non-standard dialects, but here a twist is that there are two irregular forms which are used, one being *vaigas* and the other *vayes*, the standard *¡no te vayas!* was rejected by a consultant when I asked if that could be said. Indeed, I have noticed that the endings for the indicative and subjunctive are switched, though note that *vay-* is the “correct” stem to use for the subjunctive. A similar example is *él es él que nos* ***devise*** *todo día y noche* ‘he’s the one who sees everything we do all the time’ (God) in which the *–e* ending in the standard would be the subjunctive ending for this *–ar* verb but here is used as the indicative form.

### 7.4.3 Syntax

There are two big picture syntactic features of CL Spanish that I’ll illustrate here. One involves basic word order, the other has to do with question formation.

The most famous syntactic feature of Otomanguean languages is their VSO word order. In Spanish word order is fairly free although there is a preference for SVO, depending on context. There are copious examples of VSO syntax in CL Spanish. Not having done a statistical study it is hard to say whether VSO sentences are really more common in CL Spanish than in other varieties of Spanish, particularly varieties spoken outside of the Otomanguean area, although my general impression is that they are. Such order is understandably common in translations given of Zapotec sentences, which are found throughout this dissertation. However, no claim, especially a syntactic one, should be made based solely on translation data since in translating one may conserve word order or choose similar words that do not flow as well in the second language. (7.4) and (7.5) are not translations but are excerpts from comments made by LDP during a Spanish-only conversation we had. We were discussing a folktale he had recorded years earlier, the one in Appendiz B2. I was asking about certain details in the text for the purpose of doing a folkloristic analysis. I had just shared with LDP a cognate tale recorded by Speck (1998) and was asking LDP for his take on certain elements that did not come out in his version of the tale. In the CLZ but not the Texmelucán tale, Lightning and other supernaturals are represented as snakes.

(7.4) RGBA: Eso será porque, ¿porque el rayo come gente? o---

That would be because, because Lightning eats people or---?

LDP: Mmm, creo porque… sea la culebra ¿verdad?

Mmm, I think because...that would be the snake, right?

RGBA: mm-hmm

LDP: Porque la culebra pues, **huele la culebra la persona** que está---

Because the snake, well, **smells the snake the person** that is---

(7.5) RGBA: Pero eso de la luz, que vió una luz, lejos, donde está la viejita y tiene que caminar, eso no salió en el cuento que grabó Ud. pero ahora que estamos platicando Ud. lo ha mencionado

But that about the light, that he saw a light, far away, where the old lady is and he has to walk, that didn't come out in the story that you recorded but now that we are talking you have mentioned it.

LDP: Si, si, sucedió, sucedió. Sucedió en el cuento porque ve que, porque la hora que **llevó la culebra al cazador** adentro, pues, allí, este, ya se volvió otro lugar y ya era noche pues, y allí es donde **vió el cazador la luz** adonde llegó donde está la abuelita.

Yes, yes, it happened, it happened. It happened in the story (I've heard before) because notice that, because when **took the snake the hunter** inside, well, there, well, it had already become another place and it was already night, and there is where **saw the hunter the light** where he arrived where the old lady is.

Example (7.4) is interesting because the subject was mentioned first and this could easily have been an SVO statement by just continuing with the V and the O. Instead, the subject is repeated after the verb, so the first mention of the subject is extra, it is topicalized. An SVO statement also could have followed the topic, but did not. Example (7.5) is a weaker one since VSO order may lend itself more naturally in this context where such order puts the verb adjacent to an adverbial phrase. These are two of numerous examples in this conversation which I recorded, but still my claim of increased VSO word order in this dialect of Spanish is impressionistic. I have not quantified the number of times this order occurs in this region vs. elsewhere and indeed VSO word order is common in standard varieties of Spanish, in certain contexts it may even be preferred there as well.

More exotic is what I regard as calquing of a Zapotec question particle. To form a yes-no question in CLZ one places an interrogative word *xâl* in front of the statement that is to be affirmed or denied. One way to form such a question in standard Spanish would be to add the copula followed by a complementizer in front of a statement, optionally with a modifier following the copula: *¿Es (verdad) que...?* 'Is it (true) that...?' In CL Spanish yes-no questions are often formed by adding the complementizer *que* all by itself, the same as adding *xâl* in Zapotec. The complementizer can also be omitted in CL Spanish, to form a yes-no question through intonation only, as in other dialects of Spanish, however, the complementizer is frequently used in the Spanish speech of CLZ and other SZ speakers I have known. Examples (7.6-10) are from LDP while (1.11) is taken from the translation of line 23 of the SMaC text in Appendix B1.

(7.6) ¿Que lo hueles (tú)?
**COMP it smell-PRESENT.2s (2s)**
'Do you smell it?'

(7.7) ¿Que guajolote eres? Estás parado durmiendo.
**COMP turkey copula-PRESENT.2s copula-PRESENT.2s standing sleeping**
What are you, a turkey? You're sleeping standing up.

(7.8) ¿Que alcanzaste a él?[6]
**COMP catch.up-PRETERITE.2s to him**
Did you catch up to him?

(7.9) ¿Que va Ud. a bautizar mi nene?[7]
**COMP go-PRESENT.2r to baptize my baby**
Will you baptize my baby? (i.e. 'Will you be my compadre (my baby's godparent)?')

(7.10) ¿Que tiene Ud. hambre?
**COMP have-PRESENT.2r hunger**
Are you hungry?

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[6] This example also differs from the standard by the lack of an indirect object pronoun *le*.

[7] The Spanish speaking reader may also notice that this sentence lacks the personal *a* before *mi nene*. The personal *a* is perhaps used less consistently in CL Spanish but it is in fact used, even with babies. This sentence could be said either with it or without it.

(7.11) ¿Que ésa es la carne?
**COMP DET copula-PRESENT.3s DET meat**
Is that the meat?'

### 7.4.4 Nahuatlisms

All dialects of Spanish have loanwords from Nahuatl. In fact, a great many languages of the world have loanwords from Nahuatl, words like *chocolate*, *tomato, avocado.* Mexican Spanish is characterized by its especially large number of Nahuatl borrowings. What is a *cuerda* 'rope' in Spain is a *mecate* in Mexico. Where words have been borrowed from other indigenous American languages elsewhere, like *maní* for 'peanut' and *chompique* for 'turkey,' Mexican Spanish often has Nahuatlisms like *cacahuate* and *guajolote*. One feature of CL Spanish is the even larger number of Nahuatlisms compared to standard or urban varieties.

Some Nahuatlisms that do exist in other varieties of Spanish, here are pronounced differently, perhaps giving a clue to the type of Nahuatl borrowed from. CLZ and CL Spanish must have had interesting and diverse contact with different types of Nahuatl. To the South and East of the CLZ area were the Pochutecs, whose language became extinct in the early twentieth century. The representatives of the Aztec empire contacted the Southern Zapotecs coming from Mexico City, far to the North, bringing a different Nahua language than Pochutec. While the Mexica or "Aztecs" were invaders in Oaxaca and many Southern Zapotec towns like Ozolotepec and Miahuatlán are listed as tribute payers in the Codex Mendoza, Coatlán was one town which actually sought Aztec protection (Espíndola, 1580). (7.12) shows a few Nahuatlisms from CL Spanish where standard Spanish uses different words or pronunciations.

(7.12)

| CL Spanish | Standard Spanish | English |
|---|---|---|
| *costoche* | zorra | fox |
| *chacal* | langostín (Santamaría, 1992) | crawdad |
| *chicalmata* | | shrimp trap[8] |
| *miselote*, (also *marto*, *leoncito*)[9] | ocelote | ocelot |
| *Cemposúchitl* ~ *Samposúchitl* | Cempasúchil | marigold, plumeria[10] |
| *tlacomixtle* | cacomixtle, cacomiscle, cacomizcle, cacomiste | cacomixtle, ringtail |
| *chehuizle* | | runt plant |
| *huanacazle* | guanacaste (Santa María, 1992) | (Enterolobium cyclocarpum) |

The *samposúchitl* variant in the variety of Spanish documented here may come from folk etymology. The Spanish *San* ‘Saint ______’ has a labial nasal when preceding a bilabial consonant, as in the affectionate or joking term for *San Francisco:* [sampančo] (*Pancho* being the nickname for *Francisco*). As both types of flowers are used for religious holidays, and other flowers are also named after saints, the initial sVN of the Nahuatl loan may have been reinterpreted thus, giving rise to one of the variant pronunciations given here.

The words *miselote* and *tlacomixtle* share a common morpheme *miz-tli*, glossed by Kartunnen as ‘feline, mountain lion.’ According to Santamaría (1992) the variant terms beginning in *caco* in (7.12) sometimes refer to the ocelot and come from the Nahuatl *tlaco* ‘half’ and *miztli* ‘puma.’ He also cites the form *tlacomiztli*. The form of the word used by LDP and most but not all other Spanish speakers in the SZ region that I have encountered, like most words written with an <x> and formerly containing a [š] sound, is now pronounced with a [ks] cluster, the result of a strong prescriptivist agenda on the part of local school teachers in the mid-twentieth century. Since according to Kartunnen and Santamaría this word should not have an *x* in Spanish or Nahuatl anyway, it is interesting that the word acquired one here. In this case the prescriptive spelling pronunciation affected a non-standard form which should not even have been targeted (both because prescriptivists who advocate spelling pronunciation also advocate standard versions of words and because this word should not have been written with an *x* to begin with). What appears to have happened here is that Nahuatl *z* and *x* had merged in the pronunciation of Nahuatlisms in the Spanish of this region. When schoolteachers advocated the [ks] pronunciation for words with <x>, including Nahuatlisms, these words would have sounded similar to Nahuatlisms with <z>, and speakers changed the pronuncations of (some of) these words as well. However, if this happened it did not happen consistently or uniformly because there are still words like the last two in (7.12) [čewizle] and [wanakazle]. Today there are competing pronunciations for local toponyms of both Zapotec and Nahuatl origin with <x>. *Loxicha* historically should have had a retroflex /ṣ/ as it does in CLZ, but in Spanish people say [losiča] or [loksiča]. The town of *Cuixtla* is called [kwizla] or [kwikstla] (I've known mostly older people to say the former, but this is not definitive). The town of Santa Cruz Xitla is spared the [ks] pronunciation thanks to the <x>'s word-initial position but there are still two pronunciations [sitla] and [ṣitla], with the latter being more conservative.

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[8] Refers to two things: *yë$^7$z go7z ñâ bëˇ* ‘chilcalmata para pescar de día’ (daytime shrimp trap) and *yë$^7$z go7z të$^7$l* ‘chilcamata para pescar de noche’ (night time crawdad trap). The shrimp trap is thicker than the crawdad trap.

[9] In Zapotec *kwí*, or *miselǒt* or *mbi7zh bǐx.*

### 7.4.5 Zapotequisms

As might be expected, CL Spanish also has loanwords from Zapotec. It is not always clear which Zapotec language these loanwords come from. For example, today SZ languages are largely monosyllabic languages. When Zapotequisms in Spanish are polysyllabic, sometimes the non-tonic vowels appear to be added to conform to Spanish phonological and morphological patterns, e.g. adding a final *o* for a masculine noun, while other times an extra vowel corresponds nicely to a historical non-tonic vowel that is also still present in other kinds of Zapotec.

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[10] Two flowers: yi7ko$^7$b 'flor de muerto' (flower of the dead, marigold), and *yi*$^7$ *ze*$^7$*ch* 'flor de semana santa' (Holy week flower, plumeria).

*Viruxe* is a stunted marigold which doesn’t grow very big. In CLZ it is *yi*$^7$ *ndǔx*, the second root being cognate with the Spanish form. This word is borrowed from another type of Zapotec because the *r* in the Spanish word and in many Zapotec languages corresponds to *nd* in the CLZ word, the nasalized reflex of **ty* (as reconstructed by Kaufman, 2003).

The text in appendix B1 will introduce the reader to the CL Spanish concept of *huixe*, also called *huixo* or *huixera/o*. This is a craving for meat. This word is clearly related to the Zapotec word seen in line 4 of the text, where it appears as *nwǐx*.

One Zapotequism in CL Spanish is also present in other varieties of Oaxacan Spanish where it sometimes occurs as *bilole/o* ‘tadpole (from toad or frog).’ The phonological feature of CLZ discussed above, for there to be inconsistency with regard to the pronunciation of post-tonic vowels, is apparent in the forms of this word I have recorded with three different consultants. One SMigC consultant says *bilola*, one SBL consultant says *bilole/o*, while a SMaC consultant says bilolo. The CLZ word for ‘tadpole’ is lo$^7$l. Animal words in most Zapotec languages have a prefix which comes from earlier *pe*- or *ko*- depending on the word (see, e.g. Marcus & Flannery, 1978). In Southern Zapotec languages these prefixes have become prenasalized, as described in Chapter 5. The CLZ word *lo*$^7$*l* is curiously lacking this prefix but it is present in the SAMZ cognate *mbló*$^7$*l*. The lack of nasalization and the presence of a historically accurate (in this case “front”) pre-tonic vowel, suggest that this word was not borrowed into Spanish from a Southern Zapotec language, or if it were then it would say something about when prenasalization and pre-tonic vowel deletion took place in SZ languages. However, the fact that this word is present in Spanish in other parts of Oaxaca suggests that indeed this word is borrowed into Spanish from some other kind of Zapotec, likely Colonial Valley Zapotec. Non-Oaxacan varieties of Spanish use the term *renacuajo* for ‘tadpole.’ This word exists in the Spanish of the Southern Zapotec region but it refers to a salamander.

The name of one of the cargos that men have to serve at intervals throughout life in SBL and elsewhere is called *ngwlàb* in CLZ. In Spanish this is translated as [wlaβo] ~ [olaβo], including in the place name *Piedra Wlavo* or *Yî Ngwlàb* in CLZ, a large rock along the *Paso Macahuite* which lies between SBL and San Bartolomé Loxicha. The *relaciones* mention a similarly named position, but with different responsibilities back then, *golave*.

CLZ *bíx* 'baby's urine' is *bixe* in Spanish.

The ranch called *Làbcho*$^7$*n* in CLZ is known in Spanish as *Bix Wane*. The Spanish name looks to be a borrowing from a different Zapotec term than the one used in CLZ today. Another ranch, *Làt Chu*$^7$*t* is known in Spanish as *Latixute*.

A type of grasshopper, *mbíchi*$^7$*x*, is known as *chapulín bixiento*.

CLZ is a language that has been in contact with Spanish since 1521, nearly 500 years. Though today it is a moribund language it has managed to survive this long and is not dead yet. Indigenous Zapotec customs like calendrical naming have managed to survive along with a rich system of spiritual or world view beliefs. The language and way of life of the people who live in the pre-coastal mountains of the Loxichas and the foggy pine forests of the Coatlanes, have had an impact on the way Spanish is used locally, both the way people say things and what it is that they say. Likewise, Spanish language and culture have had a tremendous impact on Southern Zapotec language and culture, even centuries before Spanish became a commonly spoken language among Southern Zapotec people. Today the prospects for CLZ are bleaker than for the Zapotec languages around it, but it has already fared better than languages like SAMZ and Pochutec Nahua.

These have been a few of the things I know about *di*$^7$*zhke*$^7$, the language of the lords. I hope to share more details of this beautiful language in the near future. May it live long.

# Appendix A Abridged Coatlán-Loxicha Zapotec lexicon

What follows is a word list taken from the dictionary of this language which I have been compiling since 1996 when I began the task as a member of the PDLMA. This dictionary includes much more information than is found here. The dictionary has example sentences of most lexical items, information about which dialects a word has been recorded for, multiple grammatical forms of verbs, part of speech and class membership, morpheme breakdowns of complex lexical items, English glosses, and more. In this appendix I have only given a simple glossary or index, taken from the same database as the dictionary, using only two fields the Zapotec lexical item and the Spanish gloss. I have not included the other fields here because they are too incomplete. For example, I haven´t glossed all words in English or marked all verbs for class membership. The final version of the dictionary will have much more to offer but for the time being this simple word list may be of interest to those who consult this dissertation looking for cognates for reconstruction and for other purposes. Occasionally an abbreviation next to a Zapotec word or Spanish gloss indicates that the word was given by someone from a particular town. However, such words are not consistently marked. Most words have been given by one or more speakers from SBL and many have been given by speakers from the Coatlanes and SCL as well. Some words which are found only in the Coatlanes are marked with CAN (for the Campo Nuevo ranch of San Miguel Coatlán) or COA (for SMaC), but not all such words are marked. SBL also is given a different abbreviation here than in the rest of the dissertation BAL. Sometimes two variants of a word occur and are not marked here as to which variant occurs where. Instead both forms are listed with the same gloss. These are inadequacies that shall be rectified in the future with the publication of the full dictionary. For now, I hope that the following Zapotec word list (A1) and Spanish index (A2) will be of use.

# A2 Zapotec to Spanish

**-à**
comer

**-à chít**
besar

**-à mbdo$^7$**
comulgar; confesar

**-à mbì lâz**
agarrar aire en el cuerpo, tener un dolor en el cuerpo

**-à tèn**
desayunar, almorzar

**-à tô**
besar

**-à xu$^7$p**
chupar

**-àb**
caerse; gotear

**-àb**
decir, hablar, contar, platicar

**-àb**
podrirse; vomitar

**ába$^7$**
de por sí, siempre

**Ábél**
Abel

**Ábélín**
Avelino

**ábe$^7$n**
sólo, a púro

**ábe$^7$ntza$^7$**
puro/a

**ábúj**
aguja

**-ăch**
quebrarse

**-àch yû**
ensuciarse, envolverse de tierra

**-ácha$^7$**
hacerse

**-ăd**
agujerearse

**-ádêtz**
dormirse

**-ágàl**
fermentar, desasonar

**ăj**
sonido de sorpresa

**aja**
sonido del bostezo

**-àk**
costar, valer

**-àk**
hacerse; servir

**-ăk**
poderse

**-ăk**
ser

**-àk réméd**
curarse

**-àk zǒb**
atorarse (el carro)

**-ákìb**
picotear, picar

**-àklǒ**
enojarse; estar enojado

**-ákwàn**
estar cansado, cansarse

**-ákwa$^7$**
adornar

**-ákwì**
agriarse, acedarse, ponerse agrio

**akwisa**
sonido de un destornudo

**-ákwë^ látyo$^7$**
doler el corazón o estómago

**-ákë^**
morderlo

**-ăl**
nacer

**-ăl**
venir

**-ăl látyo$^7$**
querer; gustarse

**-ăl za$^7$b**
alcanzarlo

**-álâ**
caer en una trampa; ser alcanzado, detenido, localizado, cachado, visto, agarrado, o pescado por

alguien

**álbáñĩl**
albañil

**-álê**
lamear

**álíka$^7$**
siempre, de por sí

**álkól**
alcohol

**ǎlm**
espíritu de muerto, fantasma

**-álu$^7$d**
acabarse

**-álë̌ látyo$^7$**
arder el corazón, tener acedía

**ǎn**
Susana

**-ándô**
acabarse, terminarse

**áné**
fanega

**án-go$^7$**
en frente

**ánhjl**
ángel

**ánhjólính**
ajonjolí

**ǎnhk**
Alquilina; Ángela

**ǎnhkl**
ángel, Ángel

**ání**
anillo (del dedo); anillo del palo

**-ánzún**
pellizcar

**-àp**
ponerse tieso (un musculo)

**-àp**
subir

**-àp nîtz**
ahogarse

**-àp xi$^7$n**
tener relaciones, tener contacto

**ár**
él; ella; aquél

**ár bèn**
joven, persona joven

**ár bka$^7$l**
dormilón

**ár tìth**
gente flaca, gente huesuda

**ár tìth yà**
gente flaca y alta

**ár tô xàw**
hablador

**ár wà xe$^7$n**
gente comelón

**ár wìth měn**
asesino

**ár wlë̌**
jambado, comelón

**ár wte$^7$l**
gente gorda

**árád**
arado

**árět**
arete

**árín**
harina

**ǎrk**
arco

**-ástê**
levantarse

**ásúkár**
azúcar

**ásúkr**
azúcar

**ásúl kwàl**
azul bajo

**-átê látyo$^7$**
aburrirse, fastidiarse, enfadarse

**-àth**
acostarse

**-àth bë^l**
relampaguear

**-àth kwǎn**
privarse

**-àth nka$^7$n**
acostarse atravesado, atravesar

**-àth nǒb**
arrastrarlo

**-àth xla$^7$**
jalar tufo, oler tufo

**-àth xë$^{7}$**
amanecer

**-átô**
mascar, masticar

**-àtz**
saltar, brincar

**-àtz yîd ngùz ndô**
brincar los cueros del ojo

**aùj**
aguja

**aùj dyár**
aguja diaria (para costurear costal)

**-àw**
dolerse

**Áwrěl**
Aurelia

**Áwrél**
Aurelio

**-àx**
ponerse viejo, envejecer

**-àxla$^{7}$**
jalar el tufo, jalar el oler

**-áxla$^{7}$**
oler(lo)

**-ày**
cocerse

**áyí**
que

**áyo$^{7}$**
cien

**-áyë^**
madurarse

**-àz**
bañarse

**-àz**
sembrarlo

**-àzh**
podrirse

**-ázha$^{7}$**
descomponerse; manosearse

**-ázìn**
dormirse (p.e. la pierna)

**-a$^{7}$l**
crecer

**-a$^{7}$z**
picar; ojear; picarse, clavarse

**-â**
ir; andar

**â â**
sonido del dolor que sufre uno cuando se corta

**-â gú yà**
leñar, traer leña

**-â kwë^**
doler

**-â nâ**
visitar; ir a ver

**-â nkë**
seguirlo

**-â tzo$^{7}$ nì**
ir al baño

**-â wi$^{7}$**
divertirse; ir a ver

**-â (w)lên**
bautizar

**-âch**
reventarse; tronar (como huevo, cohete, hule); nacer de huevo; reventar el pie; reventar frutas, etc.

**-âch kê**
explotar, reventar

**-âch ngwzi$^{7}$**
tronar el rayo, pegar el rayo

**-âch nîtz**
sudar

**-âch yîx nì**
reventar la placenta

**-âd**
mamar

**-ân**
tener hambre

**-âp**
tener

**-âth**
morir

**-âx**
reventarse

**-âzh**
mojarse

**Báb**
Pablo

**bákér**
vaquero

**Bálěr**
Valeria; Valerio

**-bàn**

despertarse

**Bǎn**
Urbano

**-bǎn**
enconarse

**-bǎn**
revivir(se)

**Bárrtǒl**
Bartolo

**bás**
vaso

**bás tě nîtz lèy**
vaso de agua bendita (que tira el cura)

**Básǐl**
Bacilio

**-b-ǎw**
picarlo para afilarlo

**Bǎx**
Gerbacio

**báy**
pañuelo

**báy lèn**
ceñidor

**báy no$^{7}$l**
ceñidor

**ba$^{7}$**
así

**ba$^{7}$**
hinchazón debajo de la muela

**-ba$^{7}$**
soltarse

**ba$^{7}$ tza$^{7}$**
así no más

**-ba$^{7}$n**
descuidarse

**-ba$^{7}$w**
picarse

**bâ**
ese; allí

**bâ xa$^{7}$**
más allá

**bbl̆**
sonido de pedo de gente delgada

**bbl$^{7}$**
sonido de pedo de niño

**bbll^**
sonido de pedo de gente gordo

**bchân**
ídolo

**bchân**
tarado, zonzo, lento, pasmado, paciente

**bchi$^{7}$n**
arrugado; espuma

**bdì**
delgado

**bdì**
fino, delgado

**bdo$^{7}$**
plátano

**bdo$^{7}$ bǐx**
plátano chiquito, plátano manzano

**bdo$^{7}$ ní**
plátano de guineo

**bdo$^{7}$ nîz**
pláatanos de Castilla, plátanos de villaco, plátano macho

**bdo$^{7}$ pérǒnh**
plátano perón

**bdo$^{7}$ xtíl**
plátano de la Índia

**bě**
peine

**Bé Wnè**
Santa María Colotepec

**bèch**
rajada, rajadura

**bèch xi$^{7}$n**
la zanja de la nalga

**Béd**
Pedro

**-b-èk**
ponerlo, guardarlo

**-b-èk cha$^{7}$**
acomodarlo

**-b-èk ndâtz**
iniciar

**Běl**
Isabel

**bélítza$^{7}$**
todavía

**bélë$^{7}$**
mismo

**bèn**

tierno

**bèn ti$^7$tz**
hojas tiernitas, las plantas más tiernitas

**bénámít**
carrizo para llamar a la venada

**Bénǐg**
Benigno

**Bénít**
Benito

**béntán nxo$^7$n**
ventana corredisa

**bés**
vez

**Bét**
Alberto, Beto, Norberto, Gilberto, Roberto

**Bét**
Pedro

**bèx**
penca de plátano

**běz**
cuaconito, guajolote tierno

**-b-èzh**
llamar; gritar

**-b-èzh lèn**
tronar el estómago

**-b-èzh lò**
bramar

**-b-ezh ngwzi$^7$**
tronar rayo

**-b-èzh nzha$^7$r**
rechinar (los dientes)

**-b-èzh nzhë$^7$r**
rechinar (los dienties)

**-b-ezh xbì**
llamar el espíritu

**-b-èzh xè**
roncar; sonar la nariz

**-b-èzh yè**
rebusnar, gritar

**-b-ê**
haber, estar

**-b-ê**
jalar

**-b-ê**
sentarse en los pies

**-b-ê yi$^7$**
estar enojado, estar bravo, estar molestado

**-b-ê yò**
pelearse

**-bên**
pesarse

**bêth**
epazote

**bêth nê**
epazote rojo

**bêth n-gǔd**
epazote blanco

**bêth yûx**
epazote de arena

**bêx**
hoguera de perico, nido de perico

**bgô**
nudo

**Bǐ**
Sofía

**-bí**
descojerse

**-bì lá tyo$^7$**
olvidarse/lo (el corazón)

**bì nzhâ (tza$^7$)**
por todo, a como va

**-bí tê látyo$^7$**
arrepentirse

**bí yì**
tiempo de lluvia, tiempo de agua

**-b-í yò**
pelear(se)

**-b-ìb**
picarlo; sacudir

**-b-ìb wǎz**
cuernear(lo)

**-b-ìb yà**
picar palo, picar con el palo

**-bíbo$^7$**
descogerse

**bìch**
vapor

**bìch**
ventado

**bǐch**
gato

**bǐch gǒx**
su mamá del gatito

**bǐch tǔzh**
gatito

**bǐch yìx**
gato montés

**bìd**
seco

**-bìd**
secarse

**-bìd yô**
resecarse por dentro

**Bǐk**
Victoria

**-bǐl**
quitar la cáscara, rebanarse

**bǐn tǔzh**
cuaconitos

**Bít Tě Yë`l**
Agua del Rayo, un pozo de agua pegado a un peñasco en el lindero de Sta. Catarina y San Miguel Coatlán.

**-bítê**
regresar

**bìtz**
pena, imaginación

**bìt$^7$**
secada, seco

**-bìx**
medir

**-bìx**
voltearse, brincar, ocultarse [el sol, la luna]

**bǐx**
pequeño

**bǐx**
pequeño; pequeñez; chamacos chiquitos; mediano

**bíx**
bixe, orina de nene chiquito

**-bìx tê**
revolcarse, voltearse

**-bíx xyô**
envolverse

**-bíxla$^7$b**
hervir

**-bìzh**
calentarse (junto a la lumbre)

**bi$^7$ nzha$^7$l nhó**
hay nos vemos; hay nos encontramos

**-bi$^7$b**
picarse; sacudirse, encajarse (de espina), clavarse (de espina)

**-b-i$^7$b**
ponerse, estar puesto

**-b-i$^7$b**
sacudir

**-bi$^7$l**
abrirse (como una flor o un libro)

**bi$^7$z**
anillo que redondean al tronco del palo

**bîd**
semilla; ovario

**bîd tě yà ngîz**
fruta de huanacaztle

**bîd tě yi$^7$**
semilla de flor

**-bîl**
abrirse, descuartizarse

**bît**
granito

**bît bdo$^7$**
viruela, viruela loca; varicela

**bît bë̌**
granito de calor

**bît nd-yên tô**
juego de la boca

**bît nd-yên xàn lǔzh**
juego de la lengua

**bît tě mbêx**
granito de arador

**bît tě mbyǎt**
granito de sancudo; granito de paludismo

**bît wdí xò**
granito de caliente, varro

**bît xe$^7$n**
granito de frío

**bît xîl**
granito de frío

**bît yûx**
sarampión

**bît (tě) mbêx yin$^7$**
granito de abono de arriera; granito de arador

de picante

**bîx**
tomate

**bîx kâl**
fiscal, jefe de la elección y de los topilillos

**bîx lìd**
miltomate

**bîx lìt (CAN)**
miltomate

**bîx tě mzìn**
tomatillo de ratón

**bîx ye$^7$**
tomatillo de flor, tomatillo de ratón

**bîx yi$^7$**
tomatillo de ratón

**bîxkâl**
fiscal, jefe de la elección y de los topilillos

**bîzh**
semilla de algodón

**bkèn**
pronto

**bko$^7$**
altar

**bku$^7$**
lumbre, brasa

**bkwi$^7$**
brasas de lumbre; soplador

**bléy**
almácigo

**Blíb**
Felipe

**blô**
hueco

**blë$^7$**
adobe; almácigo

**blë$^7$**
almácigo, vivero

**blë$^7$**
cuñado de hombre

**blë$^7$ yûzh**
su marido de la cuñada de uno (la hermana de la señora de uno), concuño

**-b-ódê**
pedir maldición

**bǒl**
bola; puño; cosa redonda; cosa voluda

**bǒl ndyên xàn kìd měn**
hernia

**bǒl xàn tô la$^7$n**
hernia debajo de la cintura

**bǒls lâd**
bolsa de trapo/tela/ropa

**bórrěg**
borrego

**bórrlít**
vorlita o adorno que tiene la punta del cabello

**bóté**
botella

**bóy**
empolla

**bóy**
gallo; pollo

**bóy ndày lèn yû**
pollo que se cuece adentro de la tierra

**bóy yèn kwěrr**
pollo pescuezo encuerado

**-b-o$^7$**
sacar

**-b-o$^7$ bîd tě**
castrar, capar

**-b-o$^7$ blô**
enhuecarlo

**-b-o$^7$ chu$^7$k**
escupir

**-b-o$^7$ di$^7$n**
sacar al revés; vomitar

**-b-o$^7$ kë$^7$**
apartarlo

**-b-o$^7$ léch**
ordeñar

**-b-o$^7$ lë`y**
ofrecer rosario; rezar

**-b-o$^7$ mbì yèn**
eructarse

**-b-o$^7$ mbîtz**
tronar (huesos)

**-b-o$^7$ ngùz kwê**
capar (local), castrar (standard)

**-b-o$^7$ xâb**
desvestirse, desnudarse

**bô**
nudo

**bô chănhk**
nudo que no corre; nudo macizo

**bô ndyë$^7$**
nudo suelto

**bô ntzi$^7$**
nudo suelto, nudo facil

**bô nxo$^7$n**
nudo corrido

**bô wlë$^7$**
nudo aflojo

**brèl**
redondo

**brúj**
brujo

**brum brum brum brum**
sonido del huracán Paulina

**brút**
muy; potente, hermosa, maciza, grande

**bte$^7$l**
grueso

**btîth**
cuarta

**btîth**
un codo

**bto$^7$**
tronco; mocho

**bto$^7$tz**
canal donde echan agua (como albañil construyendo casa)

**btzi$^7$ yî**
tamales de elote con frijól

**btzîn**
incensor, incienso, candilero

**btzo$^7$**
pared

**btzya$^7$**
carnecuil, guajenicuil

**btzya$^7$n**
sereno

**btzyûb**
corriente de agua

**btzë$^7$ bì**
soplador (para soplar la lumbre, o para soplar cara)

**btë^l**
chueco

**búch**
boton de flor

**búr mách**
burro macho

**bŭrr**
burro

**bŭrr gôtz**
burra hembra

**bŭrr ze$^7$**
burro macho

**bŭtz**
cagada voluda

**Búy**
Bernabé

**bûch tĕ yi$^7$**
botón de flor

**bwén**
bueno

**bwén lŏ**
muy bueno

**bxǐ tŭzh**
piño chiquito

**bxǐ zi$^7$l**
piño grande

**bxìd**
un enredo; enredado

**bxìl**
chispa

**bxìl to$^7$**
topililllo de la iglesia

**bxìtz**
prima de mujer (BAL), concuña de mujer (CAN)

**bxi$^7$zh**
piña

**bxi$^7$zh nè bè**
piñuela, piña de ratón

**bxi$^7$zh tĕ mzìn**
piñuela de ratón

**bxûb**
corto

**bxë$^7$ch**
ralo

**byĕrr**
viernes

**byôn**
yerba buena

**byôn tĕ mbë`z**
monte costoche

**byôn xtíl**
yerbabuena de Castilla

**byôn yà**
pityona

**byë´zh**
pichanche (dicen viejos), colador (dicen jóvenes)

**bzàn**
primo del otro sexo; hermano del otro sexo

**bzàn gǒx**
hermano mayor

**bzàn mbál**
hija/o del padrino(/a); hermano/a del compadre del hermano de uno

**bzàn nd-yên**
hermana/o pol*tico, hermanastro/a, media-hermano/a, todos estos del otro sexo

**bzàn tǔzh**
hermano/a menor

**bzàn wna$^{7}$**
hermanastro/a; medio hermano/a (m, f)

**bzàn yìx**
hermano/a del monte (m, f)

**bzhí lòd**
flauta de carrizo

**bzhìn**
chehuizle, chahuizlado

**bzhòl**
talón

**bzhu$^{7}$**
carbón

**bzhë^**
caliente

**bzë$^{7}$**
colindancia, lindero

**bzë$^{7}$ lèn xò yèk**
colindancia de lo que tiene dentro de la cabeza

**bzë$^{7}$ yû**
colindancia de tierras, lindero

**bzë$^{7}$ yû**
lindero

**bë̌**
sol, calor; seca; tiempo de seca, temporada seca

**bë̌l**
hermana de mujer

**bë̌l gǒx**
hermana mayor (f, f)

**bë̌l tǔzh**
hermana menor (f, f)

**bë̌l wyǎk**
hermana mayor (f,f)

**bë̌l yìx**
hermana del monte (f, f)

**bë`z**
billote

**-b-ë̌z**
esperarlo/se

**-b-ë̌z**
quitarse la hemorragia, calmarse la hemorragia, sanarse de la hemorragia

**bë`z tě yà bdo$^{7}$**
billote de plátanar

**bë`z tě yà ga$^{7}$**
billote de la flor de coquito

**bë$^{7}$**
espacio, cielo

**bë$^{7}$l**
carne

**bë$^{7}$l bìd**
costra, callo; tasajo

**bë$^{7}$l go$^{7}$zh**
carne podrida

**bë$^{7}$l kǔch**
carne de cuche

**bë$^{7}$l yîd kwê**
verija

**bë^l**
llama, antorcha, lumbre

**bë^l**
viendo para arriba con los ojos abiertos

**chaj**
sonido de rajar leña entera

**cháj**
recio

**chámǐs**
chamiza

**Chán**
Luciano; Feliciano

**chǎnhk**
apretado, macizo, recio

**chánt**
chapulín

**chǎrrk**
charco

**chas**
sonido de reventar un mecate o de romper una ropa o de arrancar un palo o un monte o una planta sembrada (la raíz se revienta)

**Chǎy**
Cesario

**Cháy**
Isaias

**Cháyí**
Isaias

**cha$^{7}$**
despacio

**cha$^{7}$ga$^{7}$ cha$^{7}$ga$^{7}$**
despacito (despacito)

**-cha$^{7}$n**
dejarlo

**châ**
entonces, luego

**châ**
un, una (comida preparada)

**Ché**
Marcelina

**Ché**
Mercedes

**Chěb**
Esteban

**chèb tě myìn**
espantapájaro

**Chéd**
Mercedes

**Chěl**
Marcel

**Chěnch**
Crecencia

**Chénch**
Cresencio

**chěnt**
San Vicente Coatlán

**Chént**
Vicente

**chéwíz**
grito del pájaro chehuizo

**chéwíz**
pajaro cherihuizo, chehuiro, chehuizo

**Chěy**
Eliseo

**chêb**
espantapájaro

**-chêb**
asustarlo

**chêb tě mbìz**
espantajo de zanate

**chǐb**
chivo, cabra

**chích**
pecho

**Chǐk**
Francisco

**chíkérr tě kǔch**
chiquero

**chíklǔn**
chicluna

**chíkrì**
chicharra, chiquirí, siquirí

**chíkrì**
sonido de chicharra

**chíkwít**
canasta

**chíkwít kóstí**
canasta de las costillas

**chíkwít tě trámp tě mtyë`tz**
canasto trampa de camarón

**chíkwít wa$^{7}$n**
cesto/canasto de asa (para cargar pan, etc.), canastito

**-chílya$^{7}$**
casarse

**chinh chinh chinh chinh chinh**
sonido de cascabel que le ponen a los nenes

**Chínt**
Jacinto

**Chi$^{7}$ Kǎn**
San Francisco Coatlán

**-chi$^{7}$n**
arrugarse

**-chîzh**
alisarlo, cepillarlo, aplanar

**chk chk chk chk chk**

**chk chk**
sonido de cascabel de la culebra

**Chóf**
Crisóforo

**Chój**
Crisob

**Chŏl**
Soledad

**Chŏn**
Concepción(a)

**chŏn**
tres

**chŏn áyo$^7$**
tres cientos

**Chónh**
Asunciona

**-cho$^7$n**
batirlo

**-chù**
quemarlo

**chú**
bonito, guapo

**chúf né ko$^7$l**
nagua larga

**chúf né là yi$^7$**
nagua floreada

**chúfné**
nagua (local), enaguas (standard)

**chúk**
saliva

**-chúko$^7$**
escupir

**chŭr**
cuero largo en la cabeza del guajolote macho

**chu$^7$d**
la gente que último nace, chehuizle (slang when applied to people)

**-chu$^7$k**
escupir

**-chu$^7$n**
exprimirlo, escurrirlo, arrugarlo

**ch0$^7$**
despacio

**ch$^7$ch$^7$ch$^7$**
sonido de víbora de cascabél

**ch$^7$ch$^7$k**
sonido de hojas secas

**ch$^7$k ch$^7$k tz ch$^7$k ch$^7$k**
sonido de sonaja

**chë$^7$**
cazuela grande

**-chë$^7$**
burlarse (de...)

**-chë$^7$**
cambiarlo

**-chë$^7$ lá tyo$^7$**
soñar

**-chë$^7$ látyo$^7$**
cambiar el corazon; cambiar novios

**chë$^7$l**
esposo/a

**-chë$^7$l**
juntarlo, pegarlo, unirlo

**-chë^**
calentarlo, chupar para curar (como hacen los curanderos)

**dà**
petate

**dá bê**
tela de araña

**dà bìd**
costal o bolsa hecho de petate donde guardaban los ancianos su maíz, costureado c/ aguja diaria y mecate

**dà gó yîn**
capote para agua

**dà kwártí**
petatillo

**dánt**
elefante

**dâp**
cuatro

**dâp ya$^7$ nêz (tě) ndô mbì**
los cuatro puntos cardinales del aire

**dâp yè**
Los Cuatro Cerros

**Dèl**
Fidel

**de$^7$**
empedido

**-d-ê wyâx**
haber bastante, estar harto

**-d-ê xkwǎ**
estar nublado, haber nube

**dǐb**
señas de cortada; cicatríz; callo

**-díxô**
raspar, arañar

**di$^{7}$n**
al revés

**di$^{7}$zh**
palabra

**di$^{7}$zh ga$^{7}$l**
palabra fija, palabra recto, palabra directa, palabra derecho, palabra legal, palabra firme

**di$^{7}$zh ka$^{7}$n**
palabra al revés

**di$^{7}$zh ke$^{7}$**
idioma, zapoteco (de Coatlán y Loxicha)

**di$^{7}$zh mǎch**
palabra fea

**di$^{7}$zh tě xa$^{7}$ gǒx**
palabra de los ancianos; palabra de los antepasados

**di$^{7}$zh wtî**
palabra dulce

**di$^{7}$zh xtíl**
castilla, castellano, español

**di$^{7}$zh yë´l ndyên**
palabra de pensamiento

**di$^{7}$zh yë´l wyìth**
palabra de chistes

**di$^{7}$zh yë´l xîd**
palabra de risa

**dî**
ceniza

**dî**
música, tocada de música

**dî bêz**
polvo que sale de maíz podrido

**dî nzhǒp**
polvo de maiz

**dî réméd**
polvo de medicina, polvo de remedio

**dî tě yà**
aserrín, polvo de madera

**dî yà xtíl ndyàt ta$^{7}$n**
polvo de jabón que se lavan trastes

**dîpa$^{7}$**
apuro

**-dò**
venderlo, despacharlo

**dǒb**
maguey

**dǒb bxi$^{7}$zh**
maguey de piña

**dǒb la$^{7}$**
maguey voludo

**dǒb nděz**
maguey de tlacuache (BAL), palo de tlacuache (CAN)

**dǒb tě bxi$^{7}$zh né bè**
maguey de piñuela (de ratón)

**dǒb tě nûp**
maguey de mezcal

**dǒb tě pǔlk**
maguey del pulque

**dǒb tě tìl**
magueyito

**dǒb tě tún**
maguey de tuna, órgano

**dǒb tě yà**
piñal del árbol

**dǒb tě yèzh**
maguey de ixtle

**dǒb yèzh**
maguey sacar ixtle

**dǒb yìx**
maguey del monte

**dǒb yî**
maguey de lumbre

**dǒd**
resina

**dólór tě mbë̌ z**
dolores del parto

**dómính**
domingo

**Dón**
Celedonio; Celedonia

**Dónh**
Abdon

**dǒt**
resina

**dòt$^7$**
prementina

**dǒt$^7$**
resina

**do$^7$**
hilo; mecate

**do$^7$ bê**
tela de araña

**do$^7$ káñút**
hilo de cañuto

**do$^7$ kwë$^7$**
mecapal

**do$^7$ wa$^7$n**
mecapal

**do$^7$ yè**
la cumbre de un cerro

**Do$^7$ Yè Yi$^7$**
Cerro Flores

**do$^7$ yèzh**
mecate de ixtle

**do$^7$ yèzh**
mecate torcido de ixtle

**do$^7$d**
trementina

**do$^7$t**
trementina

**dô**
espiga (de la milpa)

**dô tě go$^7$b**
espiga de zacate, espiga de popote

**dô tě ña$^7$**
espiga

**dô tě yîx yì**
espiga de zacate

**drính**
sonido del teléfono

**dǔb gâx**
todo

**dǔb yêzh lû**
todo el mundo

**Dul**
Obdulia

**-dǔn**
rejuntar

**dǔp tzá**
alrededor

**dúp tza$^7$**
todo

**du$^7$b**
pluma

**du$^7$b bdì**
pluma delgado, la más delgada que hay

**du$^7$b làn**
pluma delgada

**du$^7$b tě yîx yì**
pluma

**dûb**
uno

**dûb górr**
una hora

**dûb là lâd**
pliegue de ropa

**dûb là yìt**
un pliegue de papel, una hoja de papel

**dûb lád**
aparte

**dûb lë̌ bídry**
un pedazo de vidrio

**dûb nêz ngǒn**
un par de yuntas

**dûb pés**
un peso

**dûb sén**
una docena

**-dûd**
enrollarlo

**dûpa$^7$**
apuro

**-dyî**
rendir

**-dyǒ**
venderse

**-dyò látyo$^7$**
tener vergu"enza

**-dyûd**
enrollarse

**ejajay**
grito de gusto (una carcajeada)

**éleksyónh tě bxìl to$^7$**
elección de los topilillos

**éléksyónh tě bxìlto$^7$**
elección de los topilillos

**Élí**
Elias

**énán**
enano

**Énrǐk**
Enrique

**éskálér**
escalera

**éskópét yèzh**
escopeta de ixtle y casquillo

**éy**
oye!, oiga!

**êd yîd**
huarache

**fámíl**
raza, familia

**fff**
sonido de una culebra

**fjér**
feo

**Flóréntz**
Florencia

**Flórr**
Flora

**fwérs**
fuerza

**fyěst tě byěr dâp**
la fiesta de cuarto viernes (de la cuaresma)

**fyěst tě pǎs**
fiesta de pascua

**fyěst tě yêzh**
fiesta del pueblo

**fyěst tě yídálgó**
fiesta septendrinas, fiesta de Hidalgo, 15 de septiembre

**gá**

**gá lèn**
por dentro

**gá tla$^7$**
pedazo, medio, mitad

**gá tla$^7$ yêzh**
la mitad del pueblo, medio pueblo

**-gàb**
bajarlo, pizcar, tumbarlo

**gáj**
ajo

**-gǎl**
tentarlo, sostentarlo

**gál lèn**
adentro de

**gàl ndâtz**
por el pie, al pie

**gál ndô**
en frente de

**gàl tě ndô**
boca abajo

**gàl tô di$^7$n**
al revés

**-gǎl tzâ**
perjudicar, molestar, tentar

**gál tzo$^7$**
despues, atrás

**gál xàn**
abajo de

**gámít**
venadito tierno

**gǎn**
finado, muerto, cadaver, difunto

**Gǎnhj**
Ángel

**Gǎnhk**
Ángela

**gǎnsta$^7$**
antes

**gárrbát**
garabato, gancho

**gárrs**
garza

**gárs n-gǔd**
garza

**gárs tô lágún**
pichichi

**gǎst**
gastos

**gátí tě yi$^7$b**
gatillo

**-gǎtz**
ponerse negro

**gǎw ze$^7$n**
de vez en cuando, cada vez en cuando

**gay$^7$**
cinco

**-gàz**
bañarlo

**-gàzh**
mojarlo, regar

**ga$^{7}$b**
encargo

**-ga$^{7}$b**
contar(se)

**-ga$^{7}$b**
encargarse

**-g-a$^{7}$b**
sobarlo

**-ga$^{7}$ch**
enterrarse

**-ga$^{7}$d**
apretarse, aplastarse

**-ga$^{7}$d (yî)**
mallugarse; machucar

**ga$^{7}$l**
directo, derecho

**-ga$^{7}$l**
crecerlo (a un niño)

**ga$^{7}$lpa$^{7}$**
serio

**ga$^{7}$p**
arriba

**-gâ**
quitarse

**gâ tla$^{7}$**
la mitad

**gâd**
siete

**-gâd**
darle de mamar

**gâl**
veinte

**gâl lèn yû btzo$^{7}$**
adentro (de la tierra) del muro de la casa

**-gân**
darle hambre;

**-gân**
recogerse; rejuntarse

**gâp**
arriba, alto, altura

**-gâp látyo$^{7}$**
dar asco, tener asco

**gâx**
cerca, cerquita

**gâx**
de una vez

**get ngax**
pinabete

**gid zhoj**
perdís

**gǐd zìn**
murciélago

**gmp$^{7}$**
sonido de agua o comida bajando en el pescuezo

**gò**
vergüenza (enfermedad)

**-g-ò**
poner; echar

**gó**
Ud., Uds.

**-g-ó bì**
tirarlo

**-g-ó bì**
tirar, botar

**-g-ó bìch**
envaporarlo

**-g-ò bi$^{7}$z yà**
anillar el palo

**-g-o dê**
pedir maldición, maldecir

**-g-ó dê**
maldecir

**-g-o do$^{7}$**
lazar

**-g-ó go$^{7}$l**
enlargarlo

**-g-ò kwë`l**
bonarlo

**-g-ó lò**
rodearlo, encerrarlo

**-g-ó ned**
adelantarlo

**-g-ó tê**
meterlo

**-g-ó wǎch**
enfilarlo

**-g-ó xìk**
abrazarlo; meterlo dentro los brazos

**-g-ó xlë^**
proponerlo; ofrecerlo

**-g-ó yá xtíl**
enjabonarlo

**-g-ó yi$^{7}$b**
marcar

**-gó zhěn**
ahumarse

**-g-ó zhěn**
ahumarlo

**-g-òb**
jalar

**-g-òb nîtz**
jalar agua

**-g-òb xè**
jalar los mocos de la nariz

**-g-òb xêx**
arrastrarlo

**-g-òb xla$^{7}$**
ventear; jalar tufo

**-gòch**
mezclarse, revolverse, amasar, desolver

**-g-ócha$^{7}$**
guardar, almacenar

**-g-òl tzá**
vengarse; reponerlo

**gòn**
rozo

**Gón**
Filogonio

**gòn yë`l**
la limpia (de la milpa)

**gór**
hora; cuando (rel.)

**gór lá**
cuando

**gór nát**
ahora

**gǒr pánh**
horno de pan

**gǒr tě yêtz**
horno de ollas

**gǒr yǐ**
horno de cal

**gòx**
loma

**gǒx**
viejo

**gòx á yë$^{7}$l**
loma del copal

**-g-òx nǒb**
arrastrarlo

**gòx sánh jwánh**
La Ubicación San Juan

**gòx yà yë$^{7}$l**
loma donde hay palo de copal

**Gǒy**
Gelgoria

**Gǒy**
Gregorio, Goyo

**-g-óyë^**
madurarlo

**go$^{7}$b**
popote

**-go$^{7}$b**
barrerse

**go$^{7}$d**
jémen

**-go$^{7}$j**
rasurarse

**go$^{7}$z**
pesca; campeado

**gô**
camote

**-g-ô bi$^{7}$z yà**
anillar el palo

**gô kwì**
camote de cedilla

**gô páp**
papas

**gô tla$^{7}$ të$^{7}$l**
medianoche

**gô yà**
camote de palo, yuca

**gôn**
limosna, ofrenda

**-gôn**
desaparecerse

**gôp**
espantar pájaros

**gôp**
sereno

**gôtz**
hembra

**grr´**
sonido de las tripas cuando tienen hambre

**gǔch**
cochino, puerco, marrano, cerdo, cuche

**gǔch mbèw**
javalín

**gúlâzh**
nativo del pueblo

**-g-ŭn**
rejuntarlo

**Gŭxt**
Agustín

**gùzh zŏb**
yerno de planta, yerno sentado

**-gu$^7$**
peinarse

**gu$^7$d**
blando, blandito

**-gu$^7$d**
enblandarse

**-gu$^7$d lá tyo$^7$**
humillarse; rendirse

**gu$^7$zh**
pus

**gu$^7$zh n-gŭd**
pus blanco

**gu$^7$zh tèn**
pus de sangre

**gûd**
díle

**-gûx**
regañarse

**gë^**
bule

**h**
sonido de sorprenderse

**hái hą^**
sonido del suspiro

**hay hay hay**
sonido de una persona enferma; sonido de cocoxtle

**hn**
sonido de marrano caminando; sonido de rechazo (cuando comió cebolla uno y el otro no lo quiere besar)

**hrr$^7$ hrr$^7$**
grito de un pájaro que se llama ´rojó o ´picolargó

**hrr**
sonido de arrastrar

**hų$^7$**
sonido de un hombre que se ría de una mujer (con coraje)

**h´$^7$**
sonido del hipo

**ính**
sonido de sancudo

**-i$^7$b**
haber

**-i$^7$d**
venir

**j**
sonido de jalar el corazón

**Jábyěrr**
Javier

**jajajây**
sonido de las mujeres que se rían de un hombre con quién tuvieron relaciones y luego se dejaron, con coraje

**Ján**
Alejandra

**Jáví**
Javier

**jér**
chapeo

**J̌ǐn**
Regina

**Jín**
Virginia

**jj**
sonido de una persona roncando

**jjj**
sonido del gato enojado

**jjjjj**
sonido de un pajaro volando

**jj$^7$ jj$^7$ jj$^7$ jj$^7$**
sonido de un gato roncando

**jorr jorr jorr jorr jorr**
sonido de vaciar refresco en un vaso

**jorr**
sonido de llenar ánfora con agua

**ju ju ju**
sonido de una llama que está quemando un monte

**Júj**
Refugia

**Jŭl**
Julia

| | |
|---|---|
| **Jǔl** | Juliana |
| **júnt** | Junto |
| **Jwánh** | Juan |
| **Jwǎy** | Rafael |
| **jwébs** | jueves |
| **Jwěl** | Juael |
| **Jwěltz** | Félix |
| **jwf** | sonido del viento |
| **Jwǐl** | Filemón |
| **Jwǐrr** | Porfirio; Lafira |
| **Jyél** | Trinjilina |
| **j(jj)** | sonido de un viento fuerte |
| **kǎ** | chicharra grande, cortapalo, muerdapalo |
| **ká** | siempre, ya |
| **ká pót rrîw** | salta de noche |
| **-ká ya$^{7}$** | aceptarlo, recibirlo |
| **-ká ya$^{7}$ tǒp ya$^{7}$** | apreciarlo; recibir con las dos manos |
| **káǎ** | grito de la chicharra grande |
| **-kǎb** | tragarlo |
| **káfé yìx** | café montés, café criollo |
| **káj** | caja |
| **káj tě gǎn** | ataúd |
| **káj tě nzhǒp** | caja de maíz |
| **káj tě sérí** | caja de cerillos de fósforos |
| **káj tě tmî** | caja de dinero |
| **káj tě yi$^{7}$b** | la madera del rifle |
| **káj yà** | caja de madera |
| **kájét** | cajete |
| **-kǎl** | sombrear |
| **káládór** | calador (para calar costales de cafe) |
| **kálsónh** | calzón |
| **kám** | cama |
| **kám do$^{7}$ yèzh** | cama de mecate delgado |
| **kámí** | antrio |
| **kámín sánh jwánh** | camino que va del Rancho Campo Nuevo para San Miguel Coatlán |
| **kámyónh yo$^{7}$** | carro de carga |
| **Kǎn** | Cándida |
| **Kán** | Cáñida |
| **kándíl** | candíl |
| **káník** | canícula, canica, 22/8-22/9 |
| **káñónh tě yi$^{7}$b** | cañón |
| **káñút tě do$^{7}$ aúj** | cañuto de hilo |
| **kápíy tě mbdo$^{7}$** | capilla del santo |
| **kápórál** | caporal |
| **kápǒt** | chotacabra (book), capote río, pájaro |
| **Kǎr** | Carlos |

**Kăr**
Carmen

**kără**
verás

**Kărr**
Carolina

**kărré**
apúrate!

**Kát**
Catarina

**kàtkàtkàtkárét**
grito de la gallina cuando se acaba de poner o cuando ve un aire malo de noche o cuando se proxima que una persona va a morir de cerca

**Kăy**
Caitano

**ka$^7$**
patrícula enfática

**ka$^7$**
reculón, reculador (tipo de camarón)

**-ka$^7$b**
encargarlo

**-ka$^7$ch**
enterrarlo; esconderlo

**-ka$^7$d**
pisonear; apretarlo; mallugarlo; macizarlo; aplastarlo; machucarlo

**-ka$^7$d ndâtz**
pizotear

**-ka$^7$d yî**
mallugarlo (con piedra)

**ka$^7$n**
de lado, chueco

**-ka$^7$n**
estar de lado, ponerse chueco

**ka$^7$n -zë`**
caminar chueco

**-ka$^7$p**
tapar malocidades o creencias, ahogar malocidades, ahogar a los brujos

**-kâ**
negarlo

**-kâ**
quitarlo

**-kâb tô**
rezongar

**kâm là yi$^7$**
cama que tiene dibujos

**-kân**
recogerlo, juntarlo

**ké**
sí

**-ké lók**
loquearse, empezar a pelear

**-ké ndi$^7$n**
estar recargado

**-ké ni$^7$ ndô líst**
alistarse, apuntarse, anotarse

**-ké n0`**
cuidarlo

**ké (nâ)**
porque

**-kécha$^7$**
colgarse/lo, pegarse, guardar, enderezarse

**-kécha$^7$**
pegarse, colgar, guardar

**-kéďî**
creer

**-kéďî**
engañar

**-kèn**
apurarse

**-kéndô**
animarse, arresgarse

**-kén-gâ**
colgar

**-kéni$^7$**
apuntarlo, escribirlo

**ke$^7$**
Coateco

**-ke$^7$**
pintarlo, escribirlo

**-ke$^7$ yi$^7$b**
puñalarlo

**ke$^7$ke$^7$ke$^7$kérét**
grito de gallina que acaba de poner o cuando ve un aire malo de noche o cuando se proxima se va a morir una persona muy cerca

**-ke$^7$l**
añidirlo

**-ke$^7$n**
engrirlo; acostumbrarlo

**kê**
deuda

**-kê**
picar

**-kǐb**
costurear, remendar

**-kǐb dë^**
costurear a mano, echar hilo

**-kǐbdë̌**
costurear, remendar

**kìd**
ombligo

**-kídî**
engañar, vacilar

**-kíkê**
acusar; falsificar

**kíkíríkí**
sonido del gallo (onomatopeya)

**kíl**
kilo

**-kíndô**
animarse; arresgarse, prometerse, entrarle

**kísyó tô nì**
quicio de la puerta de la casa

**-kìt**
doblarlo

**-kìx**
pagar (dinero)

**ki$^7$ch ya$^7$ ndô**
cachetada

**-ki$^7$x**
tostarlo

**-ki$^7$x lèn zë^**
freirlo

**-kî**
asarlo

**klo$^7$k klo$^7$k**
Grito de la gallina culeca cuando está calentando sus huevitos.

**-kòch**
revolverlo, mezclarlo

**kógó**
cogollo

**kǒj**
cojo, renco

**kómíd**
comida

**Kǒnch**
Alfonso; Consuela

**Kónch**
Alfonso

**kóndě**
verás, Ud. crea, pensó, creyó

**kóněj**
conejo

**Kóp**
Noberto

**Kóp**
Procopio

**kórré**
correa

**kórtín tô sáwán**
cortina de enfrente del sahuán

**kǒst**
costeño; costa

**kóstí**
costilla

**kótǒr**
cotorra

**kótǒrr mběy yèd**
cotorra (de ocote)

**-kóxla$^7$n**
esconderse/lo

**ko$^7$ lë`y**
rezador

**ko$^7$b**
masa, COA atole

**ko$^7$b kë^**
masa cruda

**ko$^7$b ndò měn**
masa de pozole

**ko$^7$b tě nîl yâch**
masa de pozole reventado

**ko$^7$b tě nzë^ bèn**
masa de elote tierno

**ko$^7$b yîd xè**
masa de la nariz

**ko$^7$l**
largo

**ko$^7$l ko$^7$l ko$^7$l ko$^7$l**
Sonido de grito del guajolote macho

**-kôn**
esconderlo

**kri$^{7}$ kri$^{7}$ kri$^{7}$**
sonido del palo que yá está quebrando para caerse

**kros kros kros**
sonido de zapato que tiene aqua por dentro

**kúb**
nuevo

**kǔch**
puerco, marrano, porcino, cerdo, cuche

**kǔch bît**
marrano que tiene grano, marrano picado

**kǔch mbèw**
javalí

**kǔch nda$^{7}$l**
cuche gordo

**kúchárr bǐx**
cuchara chiquita

**kúchárr tě nîl**
cuchara para sacar nixtamal

**kúchárr yà**
cuchara de madera

**kúchí**
cuchillo

**kúlántr**
cilandro

**kúlántr yǐch**
cilandro de espina

**Kún**
Facundo

**kúñád**
cuñado

**-ku$^{7}$**
peinarlo

**-ku$^{7}$d**
enblandarlo

**-ku$^{7}$d lá tyo$^{7}$**
dominarlo

**ku~**
grito del buho/el tecolute más grande (mko$^{7}$)

**-kûx**
regañarlo, gritarle

**kwǎ**
oscuro

**-kwǎ**
estar oscuro, entrar la noche, ponerse oscuro, oscurecer

**kwǎ ngwxîn**
oscuridad; noche oscura

**kwàch**
gemelos

**kwách íwál ñâ**
gemelos que se ven iguales

**kwách xa$^{7}$k ñâ**
gemelos que se ven cambiados

**kwàk kwàk kwàk**
sonido del pato; grito de la guajolota hembra

**kwàl**
frío

**kwàl ndyë$^{7}$-y´**
está simple, desabrido

**-kwǎn**
lastimarlo

**-kwás ndô**
embrocarse

**kwàzh**
mojado

**kwa$^{7}$**
llano, parejo

**kwa$^{7}$**
tupido

**-kwa$^{7}$**
poner encima; dobletear

**kwa$^{7}$d**
varios, bastante

**kwa$^{7}$d bés**
varias veces

**-kwa$^{7}$n**
buscar(lo) querer; conseguirlo

**-kwa$^{7}$n**
despertarlo

**kwân**
espeso

**-kwân**
ponerse espeso

**-kwân tèn**
ponerse espesa la sangre

**kwè**
sordo

**kwě**
silencio, cálmate!

**-kwě**
calmarse

**kwěr**
encuerado, desnudo

**kwe$^{7}$th**
mucha guerra, quita tiempo, una cosa que cuesta trabajo para solucionar

**kwè"nhk kwè"nhk kwè"nhk**
sonido cuando patean al perro

**kwì**
agrio

**kwí**
grito del gavilán

**kwí**
marto, leoncito, micelote

**kwì wtî**
agridulce

**kwíj**
cuija, limpiacasa

**kwìz**
firme, en frente, serio, viendo para en frente, derecho

**kwi$^{7}$**
apestoso

**kwi$^{7}$d**
estítico

**-kwi$^{7}$d**
secarlo

**kwí$^{7}$i kwí$^{7}$i kwí$^{7}$i**
grito del cuche

**kwi$^{7}$n**
mentiroso, mentira

**-kwi$^{7}$n**
fallar

**kwi$^{7}$rs**
sonido de tronar los dedos

**kwi$^{7}$z**
gancho

**-kwîn**
mecerlo, menearlo, moverlo

**kwrás kwrás kwrás**
sonido que hace la burra hembra cuando el burro macho está encima

**kwrâs**
sonido de dedo en la boca

**kwri$^{7}$s**
sonido de un chasquido

**kwë̌**
pesado

**kwë`l**
abono

**kwë$^{7}$**
mecapal

**kwë$^{7}$d**
pegajoso

**-kwë$^{7}$z**
calmarlo

**kwë^**
enfermo

**-kwë^ lá tyo$^{7}$**
envidiar; odiar(lo), traerlo corto

**-kë̌**
está

**-kë´**
enderezarlo

**-kë´**
hacer el amor

**-kë´ bey$^{7}$**
estar destinado

**-kë̌ gòb nì**
sembrar maíz

**-kë̌ lá tyo$^{7}$**
acariciarlo; estimarlo; quererlo; tenerle lastima

**-kë´ lá tyo$^{7}$**
agonizar, acabarse de morir

**-kë´ nà**
cuidar

**-kë´ nêz**
veredear, hacer vereda

**-kë´do$^{7}$**
amarrarlo

**-kë$^{7}$**
cargar

**-kë$^{7}$**
pegar

**-kë$^{7}$ bô**
poner nudo

**-kë$^{7}$ lá tyo$^{7}$**
acordarse

**-kë$^{7}$ ngwe$^{7}$y**
hacer ruido, amenazar, regañar

**-kë$^{7}$ sǔrk yû**
cultivo; está preparando su terreno, surquear el terreno.

**-kë$^{7}$ to$^{7}$**
pegar la tos

**-kë$^{7}$ yë`th**
hacer tortilla

**kë^**
crudo, verde

**là**
hoja

**Lǎ**
Oaxaca de Juárez

**lá**
ya

**là bdo$^{7}$ bi$^{7}$b**
hoja de platanillo para tamal

**là bdo$^{7}$ mzya$^{7}$**
hoja rota de platanar

**là bdo$^{7}$ spád**
hoja de platanar de espada

**là bdo$^{7}$ spád**
hoja de platanar espada

**là bdo$^{7}$ yë$^{7}$z**
hoja de platanar de cigarro

**Lá be$^{7}$**
La Reforma (una agencia de Sta. Catarina que antes pertenecía a San Baltazar)

**là bìzh**
platinillo

**là bîx xkê mbèk**
hierba mora, tomatillo

**là bîx xkê mbèk**
hoja de tomatillo (toda la planta)

**là brétąy**
bretaña

**là byòl**
traguntín

**là gò**
hierba de vergúenza

**là gô kwì**
hoja de camote de cedilla

**là gù xtíl**
grilla

**là gû**
grilla

**là gû**
hoja de grilla

**là kúchí**
flor de cuchilla

**là kë^**
hoja verde

**là mántzání**
manzanillo

**là ndà go$^{7}$**
hoja de camarón

**là ndyûd**
hoja enrollada (se ocupa para embudo)

**là nél**
hoja de canela

**là nîth xôl**
hoja de caña aguatuda

**là nîx**
hoja de aguacate

**là nîx bǒl**
hoja de aguacate voludo

**là nîx ndà měn**
hoja de aguacate que coma la gente

**là nîz**
tatomoxtle, totomoxtle

**là róméd**
hoja de manzana

**là sántá márí**
hoja de Santa María

**là tá xta$^{7}$n**
hierba de muina, hoja de vergúenza

**là ta$^{7}$ xlë̌**
hoja de calentura

**là ta$^{7}$ xta$^{7}$n**
hierba de muina, hierba de coraje

**là té límónh**
hoja de te limón

**là tě yi$^{7}$ kárrktúch**
flor cartucho

**là tě yë´l yo$^{7}$b yà**
hoja de escoba de egalán, hoja de escoba de vara

**là tò**
hoja de San Pablo

**là wâ bë$^{7}$l**
yerba santilla

**là xlêy**
malamujer

**là xlêy**
malamujer, mano de tigre

**là yà wâ bë$^7$l**
yerba santilla

**là ya$^7$t**
hoja de platanillo

**là yìch nǐt$^7$**
chacalota

**là yìz yî**
chamiza

**là yi$^7$**
dibujo

**là yi$^7$ bîd**
hoja de albahaca

**là yi$^7$ bîd xôl**
hoja de albahaca con ahuate

**là yi$^7$ ga$^7$ch**
quintonil

**là yi$^7$ nárdó**
nardo

**là yîn**
soyate, faja

**là yǔ**
petatillo

**là yë`l xôl**
hoja de milpa aguatuda

**là yë`tz**
sauz

**là yë$^7$z ábìtz**
cuachepil

**là yë$^7$z méd**
chepil de media

**là yë$^7$z méd**
hoja de chepil en medio

**là yë$^7$z ñà**
quelite

**là yë$^7$z tòn**
chepil de leche, quelite de leche

**là yë$^7$z (kwàl) tě găn**
chepil fresco de los difuntos

**là yë^z là**
hoja de tabaco

**là zàn**
hoja de vergúenza

**là zhêb**
hoja para espanta

**Làbcho$^7$n**
Bix Wane

**-lábì**
soplar

**Lăch**
Lázaro

**lách gô**
Rancho  Locote

**ládrí**
ladrillo

**ládyo$^7$**
corazón, estómago

**lăk**
parejo, igual, (igual) a como...

**Lák**
Hilario

**-lákò**
pizotearlo; patear

**-lákë`**
rebajarse, cobardarse

**-lákë$^7$**
rebajarlo

**Lăl**
Ulalia

**làn**
liso; cueste, polvoso

**Lănch**
Esperanza

**Lánch (COA, CAN)**
Esperanza

**-lánzhá**
llegar

**làt**
llano, valle, plano

**lát**
lata

**Làt Byôl**
Rancho Campo Nuevo

**Làt Chi$^7$l**
Cerro Cuapinole

**làt chu$^7$t**
Latixute

**lát ndyô léch**
pichel de leche

**làt sántúrrs**
Llano Santa Ursula

**làt ta$^7$ nîx**
Llano Aguacate, Arroyo Aguacate, El Aguacate

**làt tě zi$^7$n**

La crucera; El manzanar (carretera que va para San Miguel o desviación a San Miguel)

**Làt Tzo$^{7}$**
Ocotlán

**Làt yêzh do$^{7}$**
Miahuatlán

**Làt Yǒ**
Llano Grande

**-látê**
despegarlo; quitarlo

**-látê**
despegarse, quitarse

**-látê kólór**
despintarlo

**-látê kólór**
despintarse

**làth yêzh**
mandado

**látyo$^{7}$**
corazón; estómago

**làtz**
la yacua (cáscara) de platanar

**làw**
mucha gente, comunidad, común

**Lǎx**
Nicolás

**Lǎx**
Nicolás

**Láx**
Lázaro; Herasto

**Láx (CAN)**
Lázaro, Nicolás, Erasto

**Lǎy**
Hilaria

**Láy**
Ladislau

**-lázô**
atrasarse

**la$^{7}$**
empache (empacho in dicc.)

**la$^{7}$**
tortilla de alguien

**la$^{7}$**
ya

**-la$^{7}$**
aborrecer

**-la$^{7}$**
escaparse, desafarse, soltarse

**-la$^{7}$**
soltarlo, abandonarlo, dejarlo

**-la$^{7}$ tzâ**
separarse

**-la$^{7}$ tzǒb**
abandonar a su pareja

**-la$^{7}$b**
contarlo

**-la$^{7}$b**
hervirse, chillar la panza

**-la$^{7}$b yèn**
roncar

**la$^{7}$n**

**la$^{7}$n**
una bolita de carne dura donde sale pelo en el pecho de guajolote macho

**-la$^{7}$n**
darse cuenta, adivinar

**la$^{7}$n mbé zôn**
escama de chacal

**-la$^{7}$p**
pizcar mazorca

**la$^{7}$z**
nido

**lâ**
bajo; abajo

**-lâ**
bajarlo

**-lâ**
bajarse, llegar

**-lâ**
llegar

**-lâ**
sanarse, curarse, quitar

**lâ li$^{7}$n**
más menor; menor de edad; menos años

**-lâ të$^{7}$l**
oscurecer

**-lâ yì**
llover

**-lâ yo$^{7}$**
descargarlo

**-lâ yo$^{7}$**
descargarse

**-lâ yë´l zí**
enpobrecerlo

**lâd**
ropa, tela

**lâd gǒx**
ropa usada; ropa vieja

**lâd ka$^7$n**
pañal

**lâd ka$^7$n**
pañal(es)

**lâd lèn**
combinacion, fondo de mujeres

**lâd ndâtz**
calcetines

**lâd ndô yìn**
colcha, ropa de cama

**lâd ndyô ndâtz měn**
calcetín

**lâd ndyô yèn xa$^7$**
corbata; pañuelo (local paynuelo)

**lâd ni$^7$**
toalla

**lâd nkë´ cha$^7$ yë`th ndô**
servilleta

**lâd nkë$^7$ cha$^7$ wâtz béntán**
cortina de trapo

**lâd ntzà chǐch**
brasier

**lâd nxo$^7$b mě yèk mě**
cabecera, almada (local for almohada); rebozo

**lâd nxo$^7$p zénâ ndà dêtz měn**
sábana

**lâd nzô ti$^7$ch**
ropa que tiene alforza

**lâd tzo$^7$ yèn**
cuello (de camisa--RGB)

**lâd wni$^7$**
toalla

**lâd yìch**
cobija

**lâd yìch káxkěm**
sarape

**lât**
ropa, tela, trapo

**lât lèn**
fondo

**lât yìch**
cobija

**-lâtz látyo$^7$**
dar lastima

**lâx**
raíz de grano; raíz de clavillo

**lâz**
cuerpo

**lâz btzo$^7$**
afuera del muro

**lâz měn**
ser humano, cuerpo de la gente

**lâz ya$^7$**
al lado de la mano

**lâzh**
pueblo (pos.)

**léch tě xa$^7$ gôtz**
leche de mujer

**lěj**
Alejandra/o

**Lěl**
Aurelia

**lèn**
barriga; adentro; mientras

**Lén**
Helena

**Lén**
Helena

**Lén**
Magdalena

**lèn btzo$^7$**
adentro de la pared

**lèn mbì**
barriga de aire

**lèn nî ya$^7$**
debajo de la muñeca

**lèn nîtz**
adentro de agua

**lèn pós nzhâ**
adentro del pozo del oído

**lèn xìk**
sobaco

**lèn xîb**
abajo/adentro de la rodilla

**lèn xò**
adentro de pierna

**lèn yêtz**

adentro de la olla

**-lèn yîzh**
enfermarse

**Lěnch**
Lorenzo

**Leóntz**
Leoncio

**Lěw**
Leocadia

**Lěw**
Leodegario

**Lèx**
Andrés

**Lěx**
Teresa

**Léx**
Teléspero

**lèy**
rosario, novena

**lèy tě gǎn**
novena(s) de difunto

**lèy tě mbdo$^{7}$**
rosarios de santos

**lèy tě nóché bwén**
rosarios de nochebuena

**-le$^{7}$ch**
cuidarse de luto, tener dieta

**-lên**
nacer [plantas, granitos]

**-lên**
pesarlo, levantarlo

**-lên tì**
reaccionar

**-lêy**
paciuarse, tener paz con su amigo

**Lǐ**
María

**lí**
así

**lí ka$^{7}$**
sí

**lí tyi$^{7}$b**
cárcel

**lí yîn**
soyate

**Lǐb**
Olivia

**líb to$^{7}$**
iglesia

**líbró nkě́ núméró tě téléfónó tě të´tza$^{7}$ lâzh nhó**
directorio (el libro adonde está notado todos los números de teléfonos de nuestros pueblos)

**Lǐch**
Felícitas

**lìd**
casa

**lìd gǎn**
sepultura; casa de difunto

**lìd mbdo$^{7}$**
la casa del santo; fiesta

**Lǐk**
Federico

**lìksensyado**
licsensiado

**lím**
lima de castilla

**lím límónh**
lima limón

**límátónh**
limatón

**límún**
limón

**Lǐn**
Catalina; Marcelina

**Lín**
Aquilina; Avelino

**Lǐp**
Felipa

**Líp**
Felipe

**Lǐs**
Felícitas; Alicia

**lìt**
casa

**lít yi$^{7}$b tě ngù**
cárcel de borrachos

**lítha$^{7}$**
así

**Lìt$^{7}$**
Margarita

**li$^{7}$n**
edad; año

**li$^{7}$n kúb**
año nuevo

**li$^{7}$n nzhâ zë` la$^{7}$**
años antiguos

**lò**
troja, cerca

**lǒ**
muy

**lò yi$^{7}$**
cercado de flores

**lòd**
carrizo

**lòd xkwĕzh**
gañote, tragadero; el hueco tragadero; la tripa tragadera

**lòd yǐch**
otate

**Lój**
Eulogio

**lók**
varios, muchos

**Lǒl**
Lola, Aurora

**Lǒr**
Lorenzo

**lǒr**
loro

**lóx**
liebre

**lóx**
urraca

**lóx lâz mbèy**
urraca espalda de gusano

**lòx mbétze$^{7}$**
el pelo que trae el guajolote macho en el pecho

**lóx mbèy**
urraca con gusano

**-lo$^{7}$b**
barrerlo, asear

**lo$^{7}$l**
bilol(o)

**lo$^{7}$l yu$^{7}$**
bilole del río

**lô**
hígado

**lô**
raiz

**lô**
tú

**-lô**
pisar el macho a la hembra (aves)

**lô yà**
raíz de palo

**lô yîx**
una lengua pegada al estómago, como hígado pero más pequeño

**lúb to$^{7}$ (CAN)**
iglesia

**-lùd**
terminarse

**lǔd**
personas que no tienen hijos

**lúlt**
último

**lúntz**
lunes

**Lúp**
Guadalupe

**Lúpá**
Guadalupe

**lùt**
bejuco

**Lǔt**
Eleuterio

**lǔt**
Eleuterio

**lùt bèw**
bejuco de javalí

**lùt bîx**
bejuco de tomate

**lùt bîx nê**
palo de tomate rojo

**lùt bîx yi$^{7}$**
tomatillo de ratón

**lùt bóy**
bejuco de pollo

**lùt gránád**
bejuco de granada

**lùt la$^{7}$**
bejuco de ejote

**lùt lâ nzâ kwárént**
frijolar cuarenteño

**lùt ngìn**
bejuco seringuina

**lùt ngǐn**
bejuco de cera negra

**lùt nì**
bejuco de la casa

**lùt nzâ bèn**
bejuco de ejotes

**lùt tě bîd pyúl**
bejuco de piul, santito

**lùt tě lùt tzèth**
bejuco de guía de calabaza

**lùt tě mě gû**
bejuco de santito

**lùt tě mélónh**
bejuco de melón

**lùt tě ngùz xlë^**
bejuco de fruta fresca

**lùt tě pépín**
bejuco de pepino

**lùt tě sándí**
bejuco de sandía

**lùt tě strápáj**
bejuco de estropajo

**lùt tlâ**
frijolar

**lùt tlâ nètz káfé**
frijolar de netz kafé

**lùt tlâ nzâ yèl**
frijolar enredador

**lùt tlâ nzâ yî**
frijolar piñero

**lùt tlâ (nzâ) bay$^{7}$**
frijolar tabayo

**lùt tzèth**
bejuco de guía de (cualquier) calabaza

**lùt tzèth tzìn**
bejuco de comachiche

**lùt tzêth tzìn**
comachiche, bejuco de calabaza de ratón

**lùt wàch**
bejuco de iguana

**lùt wàch ngǐd**
bejuco de gallina

**lùt wák**
guaco

**lùt xgàm**
bejuco de jícama

**lùt xôl**
bejuco de aguate

**lùt yà**
bejuco de palo

**lùt ya$^{7}$tz**
bejuco negro

**lùt yâp**
bejuco de chayote

**lùt yâp xu$^{7}$b**
chayote pelón

**lùt yâp yǐch**
chayote de espina

**lùt yèth chi$^{7}$n**
bejuco de calabaza chompo

**lùt yèth gô**
bejuco de calabaza támala

**lùt yèth lân**
bejuco de chilcayote

**lùt yèth na$^{7}$**
bejuco de calabaza de lachicayuma

**lùt yèth yǐch**
bejuco de calabaza huiche

**lùt yèth yǐch**
guía de calabaza huiche

**lùt yìx**
bejuco montés

**lùt yë$^{7}$z na$^{7}$**
bejuco de chicayuma

**lùt (tě) yi$^{7}$ nzâ**
bejuco de vainilla

**lut$^{7}$**
bejuco

**lǔzh**
lengua

**lúzh**
muy

**lǔzh mbi$^{7}$zh**
lengua de león

**lǔzh nké n-gâ wâtz tîn**
uvula, lengüita

**lǔzh yîd kwê**
la lengua de la verija

**-lu$^{7}$**
enseñar(se), mostrar; guiarlo

**-lu$^{7}$ ndô**
resultar

**-lu$^{7}$ ndô yû**
aclarar

**-lu$^7$ xë$^7$**
lumbrar

**lûzh**
mucho

**lwê**
ala

**Lwǐs**
Luisa

**-lyá**
amargarse

**-lyàtz**
endelgazarse

**-lya$^7$b**
hervirse

**-lyâw**
llevarselo el río

**lyò**
cueva

**-lyu$^7$**
relinchar

**-lyë`th**
desocuparse, vaciarse

**-lyë$^7$**
aflojarse

**-lyë$^7$ látyo$^7$**
desmayarse, cobardar el corazón, dominar el corazón

**lzàn**
consuegro/a

**lzân**
consuegro/a

**l$^7$**
sonido de la lengua de culebra

**lë̌**
pedazo

**-lë̌**
quebrarse, rajarse; quebrarlo, rajarlo

**lë̌ yìt**
hoja de papel

**-lë̌ yî**
empedazarlo

**-lë̌ yû**
ararla

**lë`d**
corazón de palo, corazón del tronco

**-lë`d**
picarlo

**-lë`d**
querer

**lë`d kwǎ**
olvidado

**-lë`d mbì**
ventilarlo

**-lë`d mbì**
ventilarse

**lë`d ngùz ga$^7$**
coquito, coyul duro, almendra

**lë`d tě yà ga$^7$**
corazón de palma

**lë`th**
adentro; entre medio de

**-lë`th**
quitar, librar, defender, salvar

**lë`th pól nàt**
hace poco

**lë$^7$**

**-lë$^7$**
tener antojo

**-lë$^7$ látyo$^7$**
rajarse, humillarse

**-lë$^7$ch**
reconocer; oír, escuchar

**-lë$^7$ch**
vigilar, cuidar, guardar, espiar; oír

**-lë$^7$th**
desocuparlo, vaciarlo

**lë$^7$tha$^7$**
mismo, mero, igual

**lë^**
antojo, tolín, pinto

**lë^**
nombre

**lë^ byúx**
tolín de viuse (carnitas)

**lë^ gô**
tolín de camote

**lë^ mbgu$^7$t**
tolín de panal

**lë^ mbë^l**
tolín de pescado

**lë^d**
cáscara de palo grueso

**lë^tha$^7$**
está bien

**mà**
dónde

**mǎ**
mamacita, mi hija

**má**
el animal

**má bèn**
cría, animal tierno

**má du$^7$b**
animal de pluma

**má lwê**
animal de ala

**má máchór**
animal que no cría

**má nì**
animal de la casa, mascota

**ma wyi$^7$**
animal bravo

**má xò**
animal de cáscara

**má yìch**
animal de pelo

**má yǐch**
animal de espina

**má yìx**
animal del campo

**má yìx**
salvaje; animal del monte

**má yîd**
animal de cuero

**má (nâ) ndà bë$^7$l**
animal que come carne

**mǎch**
feo

**máchét**
machete

**máchính**
mono, chango

**mǎd**
Amador

**mág**
Mago

**mágâ**
sonido de un nene llorando

**mák**
Maximo

**mákán**
cuarta, chicote

**mákǎrr**
Macario

**mál**
comadre

**mál gǒx**
comadre vieja; madre del compadre o de la comadre

**mǎn**
animal

**mán**
Armando; Fernando

**mǎnh**
mango

**mánh**
Germán

**mánh**
mango

**mántzán bǐx**
tejocote, manzanita

**mántzání**
manzanilla

**Márǐ**
María

**máríwán**
marijuana

**Mǎrk**
Marcos

**mǎrk**
marca

**márr**
Bulmaro

**mǎrrk tě yètz**
marco, base de muestra, molde

**márrúbyá**
marruvia

**Márseˇl**
Marcelo

**Mǎrt**
Marta

**mǎrt**
martes

**más lád bâ xa$^7$**
más allá

**másís**
fuerte

**mǎt**

Marta

**mátǐ**
Matías

**mátíl**
Matilde

**Mǎx**
Tomás

**Máx (CAN)**
Tomás

**máyór tě mbzhë^ xyà**
mayor de vara

**máyórsín**
mayor de cocina

**mbàd**
ancho y parejo

**mbǎd**
plano del pie, palma de la mano

**mbǎd ndâtz**
la planta del pie, el plano del pie

**mbǎd ndâtz xo$^7$p ngǔtz**
pie de seis dedos

**mbǎd ya$^7$**
palma de la mano

**mbál**
compadre (BAL); compadre, comadre (CAN)

**mbál gǒx**
compadre viejo; padre del compadre

**mbày**
bueno, bien, sí

**mbâd**
ancho

**mbdi$^7$th**
piojillo de gallina

**mbdòn**
remolino

**mbdo$^7$**
santo, imagen; hostia

**mbdyûd**
enrollado

**mbè**
neblina; mojo

**mbě**
tortuga

**mbé**
cangrejo

**mbé chîn**
conchuda

**mbé chîn**
garrapata

**mbé lò**
canareja de pelo

**mbé tên**
chinche

**mbé tên yìx**
chinche del monte

**mbé wnè**
alacrán

**mbé wnè**
estrella alacrán

**mbé wnè ngû**
alacrán hembra de huevecillo

**mbé xíz**
canareja

**mbě yè**
tortuga del cerro

**mbě yû làn**
tortuga de lodo

**mbě yû làn**
tortuga del lodo, tortuga del cerro

**mbé zèd**
cangrejo de sal

**mbé zôn**
chacal

**mbèd**
guajolote

**mběd**
tecolotilla

**mběd**
tecolute

**mběd bey$^7$**
tecolute de elotes, enfermedad de elote, (Cuitlacoche, Huitlacoche)

**mběd làn**
tecolutito, tecolute chiquito

**mběd pǎj**
tecolutito

**mbèd wǎb**
faisán

**mbèk**
perro

**mbèk be$^7$**

coyote

**mbèk búnch**
sancho; perro buncho

**mbèk go$^7$z**
perro cazador

**mbèk nîtz**
perro de agua

**mbèk xi$^7$l**
borrego, oveja; perro de pelo fino

**mbèk yèl**
perro de agua

**mbèk yìx gŏx**
comadreja

**mbér nîtz**
empolla; luna

**mbèt**
guajolote

**mbĕt ndyë^**
rana verde

**mbèt wăb**
guajolotilla del campo

**mbèt zàn**
guajolota hembra

**mbèt ze$^7$**
guajolote macho

**mbèt$^7$**
guajolote

**mbèw**
javalí

**mbĕw**
guacamaya

**mbĕw**
sonido de eructarse

**mbĕx**
torcaza (JSV); tortolita (LDP)

**mbèy**
gusano

**mbĕy**
hongo nanacate

**mbĕy che$^7$x**
hongo chino, hongo de cresta, cresta del gallo

**mbĕy kăm**
hongo cámara

**mbĕy léch**
hongo de leche

**mbĕy lŭzh ngŏn**
hongo lengua de vaca

**mbèy nké go$^7$d**
gusano medidor

**mbèy skĕ**
gusano perrito, osito lanudo (book)

**mbèy tĕ lâz bŭrr**
gusano de (llagas de) burro

**mbèy tĕ nûp**
gusano de mezcal

**mbèy tĕ nzë^**
gusano de elote

**mbèy tĕ yà tò**
gusano de palo de San Pablo

**mbĕy wîn ké**
hongo venenoso

**mbĕy xîn**
hongo dañoso, hongo ilucionante (local), (book Cuacicitlal, Tzontecomananácatl)

**mbĕy xkê bŭrr**
hongo caca de burro

**mbĕy yèd**
cotorra de ocote

**mbĕy yèd**
hongo de ocote

**mbèy yi$^7$ ze$^7$ch**
gusano de flor de Cemposúchitl

**mbĕy yi$^7$n**
hongo picante

**mbĕy yi$^7$n wîn kê**
hongo de picante dañoso, nanacate picante

**mbĕy yîd yòb**
hongo de gamusa, nanacate de gamusa

**mbĕy yúp**
hongo de Castilla; hongo comestible

**mbèy yŭp nzhìch**
hongo amarillo

**mbèy yŭp në^**
hongo colorado

**mbèy yŭp ye$^7$zh**
hongo venenoso

**mbèy yû (làn)**
lombríz de la tierra/lodo

**mběy zǐ**
hongo amarillo oloroso

**mbézàn**
guajolota hembra

**mbéze$^{7}$**
guajolote macho

**mbe$^{7}$**
luna; mes

**mbe$^{7}$**
mariposa

**mbe$^{7}$ bíyì**
temporada de agua, tiempo de agua, mes de agua, mes de llluvia

**mbe$^{7}$ bë̌**
tiempo de sol

**mbe$^{7}$ tě mbì**
tiempo de viento, mes de viento

**mbe$^{7}$ tě yì**
mes de lluvia, tiempo de lluvia

**mbe$^{7}$ yén**
luna llena

**mbe$^{7}$k**
tufo feo

**mbe$^{7}$t**
rana

**mbe$^{7}$t bîx**
rana de tomate

**mbe$^{7}$t lŏd**
rana de lodo

**mbe$^{7}$t yà**
rana palo; renacuajo

**mbe$^{7}$y**
tuza

**mbe$^{7}$y yà**
cuerpoespín (local), puercoespín (standard)

**mbê**
araña

**mbê nzyè lâz yê**
araña de piedra

**mbê tě yîx to$^{7}$**
maya de hamaca (pozitos de la red)

**mbê tě yë$^{7}$z**
diente de chicalmata

**mbêl yè**
conejo (del campo)

**mbêl yè mlàn**
liebre

**mbêl yè nì**
conejo casero

**mbêx**
arador, comején, jijén, jején

**mbêx tě( bêx tě) pérǐk**
comején que vive en la oguera de perico

**mbêx xkê mbyòb**
arador de abono de arriera

**mbêx yi$^{7}$n**
arador de abono de arriera

**mbêx yi$^{7}$n**
arador de picante

**mbêz**
abeja

**mbêz chu$^{7}$k**
abeja tragasaliva, tragasaliva

**mbêz énjámbré**
abejón enjambre

**mbêz kǎ**
chicharra

**mbêz mgu$^{7}$t zhěn**
avispa de humo

**mbêz mzhìn do$^{7}$**
abeja de castilla

**mbêz nîz**
gorgojo de maiz

**mbêz nyǐch yǐb**
quiebrafierro

**mbêz nzhè**
avispa que guarda la tierra

**mbêz nzhìch**
avispa amarilla; avispa zapata amarilla

**mbêz nzhu$^{7}$k**
abejoncita de saliva

**mbêz tě mzhìn**
abeja de miel, enjambre

**mbêz wàn**
muestramuerte

**mbêz xkê**
ruedacaca, abejón ruedacaca

**mbêz yì**
ruedacaca, ruedacuita

**mbgătz**

pulga

**mbgi$^{7}$x**
tostado

**mbgǒl**
señor, señor de edad

**mbgǒl xò**
máscara(s); disfrazados

**mbgùp**
armadillo

**mbgùp dâ**
armadillo grande

**mbgùp dâ**
armadillo petate

**mbgùp ngǐn**
armadillo cera negra

**mbgu$^{7}$t**
mancha en la cara que se da por el antojo de comer panal

**mbgu$^{7}$t**
panal (de avispa)

**mbgu$^{7}$t bto$^{7}$**
panal de tierra

**mbgu$^{7}$t to$^{7}$**
panal de tierra

**mbgu$^{7}$t yû**
panal de tierra

**mbgu$^{7}$t zhěn**
panal de humo; avispa de humo

**mbì**
aire, viento; hinchado, gordo, lleno de aire, inflamación (BAL), enfermedad de aire (CAN)

**mbǐ**
calantia amarilla, calandria amarilla, calambria amarilla

**mbi chánt**
chapulín

**mbǐ n-gǎtz**
calandria negra

**mbi n-gatz**
mariuela

**mbǐ nzhìch**
calandria amarilla

**mbì tô**
aire de la boca

**mbì wxìn**
aire malo; apariciones

**mbì yêzh lû**
alma

**mbí zàg**
calandria

**mbíchi$^{7}$x**
chapulín bixiento

**mbǐd**
sarna; sarnoso

**mbìd yèn**
ronco; se secó mi pescuezo

**mbǐl**
lagartija

**mbíl**
mugre

**mbíl byû**
camarón salado

**mbǐl sérét**
serete

**mbǐl to$^{7}$l**
lagartija resbalosa, lagartija de baba

**mbìth**
zorrillo

**mbìt$^{7}$**
rana

**mbìt$^{7}$ nyë^**
rana verde

**mbìz**
zanatillo, zanate chico de ojo colorado

**mbǐzh**
semilla de calabaza, pepitas

**mbi$^{7}$ch**
chino, rizado, permanente

**Mbi$^{7}$zh**
León

**mbi$^{7}$zh**
león, puma

**mbi$^{7}$zh bǐx**
leoncillo; tigrillo, micelote (local) ocelote (standard)

**mbi$^{7}$zh kwí**
marto

**mbî**
limpio

**mbî**
mosquito

**mbîch**
gordoníz, cordoníz, perdís

**mbîch bǐx**
gordoníz chiquito

**mbîg**
calandria de color amarillo bajo, (una abeja/avispa que come las matas de frijolar)

**mbît**
chapulín, langosta

**mbît go$^{7}$b**
catrín

**mbît ngwlǒzh**
chapulín de ala

**mbît tzô**
langosta, chapulín comestible

**mbît yà yǐch**
chapulín de cochito

**mbîtz**
pulso; hipo; ataque; calambre

**mbîtz ya$^{7}$**
pulso

**mbla$^{7}$ tzâ**
separado

**mblǒ**
corredor

**mblë$^{7}$zh**
chuchupaxtle

**mbǒx**
comadreja

**mbóx**
espeso de miel de caña

**mbôrrs mbôrrs mbôrrs**
sonido de animales comiendo pastura

**mbras**
sonido de una botella que se estrella

**mbrôj**
sonido de cerrar una puerta grande

**mbrônh mbrônh mbrônh**
sonido de agua creciente/sucia en el río

**mbrûnh**
sonido de derrumbe o rayo

**mbúd**
embudo

**Mbûx**
Tibursio

**mbwǎtz**
pulga

**mbwíx**
copetón

**mbwi$^{7}$**
diversión

**mbwi$^{7}$**
lastimado; herida

**mbwîn**
temblor

**mbyǎg**
tieso

**mbyàk nîtz-é**
aguado

**mbyàn**
primavera

**mbyǎt**
sancudo

**mbyaw$^{7}$ mbe$^{7}$**
eclipse de luna

**mbyaw$^{7}$ wìzh**
eclilpse del sol

**mbyàx**
espeso

**mbya$^{7}$t**
marchitado

**mbyél**
Miguel

**mbye$^{7}$zh**
chicatana (arriera)

**mbyìn**
pájaro

**mbyìn chérěk**
pájaro chereque

**mbyìn ndyë^ xúp tô no$^{7}$l**
pájaro verde pico largo

**mbyìn nê**
chucará

**mbyìn tô yu$^{7}$**
Martín pescador

**mbyìt**
doblado

**mbyi$^{7}$**
señor

**mbyi$^{7}$k**
mal de orina

**mbyi$^{7}$k tèn**
mal de orina con sangre

**mbyî**

rescoldo

**mbyîth**
arcoiris

**mbyòb**
arriera

**mbyòb xlêy**
arriera roja

**mbyòb xlêy**
hormiga de palo

**mbyòn**
tercero

**mbyô**
muchacho, joven

**mbyôl**
quemado

**mbyŭx**
jijén

**mbyŭx**
jijén, jején

**mbyŭx**
quején

**mbyu$^7$p**
piojo de gallina, pulgilla, ladilla

**mbyu$^7$z**
garza

**mbyu$^7$z**
pájaro nocturno, anuncio de muerto

**mbyu$^7$z**
víbora de cáscabel

**mbyû**
pulga

**mbyë´zh**
pichanche, colador

**mbyë´zh**
siete, siete cabrillas

**mbyë$^7$zh**
chicatana

**mbzhăzh**
lechuza

**mbzha$^7$**
muchacha

**mbzhìn do$^7$**
miel de enjambre

**mbzhîn**
venado

**mbzhë^**
muchachos

**mbë´**
tlacomixtle (local), cacomixtle (book)

**mbë´l yè**
conejo

**mbël$^7$ lâch**
sanguijuela

**mbël$^7$ wăz**
caracól

**mbël$^7$ wăz tĕ nîtz**
caracol de agua

**mbë`z**
costoche, zorra

**mbë̌ z**
nene

**mbë̌ z bèn**
nene al punto de nacer

**mbë̌ z do$^7$**
nene chiquito de la cuna

**mbë̌ z găn**
niño difunto, niño finado

**mbë̌ z tĕ mbèk búnch**
hijo del monte, hijo del sancho, hijo del perro buncho

**mbë̌ z tĕ mbë`z**
chamaco del costoche, hijo del sancho, hijo del monte

**mbë$^7$l**
culebra

**mbë$^7$l là yi$^7$**
culebra floreada, chuchupaxtle

**mbë$^7$l lâch**
sanguijuela

**mbë$^7$l lód**
lombríz de la tierra

**mbë$^7$l lùt**
culebra bejuquía

**mbë$^7$l mbla$^7$zh**
chuchupaxtle

**mbë$^7$l no$^7$ mtzôn**
víbora de cascabel

**mbë$^7$l nzhò lídyo$^7$-m´**
lombríz de la gente

**mbë$^7$l wzhíb**
víbora de cascabel

**mbë$^7$l yà**
culebra bejuquía

**mbë$^7$l yà**
culebra del palo

**mbë$^7$l yo$^7$z**
venadero

**mbë$^7$y zë^**
gallina ciega

**mbë^l**
estrella, lucero

**mbë^l**
pescado, pez

**mbë^l aúj**
pescado aguja

**mbë^l dà**
pescado petate

**mbë^l flój**
lucero flojo

**mbë^l gât**
luciera siete

**mbë^l kwátět**
pescado cuatete

**mbë^l mbyë´zh**
lucero siete

**mbë^l mzhìn**
pescado cinco

**mbë^l ójótónh**
pescado ojotón

**mbë^l pérmér ntyo$^7$**
pescado que sale primero

**mbë^l trúch**
trucha

**mbë^l xó**
pescadito

**mbë^l xó**
pescadito charal

**mbë^l xo$^7$p**
pescado seis

**mbë^l zche$^7$**
soplador

**mbë^l zha$^7$b**
estrella floja

**mbë^l zi$^7$l**
flojo

**mbë^l zi$^7$l**
pescado grande

**mchín**
penolilla; conchuda, garrapata

**mchînh**
chupamiel

**mchu$^7$k**
abejón de saliva

**mě**
él, ella; persona mayor que el hablante o a quien respeta, y/o persona que no conoce el interlocutor o con quien se tratan de Ud.

**mě byî**
marido

**mě byî ngùth chë$^7$l**
viudo

**mé chîn**
penolillo; monchuda; sabandija; garrapata

**mé chîn dî**
penolillo chiquitillo

**mé chîn lázánh**
penolillo alazán, pinolillo

**mé chîn tě ngwzi$^7$**
penolillo de rayo

**mé chîn xò**
garrapata, conchuda

**mě gǒx**
señor grande, señora grande

**mé gǒx**
abuelito/a; gente grande

**mě gôtz**
señora; mujer; esposa

**mě gôtz gǒx**
mujer vieja

**mě gôtz go$^7$zh**
mujer podrida

**mě gôtz nâ ndò gîd lâz**
prostituta

**mě gôtz ngùth mě byî tě**
viuda

**mě gû**
chayote montes, toloache

**mě làt**
gente del valle

**mě lâch**
sandijuela (loc)

**mě lxǐzh**
baltazareño, chareño, gente de San Baltazar Loxicha

**mě nz$^7$ di$^7$zh di$^7$zh xtíl**
gente que platica la castilla

**mě xa$^7$k**
gente desconocida

**mě xu$^7$**
demonio; diablo

**mě yi$^7$**
florifundio, San Nicolás

**mě yîx**
chismoso

**mě zìn**
gente tonta

**měch**
trenza

**méd**
dinero

**měk**
sucio

**mél zë^**
memela de elote

**mélkyǎd**
Melquiades

**měn**
gente

**měn lèn tè**
panzón

**měn n-gǎtz**
persona de herencia africana

**měn wér**
gente gu"era

**ménch**
Furmencio

**ménúd**
menudo

**Mèr**
Ermelinda

**mérrtha$^7$**
apenas

**měxt**
maestro

**měxt tě mbzhë^ skwél**
maestro de escuela

**měxt tě nì**
maestro de obras

**me$^7$**
poco

**me$^7$ga$^7$ me$^7$ga$^7$**
poco a poco

**mgô**
tecolute

**mgu$^7$t**
panal

**mgu$^7$t zhë̌ n**
panal de humo

**mǐl**
Ermilo

**Míl**
Emilia

**Mǐnh**
Benjamín

**Mǐnh**
Jamín

**mǐnh**
Domingo

**mínhk**
Benjamín

**mísélǒt**
leoncillo

**mka$^7$l**
sueño

**mkók**
tecolote

**mkóz**
arete

**mkóz**
lucérnaga

**mkóz xàn tîl**
chispa o lumbre que se pega debajo del comal después de que se apaga la llama

**mko$^7$**
teculutón, tecolute

**mko$^7$ làn**
tecolutón, tecolute chiquito

**mko$^7$ yîx**
vivelula

**mkwë$^7$d**
caracol

**mkë$^7$ go$^7$d**
gusano medidor

**mlǒ (COA)**
corredor

**mlǔt$^7$**
golondrina

**mlûx**
vilús

**mlyàt**
sancudo

**m´m`m´m`m´m`m´m`**
sonido de un carro cargado

**mó nè**
alacrán

**mò në`**
alacrán

**Mǒch**
Modesto

**mód**
modo, estilo

**mǒk**
moco

**mól nê**
mole rojo

**mól n-gǎtz**
mole negro

**mólín ya$^{7}$**
molinito de mano

**món yî**
estatua, ídolo, monumento

**mós**
chalán, mozo

**mót**
Timoteo

**móyéj tě ngǐd**
molleja de gallina

**mtézí**
hormiga roja

**mtézí mtyê**
hormiga de carnisuelo

**mtézí mtyên**
hormiga de bajo el metate

**mtê**
hormiga roja

**mtí bì**
hormiga barrandera, arriera barrandera

**mtí bì yì**
barrandera de lluvia, barrandera de agua

**mtí yîx**
chicatana chiquita

**mtí yîx**
mariposita

**mti$^{7}$ch**
távano

**mtòp**
segundo

**mtyé yà**
hormiga de palo

**mtyètz ka$^{7}$**
camarón reculón

**mtye$^{7}$n**
vivelula

**mtyê**
hormiga de carnisuelo

**mtyê tě yǐch wǎz**
chicatana

**mtyên**
chinche que chupa sangre

**mtyên**
hormiguita roja, hormiga de carnisuelo, hormiga chiquitín

**mtyi$^{7}$ch**
távano, mosca grande

**mtyë`tz**
camarón

**mtyë$^{7}$**
piojo

**mtyë$^{7}$ tě ngǐd**
piojo de gallina

**mtyë$^{7}$ch**
regado

**mtyë^**
piojo, liendre

**mtyë^ dî**
liendre, piojillo, ladilla

**mtyë^ lâd**
piojo de ropa

**mtyë^n**
chinche de la casa

**mtzé nîk**
culebra corolilla

**mtzi$^{7}$l**
pájaro que da la hora de la comida

**mtzi$^{7}$l tǔzh**
chigón

**mtzi$^{7}$l xâb**
pájaro del burro

**mtzî**
gavilán

**mtzî bǐx**
gavilancillo

**mtzî blíb**
gavilancillo

**mtzî do$^{7}$**
águila

**mtzî yu$^{7}$**
gavilancillo, gavilancito del río

**mtzôn**
cascabel de culebra

**mtzyǒn**
coralillo

**múd kwè**
sordo mudo

**Mǔn**
Reymundo/a

**mǔn**
Raymundo

**mún**
Edmundo

**mų̌**
sonido de la vaca

**mwi($^{7}$)k**
lechuza

**mxe$^{7}$**
bruja (que chupa de noche)

**mxe$^{7}$**
mariposa que se pega a la luz en la noche, clase mariposa peluda

**mxên**
cortado

**mxi$^{7}$zh**
tejón

**mxôz yë$^{7}$l**
mala hierba

**myǎw**
sonido del grito del gato (onomatopeya)

**Myèl**
Miguel

**myěrrk**
miércoles

**myìn bìá**
calandra

**myìn lóx**
borrac

**myìn mbìch**
cordoníz

**myìn n-gǎtz**
zanate

**myìn ñë$^{7}$**
payasa

**myìn zhój**
perdís

**myìn (COA)**
pájaro

**myë$^{7}$x**
Siete Cabrillas

**mzá-y´**
completo

**mzha$^{7}$b**
cansado

**mzhêb**
miedo, susto

**mzhìn**
miel

**mzhìn nîth**
miel de caña

**mzhìn yû**
colmena de tierra, miel de tierra

**mzhîn**
venado

**mzhîn bèn**
venado tierno

**mzhǔ**
quemado

**mzhë^ bèn**
muchacho; soltero

**mzhë^ bǐx**
chamacos chiquitos

**mzhë^ datzánt yèk du$^{7}$b**
muchachos danzantes con cabeza de pluma

**mzhë^ gôtz ntzé yàk měn**
enfermera

**mzhë^ grúp músíkál**
grupo musical

**mzhë^ grúp ndo$^{7}$l**
grupo musical

**mzhë^ músk**
chamacos músicos

**mzhë^ pólísí**
policía

**mzhë^ yë^z là**
grifo, (muchacho que fuma marijuana)

**mzìn**
ratón

**mzìn bew$^{7}$**
ratón padruno, rata

**mzìn wâ**
rata

**mzô gâx**
próximo; se acercó

**mzôn**
chacal

**mę̈^$^7$**
sonido de borrego

**nà**
con

**nà**
también, y

**nǎ**
señora grande

**nǎ**
virgen

**ná**
despierto

**ná**
no

**ná zhǎl**
quien sabe; no se encuentra

**ná zë´ látyo$^7$**
no se acuerda

**-nǎb**
pedir

**-nǎb di$^7$zh**
saludar; preguntar

**-nǎb xè**
olerlo

**Nách**
Tanacia

**nách**
Ignacio, Nacho

**nǎl**
esta hora, este día

**nǎl zdâp wìzh**
hoy en cuatro días

**nǎl zgâl wìzh**
hoy en veinte días

**Nánch**
Venancia

**náránhj**
naranja

**náránhj kált**
naranja de caldo

**nàt**
hoy

**Nátál**
Natalia

**nàx**
estar acostado, estar puesto

**-nàx**
estar acostado

**nàx kwàz ndô**
acostado embrocado, acostado boca abajo

**náx nâx**
virgen

**nàx nzë^**
acostado boca arriba

**nàx wa$^7$tz**
acostado de lado

**nǎy**
mamá

**náylâ**
nailo

**na$^7$**
estar con, estar junto a

**-na$^7$**
lavarlo, lavarse

**na$^7$ të$^7$l wê**
anoche, ayer noche

**na$^7$ wê**
ayer

**na$^7$j**
mira!

**na$^7$t**
arroyo

**Na$^7$t Ándávíst**
Arroyo Anda Vista

**na$^7$t nzhò gu$^7$d**
Arroyo Podrido, Río Podrido

**na$^7$t tá wâ**
Arroyo Yerba Santa

**Na$^7$t Wlè**
Rancho Arroyo Ciego

**na$^7$t yà lòd**
Arroyo Carrizo

**na$^7$t yà mǎnh**
Arroyo Mango

**Na$^7$t Yà Mánh**
Rancho Arroyo Mangal

**na$^7$t yà wèd**
Arroyo Magueyito

**na$^7$t yà xì**
Arroyo Jícara

**na$^7$t yà yěl**

Arroyo Mamey

**Na$^7$t Yà Yìt**
Arroyo Macahuite

**na$^7$t yàgay$^7$**
Arroyo (Palo) Cinco

**na$^7$t yí bíl wăz**
Arroyo Cacho

**na$^7$t yí lìd yî**
Arroyo Piedra

**na$^7$t yíl bë`w**
Arroyo Río Guacamaya

**na$^7$t yi$^7$ mbë̆z**
Arroyo Flor del Niño

**na$^7$t yî bî**
Arroyo Mosquito

**na$^7$t yî n-gŭd**
Arroyo Agua Blanca

**na$^7$t yu$^7$ nzhò mko$^7$**
Arroyo Tecolute

**na$^7$t yë`l bĕ**
Arroyo Mulato

**nâ**
REL

**nâ**
yo

**-nâ**
ver

**-nâ**
verse

**nâx nâx**
virgen

**nbăn**
vivo

**nbìx nà-m´ tzâ-m´**
andar con su compañero, ser amantes

**nbo$^7$ zhêb**
saca espanto

**ndá xít zi$^7$l**
cebolla grande

**ndá xît**
cebolla

**ndá xît bĭx**
cebollín

**ndá xît yi$^7$**
cebollín

**ndá yĕ**
guaje morado

**ndăl lë^**
festejo, cumpleaños, onomástico

**ndăn**
tizne

**ndánh ndánh ndánh**
sonido de las campanas

**ndátî**
guaje

**ndàw tìth**
dolor de hueso

**ndàw yèk**
dolor de cabeza

**ndàw yë^**
adolorido, resfriado, cuando le va a pegar gripa con calentura etc.

**ndàw yë^**
resfriado; dolor de cuerpo

**ndày**
paño

**nda$^7$l**
gordo

**nda$^7$z mbë`z´**
medio-cocido y medio-crudo

**ndâ**
guaje

**ndâ tî yí xìl**
guaje de San Bartolo

**ndâb**
huarache

**ndâtz**
pie

**ndâw**
zapote

**ndĕz**
tlacuache

**ndinh ndinh**
sonido de las campanas

**ndi$^7$z**
ardilla

**ndŏch**
amole

**ndoy$^7$**
míspero

**ndo$^7$l tô**
canción; canto; canta

**ndô**
cara; punta; a(l)

**ndô**

punta

**ndô bku$^{7}$**
infierno

**ndô byôn**
Cerro Pityona

**ndô bë$^{7}$**
arriba, el aire, el cielo, el espacio

**ndô kìd**
omblígo

**ndô lè**
patio

**ndô lùt tzèth**
la punta de la guía de calabaza

**ndô ngǔtz ya$^{7}$**
la punta del dedo

**ndô të´**
total

**ndô xla$^{7}$**
buche de ave

**ndô xla$^{7}$**
buche, tragadera donde almacena comida aparte

**ndô xyè**
plaza; mercado, tianguis

**ndô yà új**
la punta de la aguja

**ndrính**
sonido de una botella quebrándose en el suelo; sonido de machete contra piedra; sonido de una cosa de fierro que se cae en el piso o contra otra cosa dura o contra otra cosa de fierro.

**ndùn ti$^{7}$n**
uso; lo usa, lo ocupa

**ndyàw lá tyo$^{7}$**
coraje; le duele el corazón

**ndyìth nîtz do$^{7}$**
ola del mar

**ndyë^**
verde

**ndyë^ là**
verde bajo

**ndyë^ch**
susto

**ndë`y**
diente

**ndë`y bxe$^{7}$ch**
dientes desapartados, dientes saltiados, dientes desparejos

**ndë`y kwa$^{7}$**
diente cuatrapeado, diente encimado

**ndë`y wzàn**
diente principal

**ndë`y xë$^{7}$**
diente de enfrente

**ndë`y yǐch**
muela, diente molar

**ndë`y zi$^{7}$ ña$^{7}$**
raíz de fuerza de la milpa, raíz principal de la milpa

**ndë$^{7}$**
este, así

**ndë$^{7}$l**
feo

**ndë$^{7}$pa$^{7}$**
bastante, mucho, harto

**ndë^**
aquí

**Néch**
Nestor; Ernesto; Inez

**-nèd**
adelantarse

**něd**
adelante; primero

**Něl**
Cornelio

**némë$^{7}$**
de una vez

**nětz**
tía

**Néw**
Irineo

**Něx**
Inés

**nê**
rojo

**nê**
vez

**-nê**
descansar

**nêtz**
orina

**-nêtz**
orinar

**nêz**
camino

**nêz**
par

**nêz**
par; pareja

**nêz bǐx**
vereda; camino chiquito

**nêz kwa$^7$**
camino tendido, camino parejo

**nêz làt**
el Valle de Oaxaca

**nêz lâd**
muda de ropa

**nêz ntyìd trénh**
vía

**nêz nzyá xàn yè**
camino para el rancho "Confradía"

**nêz nzyèn nzyá pár sántá mǎrrt**
el camino que se va para Santa Marta

**nêz nzyèn nzyá pár yè wǐx**
la entrada del camino que va para Cerro Sabroso

**ngǎ**
cacalote

**ngǎch**
(bebida)

**ngarrs**
sonido de morder

**n-gǎtz**
negro

**nga$^7$x**
chichalaca (local), chachalaca (standard)

**n-gâch**
reflejante

**ngězh**
lombríz

**ngězh**
lombríz del estómago

**ngězh tě kǔch**
lombriz de marrano

**ngězh tě ngǐd**
lombriz de gallina

**ngězh yû làn**
lombriz de lodo, lombriz de tierra

**ngì**
recto

**ngí zìn**
murciélago

**ngǐch**
me ngǐch (P), patas de cabello (L)

**ngǐd**
ave hembra; gallina

**ngǐd gáx**
gallina pata corta

**ngǐd n-gò**
gallina ponedora

**ngǐd wàch**
guabina

**ngǐd wa$^7$n**
escríbano, secretaria, gallina ciega, gallina robón, resortera

**ngǐd xoj**
faisán

**ngǐd yìx**
gallina montés

**ngǐd yìx**
gallinea, gallina montés; chichalaca

**ngǐd zàn**
gallina

**ngǐd ze$^7$**
gallo

**ngǐn**
cera

**ngǐn ngùz ndô**
chingín

**ngǐn nzhâ**
cera del oído

**ngír si$^7$**
piojillo; vivelula; caballito de diablo (book)

**ngi$^7$ch**
patas de cabello, araña pelos de sobaco

**ngi$^7$ch lèn nîtz**
luna del río

**ngîd**
camaleón

**ngǒch**
quebrado

**ngòl**
zopilote (cabeza negra)

**ngòl yèk nê**
zopilote cabeza roja, zopilote cabeza colorada

**ngòl yèk n-gătz**
sopilote cabeza negra

**ngòl yu$^7$**
zopilote del río, zopilote cabeza roja

**ngŏn**
toro, vaca, novillo, buey, ganado

**ngŏn nzhĭ**
toros uncidos, yunta uncida

**ngo$^7$zh**
podrido

**ngôtz tzéy**
chiflido de lechuza (local), chiflado de lechuza (standard?)

**ngù**
borracho

**ngú gàl**
deshazón

**ngú yë^**
maduro

**n-gŭd**
blanco

**ngŭp**
gente boca cerrada; mudo; callado

**ngŭtz**
dedos

**ngŭtz tlă**
dedos de en medio

**ngŭtz tŭzh**
dedo chiquito, dedo menique

**ngŭtz zi$^7$l**
dedo grande, pulgar

**ngùz**
fruta

**ngùz ga$^7$**
coyul, coquito

**ngùz ga$^7$ kwĭb**
coquito apestoso, coyul apestoso

**ngùz ga$^7$ wtî**
lo dulce del coquito

**ngùz kwê**
pene

**ngùz kwê nzŏb ga$^7$l**
pene parado

**ngùz kwê nzŏb yà**
pene parado

**ngùz kwê xa$^7$ byî**
huevo del hombre; pene

**ngùz ndô**
ojo

**ngùz ndô bích**
ojo biche, ojo brillante

**ngùz ndô bídryó**
ojos de vidrio, ojos biches

**ngùz ndô chá**
ojo malo, ojo bizco

**ngùz ndô chá**
ojos viscos

**ngùz ndô ka$^7$n**
ojos chuecos

**ngùz ndô lĕ**
ojo ahumado o manchado, ciego

**ngùz ndô ndyë^**
ojos verdes

**ngùz ndô n-gătz**
ojo negro

**ngùz ndô ngwlè**
ciego

**ngùz ndô nzĭn**
ciego

**ngùz ndô nzĭn**
ojo visco

**ngùz ndyên mblâ ndô kìd mĕn**
hernia

**ngùz tĕ là nél**
fruta de la hoja de canela

**ngùz tĕ là yi$^7$ ga$^7$ch**
fruta de quintonil

**ngùz tĕ yà gŭch**
fruta de magueyito

**ngùz tĕ yà gû**
higuerilla, ´grillá (local)

**ngùz tĕ yà tìzh**
fruta de palo (e)gareche

**ngùz tĕ yi$^7$b ndàch**
cartucho de rifle que quema

**ngùz xlë^**

fruta fresca

**ngùz xlë^ kwàl**
fruta fresca

**ngùz yà ngîz**
fruta de huanacasle

**ngu$^7$d**
podrido, vómito, asco

**ngu$^7$y**
cocido

**ngû**
huevo

**ngû**
huevo

**ngû kwi$^7$**
huevos descompuestos

**ngû tě mběy yu$^7$p**
blanquillo de hongo

**ngû zë^**
huevo frito

**ngwa$^7$ch**
guabina

**ngwa$^7$z kúchí**
puñalada

**ngwâ bzhìn**
plaga

**ngwe$^7$y**
ruido, ruidoso

**ngwi$^7$**
cocido

**ngwlàb**
ulabo

**ngwla$^7$p**
paloma de ala blanca

**ngwlâ**
gusano ahuatudo

**ngwlâ**
ixcatón

**ngwlâ dǒd**
gusano de resina

**ngwlâ nkë$^7$ go$^7$d**
gusano medidor

**ngwlâ të$^7$l**
entró la noche

**ngwlâ xi$^7$l**
ixcatón de algodón

**ngwlâ yi$^7$ ze$^7$ch**
gusano de Cemposúchitl

**ngwlèy**
sacerdote

**ngwlèy**
sacerdote

**ngwlë̌**
rajada; rajadura; se quebró

**ngwrě**
granos del ojo

**ngwzàn**
consuegro

**ngwzàn**
poder del río, dueño del río

**ngwzha$^7$n**
cuidanene

**ngwzhûl**
avispa petate?

**ngwzi$^7$**
rayo

**ngwzó yî**
temazcal

**ngë̌**
mosca

**ngë̌ yìch**
mosca grande

**ngë̌ yi$^7$b**
moscón

**ngë̌ g**
mosca grande, moscón

**ngë̌ g ndyë^**
moscón verde

**nhó**
nosotros

**nhwchînh**
chupamiel

**nhwtêzh**
grito

**nhwtìdá yë^**
pasado (de maduro)

**nhwxî**
chinchatlao, viuda negra, tutatlama

**nhwxîx**
nuera

**nì**
casa

**nì**
cuidado!

**-nì**
servirse

**-nì**
sirve; se puede

**-nì**
terminarse

**-ní be$^{7}$y**
mandar, disponer, ordernar

**ní dûb-é**
ninguno

**nì kósín**
cocina (otra casa)

**nì làw**
municipio, casa comunal

**nì lâd**
casa de campaña

**nì n-gócha$^{7}$-s ta$^{7}$n**
bodega

**nì nzho$^{7}$b ga$^{7}$p**
la casa que está arriba

**nì tě mbgǒl xò**
casa de máscaras; casa de disfraze, donde se visten los hombres en días de fiesta

**nì tě ngǐd**
gallinero

**nì tě ngù**
cárcel

**nì tě zhúl**
casa de pollito

**nì wzàn**
casa donde se reuna la gente, casa real, casa grande

**nì yá tnìx**
casa de vara

**nì yǐch**
cocina

**nì yîx**
casa de zacate

**nì yîx**
casa de zacate

**Ník**
Nicasio/a

**ník**
collar, gargantilla

**Nǐl**
Leonilo

**Nǐl**
Nilo

**nǐth**
nadar

**níw**
nigua

**-ni$^{7}$**
hablar; decir

**-ni$^{7}$ be$^{7}$y**
mandarlo

**-ni$^{7}$ kwë^**
criticar, contradecir, maldecir

**-ni$^{7}$ lá tyo$^{7}$**
pensar

**-ni$^{7}$ ndô ápárát**
anunciar

**nî**
canilla, donde unen los huesos, coyuntura

**nî**
cuidado

**nî**
gota

**-nî**
saborearlo, probarlo

**-nî**
ver

**nî ndâtz**
donde unen los huesos del pie

**nî tě mbǎd ya$^{7}$**
la muñeca

**nî xìk**
codo

**nî xò**
canilla

**nî ya$^{7}$**
puño; muñeca

**nîk**
collar de las mujeres, gargantilla

**nîk tě ngùz tě yà do$^{7}$ch**
collar de fruta de palo de pipa

**nîl**
nixtamal

**nîl ko$^{7}$b**
nixtamal de pozole

**nîl ti$^{7}$ch**
maiz reventado

**nîth**
caña

**-nîth**
perderlo, echar a perder

**-nîth**
perderse, desaparecerse

**nîth n-gǔd**
caña blanca

**nîth xtíl**
caña de Castilla

**nîtz**
agua

**nîtz bêth**
el Paraiso

**nîtz bë̌$^7$**
sudor

**nîtz do$^7$**
mar, agua del mar

**nîtz ko$^7$b**
atole

**nîtz ko$^7$b nzé ndè**
chilatole

**nîtz ko$^7$b nzë^**
atole de elote

**nîtz ko$^7$b pánél**
atole de panela

**nîtz kwàl**
refresco; agua fría, agua fresca; jugo

**nîtz kwân**
agua sucia; turbia

**nîtz kwì**
cedilla; úlcera? (líquido agrio)

**nîtz lâl**
caldo de Ulalia, puro caldo sin verduras

**nîtz lèy**
agua bendita

**nîtz ndê chǎrk**
agua estancada

**nîtz ndê ché yë`l nêz**
agua estancada del camino

**nîtz ngǎch**
chocolate

**nîtz n-gǎtz**
cerveza

**nîtz n-gǔd**
Agua Blanca

**nîtz ngùz kwê**
espermatozoide

**nîtz ngùz ndô**
lágrimas

**nîtz nzǒb lèn**
agua que está naciendo, manantial

**nîtz rréméd**
agua medicinal

**nîtz tě mbèy**
tepache

**nîtz tě mě gù**
mezcal

**nîtz tě yà ga$^7$**
el pulque del palma de coquito

**nîtz to$^7$l**
agua babosa; babas

**nîtz wtǐg**
agua caliente

**nîtz wtî**
agua dulce

**nîtz wtîx**
agua salada

**nîtz wzhë^**
agua tibia

**nîtz xi$^7$n xa$^7$ gôtz**
toloache

**nîtz xyë̌**
agua clara

**nîtz ya$^7$**
brazo de río

**nîtz yì**
agua de lluvia

**nîtz yǐ**
agua de cal, lejía

**nîtz yi$^7$n**
chilmole, salsa de chile

**nîtz yi$^7$n bîx**
salsa de tomate

**nîtz yi$^7$n bîx lìd**
salsa de miltomate

**nîtz yi$^7$n bîx n-gòch ngû**
salsa de tomate que se revuelve con huevo

**nîtz yîd kwê xa$^7$ gôtz**
toloache

**nîtz yîx nì**
agua del nacimiento de la criatura

**nîtz yë^**
agua clara, agua fría

**nîw**
nihua

**nîx**
aguacate

**nîx bǐ**
aguacate chiquitillo

**nîx bǒl**
aguacate voludo

**nîx ndyë^**
aguacate verde

**nîx zûd**
aguacate mantecoso

**nîz**
mazorca

**nîz btîth**
mazorca de maíz hueso

**nîz máyzónh pínt n-gǎtz**
mazorca pinta negra

**nîz mtyûb**
mazorca deshojada

**nîz nê**
mazorca roja

**nîz nzhǒp ngǎch**
mazorca de maíz coyuche

**nîz nzhǒp n-gǎtz**
mazorca de maíz negro

**nka$^7$n**
vez

**nóbí**
novillo

**nǒnh**
Senón

**no$^7$l**
largo

**ntel yath**
tronchadura, torcedura

**nte$^7$k**
agachado

**nto$^7$ chô-y´**
despachado

**nto$^7$ lë^**
bautizo

**ntu$^7$b**
cenzontle

**ntyìd xë$^7$**
trasparente

**ntzi$^7$**
anillo del palo

**ntë^l**
torzón

**ntë^l tě mbë̌ z**
torzon de la criatura

**núf**
Ranulfo

**núzh**
grillo

**nûp**
mezcal

**nwǐx**
antojo

**nyé bë̌**
de día

**nzâ**
frijol

**nzâ**
frijól

**nzâ bay$^7$**
frijól tabayo

**nzâ dî**
frijol molido; color de frijól molido

**nzâ kwárěnt**
frijól cuarentero, frijol cuarenteño

**nzâ kë^**
ejote verde

**nzâ n-gǔd**
frijól blanco (piñero)

**nzâ píñér n-gǎtz**
frijól piñero negro

**nzâ yë`l**
frijól enredador (pinto)

**nzérình**
sonido de una botella quebrándose; sonido de machete contra piedra; sonido de una cosa de fierro que se cae en el piso o contra otra cosa dura o contra otra cosa de fierro.

**nzhǎch**
nanche

**nzha$^7$l nîtz yu$^7$ sánt túrrs**
la juntura del río Sta. Ursula

**nzhâ**
oído; oreja

**nzhâ zë´ la$^7$**
yá tiene (mucho) tiempo, tiempo de antes

**nzhâd**
cirhuela

**nzhâd bìd**
cirhuela seca

**nzhâd bîx**
cirhuela roja de tomate

**nzhâd kë^**
cirhuela verde

**nzhâd nê**
cirhuela roja

**nzhâd tě wàch**
cirhuela de iguana

**nzhě**
muestranene

**nzherr$^7$ nzherr$^7$ nzherr$^7$ nzherr$^7$**
sonido de ratón comiendo maíz

**nzhe$^7$n**
una comida sencilla, rústica, campesina

**nzhìch**
amarillo

**nzhir nzhir nzhir**
sonido de abrir una puerta que le falta grasa

**nzhis nzhis nzhis nzhis**
sonido de comer tostadas

**nzhi$^7$rranzhi$^7$rra**
sonido de una silla rechinando

**nzhòb mbe$^7$ lèn nîtz**
luna menguante

**nzhǒp**
maíz

**nzhǒp bnì**
maíz para sembrar

**nzhǒp btîth**
maíz hueso

**nzhǒp nê**
maíz rojo

**nzhǒp ngǎch**
maíz coyuche

**nzhǒp pínt**
maíz pinto

**nzho$^7$zh**
chuparrosa, chupamirto

**nzhôg**
huapinole, cuapinole

**nzhúb**
pájaro chismoso

**nzhu$^7$**
guayaba

**nzhu$^7$y**
guayaba

**nzính**
sonido de una botella quebrándose en el suelo; sonido de machete contra piedra; sonido de una cosa de fierro que se cae en el piso o contra otra cosa dura o contra otra cosa de fierro.

**nzírính nzírính**
sonido de campanila

**nzî**
gente adolorido; cansancio

**nzó do$^7$ yì**
temporada de lluvia, temporal de agua

**nzó nka$^7$n nêz kúb**
la(s) vuelta(s) del camino nuevo

**nzǒl**
grillo

**nzóy**
cacao

**nzô kë`**
subida

**nzô kë` yí zo$^7$**
la subida del mirador, el mirador

**nzô lâ**
bajada

**nzë^**
elote

**nzë^ bèn**
elote tierno

**ñǎ**
cerrado

**ñá yì**
rastrojo

**ñá yì tě nîz**
cañuela de mazorca; rastrojo de mazorca

**ña$^7$**
milpa

**ña$^7$ tě là nzë^**
milpa de hoja de elote

**ña$^7$ tě nzë^**
milpa de elote

**ña$^7$n**
no hay, no está, no, nothing

**ña$^7$n ndô**
sin punta

**ña$^7$n xé ta$^7$**
nada de eso

**ñěl**
Daniel

**ñó**
a ver

**-ò**
tomar

**-òj**
molerlo

**-òj**
taparse, vestirse

**Ók**
Oscar

**-òl yu$^7$**
chiflar

**-on**
saberlo

**ópé**
Qué me estás eschuchando?; oye!

**ós nxên yîx**
el oso para cortar zacate

**-òtz**
abrir la boca; bostezar, dormitar; regañar, gritar, subir la voz

**ówìzh ta$^7$**
mediodía

**oy$^7$ oy$^7$**
grito del cuche (onomatopeya)

**-o$^7$**
llevarlo; cargarlo, traer

**-o$^7$ mbì**
balancearse

**-o$^7$l**
tocar

**-o$^7$l ndâtz**
bailar

**-o$^7$l tô**
cantar

**-o$^7$l yu$^7$**
chiflar

**-o$^7$n**
llorar

**pă**
adónde?

**pă**
donde?

**pă**
papacito

**pá mér**
adónde mero?

**pă tha$^7$**
de repente

**pă tza$^7$**
hasta donde?

**páb**
Pablo

**pálŏm**
paloma

**pálŏm ngwla$^7$p**
paloma barranquera

**pálŏm tě gó**
paloma azul

**pánh yë`th**
pan serrano

**pánswél**
servilleta

**pápáy**
papaya

**pás áyìt**
Paso Macahuite, Paso Ancho, Río Grande

**pás zi$^7$l**
Paso Ancho, Río Grande, Paso Macahuite

**pástí ndye$^7$ lâd**
pastilla que se pinta la ropa

**păt**
pato

**pát (yá) ndâtz yîd**
pato pata de cuero

**Păw**
Paula

**Păw**
Paulina

**páyás**
payaso

**péj**
Epigmenio

**pélíwéy**
pelibuey

**pěnch**
huérfano

**pénta$^7$**
apenas

**pérǐk**
perico

**pérǒl**
peról

**Pǐ**
Pifaño

**pí**
sonido de destapar un refresco

**pí pí pí chàk chàk chàk**
sonido que hace la guajolota hembra cuando llama a su cría

**píd**
Elpidio

**Pín**
Crispina

**píntúr ndye$^7$ tzo$^7$ xò ngǔtz ya$^7$ měn**
pintura de uñas

**píntz**
pinza

**píntz pár xên álámbré**
pinza cortador, pinza para cortar alambre

**píntz pár yi$^7$b yìch kwe$^7$**
pinza para arrancar canas

**píntz tě púnt**
pinza de punta (para sacar seguros como de una flecha)

**pǐt tě yà bdo$^7$**
el cogollo tierno del platanar

**pítáy**
pitahaya

**pi$^7$j**
sonido del chasquido

**plǎ**
Cuánto?

**plǎ tzé**
cuánto es?; cuantos no más

**pláníy**
planilla

**plát**
plato(s)

**pló**
cuanto, tanto

**pló**
cuánto?, que tanto?

**plóm**
plomo

**pl$^7$**
sonido de comer sopa o de marranos tomando agua

**pl$^7$**
sonido de hacer el amor

**pl$^7$ pl$^7$ pl$^7$ pl$^7$**
sonido de la boca cuando está comiendo

**pǒj**
sonido del globo reventándose, sonido de rajar leña con hueco adentro

**pǒl**
Polo; Apolinar; Policarpo; Hipolito

**Pól**
Pólite

**pól**
cuándo?

**pómád ngwént**
pomada de ungu"ento

**pǒs**
hueco

**pǒs tě gǎn**
sepultura

**pǒs tě mbey$^7$**
agujero de tuza; pozo de tuza

**pós tě nîtz**
pozo de agua

**pǒs tě yà xò**
pozo de cabo de hacha

**pǒs xè**
adentro de la nariz

**pǒs yîd kwê**
vagina

**pǒs yîd xè**
hollos de la naríz

**póst tě xë$^7$**
poste de luz electrica

**po$^7$j**
sonido al tocar una puerta gruesa; sonido de caminar con tacón

**pônh**

sonido de retrocarga (refle grueso0

**pǫpǫ pǫpǫ**
sonido del tambor

**pp**
sonido de un burro o caballo soplando cuando está comiendo

**ppl$^7$**
sonido cuando le sale aire de la bestia antes de cagar

**pras**
el sonido cuando cae cagado de pájaro

**prás**
sonido de un pescado azotando su ala en el agua; sonido de una cosa que se cae en el agua

**pras pras**
sonido de chapotear, botear agua en una pared

**pras pras pras**
sonido de la gente gorda cuando camina; sonido de ropa mojada (puesta cuando camina)

**pras**
sonido de resbalar

**prâs prâs**
sonido cuando azota la ola

**prrs**
sonido de diarrea

**pǔlk**
pulque

**púlmónh**
pulmón

**purrs**
sonido de tomate

**pus**
sonido de picar navaja a persona o animal

**pwént**
puente

**pwént yà**
puente de madera

**pw$^7$**
sonido de beso de boca limpia

**px**
sonido de rifles largos

**ránch Póbrés**
Rancho Pobreza

**rǎst tě mbǎd ndâtz**
huella

**ráy tě mbǎd ya$^7$**
las rayas de la mano

**rébés (COA)**
izquierda, a la izquierda

**réjídór**
regidor

**réjídór tě édúkásyónh**
rejidor de educación

**réjídór tě óbrás**
regidor de obras

**réjídór tě pólísí**
regidor de policía

**rěnhk**
cojo, renco

**Rěy**
Reynaldo

**Rěy**
Reynaldo; Reymundo

**réy**
los Santos Reyes

**ríñónh**
riñón

**rój**
rojo (pajaro)

**rójwá**
nagua

**rójwá bxûb**
nagua corta

**rójwá ko$^7$l**
nagua larga

**Rǒs**
Rosa

**rǒs**
Rosa, Rosalinda

**rós**
Rosalino

**Rósǎr**
rosaria

**rr**
sonido de agua hirviendo; sonido de abrir una llave de agua

**rrâ rrâ rrâ**
sonido de un pájaro que se llama ´rojó o ´picolargó

**rr**
sonido de arrancar una moto

**rúd**
ruda

**rúf**
Rufino; Rufina

**rúfín**
Rufino; Rufina

**Rúpǐn**
Rupino

**sǎ**
Isaias

**sáb**
sábado

**sáb**
sábana

**sâĩ**
Isaías

**sák**
costal

**sák**
Sacarías

**sákátónh**
zacatón

**sáltíy**
saltillo

**sámbyél**
San Miguel Coatlán

**sánát**
zanate grande

**sándí bǐx tě mzìn**
sandía chiquitilla de ratón

**Sántlín**
Santa Catarina Loxicha

**sáp**
sapo

**sáp lèn tè**
sapón, sapo panzón

**sáp spǐrrt**
sapo chiquito

**Sǎr**
Sara

**sâ**
nosotros (exclusivo)

**sche**$^7$
cena

**sé**
José

**Sěb**
Severino/a; Eusebio

**sén**
docena

**sén**
Rosendo

**sérr tě mbêz énhjámbré**
cera de abeja de enjambre

**sérrój tě yi**$^7$**b**
serrojear

**sérrúch**
serrucha, serrote

**séyét**
seyeta

**sę́y**
seña, señal

**sǐd**
Isidro

**Sík**
Eusiquio

**Síkél**
Miguel

**Sǐl**
Cecilia; Vacilio

**sílbér**
Silverio

**símpl**
sin sal; a tiempo

**sínch**
cinturón

**síndíkó**
síndico

**skě**
perrito, (cachorro)

**skín**
esquina

**skín nì**
en la esquina de la casa; al fondo de la casa

**skín tô**
esquina de la boca

**smán**
semana

**sndë**$^7$**p tza**$^7$
más al rato, al rato, ahorita

**só mbál**
Buenos días, compadre.

**sóg**
sogo

**Sòl**
Soledad

**sómbrér dà**
sombrero de petate (de palma)

**sómbrér n-gătz**
sombrero panza de burro, sombrero negro

**sómbrér yìch**
sombrero de lana; sombrero panza de burro

**sómbrér yìch yîd lèn bŭrr**
sombrero panza de burro

**sómbrér yîn**
sombrero de palma

**sóplét xë$^7$**
soplete eléctrico

**sôlstôy**
sonido de tortolita

**spéj**
espejo

**Stéb**
Esteban

**sti$^7$n wìzh**
de aquí a 15 días

**strópăj**
estropajo

**stúb**
otro

**stúb lád**
allá; al otro lado

**stúb nì**
otra casa

**stúb zê**
otra parte

**stu$^7$ cha$^7$ górr**
otro ratito, otro poquito de tiempo

**stu$^7$ ché**
otro poquito

**stu$^7$x ta$^7$**
más al ratito

**stzi$^7$l**
comida

**stzi$^7$l**
la comida

**sŭl**
Soledad

**súplént**
suplente

**súsén mórád**
asucena morada

**swĭt mbál**
hermano del compadre del hermano de uno (m m)

**syán**
Garaciano

**s$^7$**
sonido de tener frío

**Tách**
Anastacia

**taj taj taj taj taj**
sonido de tocar la puerta

**ták**
Eustaquio; Plutarco

**tak tak tak tak**
sonido de un pollo/gallina recojiendo maíz en el suelo

**tak tak tak tak tak**
sonido de gente que va corriendo

**ták tàk ták tàk ták**
sonido de una persona caminar con tacones

**tăm**
tambo

**tăm tĕ mzhìn**
tambo de miel, tambo para cocer la miel

**tamăl btzé yî**
tamales de elote tierno con frijol

**támăl ko$^7$b**
tamal de masa

**támăl kŭch**
tamales de puerco

**támăl là yë$^7$z ñà**
tamales de hoja de quelite

**támăl mbèd**
tamales de guajolote

**támăl ngĭd**
tamales de gallina

**támăl nzâ**
tamal de frijól

**támăl nzhò bë$^7$l**
tamales de carne

**támăl yà wtó**
tamales de tecolmeca

**támăl yà zi$^7$x**
tamales de chepil

**támăl yàz**
tamales de ejotes tiernos; tamal con polvo de maíz podrido

**támăl yèth**
tamales de calabaza

**támăl yi$^{7}$ lùt tzèth**
tamales de flor de guía de calabaza

**támăl yë$^{7}$z**
tamal de chepil

**támăl yë^th băd**
tamales de elote tierno solo

**támbór yîd**
tambor de cuero

**tanh**
sonido de caer algo pesado

**tánh tânh tánh tânh tánk**
sonido de campana sonando

**tàrr**
Tarcicio

**tárŭg**
tarugo

**tas tas tas tas tas tas**
sonido de cachetada

**tăt**
señor grande

**tăt$^{7}$**
padre

**tăt$^{7}$ mbál**
padrino

**táx**
pasmado

**Táy**
Santiago

**ta$^{7}$**
todavía

**ta$^{7}$**
3i

**ta$^{7}$ brèl**
cosa redonda

**ta$^{7}$ kë^**
cosa verde

**ta$^{7}$ măch**
suciedad

**ta$^{7}$ mbya$^{7}$n**
el resto, desperdicio

**ta$^{7}$ ná ñí**
cosa usada (que yá no sirve)

**ta$^{7}$ nâ nbo$^{7}$ kwént xa$^{7}$ zǐl**
calculadora; computadora

**ta$^{7}$ ndùth ngë̆ g**
matamoscas

**ta$^{7}$ ndyàt ndë`y mĕn**
cepillo dental

**ta$^{7}$ ndyò**
mercancía

**ta$^{7}$ n-gócha$^{7}$-n` dî tĕ yë^z**
cenicero

**ta$^{7}$ nŏch**
surtido, cosa revuelta

**ta$^{7}$ ntzà bë̆**
sombrilla

**ta$^{7}$ nzhu$^{7}$ tô mĕ**
rastrillo

**ta$^{7}$ nzyén nâ yë´l wzá di$^{7}$zh ndô grábádór**
cinta, caset

**ta$^{7}$ nzyë` ndô mbì**
avión; helicóptero

**ta$^{7}$ rréméd**
medicina

**ta$^{7}$ wxìn**
aire malo, aire maligno, brujo

**ta$^{7}$ wzhë$^{7}$**
amuleto

**ta$^{7}$ wzhë$^{7}$**
lunar

**ta$^{7}$ xkê**
porquería

**ta$^{7}$ xyë^**
plantas

**ta$^{7}$j**
sonido de lo que se cae en el suelo

**tâ**
ahorita

**tâ ta$^{7}$**
ahorita

**tâj tâj tâj**
sonido de un cuchillo cortando carne y pegando a la madera abajo; sonido de la cagada de un caballo cuando va caminando

**tânh**
sonido de la persona que se cae por detrás

**tâs tâs tâs**
sonido de la cagada de un pájaro cuando cae al suelo, sonido de cagada seca en bola de caballo cuando se cae; sonido de tocar en puerta de madera delgada, sonido de cortar carne encima de madera

**tè**
cántaro

**tĕ**
de

**-té lyàth**
torcerse

**-tébèk**
repetirlo; devolverlo; regresarlo

**Téch**
Teresa

**téj yû**
teja de barro

**téjámáníl**
tejabanil (con tabla)

**-tèk zŏb**
trenchar

**-tékò**
meterlo

**tĕl**
si

**télë$^{7}$**
si

**Tĕm**
Artemia

**tèn**
sangre

**tĕn**
quedito, bonito

**tèn ntyo$^{7}$ xè**
sangre que sale de la nariz

**tèn tĕ ngŏn n-gătz**
sangre de toro negro

**Tĕntz**
Hortensia

**tényént**
teniente

**tepraka tepraka tepraka tepraka**
sonido de un caballo corriendo

**tétérét**
sonido de gallina (onomatopeya)

**Téy**
Luteria

**-te$^{7}$**
invitarlo

**-te$^{7}$p**
trompezarlo

**te$^{7}$(-y´)**
de una vez

**tê**
encuerado

**-tê**
apartarlo, repartirlo

**têch**
roñoso, desquebrajado

**-têl yô**
enredarse

**tì**
tono

**-tí**
descogerlo

**-tí bo$^{7}$**
descogerlo

**-tí di$^{7}$zh**
avisar

**tí xi$^{7}$n**
cadera

**Tích**
Patricio

**tìd**
chorro, diarrea

**tìd**
dearrea (local for diarrea)

**-tìd**
pasar

**-tìd kwă látyo$^{7}$**
borrarse la mente

**-tìd lèn**
purgarse, vaciarse, limpiarse; sufrir la enfermedad de diarrea

**-tìd mbë̆ z**
abortar

**tíd tèn**
disentería, sentería de sangre

**tìd tèn gu$^{7}$zh**
sentería de pujo

**-tìd të$^7$l latyo$^7$**
borrarse el sentido

**-tìd të$^7$l látyo$^7$**
perder el sentido

**-tìd xìn**
malparir, abortar

**tìd xǐn**
el pujo, disentería, disintería, sentería

**-tìd ya$^7$ (yà)**
derramar, podar

**-tìd yân**
malpasarse de comida

**tíj**
movimiento del pulso

**tík**
Eutiquio, Otiquio

**-tíkò**
meterlo

**tìl**
goma

**tǐl**
Otilio

**tǐl**
Rutilo

**-tǐl**
pelar, rebanar(lo)

**Tíl**
Matilde; Domitilo

**-tíl yàth**
torcerse, doblarse, troncharse, desviarse el hueso

**tìl yìx**
goma montés

**Tǐn**
Cristina

**Tín**
Celestino

**Tính**
Agustín

**tinh tinh tinh telânh telânh telânh**
sonido de repicar la campana

**tinh tinh tinh tinh**
sonido de cuerda tensada

**tír**
tiro

**tìth**
hueso; flaco

**tìth lá tyo$^7$**
el hueso de la boca del estómago

**tìth lâz tzo$^7$**
hueso pegado a la espalda

**tìth lèn**
hueso de la barriga

**tìth mtíl yáth**
hueso torcido; hueso doblado

**tìth ndâtz**
hueso del pie

**tìth ngǒch**
hueso roto

**tìth ngǔtz ya$^7$**
huesos de la mano

**tìth nî**
huesos donde doblan

**tìth nî mbǎd ya$^7$**
wrist bone

**tìth nî ngǔtz ya$^7$**
hueso de los dedos de la mano

**tìth nî xàn lèn**
hueso unido debajo de la barriga

**tìth nî xàn lèn**
hueso unido debajo de la barriga

**tìth nî xàn ndâtz**
hueso unido debajo del pie

**tìth nî xàn xò**
hueso unido de la pierna

**tìth nî xîb**
hueso unido de la rodilla

**tìth nî ya$^7$**
el hueso del codo del mano

**tìth tě gǎn**
hueso del muerto; craneo del difunto

**tìth tlǎ tzo$^7$**
hueso de en medio de la espalda

**tìth tzo$^7$**
espalda; hueso de la espalda

**tìth xàn lèn**
hueso debajo de la barriga

**tìth xi$^7$n**
hueso de la nalga

**tìth xîb**

hueso de rodilla

**tìth ya$^7$**
hueso de la mano

**tìth yèk mĕn**
calavera, cráneo

**tìth yèn ndô**
hueso del pescuezo adelante

**tìth yèn wzàn**
el hueso mayor del pescuezo

**Tíx**
Beatríz

**tíz**
caspa (de la cabeza)

**ti$^7$**
apenas

**ti$^7$**
diez

**ti$^7$ áyo$^7$**
mil

**ti$^7$ btyŏp**
doce

**ti$^7$ dâ**
catorce

**ti$^7$ ndăk**
hace poco

**-ti$^7$b**
ponerlo

**-ti$^7$b**
zarandear, colar

**ti$^7$bdyûb**
once

**ti$^7$ch**
olán; alforza

**-ti$^7$ch**
arrugarse

**ti$^7$n**
quince

**ti$^7$n**
trabajo

**ti$^7$n bchŏn**
diez y ocho

**ti$^7$n bdyûb**
diez y seis

**ti$^7$n btyŏp**
diez y siete

**ti$^7$n gòn**
trabajo de jornal; jornalero

**ti$^7$n làw**
trabajo comunal

**ti$^7$tz**
latida de corazón

**-ti$^7$x**
medirlo

**-ti$^7$x bĕk**
voltear

**-ti$^7$x kò**
envolverlo, enrollarlo

**-ti$^7$x tê**
voltearlo

**tîl**
comal

**tîn**
paladar blandito

**tîn**
trece

**tîn**
uvula (RGBA)

**tîz**
caspa

**tktktktk$^7$**
sonido de una lata que tiene piedritas.

**tktkt$^7$**
sonido del R-15

**tlă**
centro, en medio

**tlă mbăd ndâtz**
la del pie, en medio del pie, palma del pie

**tlă tha$^7$**
en medio; la mitad

**tlă tha$^7$ gêzh**
centro del pueblo

**tlăw**
entre, en medio, entre medio

**tmî**
moneda

**tmî gŏ**
dinero viejo; moneda vieja

**tnìx**
fajilla

**tò**
quién?, cuál?

**tòb**
tenate

**tòb**

tenate hecho con palma

**-tǒb**
echar, tirar

**-tǒb nîtz**
echar agua, botar agua, tirar agua

**tòb yôx**
torpe, terco

**-tógo$^7$l**
enlargarse

**tǒnh**
Platón; Melitón

**Tónh**
Platón

**tónó ga$^7$p**
tono alto

**tónó lâ**
tono bajo

**tónó ndàp**
tono ascendente

**tónó ndlâ**
tono descendente

**tǒp**
ser dos

**tǒp gâl**
cuarenta

**tǒp gâl nti$^7$ bgay$^7$**
cincuenta y cinco

**tǒp nǎk**
dos de ellos; no es tan seguro

**tóx lít**
conejo del campo (el más grande)

**tóy**
Antonio

**to$^7$**
bagazo (de panela)

**to$^7$**
trozo, pedazo

**-to$^7$**
salir

**-to$^7$ bxìd**
desenredarse

**-to$^7$ chô**
vaciarse, descargarse

**-to$^7$ go$^7$l**
alargarse (de tiempo)

**-to$^7$ kë̌**
apartarse

**-to$^7$ látyo$^7$**
gustar con ganas; querer

**-to$^7$ nza$^7$b**
salir volteandose, caer volteandose

**-to$^7$ xka$^7$l**
desvelarse

**-to$^7$ xo$^7$b**
salir para arriba, flotar

**-to$^7$ zë`**
salir de viaje

**to$^7$k to$^7$k to$^7$k to$^7$k**
sonido de caminar en el piso con tacón; sonido de tocar en puerta gruesa

**to$^7$l**
babas

**to$^7$l**
caracol

**to$^7$l ngwi$^7$**
clara del huevo

**tô**
boca; orilla

**tô**
gripe; tos

**tô à tìzh**
la orilla del Arroyo Egarechal

**tô béntán**
la orilla de la ventana; por la ventana; enfrente de la ventana

**tô chá**
boca rota

**tô kâ**
tartamudo

**tô lát bîch**
Llano Gordoníz

**tô la$^7$n**
cintura

**tô la$^7$n mbë`y**
cintura de gusano

**tô lë^**
bautizo

**tô mbyǐb**
boca remendada, boca costureada, boca operada

**tô mzya$^7$**
boca rota, boca rompida

**tô ndàp**
tos ferina

**tô ngwlë̌**
boca rajada

**tô ngwza$^7$**
boca rota

**tô ngwzô yî**
boca hinchada

**tô nì**
entrada, orilla de la casa

**tô pántálónh**
brayeta de pantalón, manera de pantalón

**tô pǒs yû wi$^7$d**
la orilla del pozo de barro

**tô wxên**
boca ancha

**tô xàw**
hablador

**tô yí tî**
orilla del fugón, orilla del brazero

**tô yí tî yi$^7$b**
la orilla del anafre

**tô yîd xi$^7$n**
cuero del culo

**tô yu$^7$**
la orilla del río

**trámp**
trampa

**tranh**
sonido de una cubeta/tambo que cae en un pozo profundo

**tràs tràs tràs tràs tràs**
sonido de caminar en lodo

**trasatrasatras**
sonido de una persona corriendo dentro del agua

**tra$^7$s**
sonido de zapatos caminando en charcos o en un camino mojado; sonido cuando cae la cagada de una bestia

**trǐb**
Toribio

**trr**
sonido del teléfono cuando marca

**trr**
sonido de molino eléctrico

**ts$^7$**
sonido de la cuija

**-túblâ**
corretear

**túch**
chile, tusta, picante

**túlípánh nê**
tulipán rojo, sardete

**túlípánh nzhìch**
tulipán amarillo

**tǔnch**
Panuncio

**tút**
seso, tuétano

**tǔz**

**tǔzh**
chiquito

**tǔzh**
pequeño, chiquito

**-tu$^7$b**
mandar, enviar

**-tu$^7$b lâ**
corretear; alcanzarlo

**tu$^7$cha$^7$**
un ratito; un segundo; poco

**tu$^7$cha$^7$ tu$^7$cha$^7$**
poquito a poquito

**tu$^7$zh**
chiquito, pequeño

**tûb**
sin protección

**-tûb**
deshojarlo

**tünh**
sonido cuando baila el guajolote

**tûzh**
pelón

**twáy**
toalla

**txxxx̌**
sonido cuando cae lo crudo a lo caliente por ejemplo huevo estrallado en un sartén con aceite caliente

**-tya$^7$ bë$^7$l**
dormirse la carne

**tyémp nzhâ zë` la$^7$**
tiempo de antes

**tyémp tě mzhìn**

tiempo de miel, mes que hay miel

**tyémp xàp**
tiempos antes, tiempos antepasados

**-tyěn**
tener risa

**-tye$^7$l**
engruesarse, engordarse

**-tye$^7$p**
trompezarse

**-tyê**
repartirse

**-tyǐ**
calentarse

**-tyǐg**
calentarse

**-tyi$^7$ch**
arrugarse

**-tyi$^7$l**
abrirse (una flor)

**-tyî**
ponerse dulce, estar dulce

**tyós**

**-tyo$^7$l**
resbalarse

**-tyo$^7$nh**
desfilarse

**-tyu$^7$b**
perseguir, ventear

**-tyu$^7$zh**
resbalarse

**-tyûb**
deshojarse

**-tyë^ch**
vaciarse

**-tyë^l**
enchuecarse, ponerse chueco

**-tzà**
taparlo, cerrarlo

**-tzà bèk**
cercar, tapar, tajar

**-tzà lò**
cercar, tapar, tajar

**-tzàk**
aguantar

**-tzàk yôn**
entender

**tza$^7$**

**-tza$^7$**
romperlo

**-tza$^7$b**
tirarlo, aventarlo

**-tza$^7$b yë´l yîzh**
contagiar la enfermedad, contaminar a la persona, enfermarlo

**-tza$^7$l**
extraviarlo, perderlo

**-tza$^7$l**
perderlo

**-tza$^7$n**
ponerse en dieta

**tzâ**
hermano/a, compañero/a

**tzâ dyáb**
amante, querido/a

**tzâ wyò**
compañero pleitisto, enemigo

**tzâ xmál**
hermano/a de la comadre

**-tzé**
CAUS

**-tzé gù nûp**
emborracharlo

**-tzé kèn**
apurarlo

**-tzé kèn**
exigir

**-tzé yàk**
curar

**-tzé yàk yë´l yîzh**
curar la enfermedad

**-tzé yë´l**
enfriarlo

**-tzé yë´l lá tyo$^7$**
vencerse, calmarse

**-tzé zí**
castigarlo

**-tzékë$^7$**
persogarlo

**-tzèn**
pegarlo, blanquear

**-tzèn yî**
encenderlo

**-tzèy**

fumar

**-tze$^7$k**
girarlo

**-tze$^7$k**
voltearlo, darle vuelta; doblarlo

**tze$^7$w**
verdolaga

**-tzìd**
aprender

**tzi$^7$**
intestino, tripa

**-tzi$^7$**
exprimir [ropa], tirarlo (agua)

**tzi$^7$ kìd**
cordón del ombligo

**tzi$^7$ wlàtz**
intestino delgado, tripa delgada

**tzi$^7$ wlàtz lèn mĕn**
intestino delgado de la barriga

**tzi$^7$ wzàn**
intestino grueso, intestino mayor

**tzi$^7$ wzàn lèn**
intestino grueso de la barriga

**tzi$^7$ xkê mĕn**
tripa del desperdicio de la gente

**-tzi$^7$d**
sonar; tocar

**-tzi$^7$d ya$^7$**
aplaudir

**tzi$^7$l**
temprano

**-tzó mbî**
limpiar, asearlo

**-tzòl (COA)**

**-tzŏn**
destruirlo, descomponerlo, desbaratarlo

**tzo$^7$**
espalda; atrás, detrás de; COA encima de

**tzo$^7$ nì**
afuera; atrás de la casa; baño

**tzo$^7$ te$^7$k**
espalda doblado

**tzo$^7$ tìth xè**
atrás del hueso de la nariz

**tzo$^7$ tìth ya$^7$**
atrás de los huesos de la mano

**tzo$^7$ wáy**
su espalda de la bestia

**tzo$^7$ xìk**
atrás del brazo; atrás del hombro

**tzo$^7$ ya$^7$**
atrás de la mano

**tzo$^7$ ya$^7$**
dorso de la mano

**tzo$^7$ yèn**
nuca, atrás del pescuezo

**tzo$^7$ yǐch**
Agua Blanca

**tzo$^7$ yìch ngùz ndô**
ceja

**tzo$^7$ yîd ngùz ndô**
el cuero del ojo

**tzo$^7$ yîd ngùz ndô**
párpado

**tzô**
tamaño

**tzôn**
cascabel (de la víbora)

**-tzǔy**
hacerle cosquilla

**-tzu$^7$**
apagarlo

**-tzûb**
tumbar

**-tzûb yè**
rodarlo

**-tzyi$^7$**
exprimirse [ropa]; tirarse [agua]

**-tzë̌**
repartir, resembrarlo, dividirlo

**-tzë̌**
resembrar; repartir

**-tzë´ tîx**
ensalarlo

**-tzë´ të^l**
enchuecarlo

**-tzë$^7$**
acarrear(lo), manejarlo;

traspasar?

**-tzë$^7$ ké**
redondearlo; dar vuelta

**-tzë$^7$ kŭd**
embarrar de blanco, pintar de blanco

**-tzë$^7$ la tyo$^7$**
recordarlo, acordarse; extrañarlo

**-tzë$^7$k**
darle vuelta

**-tzë$^7$l**
despedirse antes de la muerte

**-të`**
escasearse, acabarse

**të´**
todos

**të´ tzé**
todo

**të´tza$^7$**
todo

**të´tza$^7$ li$^7$n**
todos los años

**të´-x**
todos

**-të´y**
acabarse

**-të$^7$**
acabarlo

**-të$^7$ch**
regar

**të$^7$l**
noche

**të$^7$l kwă**
noche oscura

**të$^7$tz**
pájaro carpintero

**të$^7$tz bǐx**
pájaro carpintero pinto chiquito

**të$^7$tz n-gătz**
pájaro carpintero negro

**të$^7$tz n-gâch**
pájaro carpintero chiquito, pájaro carpintero pinto

**të$^7$tz tík**
pájaro carpintero negro

**të^ch**
vacío

**të^g**
cazuelita (más grande que la chilmolera), cazuela hecha en barro

**të^g**
incensor, incienso, candilero, borcelana

**të^g ndyô bku$^7$**
incienso, incensor

**të^l**
cagada más amplia que normal (por ej. cuando está enfermo uno)

**-të^l**
hacer

**-ù**
tomar

**ú wìzh ta$^7$**
mediodía

**-ú zha$^7$ di$^7$zh**
faltar respecto, insultar

**-ú zha$^7$ di$^7$zh**
insultarlo, ofenderlo; amenazarlo; faltar respeto

**úbrá tĕ ngŏn**
úvera de vaca

**-úcha$^7$**
hacerlo

**-úkwa$^7$**
adornar

**úl**
hule; charpe; tirapiedra

**-úl ndâtz**
bailar

**-ùn**
durar

**-ùn**
hacer

**-ùn ánímár tzâ**
animar a su compañero

**-ùn áyúd**
ayudarlo, apoyarlo

**-ùn be$^7$y**
pensar, desear

**-ùn bìtz**
penar

**-un gòn yë`l**
hacer limpia de milpa

**-un kê**
dañarlo, hacerle daño

**-un kóbrá**
cobrarlo

**-un kúmplír**
cumplirlo

**-un púrrgá**
hacer purga

**-ùn ti$^7$n**
trabajar, usar, ocupar

**-ùn tŭzh**
hacerlo chiquito, enchiquecerlo

**-ùn yë´l kwi$^7$n**
mentir, hacer mentira

**-ùn yë´l nděz**
hacer mentira, mentir

**-un yë´l wyá kò**
encelarlo

**-ùn zìn**
hacerlo bolas, hacerlo tonto, engañarlo

**-ùn zi$^7$l**
engrandecerse

**-úná**
hacerlo

**-ùth**
matar

**-úxkwa$^7$**
hacer(lo), construirlo, arreglarlo

**-úxkwa$^7$ bë^l**
hacerlo llama

**-úxkwa$^7$ do$^7$ yèzh**
torcer el ixtle, hacer mecate

**-úxkwa$^7$ xàn**
formar

**-úzha$^7$**
desperdiciar, manuciar

**wăb**
faisán, guajolote montes

**wàch**
iguana

**wàch**
lagartija

**wăch**
filo

**wàch mbǐl**
lagartija de rayo

**wàch ndăw**
camaleón

**wàch sérět**
lagartija sereta

**wàch tě ngwzi$^7$**
iguana de rayo

**wàch yèx**
iguana-escorpión

**wàch yo$^7$**
escorpión

**wàch yë`l**
iguana (verde)

**wàn**
abejón bruja, muestramuerte

**w´anáb**
guanábana

**wărr**
Eduardo

**wàt**
hondo

**wàt lûzh**
profundo?

**wàth yû**
bondadoso, humilde

**wáy**
caballo, bestia

**wáy ntzë$^7$ yo$^7$**
bestia de carga

**wáy tě mě xu$^7$**
caballo del diablo

**wăz**
cuerno, cacho

**-wa$^7$**
encimarse

**wa$^7$n**
macizo, forzada

**wa$^7$n**
ratero, robón, ladrón

**wa$^7$n tě yêtz**
gasa de olla; gasa de jarra

**wâtz**
junto

**wâtz**
junto a, cerca, alrededor

**wâw wôw wâw wôw**
sonido de perro ladrando

**wdâp**
cuarto

**wdí xò**
mujeriego

**wdich gi$^7$ib**
quebrapierro

**wdyë^tz xe$^{7}$n**
dormilón

**wĕch**
inflamación del pescuezo, anginas (una bola hinchado en el pescuezo)

**wĕd yî**
pegapiedra

**wén**
bueno; bien

**wér**
güero

**wéy**
huella

**wê**
allá; aquél

**wê lá**
hasta ahora, hasta entonces

**wê la$^{7}$**
hasta ahora, hasta entonces

**wêtha$^{7}$**
allí mero

**wgàn**
trabajoso

**wga$^{7}$y**
quinto

**wgâd**
séptimo

**wgâl**

**wgâp**
asqueroso

**wgo$^{7}$p**
húmedo

**wín kê**
dañero

**wísách**
huizache

**wìt**
hermano de hombre

**wìt gŏx**
hermano mayor (m, m)

**wìt mbál**
hermano (m) del compadre (m)

**wìt tŭzh**
hermano menor (m, m)

**wìt yìx**
hermano del monte (m, m)

**wìth mĕn**
asesino

**wìz**
víbora corta

**wíz**
grito del chehuizo

**wíz**
pajaro cherihuizo, chehuiro, chehuizo

**wìzh**
sol, día

**wìzh là mbdo$^{7}$**
día del santo de uno; cumpleaños

**wi$^{7}$**
diversión

**-wi$^{7}$**
lastimarse, quedarse herido

**-wi$^{7}$**
ver

**wi$^{7}$n**
llorón

**-wi$^{7}$y**
cocer (comida)

**wîj**
miedo

**-wîn**
moverse, temblar

**wîtha$^{7}$ mbe$^{7}$**
luna creciente; la luna está al centro

**wîzh**
pasado mañana

**wlá**
amargo

**wlăch**
arisco, brioso (animales que patean)

**wlàtz**
delgado

**wla$^{7}$p**
pisca de mazorca

**wlâ**
ixcatón, xcatón

**wlân**
olor a xuquía (huevos crudos)

**wlân ndya$^{7}$**
xuquía

**wlè**
ciego; tuerto

**wlèy**
sacerdote, cura, padre

**wlǔt**
vívo, liviano, ágil, rápido

**wlë̌**
tragón

**wlë̌ th**
tiempo

**wlë̌ z tha$^{7}$**
espérate!

**wlë$^{7}$**
cobarde, atrasado

**wlë$^{7}$**
flojo (no apretado)

**wlë^**
descarado, desobediente

**wtěn**
bonito, chulo

**wte$^{7}$l**
grueso, gordo

**wtǐ**
calor

**wtǐg**
calor, caliente; hace calor

**wti$^{7}$**
décimo

**wti$^{7}$ch**
arrugada

**wtî**
dulce

**wtîx**
salado

**wto$^{7}$b**
arto, grande

**wto$^{7}$b xgǎl**
mucha sombra

**wto$^{7}$l**
resbaloso

**wtu$^{7}$zh**
resbaloso

**wtza$^{7}$n**
dieta

**wtzǐn**
bonito; chulo, bella

**wtzi$^{7}$**
coyuntura

**wtzòn**
grande

**wtë^tz**
grosero, valiente, pleitisto

**wxàx**
liviano

**wxe$^{7}$**
sabroso, oloroso

**wxên**
ancho

**wxǐ**
poco

**wxìn**
espíritu maligno, espíritu nocturno, brujo

**wxǐn**
mezquino, negón

**wxî**
chinchatlao

**wxo$^{7}$n**
octavo

**wxo$^{7}$p**
sexto

**wxûb**
corto; chaparro

**wyǎk**
mayor

**wyákò**
celoso

**wyǎp**
caro

**wyâ**
angosto; apretado

**wyâx**
arto; bastante, suficiente, mucho

**wyâx**
mucho

**wyâx**
suficiente

**wyâx mbyìn**
partida de pájaros

**wyén**
negón, persona negativa

**wyèn lë`d**
violento; apurativo

**wyê**
fuerte

**wyi$^{7}$**
bravo

**wyi$^{7}$x nzhâ**
inteligente

**wyî**
trabajoso; duro

**wyò**
pleito, pelea, guerra

**wyu$^7$x**
tostado

**wyë̆**
derecho

**wyë´**
cierto

**wyë$^7$**
noveno

**wyë$^7$zh**
delicado, quejoso

**wyë^**
frondoso, verde

**wyë^l**
duro

**wyë^l**
maciso; duro

**wzàn**
el más grande, padruno, padrote

**wze$^7$th**
comezón

**wzha$^7$n**
chamaca cuidanene

**wzhíb**
chuchupaxtle

**wzhíb**
víbora de cascabel

**wzhî**
la tarde
-zhi

**wzhîzh**
liso

**wzhë$^7$**
tono, tonante, tonal

**wzi$^7$**
rayo

**Wzyá**
Ejutla

**wzya$^7$b**
huérfano

**wzë`**
viaje
-zë`

**wë`**
derrumbe, ladera

**wë̆ g**
cacalote

**wë$^7$ wë$^7$ wë$^7$**
sonido del grito del chivo

**x**
sonido de aguacero

**xá zǐl**
rápido, un ratito

**xǎl**
presumido, fachoso, chalán

**xàn**
abajo

**xàn**
mata; abajo

**xàn**
rincón

**xàn là tě yi$^7$ mbë̆ z**
mata de hoja de flor de niño

**xàn lô ndë`y**
raíz del diente

**xàn ndë`y**
encias (--RGBA)

**xàn nîth nê**
mata de caña roja

**xàn nîth n-gǔd**
la mata de caña blanca

**xàn nîth xtíl**
caña de castilla

**xàn rrúd**
ruda

**xàn súsén mórád**
asucena

**xàn tô**
mentón; quijada

**xàn tô**
quijada

**xàn xò ya$^7$ ñâ n-gǔd**
debajo de la uña se ve blanco

**xàn yà**
mocho

**xàn yè**
Viralonga, Confradía (un rancho)

**xàn yè bla$^7$zh**
Chucupaxtle (un ´lugarcito en S. Balta.´)

**xàn yêtz**
abajo de la olla

**xàn yêtz**
bajo de la olla

**xàn yi$^{7}$ gládyól**
mata de flor de gladiola

**xàn yi$^{7}$ kártúch**
mata de flor de cartucho

**xàn yi$^{7}$ márgárít**
mata de flor de margarita

**xàn yi$^{7}$ núbé**
mata de flor de nube

**xàp**
antes, tiene mucho tiempo

**-xăp**
subirlo; llenarlo

**xarr**
sonido de romper ropa/tela

**xarr xarr xarr**
sonido de un caballo rascando tierra

**xárr xárr xárr xárr**
sonido de jalar bultos en el piso

**xa$^{7}$**
él, ella, ellos

**xa$^{7}$ byî**
gente hombre

**xa$^{7}$ byî**
hombre(s)

**xa$^{7}$ chátín**
gente Chatino

**xa$^{7}$ gŏx**
abuelo/a; gente grande

**xa$^{7}$ gôtz**
mujer

**xa$^{7}$ gôtz gŏx**
abuelita, anciana, mujer vieja

**xa$^{7}$ gôtz nâ ndâ zê nâ ndăl mbë̆ z**
partera

**xa$^{7}$ gú lìd**
casero, jefe

**xa$^{7}$ làt**
extranjero; gente del valle

**xa$^{7}$ làw**
comunero

**xa$^{7}$ mórén**
gente morena

**xa$^{7}$ năk ti$^{7}$n**
autoridad, gente que presta servicio o justicia

**xa$^{7}$ nbo$^{7}$ lèy tĕ găn**
rezador

**xa$^{7}$ nbo$^{7}$ mĕn lít yi$^{7}$b**
gente que saca a los presos de la carcel, alcaide

**xa$^{7}$ nbo$^{7}$ tô bárrét**
herrero

**xa$^{7}$ ndà xu$^{7}$p**
chupador

**xa$^{7}$ ndăk**
estudiante; escríbano; gente sabia

**xa$^{7}$ ndi$^{7}$b gâx wâtz nì té-n^**
vecino

**xa$^{7}$ ndò**
comerciante, gente que vende, vendedor

**xa$^{7}$ ndò lâz**
prostituta

**xa$^{7}$ ndô yû**
gente de la tierra

**xa$^{7}$ ndùn ti$^{7}$n**
trabajador

**xa$^{7}$ ndùth măn**
carnicero

**xa$^{7}$ ndúx kwa$^{7}$ nì nà mátéryál**
albañil

**xa$^{7}$ ndúx kwa$^{7}$ sómbrér**
sombrerero

**xa$^{7}$ ndúx kwa$^{7}$ yà**
carpintero

**xa$^{7}$ ndúx kwa$^{7}$ yêtz**
ollero, alfarero

**xa$^{7}$ ndyìth nà nzhŏp**
gente que juega el maíz, saurín

**xa$^{7}$ n-găl mĕ gôtz tĕ stúb mĕn**
adulterio

**xa$^{7}$ n-gătz**
gente negra

**xa$^{7}$ n-ga$^{7}$b**
sobadora

**xa$^{7}$ n-ga$^{7}$l măn**
gente que crece/cría animales

**xa$^{7}$ n-gòcha$^{7}$ nzhŏp tĕ lèn yë^**
gente que guarda maíz dentro del bule, gente saurín

**xa$^{7}$ n-gòcha$^{7}$ tmî**
tesorero

**xa$^{7}$ nkí dî**
gente creyente

**xa$^{7}$ nkǐb lâd**
sastre, gente que costura la ropa

**xa$^{7}$ nkë̌ lít yi$^{7}$b**
preso; gente encarcelada

**xa$^{7}$ nkë´ tìth**
huesero

**xa$^{7}$ ntzí yî měn**
curandero; médico

**xa$^{7}$ ntzë$^{7}$ bǒls tě kórreó**
cartero, gente transporta el correo

**xa$^{7}$ nyi$^{7}$ pá ntyo$^{7}$ prés lít yi$^{7}$b**
abogado

**xa$^{7}$ nzyô něd**
cabo, jefe, dirigente; guía, gente que va adelante

**xa$^{7}$ nzyô tô nì**
portero, policia; gente que se para en la puerta de la casa

**xa$^{7}$ párr lâ**
gente de la costa

**xa$^{7}$ pínt**
gente pinto

**xa$^{7}$ ti$^{7}$n gòn**
jornalero

**xa$^{7}$ wén**
buena gente

**xa$^{7}$ wnâ-y´**
testigo

**xa$^{7}$ wyǎk**
gente grande, mayor de edad

**xa$^{7}$ wzàn**
jefe

**xa$^{7}$ wzǐtz lá tyo$^{7}$**
gente impaciente

**xa$^{7}$ yà do$^{7}$**
gente de la sierra

**xa$^{7}$ yà do$^{7}$**
gente de la sierra; gente de tierra fría

**xa$^{7}$ yêzh lû**
espíritu sobrenatural, espíritu del mundo, aire malo, espíritu maligno

**xa$^{7}$ yîzh**
gente enferma

**xa$^{7}$ yîzh lû**
nagual

**xa$^{7}$ yû wzhë^**
gente de la tierra caliente

**xa$^{7}$ zi$^{7}$l**
catrín; gente grande; gente rica; gente poderosa; gente importante

**xa$^{7}$ (nâ) ndyë̌ gǎn**
cirujano

**xa$^{7}$k**
otro/a

**-xa$^{7}$l**
abrir; derritir

**-xa$^{7}$l tô**
declarar; abrir la boca

**xâb**
ropa; cáscara; escama

**xâb mbë^l**
escama (~esquema) de pescado

**xâb n-gǔd yà**
sámago del tronco

**xâb yà**
cáscara del palo

**xâl**
que...?

**xâl mbèw**
qué javalín!

**xârr xârr xârr xârr**
sonido de rascar uñas

**xbì**
voz, alma, pena

**xbî**
Miahuatlán

**xdo$^{7}$**
amante, querido

**xè**
nariz

**xě**
quedito

**xě**
Qué?

**xé**
Que (cosa/hora etc.)

**xé gór**
cuándo?; a qué horas?

**xé mód**
Cómo?

**xě na$^{7}$**
por qué?

**xé xo$^{7}$l tza$^{7}$**
por qué?

**xěb**
José

**-xèn**
ancharse

**xěn ba$^{7}$**
por qué?

**xětza$^{7}$**
como

**xěx**
oculto, escondido

**xe$^{7}$n**
molleja

**xe$^{7}$n**
parte blandita del pecho del guajolote macho

**xe$^{7}$n**
sapo

**-xên**
cortar

**-xên yî**
arder

**xgǎl**
sombra

**xgàm**
jícama

**xgàn**
lunar

**xgǎtz tě ngùz ndô**
lo negro del ojo

**xgâp**
asco, vómito

**xgâp bìd**
asco (no sale, solo agua salada)

**xgǔd**
viene aclarando, viene amaneciendo

**xgu$^{7}$ch**
punzoña

**xì**
jícara

**-xì**
peinarse, trenzarse

**-xì do$^{7}$**
amarrar

**-xǐ lá tyo$^{7}$**
tener muina, odiar

**xí zèd ndâtz**
tacón del pie, debajo del pie

**-xíbô**
amarrar

**xǐd**
piña de ocote

**xìk**
brazo

**-xǐk**
aguantarlo

**xìk mo$^{7}$ch**
brazo mocho

**xíl**
silla, montura de caballo

**xím**
Simón

**xìn**
hijo/a

**-xǐn**
negarlo

**xìn bzàn**
sobrino

**xìn bë̌l**
sobrino

**xìn ga$^{7}$n**
hijo legítimo

**xìn mbál**
ahijado

**xìn mbga$^{7}$l**
entenado/a

**xìn na$^{7}$ xa$^{7}$**
hijo del monte

**xìn tlǎ**
hijo de en medio

**xìn tǔzh**
hijo menor

**xìn tzâ**
sobrino

**xìn wìt**
sobrino

**xìn wyǎk**
hijo mayor

**xìn xdo$^{7}$**
hijo del querido

**xìn xi$^7$x**
nuera

**xìn xîx**
nuera

**xìn xmál**
hijo de la comadre

**xìn xmbál**
hijo del compadre

**xìn xòtz**
nieto/a

**xìn xôtz**
nieto; bisnieto

**xìn xùz mbál**
hijo/a del padrino

**xìn yìx**
hijo del monte

**xìn yìx chë$^7$l**
hijo del monte del esposo de uno

**xìn yûzh**
yerno

**-xìstê**
levantarlo

**xìt**
tío

**xǐt**
pájaro carpintero

**xǐtz**
San Agustín Loxicha; persona de San Agustín Loxicha

**-xǐtz**
espantar

**xìtz bèw**
tincuatla

**-xìz**
temblar

**xìz nzhǒp**
basura blanca del maiz

**-xi$^7$**
comprarse

**xi$^7$l**
algodón

**xi$^7$n**
nalga; culo

**-xî**
ladrar; aullar

**xîb**
rodilla

**-xîch**
retoñar

**xîd**
chiche

**xîd**
Xiteco, persona de Santa Cruz Xitla; Santa Cruz Xitla

**-xîd**
burlarse; reirse

**xîl**
sereno

**xka$^7$l**
sueño

**xkê**
mierda, caca

**xkwă**
nube

**xkwàn**
cansancio

**xkwĕzh**
tragadero

**xkwe$^7$ tě mbèw**
tufo de javalín; lunar de javalín

**xla$^7$**
olor

**xla$^7$l**
un ratito

**xla$^7$n**
humo

**xlêy**
malamujer

**xlòn**
cuñado/a (m con f)

**xlë̌**
calentura; vapor

**xlë̌ lûzh**
calentura que yá no sale hasta la muerte

**xlë̌ ndàw ndë`y**
calentura de dolor de muela o diente

**xlë̌ ndàw nzhâ**
calentura de oído

**xlë̌ tě tô**
calentura de gripa

**xlë̌ tě ze na nxên**
calentura de donde se corta

**xlë̌ tô**
calentura de tos

**xlë̌ xîl**
calentura de escalofrío; calelntura de paludismo

**xlë̌ zhêb**
calentura de espanto

**xlë`th ndë`y**
entremedio del diente

**xlë`th ngŭtz ya$^7$**
entre medio de los dedos

**xlë`th yìch ngùz ndô**
entre medio de las pestañas

**xlë^**
fruta fresca

**xmbâd**
huarache (forma posesiva)

**xmbǐ**
pura clara

**xnà**
gracias; provecho

**xná tèn**
almuerzo, desayuno

**xnà wna$^7$**
madrastra

**xna$^7$ gól**
abuela

**xna$^7$ gôl gŏx**
bisabuela

**xna$^7$ mbál**
madrina

**xna$^7$ mbâl gŏx**
madrina vieja, madre del padrino, madre de la madrina

**xna$^7$ xìt**
tía

**xna$^7$ xòtz**
abuela

**xna$^7$ yi$^7$**
suegra de mujer

**xna$^7$ yi$^7$n**
suegra

**xna$^7$ zha$^7$p**
suegra de un hombre

**xnè**
cola

**xnè wén**
anona del bueno

**xnètz**
tía

**xnèw**
anona

**xnèw**
anona(l)

**xnèw yìx tĕ ndi$^7$z**
anona del monte de ardilla

**xnèz**
partidura

**xnèz măn**
vereda de animal

**xnêtz**
orina

**xngë$^7$**
moco; caracol

**xnò**
anona

**xnò la$^7$**
gracias

**xnŏb**
rastro (de animal salvaje), huella

**xò**
máscara; cáscara, concha; plástico duro; duro; casco, uña

**xò**
pierna (=muslo--RGBA)

**xŏ**
cocoxtle

**xŏ**
tajacamino (local), correcamino, cocoxtle

**xó**
pescadito

**xò bzhu$^7$t**
concha de caracol; concha del mar

**xò mbgùp**
cáscara de armadillo

**xò mtyë`tz**
cascarón de camarón

**xò ngû**
cascarón de huevo

**xò tĕ ngùz ga$^7$**
la cáscara de la almendra dentro del coquito; la cáscara de afuera del coquito

**xò tĕ nîtz**
botella de agua

**xò tě nîtz kwàl**
envase desechable de refresco

**xò tě rrétrókárgá**
cascarón de cartucho de arma

**xó wlá**
guel

**xò ya$^7$**
uña del dedo (de la mano); casco (de caballo, etc.)

**xò yèk**
craneo

**xò yë^**
máscara

**xò (ngǔtz) ya$^7$**
uñas de los dedos de la mano

**-xo$^7$**
empeorarse

**-xo$^7$b**
poner, tapar

**-xo$^7$b blë$^7$**
poner en almácigo

**-xo$^7$b cha$^7$**
acomodar

**-xo$^7$b di$^7$zh**
criticarlo, afamarlo

**-xo$^7$b dòl**
confesar; acolmulgar

**-xo$^7$b mbè**
estar nublado, ponerse nublado

**-xo$^7$b nîtz**
nadar

**-xo$^7$b nîtz**
nadar

**xo$^7$l tza$^7$**
tanto, que tanto

**xo$^7$n**
ocho

**-xo$^7$n**
correr

**-xo$^7$n mbì**
soplar el viento

**xo$^7$p**
seis

**xôl tě là nîth**
ahuate de caña

**xôl tě xlêy**
ahuate de mala mujer

**xôz**
orqueta

**xôz**
rama

**xôz yà**
lechuza, buho

**xôz yë^l**
tarántula

**xta$^7$**
qué cosa?

**xta$^7$n**
muina

**xte$^7$**
cuánto; por qué; cómo

**Xtǐn**
Cristina

**xtûzh**
frente

**xtûzh**
frente

**-xúb dòl**
colmulgar; confesar

**xuk xuk xuk**
sonido de arrugar papel

**xúp tô myìn**
pico de pájaro

**xǔr**
sonido de serrucho cortando tablas

**xùz**
padre; papá

**xùz gól**
abuelo

**xùz gól gǒx**
bisabuelo

**xùz mbál**
padrino

**xùz mbál gǒx**
padrino viejo; padre del padrino

**xùz mbál wìt**
su padrino del hermano

**xùz mbál xlòn**
su padrino de la mujer del cuñado/a

**xùz mbál yál chílya$^7$**
padrino de casamiento

**xùz xìt**
tío

**xùz xòtz**

abuelo

**xùz xùz**
abuelo paterno

**xùz yêzh**
presidente

**xùz yìx**
papá del monte

**xùz yi$^{7}$**
suegro de mujer

**xùz yi$^{7}$n na$^{7}$**
suegro

**xùz zha$^{7}$p**
suegro de hombre

**xu$^{7}$b**
liso

**xu$^{7}$n**
ruedete

**xu$^{7}$p**
sonido de zanates y otros pájaros

**-xu$^{7}$t**
estudiar

**xûp**
leche de palo; leche de sapo

**xûp tě yà**
leche de palo, estítico de palo

**xwàn**
dueño

**xwàn**
dueño; amo

**Xwán**
Juana

**xwàn yè**
el dueño del cerro

**xwe$^{7}$z**
Latihueche (un rancho)

**xxx̌ xxx^**
sonido de cohete que amarra en mecate

**xyà**
topil de vara

**xyà wsín**
topil de cocina

**xyè**
Miahuatlán; la plaza, el mercado, tianguis

**xyêk**
curva

**xyìl**
pedo

**xyë̌**
claro

**xyë̌**
pura clara

**xyë̌ tě ngû**
claro del huevo

**xyë^**
magulladura (dic.) mallugadura (local); frondoso

**x̌$^{7}$**
sonido de papel que se rompió

**x$^{7}$x$^{7}$x$^{7}$x$^{7}$x$^{7}$x$^{7}$**
sonido de semilla seca adentro

**-xë̌z**
estornudar, trastornudar (local)

**xë$^{7}$**
vela, luz; electricidad

**xë$^{7}$ sérr**
luz de vela

**-xë$^{7}$d**
desatarlo

**-xë$^{7}$l**
abrir

**-xë$^{7}$l tô**
declarar; abrir la boca

**xë^th**
jicalpextle; bule

**xë^th**
pájaro jicalpextle (local), azulejo copetón (standard)

**xë^th la$^{7}$**
bule de tortilla

**yà**
palo, arbol, madera, leña

**yǎ**
hueso quemado; polvo que sale del hueso; color blanco como hueso quemado

**-yǎ**
taparse, cerrarse

**yá**
harto, bastante, mucho

**yà bámbú**
palo de bambu

**yà bástónh**

muleta, bastón

**yà bdo$^7$**
platanar

**yà bdo$^7$ bǐx**
platanar tierno

**yà bdo$^7$ chápárrító**
platanar chaparro

**yà bdo$^7$ mánsán**
platanar de plátano manzano

**yà bdo$^7$ ní**
platanar de guineo

**yà bdo$^7$ nîz**
platanar de plátanos machos, platanar veyaco

**yà bdo$^7$ perǒnh**
platanar perón

**yà bdo$^7$ rrétángó**
platanar de retango

**yà bdo$^7$ xtíl**
platanar de Castilla, platanar de la Índia

**yà bdo$^7$ yèzh**
palo de plátano de izle

**yà bdo$^7$ ye$^7$l**
platanar de castilla

**yà bèn**
palo tierno; planta tierna

**yà bey$^7$**
palo que usan para medir a los difuntos para escarbar las sepulturas

**yà be$^7$y**
palo que ocupan los policías para medir a los muertos

**yà bgôtz**
malacate

**yà bíg**
palo cuadrado, palo labrado

**yà bîtz**
palo de cuachipil

**yà bîx lìt**
palo de miltomate

**yà bîzh**
lengua de vaca (planta)

**yà blà**
tepezquillo

**yà bli$^7$**
tapanco, tapezco

**yà bli$^7$**
tapezco

**yà blô**
palo hueco

**yà bòtz**
malacate

**yà bòtz**
malacate (la flor)

**yà bo$^7$**
tizón

**yà bôtz**
malacate

**yà bto$^7$**
mocho chiquito, estaca, palo mocho

**yà btzíngǐl**
palo de macuil

**yà btzya$^7$**
palo de carnecuil

**yà btzya$^7$ bǐx**
palo de carnecuil chiquito

**yà btzya$^7$ xôl**
palo de carnecuil aguatudo

**yà btzya$^7$ yìx**
carnecuil del monte

**yà byêk**
palo enredado, palo torcido; nudo de árbol

**yà byêk**
torcido

**yà do$^7$**
sierra

**yà do$^7$ nì**
travesaño de la casa, travesaño de en media, viga

**yà do$^7$ch**
palo de pipa

**yà fájí tě nì**
fajilla de casa

**yà fréznó**
fresno

**yà gǎl**
cienpie

**yá gǎl**
cienpie

**yà gay$^7$**
palo cinco

**yà ga$^7$**
palma de coyul, palma de coquito

**yà ga$^7$**
palo de coquito dulce, coyul

**yà ga$^7$**
palo de coquito, palo de coyul

**yà ga$^7$ gô**
palo de (coquito de) corozo, palma real

**yà gâ**
bastón, bordón

**yà gâ**
muletas; estaca para sembrar

**yà gǒx lûzh**
palo muy viejo (no se corta nunca, como en Sta. Ma. Tule)

**yà gránád**
palo de granada

**yà gǔch**
mezcal del monte (local), (book agave asperrím

**yà gùch tě yë$^7$z bí**
quiota de viga

**yà gu$^7$d**
palo blando, palo podrido

**yà gû**
palo de grillo

**yà káfé**
palo del café/cafetal

**yà kísyó**
durmiente (standard); quisio (local)

**yà kláb**
palo de clavo

**-yá kò**
encerlarlo/se; tener celos

**yà kók**
palo de coco

**yà krús**
palo de cruz

**yà kûzh**
vara

**yà kwi$^7$z**
gancho

**yà là tò**
palo de hoja de San Pablo

**yà là xlêy**
palo de hoja de malamujer

**yà làtz**
palo de yaco

**yà làtz dǎb**
PPPyacal de tora, LDPpalo de yacua resbalosa

**yà làtz xìl yë̆ g**
tetiquillo, palo de yacua de tetique amarillo

**yà làtz xi$^7$l yěg**
palo de yaco de toro

**yà la$^7$zh**
tatíl

**yà la$^7$zh n-gǔd**
palo de tatil blanco

**yà lâch**
palo de sanijuela

**yà lâtz xîl yë̆ g**
palo de yacua amarilla

**yà lím**
limar

**yà lím chĭch**
palo de lima de chiche

**yà límá límónh**
el palo de lima limón

**yà límún**
palo de limón

**yá lò ngǒn**
corral de ganado

**yà lò tě kúch**
chiquero

**yà lòd**
carrizo, el mero carrizo

**yà lùt**
palo de bejuco

**yà lyo$^7$b**
escoba

**yà lë`d**
tronco de corazón, palo macizo

**yà mándím**
palo de mandimo

**yà mánh**
mangal

**yà mánh kórryént**
palo de mango corriente

**yà mánh kryóy**
palo de mango criollo

**yà mánh máníl**
palo de mango manila

**yà mánh pétákónh**
palo de mango petacón

**yà mántzán**
palo de manzana

**yà mántzán bǐx**
palo de tejocote

**yà mbǐl**
palo pelado

**yà mbǐzh yà**
palo de piñón

**yà mblǔk**
maluca

**yà nǎnch**
palo de nanche

**yà nárǎnhj**
naranjal

**yà náránhj kált**
palo de naranja de caldo

**yà nâ nzho$^7$b ta$^7$n nâ ndyò ndô**
mostrador, aparador

**yà ndǎn**
palo de humo

**yà ndâ**
palo de guaje

**yà ndâ tí xôl yìx**
palo de guaje ahuatudo del monte

**yà ndâ tî**
guajal

**yà ndâ tî yìx**
guaje del monte

**yà ndâ yě**
guaje del valle

**yà ndâtz btë^l**
pata chueca

**yà ndâtz kǒj**
pie impedido, manco

**yà ndâtz móch**
pata mocho

**yà ndâtz ngíze$^7$**
pata de gallo (un palo que se ocupa para la casa)

**yà ndâtz yà xò**
pie de cabo de hacha

**yà ndâw**
palo de zapote

**yà ndîzh**
palo piñón

**yà ndǒch**
amól

**yà ndo$^7$l xa$^7$ káj**
palillo de la caja

**yà ndo$^7$y**
palo de míspero

**yà ndyûd**
palo rollizo

**yà nd0^w**
palo de zapote

**yà ngǐch**
pasador; varita, palillo

**yà ngǐch**
varaña, palillo

**yà ngǐch kǒn ta$^7$n ndë`y**
palillo para sacar cosas del diente

**yà ngǐch là xnêz**
malvarista

**yà ngǐch tě mbèy**
varaña de gusano

**yà ngîz**
cuanacasle

**yà ngîz**
palo huanacazle

**yà ngól**
palo de tetique

**yà ngól nê**
palo de tetique rojo

**yà ngól n-gǔd**
tetique blanco

**yà ngùz**
palo de fruta

**yà ngùz ágû**
grilla (local), higuerilla (standard?)

**yà ngùz ágû nê**
grilla colorada/roja

**yà ngùz ágû n-gǔd**
grilla blanca

**yà ngùz xlë^**
palo de fruta fresca, árboles frutales

**yà ngùz yê**
zapotal

**yà ngùz yǐ**
(una especie de palo)

**yà nîx**
palo de aguacate

**yà nîx bǐx**
palo de aguacatillo

**yà nîx bǒl**
palo de aguacate voludo,
palo de aguacate verde

**yà nîx bǒl**
palo de aguate voludo

**yà nîx wǎw**
palo de conchuda

**yà nîx zûd**
palo de aguacate mantecoso

**yà nîx zûd**
aguacate mantecoso

**yà nzhǎch**
palo de nanche

**yà nzhǎch nê**
nanche rojo

**yà nzhǎch nzhìch**
nanche amarillo

**yà nzhâ nì**
palo de esquinero (de la casa)

**yà nzhâd**
palo de ciruela

**yà nzhâd ně**
palo de ciruela de iguana

**yà nzhâd né**
palo de ciruela colorada,
palo de ciruela roja

**yà nzhâd nê**
palo de ciruela roja

**yà nzhâd tě mzìn**
palo de ciruela de ratón

**yà nzhâd tě wàch**
palo de ciruela de iguana

**yà nzhâd wén**
palo de ciruela buena

**yà nzhât ndyë^**
ciruelar verde

**yà nzhât nê**
ciruelar rojo

**yà nzhât nzhìch**
ciruelar amarillo

**yà nzhôg**
palo de cuapinole

**yà nzhuy$^7$**
guayabal

**yà nzhu$^7$**
palo de guayaba

**yà nzhû**
palo cuapinol

**yà nzóy**
palo de cacao

**yà nzôy**
cacao

**yà pápáy**
palo de papaya

**yá pa$^7$ të$^7$l**
muy noche

**yá pa$^7$ zhěn**
mucho humo

**yà sídr**
palo de sidra

**yà skáyn**
asiento de escaño

**yà táblónh**
palo tablón

**yà tě bándérr**
estandarte

**yà tě gúl**
orqueta de charpe

**yà tě mblǔk**
palo de maluca

**yà tě mě gû**
palo de toloache

**yà tě náránhj**
palo de naranja

**yà tě ndá tî**
palo de guaje (general)

**yà tě ndâ yě**
palo de guaje colorado del valle

**yà tě ndâw**
palo de zapote

**yà tě pápáy**
palo de papaya

**yà tě pápáy nê**
papaya roja

**yà tě pápáy nzhìch**
papaya amarilla

**yà tě wánáb**
palo de guanabana

**yà tě yál yo$^7$b**
palo de escoba de vara

**yà téjér tě nì**
tijera de la casa

**yà tèzh**
palo yereche (=egareche)

**yà tê**
palo de tetiquillo rojo

**yà tê**
tetiquillo

**yà tìzh**
egareche (palo de)

**yà tìzh gu$^7$**
palo de egareche ancho

**yà tnìx**
fajilla, palo de varilla, vara

**yà tórónhj**
palo toronja

**yà tô ba$^7$**
cruz

**yà tô nì**
palo travesaño de la casa

**yà tzèd**
palo de sal

**yà tzèdá**
palo de gaseta

**yà tzo$^7$**
horcón

**yà tzô**
horcón

**yà tzô do$^7$ nì**
horcón (de en medio de la casa)

**yà wánáb**
palo de guanábana

**yà wáy**
camí

**yà wâ**
yerba santa

**yà wâz**
flecha

**yà wèd**
maguey(ito) (local), (book izole, palmita)

**yà wísách**
palo de huizache

**yà wlá ti$^7$ch**
palo de chocolatillo, palo de hoja amarga

**yà wtó bwén**
tecolmeca comestible

**yà wtó nděz**
tecolmeca de tlacuache

**yà wtô**
tecolmeca

**yà wyû**
encino de tierra, palo de gayú

**yà wyë^l**
madera dura

**yà wzách**
palo de huisache

**yà wë`d**
árbol izote

**yà xèn**
palo de ceiba

**yà xê**
cacahuanano

**yà xgǎl**
palo de sombra

**yà xìl**
carrizo

**yà xìl**
palo de carrizo

**yà xìl**
palo de otate

**yà xìl yǐch**
otate

**yà xǐtzá**
palo coquito

**yà xi$^7$l**
palo de algodón

**yà xnèw**
palo de anona

**yà xò**
cabo de hacha; palo duro

**yà xò mo$^7$ch**
pata mocho; cabo de hacha quebrado

**yà xò ngû**
palo hueco

**yà xò ti$^7$l**
pierna ancha, pierna abierta

**yà xôz**
gancho, palo orqueta

**yà xôz**
palo con nudo

**yà xôz**
palo gancho

**yà xtíl**
jabón

**yà xtíl dî fáb**
jabón polvo de fab

**yà xtíl ndyàt lâd**
jabón que se lava la ropa

**yá xtíl wxe$^7$**
jabón de olor

**yá xtíl wxîz**
jabón de olor

**yà xû**
palo de cocharillo

**yà xû**
palo de encino

**yà xû yë$^7$z**
palo encino de ejote

**yà xûp**
palo de leche

**yà xyà**
palo de topíl, topil de vara, vara de topíl

**yà xyë^**
árboles frutales

**yà xyë^**
frutal

**yà yàj**
mameyito, palo de algodón

**yà yàj**
palo de algodón; mameyito

**yà ya$^7$l**
palo de copal, copalar

**yà ya$^7$l bě**
palo copalar blanco

**yà yèd**
palo de pino de ocote

**yà yěl**
palo de mamey

**yà yěl yèzh**
palo de sanzapote

**yà yèt**
palo de ocote

**yà yèt bxǐ nîz**
piño grano

**yà yèt bxǐ tǔzh**
ocote piño chiquito

**yà yětz**
eucalipto

**yà ye$^7$ bàn**
palo de santo

**yà ye$^7$ bno$^7$**
palo pajarrobla

**yà ye$^7$ mórád**
palo de flor morada

**yà yì**
palo de lluvia

**yà yí tî**
tizón

**yà yí yi$^7$**
flor de Santa Catarina

**yà yǐch**
pasador

**yà yìch bòtz**
palo de espina grande

**yà yìch ndë`y wàch**
palo de espina de diente de iguana

**yà yìch sártz**
bejuco de asartz

**yà yìch wǎz**
palo carnisuelo

**yà yìch zâ**
palo garroble, palo de espina de garroble

**yà yǐch zâ**
palo de espina de carnisuela

**yà yìch zhêb**
palo de espina de espanta

**yà yìn**
cama

**yà yìn bë$^7$**
tapanco

**yà yìn n-yi$^7$x bë$^7$l mǎn**
tapezco para asar carne

**yà yìn yû**
cama de tierra (para hacer tapezcos de fugón)

**yà yìt**
palo de hule, macahuite

**yà yi$^7$**
árboles florales

**yà yi$^7$ bàn n-gǔd**
palo de Cempozúchitl blanco

**yà yi$^7$ ko$^7$b**
palo de flor de muerto; flor de manzana

**yà yi$^7$ là btzyàk**
palo de flor de Cacahuanano

**yà yi$^7$ mbíl**
palo de flor de bugambilia

**yà yi$^7$ mbíl mórád**
bugambilia morada

**yà yi$^7$ mbíl n-gǔd**
bugambilia blanca

**yà yi$^7$ mbíl nzhìch**
bugambilia amarilla

**yà yi$^7$ ndǔx**
Cemposúchitl chica
(hembra)

**yà yi$^7$ ndë̌l**
palo de tetequillo rojo

**yà yi$^7$ sán níkólás**
palo de flor de San
Nicolás, florifundo

**yà yi$^7$ túlípánh**
palo de tulipán, sardete

**yà yi$^7$ wày**
palo de flor de Cristo

**yà yi$^7$ ze$^7$ch**
palo de Cemposúchitl rojo

**yà yi$^7$ ze$^7$ch**
palo de flor de
Cemposúchitl

**yà yi$^7$ ze$^7$ch nê**
Cempozúchitl rojo

**yà yi$^7$ ze$^7$ch nzhìch**
Cempozúchitl amarillo

**yà yi$^7$n**
palo de chile, chilar

**yà yi$^7$n chílít**
palo de chilito

**yà yi$^7$n gú lâzh**
chilar de chile poblano

**yà yi$^7$n kánáryó**
palo de chile canario

**yà yi$^7$n kë^ làt**
palo de chile de agua

**yà yi$^7$n nga$^7$x**
palo de chigole

**yà yi$^7$n túch**
chilar de tusta

**yà yi$^7$n yà**
palo de chile de palo

**yà yi$^7$n yà làt**
palo de chile de agua

**yà yi$^7$n yí xìl**
chilar Bartaleño, palo de
chile de San Bartolo

**yà yîn**
palma

**yà yîn ga$^7$**
palma de coquito

**yà yîn lyo$^7$b**
palo de escoba

**yà yîn yà kók**
palo de palma de coco

**yà yît**
palo malcahuite

**yà yë`l yèzh**
salzapote

**yà yë`lá**
palo de águila

**yà yë`lá**
palo de mamey

**yà yë̌tz**
eucalipto; palo de sauce

**yà yë`z**
tepehuaje

**yà yë$^7$l**
copal

**yà yë$^7$l**
macuil

**yà yë$^7$z zá bìtz**
palo de cuachipil

**yà za$^7$**
palo frijolilla

**yà zě**
encino

**yà zě**
palo de encino

**yà zhój**
palo perdís

**yà zi$^7$**
(palo, semejanto al
mandimo)

**yà zi$^7$x**
chepil

**yà zi$^7$x wze$^7$**
chepil macho

**yà zo$^7$b**
tlamalote

**yà zôn**
guarumbo

**yà zyî**
palo chamizo

**yà (ngùz) mánh**
palo de (fruta) de mango

**yáb**
llave

**-yǎg**
estar tieso; ponerse tieso

**yàj**
nopal, nopal montés

**yǎj**
camaleón

**yàj nda$^7$z**
nopalito de Castilla

**yàj tě pítáy**
órgano de pitahaya

**yàj tě tún**
nopal de tuna, órgano

**yàj xôl**
nopalito con ahuate

**yàj yìx**
órgano

**yàj yìx**
órgano, nopalito de monte

**-yàk**
convertirse/lo

**yák**
Ciriaco/a

**-yàk bchi$^7$n**
arrugarse

**-yàk bǒl**
hacerse pelotas, hacerse voludo

**-yàk bxìd**
enredarse

**-yàk bxë$^7$ch**
enralecerse

**-yàk dî**
ponerse ceniza

**-yàk gǒx**
envejecer

**-yàk gǒx**
envejecerse

**-yàk íwál**
igualarse

**-yàk kwân**
ponerse tupido, espeso, o carnado

**-yàk nê**
enrojecer

**-yàk nzhǔzh**
enredarse; enrollarse

**-yàk tìth**
enflaquecerse

**-yàk yà**
ponerse tieso

**-yàk yál yîzh**
sanarse

**-yàk yál zí**
enpobrecerse

**-yàk yôx**
ponerse enredado

**yál chí lya$^7$**
matrimonio

**yál gúl ndâtz**
baile

**-yál látyo$^7$**
vencerse

**yál xîd**
chistoso

**yál zí**
pobre; desgraci

**yálâ**
puerta

**yálò**
corral

**Yǎn**
Sinforiana

**yándâtz**
pie

**Yǎnh**
Adrián

**Yánh**
Adrián (CAN)

**-yàp**
subir (de precio); llenarse

**-yàp nzhë` látyo$^7$**
enbotijarse

**yápa$^7$**
mucho

**-yàt**
lavarse

**-yàth xë$^7$ látyo$^7$**
revivirse, reaccionarse

**-yàw látyo$^7$**
odiarlo; dolerse el corazón

**-yàx**
ponerse viejo, envejecer

**-yàz**
cambiarse de pluma

**ya$^7$**

**ya$^7$**
rama, mano

**ya$^7$**
rama; mano (de los dedos hasta el codo); brazo del ríos

**-ya$^7$**

olerse

**ya$^{7}$ ga$^{7}$l**
mano derecha

**ya$^{7}$ ískyérdá**
mano izquierda

**ya$^{7}$ ka$^{7}$**
magalla de camarón
reculador

**ya$^{7}$ móch**
mano mocho

**ya$^{7}$ ngyá lòd**
magalla (de chacal)

**ya$^{7}$ sábílá**
penca de sábila

**ya$^{7}$ wlàtz yà mánh**
ramita de mango

**ya$^{7}$ yà yèd n-gătz**
rama de ocote negro

**-ya$^{7}$b**
sobarse

**-ya$^{7}$b yèn**
hervir el pescuezo

**ya$^{7}$j**
camaleon

**ya$^{7}$l**
copal

**-ya$^{7}$l**
abrirse

**ya$^{7}$l tě mbì**
copal del aire

**ya$^{7}$n**
olote

**-ya$^{7}$n**
quedarse

**-ya$^{7}$t**
angostarse; derritirse

**-ya$^{7}$t**
encoger(se), marchitar(se)

**ya$^{7}$tz**
negro bajo

**-ya$^{7}$x**
rendirse; aumentar,
multiplicarse, abundarse

**-ya$^{7}$z wàt**
hundirse

**Yą́**
Reveriana

**-yâ**
irse

**-yâ**
ponerse angosto

**-yâ látyo$^{7}$**
estar débil

**-yâl**
enfriarse; refrescarse

**yâp**
chayote

**-yâx**
pagarse

**-yâzh**
sembrarse

**yè**
cerro

**yè bdòn**
Cerro Remolino

**yè bèw**
Cerro Javalín

**yè bzóy**
Cerro Escalero

**yè dǔn**
Cerro Estribo

**yè gô**
Cerro Camote

**yè kwǎ**
Rancho Altemira

**yè ltyi$^{7}$b**
Cerro Estribo

**yè lxi$^{7}$zh**
Cerro Tejón

**yè mzhîn**
Cerro Venado

**yè ndǎn**
Cerro Tizne

**yè ndô ngwzàn**
Bocapiedra

**yè ndy0̌**
Rancho La Sierra

**yè ngùtz kwi$^{7}$**
Cerro Mordoña

**yè nké bi$^{7}$zh**
Cerro Leon

**yè nkë` mbi$^{7}$zh**
Cerro León

**Yè no$^{7}$l**
loma larga

**yè skópét**
Cerro Escopeta

**yè stríb**
Cerro Estribo

**yè tě ngwzi$^7$**
Cerro Rayo

**yè tězh**
Cerro Grito

**yè tìth**
Cerro de Huesos

**Yè Tzî**
Santa Catarina Cuixtla

**yè wǐx**
Cerro Sabroso

**yè xìl**
Cerro Otate

**yè xìl**
San Bartolomé Loxicha

**yè yi$^7$b yà**
Cerro Hacha

**yè yÒj**
Cerro Nopal

**yè zi$^7$l**
Cerro Grande

**Yèbétkâ**
Cerro Betecá

**Yèbko$^7$**
Cerro Betecó

**Yěch**
Félix

**yèd**
ocote

**yèd n-gǔd**
ocote blanco

**yed yed**
queremos comer

**yèg**
sereno, helada, hielo, nevada, nieve

**-yěj**
sentirlo; quejarse

**yèk**
cabeza

**-yèk lá tyo$^7$**
dar sed

**-yèk lá tyo$^7$**
tener sed

**yèk mbyàx**
greñudo, mechudo

**yèk tê**
calvo, pelón

**yèk tûzh**
calvo, cabeza pelón

**yèk yèn tzô**
Cerro Horcón

**Yěl**
Gabriel; Israel

**yèn**
pescuezo, cuello

**yèn**
plato

**-yèn**
acostumbrarse

**-y-ěn**
escarbarlo

**-yén**
negarse

**yèn be$^7$x**
molcajete, chilmolera, plato borcelana

**-yèn látyo$^7$**
apurarse

**yèn yêtz**
pescuezo de la olla

**Yénch**
Gabudencio

**Yěrr**
Guillermo

**yèt yê**
peñasco

**yèth**
calabaza

**yéth chi$^7$n**
calabaza chompa

**yèth gô**
calabaza támala

**yèth lân**
chilcayote, calabaza chilcayota

**yèth na$^7$**
calabaza de la chicayuma

**yèth tě lùt tèz na$^7$**
calabaza de bejuco de chicayuma

**yèth xò**
calabaza de cáscara, calabaza támala

**yèth yǐch**
calabaza huiche

**yèth yë$^7$z zbí**
viga

**Yètko$^7$**
Cerro Betecó

**yèt$^{7}$**
ocote

**yéw**
yegua

**Yèx**
Floresta, Oresta

**yèzh**
ixtle

**ye$^{7}$**
flor

**-ye$^{7}$**
pintarse

**ye$^{7}$ byë^**
pinabeta

**ye$^{7}$ gù xtíl**
flor de grilla

**ye$^{7}$ kúchí**
flor de cuchilla

**ye$^{7}$ márábí**
maravilla

**ye$^{7}$ mómbíl**
bugambilia

**ye$^{7}$ mómíl**
bugambilia

**ye$^{7}$ páráys**
flor de paraiso

**ye$^{7}$ tě tô**

**ye$^{7}$ tě yà wî**
flor de grillal

**ye$^{7}$ tě yîx yì kólór dé rós**
zacate color de rosa

**ye$^{7}$ wa$^{7}$z**
polea

**ye$^{7}$ xi$^{7}$l**
flor de algodón

**ye$^{7}$ xi$^{7}$l n-gǔd**
flor de algodón blanco

**ye$^{7}$d**
hueco, agujero

**-ye$^{7}$d**
desatarse, soltarse

**-ye$^{7}$d**
llegar; venir

**-ye$^{7}$l**
añidirse (local ñidirse)

**ye$^{7}$zh**
llaga, juego de la boca, granito que se encone

**yê**
piedra

**yê yi$^{7}$n**
chilmolera

**yê zàb**
metlapíl, mano de metate

**-yêk**
dar vuelta; enrollarse; enredarse

**yêl**
zacate cortador

**-yên**
escarbarse

**-yên**
oír

**yêtz**
olla

**-y-êtz**
dormir

**yêtz káfé**
olla de café

**yêtz nîl**
olla de nixtamal

**yêtz nzyǒb ndô yà xôz**
olla que ponen en palos de orqueta, olla para agua

**yêtz wa$^{7}$n**
olla con asa

**yêtz xwa$^{7}$n**
olla con argollas, jarro con gasa

**yêtz yirbyěd**
greviera

**yêtz yî**
humador

**yêtz yû**
olla de barro

**yêzh**
pueblo

**Yêzh Bónè (CAN)**
Santa María Colotepec

**Yêzh Bzyá (CAN)**
Ejutla

**yêzh bë$^{7}$**
rancho

**Yêzh Láláná**
San Antonio Lalana

**Yêzh Lósích (CAN)**
San Agustín Loxicha

**yêzh lû**
mundo; cielo

**Yêzh Ndâw (CAN)**
El Zapote

**Yêzh Sábránsísk (CAN)**
San Francisco Coatlán

**Yêzh Sán Pédr**
San Pedro Coatlán

**Yêzh Sán Sébástyán**
San Sebastián Coatlán

**Yêzh Sánt Lín**
Santa Catarina Loxicha

**Yêzh Sántá Márí (CAN)**
Santa María Coatlán

**Yêzh Sántó Dómính**
Santo Domingo coatlán

**Yêzh Xǐzh**
San Baltazar Loxicha

**Yêzh Xît (CAN)**
Santa Cruz Xitla

**Yêzh Yè Do**$^{7}$**ch (CAN)**
Santo Tomás Tamazulapan

**Yêzh Yè Ke**$^{7}$ **(CAN)**
San Pablo Coatlán

**Yêzh Yè Mtzî (CAN)**
Cerro Gavilán

**Yêzh Ye**$^{7}$ **Bàn (CAN)**
San Miguel Yogovana

**Yêzhdo**$^{7}$
Miahuatlán

**yì**
lluvia

**yì**
mierda

**yǐ**
cal

**yí bey**$^{7}$
siete pelo, una enfermedad en que se pone rojo la pierna y la rodilla

**yí bòn**
pala, tarecua

**Yí Ke**$^{7}$
San Pablo Coatlán

**yì lǒ**
aguacero

**yì lûzh**
aguacero, diluvio

**yí tô nzô ña**$^{7}$**l**
boquiabierto

**yí tzî**
Cuixtla

**yí xôl**
llovizna

**yí yèk bxìd**
cabeza enredado, pelo chino; cabeza cachambrosa (se olvida mucho)

**yí yèk xì**
cabeza de jícara, calvo

**yì yê**
granizo

**yì yî**
granizo

**yìb**
vena; cuerda

**-y-ìb**
arrancarlo

**-yǐb**
costurearse

**yìb btzo**$^{7}$ **nì blë**$^{7}$
casa pared de adobe

**yìb btzo**$^{7}$ **nì yû**
pared de casa de barro/tierra

**yìb btzo**$^{7}$ **yî**
pared de piedra

**-yǐb bë**$^{7}$**l**
costurearse la carne

**yìb ndâtz**
vena del pie

**yìb xàn lèn**
la vena debajo de la barriga

**yìb ya**$^{7}$
vena de la mano

**yìbtzo**$^{7}$
pared, muro, barda

**yìch**
alforza

**yìch**
pelo

**-y-ìch**
reventar

**yǐch**
metate

**yìch bdì**
pelo muy fino (como conejo)

**yìch bórrěg**
lana

**yǐch bòtz**
espina de malacate

**yìch byák**

**yǐch dûn**
espina dormilona

**-y-ìch kê**
reventarlo, explotarlo

**-y-ìch kê-m´ yèth**
tronar el agua con su brazo de uno

**yìch kwe$^7$**
canas

**yìch lá tyo$^7$**
vellos del pecho o estómago

**yìch lèn xìk**
pelo del sobaco

**yìch lë`d mbéze$^7$**
el pelo del pecho del guajolote macho, escobilla

**yìch mǎn**
pelo de animal

**yìch ndâtz**
vellos de los pies

**yìch ndô kìd**
pelo del ombligo, bajo del ombligo

**yìch ndô xtûzh**
pelo de la frente

**yìch ndô yà gǎl**
los pelos del ojo del cienpie

**yǐch ngú dêtz**
espina dormilona

**yìch ngùz kwê**
pelo del pene

**yìch ngùz ndô**
pestañas

**yìch pǒs lèn xè**
pelo del pozo de la nariz

**yǐch syér**
espina de sierra

**yǐch tě ye$^7$z yǐch lô**
espina de chepil de espina

**yǐch tìth**
espina de huisache

**yìch tìth tzo$^7$**
pelo de la espalda

**yìch tlǎ do$^7$ yèk**
pelo del centro de la cabeza

**yìch tô**
bigote; barba

**yìch tô bǐch**
los pelos de la boca del gato

**yìch tzo$^7$ ngùz ndô**
cejas

**yìch tzo$^7$ nzhâ**
pelo atrás del oído

**yìch tzo$^7$ yèn**
pelo atrás del pescuezo

**yìch tzo$^7$ yèn bǔrr**
los pelos de atrás del pescuezo del burro

**yìch tzo$^7$ yèn wáy**
pelo de atrás del pescuezo del caballo

**yǐch wǎz**
carnisuelo, espina de carnesuelo

**yìch wâtz nzhâ**
patillas

**yìch xi$^7$n**
pelo del culo

**yǐch yà**
espina de palo

**yìch ya$^7$**
vellos de la mano

**-y-ich ya$^7$**
aplaudir

**-y-ich ya$^7$**
dar cachetada, cachetear

**yìch yèk**
cabello

**yǐch yèk ngíze$^7$**
espina cresta de gallo

**yìch yél tě nîz**
cabello de mazorca

**y-ìch yi$^7$b**
disparar, quemar cartucho

**yìch yî**
1. paxle, el heno; 2. araña manos de cabello

**yǐch yî**
piedra de metate que viene del río

**yìch yîd kwê**
pelo del cuerpo de la mujer

**yìch yîd ndô**
patillas

**yìch yôx**
cabello suelto

**yìch yë^l**
cabello de elote (animal)

**yìch yë^l tě nîz**
cabello de la mazorca

**yìch yë^l tě nzë^**
cabello de elote (tierno)

**yǐch zâ**
huisache, carnisuelo (local),

**yǐch zi$^7$l**
espina grande

**yìch (yîd) tô**
bigote, barba

**yíchèk**
cabello

**yíchèk mbyë$^7$d**
cabello despeinado; cabello suelto

**-y-ǐd**
agujerearlo

**yíd yî**
peñasco, pedregal

**-y-ìl**
echar pedos, pedorrear

**yìn**
baúl (para guardar cera o ropa); cama

**-y-ǐn**
pegar

**-y-ǐn yà**
porrear (p.ej. frijól)

**-y-ín yî**
azotar la ropa

**-yínyî**
azotarse

**yìt**
papel

**-yìt**
doblarse

**yìt yǎ**
Tierra Blanca

**-y-ìth**
chancear; jugar

**-y-ìth**
fallar

**-y-ìth nà**
jugarlo

**yítî**
fugón

**yítî tě tíl**
fugón de comal

**yítô**
boca

**yìx**
monte

**-y-ìx**
acostarlo; pagar; reventar

**-y-ix getz**
poner a dormir, dormirlo

**yìx kwân**
montaña, monte cerrado

**yìx là wlá**
hoja amarga

**yìx là xnêz**
malbarizco

**yìx là xnêz**
malvarisco

**yìx làx nêz**
monte de malvarisco

**yìx lâtz**
huamil, monte tierno

**yìx ngú gàl**
montaña

**yìx to$^7$ tǔzh**
cuna chiquita; hamaca chiquita (local maca chiquita)

**yìx xôl**
monte aguatudo

**yìx ye$^7$ yë$^7$z**
monte ejote

**-y-íx yêtz**
ponerlo a dormir, acostarlo a dormir, dejarlo a dormir

**-y-ixcha$^7$**
acostarlo; acomodarlo

**yíz ni$^7$z**
quintonil

**yi$^7$**
flor

**-yi$^7$**
estar enojado

**yi$^7$ jéráñyó**
flor geranio

**yi$^7$ kártúch**
flor de cartucho

**yi$^7$ ko$^7$b**
flor de Cemposúchitl (local), Cempasúchil (libro), flor de muerto, flor de manzana (la más grande)

**yi$^7$ là btzyàk**
flor (blanca y olorosa) de un palo que desconocemos el nombre

**yi$^7$ mbíl**
flor de bugambilia

**yi$^7$ mbë̌ z**
flor del niño, hueledenoche

**yi$^7$ ndǔx**
viruxe (flor), Cemposúchitl chiquito

**yi$^7$ nzâ**
vainilla

**yi$^7$ sán níkólás**
florifundo, flor de San Nicolás

**yi$^7$ tě lùt tzèth**
flor de guia de calabaza

**yi$^7$ tě mbë$^7$l**
flor de alcacio

**yi$^7$ tě yàj**
flor de nopal

**yi$^7$ túlípánh**
tulipán (flor)

**yi$^7$ wlá ti$^7$ch**
flor amarga

**yi$^7$ yí bàn**
Cemposúchitl blanco

**yi$^7$ yì nîtz**
flor de río (blanca y olorosa)

**yi$^7$ yì yi$^7$**
flor de Santa Catarina

**yi$^7$ yë$^7$z yà bìtz**
flor de cuachipil

**yi$^7$ ze$^7$ch**
Cemposúchitl (local), Cacalosúchil (libro)

**yi$^7$b**
fierro; arma; instrumento; carro

**-yi$^7$b**
arrancarse

**yi$^7$b ndâch**
arma de fuego

**yi$^7$b nza$^7$ górr (nâ) nzhò-nh´**
aparato que da la hora a que estamos, reloj

**yi$^7$b nzyë`**
carro

**yi$^7$b yà**
hacha

**yi$^7$b yà áméríkán**
hacha americana

**yi$^7$b yà skóp**
hacha de escopla

**-y-i$^7$ch**
quebrarlo

**-y-i$^7$d**
abrazar

**yi$^7$i$^7$i$^7$i$^7$i**
sonido de caballo cuando relincha

**yi$^7$n**
chile, tusta

**yi$^7$n**
hinchazón

**yi$^7$n bìd**
chile seco

**yi$^7$n chígǒl**
chile chigole

**yi$^7$n chílít**
chile chilito

**yi$^7$n chílyánch**
chile ancho

**yi$^7$n kë^**
chile verde

**yi$^7$n kë^ làt**
chile de agua

**yi$^7$n nga$^7$x**
chile chigole, chigole, chile chichalaca

**yi$^7$n yà**
chile costeño

**yi$^7$n yà làt**
chile de agua

**yi$^7$n yí xìl**
chile bartoleño

**-yi$^7$x**
tostarse

**yî**

hinchazón debajo de la muela

**yî**
piedra

**-yî**
sanar

**-yî**
tostarse, asarse

**yî bèy**
una clase de infección de la piel, que se pinta la piel color rojo o morado (BAL); hinchazón (CAN)

**yî be$^7$y**
piedra de fortuna

**yî be$^7$y**
piedra de venado, piedra de fortuna, besuara

**yî bŏl**
piedra voluda

**yî bòn**
pala

**yî bzhi$^7$l**
Piedra de Juego

**yî lăg**
Piedra Oaxaca

**yî lìd mbi$^7$zh**
Piedra León

**yî lìd ngòl**
Casa de Piedra de Sopilote

**yî lìd ngwzi$^7$**
Piedra Rayo

**yî nbìx nîtz**
cascada, chorro donde salta el agua

**yî ndíb yêtz**
Piedras Finas

**yî ndyàt lâd**
lavadero, piedra de lavar ropa

**yî n-gătz**
Piedras Negras

**yî ngí zàn**
Piedra Gallina

**yî ngwlàb**
Piedra Olavo

**yî ngwlë̆**
grava, piedra quebrada

**yî tî**
fugón

**yî tî yi$^7$b**
anafre

**yî wzhîzh**
piedra lisa

**yî wzhë$^7$**
piedra de fortuna, besuara

**yî xkê mbë^l**
Piedra Caca de Lucero

**yî yâ**
x josefa

**yî yĭ**
piedra de cal

**yî yĭch**
piedra de metate que viene de la fábrica

**yî yî lùt**
zacate de bejuco

**yî zàb**
metlapil

**yîd**
cuero

**yîd gŏx**
cuero viejo

**yîd kwê**
verija

**yîd kwê xa$^7$ gôtz**
cuero verija de la mujer

**yîd lâz**
cuero del cuerpo

**yîd lèn**
barriga, panza

**yîd lèn tè**
barrigón, panzón

**yîd mbăd ndâtz**
cuero del pie

**yîd mbăd ya$^7$**
palma de la mano

**yîd mbdûd xa$^7$**
persona tarada

**yîd mbì**
globo; vejiga

**yîd na$^7$t**
arroyo

**yîd ndô bchi$^7$n**
cara arrugada

**yîd ndô chá**
bizco

**yîd ndô mbya$^7$t**
cara arrugada

**yîd ndô nzĭn**
ojo cerrado

**yîd ndô yîd**
cara arrugada

**yîd ndyô ndâtz xa$^7$**
zapato

**yîd ndyô ya$^7$**
guante

**yîd ndë`y mbèk**
los dientes de perros

**yîd ngùz kwê xa$^7$ byî**
cuero del pene del hombre

**yîd ngùz ndô**
cuero de los ojos, párpado

**yîd nto$^7$ bdi$^7$n mbë$^7$l**
cuero que se muda la culebra

**yîd nzhâ**
oreja, oído

**yîd pár lâ tě ngùz ndô**
el cuero de abajo del ojo

**yîd tìth**
flaco

**yîd tô**
labio, cuero de la boca

**yîd tô xè**
cuero de la orilla de la nariz

**yîd xkê mzhîn**
la bolsa de caca de venado

**yîd xnêtz**
bejiga orinaria

**yîd yèk bóy**
cresta del pollo

**yîd yi$^7$x**
chicharrón

**yîd yî**
peñazco

**yîd (ndô) xtûzh**
arruga de la frente; cuero de la frente

**yîn**
palma

**-yîn**
tocar

**yîn lèy**
palma bendita

**-yîn yî**
azotar(se), golpearse

**yîx**
bagazo, red

**yîx**
basura

**yîx**
zacate

**yîx bxo$^7$n**
zacate de sereno

**yîx dà**
zacatillo, zacate de jardín, zacate petate, zacate conejo

**yîx gôp**
zacate de sereno

**yîx gu$^7$t**
panal

**yîx là yë`l**
hoja de zacate de milpa, la rama seca de la milpa

**yîx mbèw**
zacate de gordura de javalín, zacate gordo

**yîx ngìd**
red chica para uso de paseo

**yîx ngùz kwê**
escroto

**yîx ngyón**
zacate de tempranero

**yîx nì**
placenta

**yîx nîz**
red de mazorca

**yîx pánél**
bagazo de panela

**yîx párá**
zacate pará

**yîx sákátónh**
zacate sacatón

**yîx tě yà**
aserrín

**yîx to$^7$**
hamaca; cuna

**yîx wá**
redecita

**yîx yì**
zacate (grande de monte)

**yîx yì dà**
zacate petate

**yîx yì go$^7$b**
zacate popote

**yîx yì nì**
zacate de casa

**yîx yì yë^l**
zacate cortadora

**yîx yì zë^**
zacate manteca

**yîx yî du$^{7}$b**

**yîx yî nîtz**
zacatillo para enflaquerse

**yîx yë^l**
zacate cortador

**yîzh**
enfermo

**yîzh bë$^{7}$ yíl yìt**
Rancho el Macahuite

**yîzh kóxnì**
sentimiento, tristeza; luto, duelo; enfermedad de tristeza

**yîzh mbe$^{7}$**
hemorragia

**yîzh ndâth yë^**
ataque

**yîzh ngùz ndô**
mal de ojo

**yîzh nxo$^{7}$n lèn**
diarrea

**yîzh tě tèn**
dísenteria

**yîzh tìth**
flaqueza

**yîzh zàn**
dieta del parto, (los veinte días que se cuide después), enfermedad de cría

**yîzh zha$^{7}$b**
enfermedad de flojera

**yîzh zìn**
rábia; tontera

**-yò**
pelear

**-yó xàn**
empezar

**yòb**
seso

**Yŏb**
Leobardo

**yòb ngùz ndô**
chingin

**yòb yèk**
cerebro

**yòb yèk**
seso de la cabeza

**yòb yèk wzàn**
el seso principal de la cabeza

**-yóbì**
abotarse

**yÒj**
nopal

**yŏnh**
mezquino, un hongo que se nace por las manos o por los pies

**yŏnh**
Simión

**yòp**
ciénega, lodo

**-yótê**
entrar

**-yòtz**
ancharse

**yo$^{7}$**
carga

**-yo$^{7}$**
llevarlo

**yo$^{7}$ chŏn krús**
Rancho Tres Cruces

**Yo$^{7}$ Sánh Jwánh**
Rancho San Juan

**yo$^{7}$ yà**
carga de leña

**yo$^{7}$ zi$^{7}$l**
Rio Grande

**-yo$^{7}$b**
arrastrarse, jalarse

**-yo$^{7}$b**
se chupa la cara, se debilita la cara, se derrite la cara, se pone pálido (como que está enfermo)

**-yo$^{7}$b nîtz**
jalarse el agua

**-yo$^{7}$n látyo$^{7}$**
ponerse triste, estar triste, llorar el corazón

**-yô**
estar

**-yô**
haber

**-yô**
haber; estar

**-yô**

ponerse

**-yô**
vivir

**-yô bwén látyo$^7$**
estar contento

**-yô kwë`l**
bonarse

**-yô mbì**
columpiar

**-yô nèd**
adelantarse

**-yô ñă**
encerrarse

**-yô wá bèn látyo$^7$**
estar alegre; ponerse alegre

**-yô xé lë`d**
importarse, interesarse, juzgarse

**-yô xí lë`d**
importarle; juzgarlo

**-yô xìn**
embarazarse

**-yô xìn**
estar embarazada

**-yô xka$^7$l**
tener sueño

**-yô xlë̌**
tener calentura

**-yôcha$^7$**
guardarse?

**-yôj**
molerse

**-yôl**
quemarse

**yôx**
roto

**-yôx**
enredarse/lo?

**yúdănt**
ayudante al teniente

**Yúke$^7$**
San Pablo Coatlán

**yúl ndâtz**
baile

**-yùn**
hacerlo

**-yùn bchi$^7$n**
arrugarlo

**-yùn bèn**
entiernecer (local), enternecer

**-yùn brèl**
hacer rueda

**-yùn bxe$^7$ch**
enralecerlo

**-yùn bë^l**
hacerlo llama

**-yùn cha$^7$**
repararlo; componerlo, arreglarlo

**-yùn ko$^7$b**
amasarlo

**-yùn krús**
cruzar

**-yùn mbi$^7$ch**
hacerlo chino

**-yùn n-gătz**
enegrecerlo

**-yùn tŭzh**
enchiquecerse, hacerlo chiquito

**-yùn wlá**
amargarlo

**-yùn wtî**
endulzarlo

**-yùn wyë^l**
endurecerlo, hacerlo duro

**-yùn zìn**
hacerlo tonto

**yùnh**
mezquino

**-yútê**
meterse

**yu$^7$**
río

**-yu$^7$**
apagarse

**-yu$^7$ yë´l ndyên**
borrarse el sentido, borrarse el pensamiento

**yu$^7$ zhăk**
Arroyo Chiquito

**yû**
mismo

**yû**
tierra, terreno, suelo

**-yû**
desparamar, batirlo, embyuxar, estrellarse, empedazarse

**yû ble$^7$**
adobe

**yû blë$^7$**
tierra de adobe

**Yû Ke$^7$**
San Pablo Coatlán

**yû kôl**
tierra de polvo

**yû kúb**
terreno virgen

**yû kwàl**
tierra fría

**yû kwë`l**
tierra abonada

**yû làn**
lodo

**yû làw**
tierra comunal

**yû ná ndàk lá ti$^7$n**
terreno no trabajado

**yû ngwi$^7$**
tierra cocida, barro cocido

**yû ngwlë̌**
terremoto; terreno quebrado

**yû wi$^7$d**
barro

**yû wzhë^**
tierra caliente

**yû wë`**
tierra derrumbada; barranco

**yû xkê mbë^l**
tierra arenosa brillante

**yû yûx**
tierra arenosa, tierra de nuda, tierra desierto, tierra esteril

**yû yûx**
tierra triste; tierra cascajo; tierra muerta de cerro con piedras que no sirve

**yû zhu$^7$**
San Pedro Juchatengo

**yû zô**
sarro

**-yûb**
caer

**yûx**
arena

**yûx xkê mbë^l**
arena de pescado

**y0`j**
nopal

**y0j tŭzh**
nopalito chiquito

**y0`j zi$^7$l**
nopal grande

**y0$^7$j**
renacuajo

**-yë`**
derritir, deshacer

**-yë´**
enderezarse

**-yë´ tzo$^7$**
estirarse

**yë`l**
hondura

**yë`l**
milpa

**yë̌l**
mamey

**yë´l**
nominalizador

**yë´l**
porque

**yë´l bě**
palo mulato

**yë´l brúj**
brujería

**yë´l chí lya$^7$**
boda, casamiento

**yë´l gù**
borrachera

**yë´l gúl ndâtz**
baile

**yë´l gúl ndâtz tě bxi$^7$zh**
baile de la piña

**yë´l gúl ndâtz tě mbál**
el baile del compadre

**yë´l gúl ndâtz tě mbèd**
el baile del guajolote

**yë´l gúl ndâtz tě ngù**
baile del borracho

**yë´l gûth**
muerte, mortandaed

**Yë`l Kwă**
Hondura Oscura

**yë´l kwi$^7$n**

mentira, mentiroso, engañoso

**yë´l nbăn**
vida

**yë´l ndyên**
pensamiento

**yë´l wàw**
convivio, comida

**yë´l wi$^7$**
diversión

**yë´l wi$^7$n**
llorón

**yë´l wyi$^7$**
enojado

**yë´l wyò**
pleito, pelea, guerra

**yë´l wzá lë`d**
maldad

**yë´l wza$^7$ di$^7$zh**
plática; palabra

**yë´l xăl**
chalán; presumido

**yë´l xîd**
risa

**yë´l xîd nà yë´l wyìth**
chistes; risas y juego, alegría

**yë̆́l yèzh**
mamey zapote, sanzapotec

**yë`l yi$^7$d**
presa, hondura donde se almacene agua para sanjos o riegos

**yë´l yîd**
huarache de cuero

**yë´l yîd kórré**
huarache de correa

**yë´l yîzh**
enfermedad

**yë´l yîzh gŏx**
viejez (local), vejez (standard)

**yë´l yîzh mbì**
enfermedad de aire/tonto

**yë´l yîzh ngùz ndô**
mal de ojo

**yë´l yîzh tě lá tyo$^7$**
mal de corazón

**yë´l yîzh zìn**
rabia

**yë´l yo$^7$b**
escoba

**yë´l yo$^7$b plástíkó**
escoba de plástico

**yël yo$^7$b xnè mbèk**
escobilla de popote

**yë´l yo$^7$b yà**
escoba de vara

**yë´l yo$^7$b yîn**
escoba de palma, palma de escoba

**yë´l zá di$^7$zh**
plática; palabra

**yë´l zha$^7$b**
flojera

**yë´l zí**
pobreza, desgracia, atrasos

**yë`th**
tortilla

**yë`th bǎd**
tamales de elote

**yë`th bǎd**
tamales de elote blanco (simple)

**yë`th bìd**
tortilla seca

**yë`th gi$^7$x**
tortilla tostada; totopo

**yë`th go$^7$zh**
tortilla podrida

**yë`th gu$^7$d**
tortilla blanda

**yë`th kwë^d**
tortilla tlayuda, xonga

**yë`th mbo$^7$ch**
tortilla tostada, totopo

**yë`th yi$^7$x**
tortilla tostada, totopo

**yë`y**
hollín (de humo)

**yë$^7$**
mañana

**yë$^7$**
nueve

**Yë$^7$ch**
Santo Domingo de Morelos, Cozoaltepec

**-yë$^7$d**
desatarse, soltarse

**-yë$^7$d**
venirse, regresar(se)

**-yë$^7$d na$^7$**
traer, venir a dejar

**-yë$^7$l**
abrir(se)

**-yë$^7$l**
engordarse

**yë$^7$l krús**
coopal de cruz

**yë$^7$l mbàd**
copal de cuadro, copal cuadrado, copal aplastado

**yë$^7$l n-gǎtz**
copal negro

**yë$^7$l n-gǔd**
copal blanco

**yë$^7$l tě mbì**
copal de aire

**-yë$^7$x**
rendirse, abundarse

**yë$^7$z**
chepil, chicalmata

**yë$^7$z**
ejotes

**yë$^7$z yà bîtz**
flor de cuachipíl

**yë$^7$z ya$^7$**
pierna vieja

**yë$^7$z yè**
chepil del cerro

**yë$^7$z yûx**
chepil de arena, chepil del cerro

**-yë$^7$zh**
quejarse

**yë^**
bule

**yë^**
ponedora, nido

**yë^**
temazcal

**-yë^**
enverdecer

**yë^ bte$^7$k**
bule chueco

**yë^ gób nì**
bule sembrador

**yë^ gòl**
bule bailarín, estrompo de bule

**yë^ kúchárr**
bule de cuchara

**-yë^ lá tyo$^7$**
estar alegre, alegrarse, estar contento; querer, enamorarse

**yë^ lùt**
bule de bejuco largo

**yë^ nîtz**
bule de agua

**yë^ no$^7$l**
bule largo

**yë^ tě mbèd**
ponedora de guajolota

**yë^ tě ngǐd**
lugar adonde la gallina pone

**yë^ wírr**
bule de huiro

**yë^ xì**
bule de jícara

**yë^ yèk**
coco para tortilla, bule, jicalpextle

**yë^ yë$^7$zh**
bule para tomar agua

**yë^ zàb**
bule metlapil

**-yë^ch**
ponerse tímido, entrarle el miedo

**yë^l**
zacate cortador

**-yë^l**
calentarse con temperatura de edad

**yë^l brúj**
brujería (enfermedad de)

**yë^l yîzh kwè**
enfermedad de sordo

**yë^l yîzh mbe$^7$**
regla

**yë^l yîzh nda zha$^7$b**
enfermedad de cruda

**yë^l yîzh ndath yë^**
ataque

**yë^l yîzh tě ngězh**
enfermedad de lombríz

**yë^l yîzh tě xlě́ tězh yë$^7$**
calentura de la gripa

**yë^l yîzh wlè**

enfermedad de ciego

**yë^l yîzh wzêth**
enfermedad de comezón

**yë^l yîzh zìn**
rabia

**yë^tz**
brazada

**yë^tz**
zanja

**yë^z**
cigarro

**yë^z là**
tabaco

**zǎ**
todo(s)

**-zá di$^7$zh xěx**
hablar escondido; susurrar

**zàb**
cagada larga

**-zádi$^7$zh**
platicar

**-zàk**
valer; costar

**-z-àk**
aparecerse, parecerse

**-z-àk**
sufrir una enfermedad

**-z-àk kwàl**
tenerfrío

**zàn**

**-z-àn**
parir, dar a luz

**-zándô**
acabar, terminar

**-zàt**
lavarlo

**-za$^7$**
dar

**-za$^7$**
romperse

**-za$^7$ di$^7$zh**
dar permiso, dejar

**-za$^7$ di$^7$zh tô kâ**
tartamudear; hablar el tartamudo

**-za$^7$ lë`d**
regalar

**-za$^7$ prést**
alquilar, dar prestado

**-za$^7$ xîd**
dar pecho, amamantar

**-za$^7$ xnà**
agradecer

**-za$^7$b**
brincar; volar

**-za$^7$b**
deber

**-za$^7$b yë´l yîzh**
contagiar

**-zâ**
cumplirse; completarse

**zè**
sitio, solar

**-zé kê**
quejarse

**zé nâ**
adonde

**zé nâ ndyìth měn**
pista de juegos

**-zé xô**
rasparse

**zèd**
sal

**-z-èn**
agarrar

**-zèn gò**
agarrar la enfermedad de vergüenza

**-z-èn kë`**
pegarse

**-zèn mbì lâz**
pegarle un dolor, agarrar aire en el cuerpo

**-zèn mbì yèk**
agarrar aire en la cabeza, estar loco, tener dolor de cabeza

**-zèn mbîtz**
agarrar calambre

**-z-èn yî**
encenderse, arder

**-zèn yë´l yîzh**
agarrar enfermedad

**zéndë$^7$**
aquí

**-zeth**
arder

**-zéya$^7$**
entregarlo

**zê**
lugar

**zê kwàl**
lugar frío

**zê kwa$^7$**
a nivel, plano, parejo

**zê mbgăch găn**
tumba; adonde se enterró el difunto

**zê nâ**
adonde

**zê nâ ndyô yë´l gúl ndâtz**
pista de bailes

**zê nâ nzhò wyâx yà káfé**
finca de cafetal

**zê nâ nzŏb xa$^7$ năk ti$^7$n**
puestos de autoridades

**zê ncho$^7$n nîtz**
corriente de agua

**zê ndàw**
herida

**zê wzhë^**
lugar caliente

**zê zèd**
talón del pié

**zê zîth**
lugar lejano

**-zhăl**
encontrarlo

**-zhăl**
encontrarse, jallarse, sucederle (and stay together a while)

**zha$^7$**
cuando, entonces

**-zha$^7$**

**zha$^7$b**
flojo, perezoso, peresa, flojera, vago

**-zha$^7$b**
cansarse; tener flojera

**-zha$^7$l**
toparse

**-zha$^7$l gôp**
humedecerse

**-zha$^7$l zí**
fracasar; atrasar

**-zha$^7$l zí**
pasar desgracia?

**-zha$^7$l zô**
declararse

**zhĕn**
humo

**zhe$^7$**
cuando, entonces

**-zhê zŏb yèn**
estar ronco

**-zhêb**
asustarse, espantarse

**-zhí ndô**
conocer

**-zhí yên**
admirarse

**-zhílyû**
atardecer

**zhǐn**
chinche (del campo)

**zhǐn**
cucaracha

**zhi$^7$**
leche

**-zhîzh**
emparejarse; alisarse

**zhó wê**
entonces

**-zho$^7$**
apretarse

**-zh-o$^7$b**
desboronarse

**-zh-o$^7$b**
estar

**-zho$^7$n**
batirse

**zho$^7$zh**
chuparrosa, chupamirto,

**zho$^7$zh bǐx**
chuparrosa chiquita

**zhôg**
taparrabo

**zhrraja zhrraja zhrraja**
sonido de quebrar nixtamal en metate

**-zhù**
quemarse

**zhúl**
pollito

**zh´unhkú zhúnhkú zhúnhkú**
sonido de afilar machete en una piedra de afilar

**-zhu$^7$**
rasparse

**-zhu$^7$n**
exprimirse, escurrirse

**-zhë`**
llenarse

**zhë´**
lleno

**-zhël**

**-zhë$^7$**
cambiar(se)

**-zhë$^7$l**

**-zhë^**
ayunar

**-zhë^**
calentarse

**zhë^ lá wê**
adenantes, hoy en la mañana

**zhë^ la$^7$**
hace rato

**zí**
castigo?

**-zí xô**
rascar; pellizcar; arañar

**-zìd**
sonar; tocar; tronar

**zìn**
ignorante, loco, tonto, zafado

**-z-ìn**
batir

**-z-in**
cerrar los ojos

**-zi$^7$**
empujar; arrimarlo

**-z-i$^7$**
comprarlo

**-zi$^7$ kò**
atizar

**-zi$^7$ látyo$^7$**
suspirar

**zi$^7$l**
grande

**zi$^7$l ta$^7$**
temprano, madrugada, tempranito

**zî**
flor de guía de calabaza

**zîth**
lejos

**zó bâ**
allí; otro lado; aquél lado

**-zò nkë´**
seguir

**zó wê**
allá

**-zǒb**
montarlo, sentarlo, ponerlo

**-zǒb**
montarse; sentarse; estar sentado; estar puesto

**-zǒb yà ngùz kwê**
pararse el pene

**-zǒb yô xka$^7$l**
cabecear

**-zǒbcha$^7$**
sentarlo

**-zǒbga$^7$l**
estar parado

**-zǒbti$^7$n**
eligirse

**-zǒbti$^7$n**
eligir, nombrar

**-zǒbyè**
rodarse

**-zǒbye$^7$**
tener infección, llaga, o herida; estar lastimado

**-zǒbyë`z**
marcarlo

**-zǒbyë`z**
marcarse

**-z-òn**
cagar

**-zóxàn**
empezar

**-z-o$^7$b**
desgranar, desboronar

**-zo$^7$l**
quemarlo

**-zô**
pararse; estar

**-zô bìch**
estar en temascal

**-zô ga$^7$l**
estar parado

**-zô gâx**
acercarse

**-zô ké**

**-zô kë`**
subida

**-zô lë^**
llamarse; nombrarse

**-zô mběl**

**-zô mbî**
limpiarse

**-zô ndâtz**
iniciar

**-zô něd**
estar adelante, pasarse adelante, pararse adelante

**-zô něd**
guiarlo; pasar adelante

**-zô nîtz**
sudar

**-zô nték**
agacharlo

**-zô nték**
engacharse, agacharse; estar parado

**-zô nte$^7$k**
estar agachado

**-zô ña$^7$l**
estar abierto; estar destapado

**-zô xàn**
iniciar

**-zô xîb**
arrodillarse, hincarse

**-zô yî**
engordarse

**-zô yî**
estar hinchado; hincharse; inflamarse; engordarse; esponjarse

**-zô zîth**
alejarse

**-zô zùd**
estar borracho

**-zǔ xë$^7$**
aclarar; amanecer

**-zùd**
emborracharse

**-zùd yèk**
marearse

**-z-ùp**
chupar

**-zu$^7$**
despedazarlo; partirlo; embiuxarlo

**-zu$^7$ di$^7$zh**
regatear

**-zûy**
darle cosquillas

**-zya$^7$l**
perderse

**-zyó mbî**
limpiarse

**-zyǒn**
destruirse, descomponerse

**-zyô**
rasparse (con cuchillo a un elote)

**zë`**
viaje

**-zë`**
acarrearse

**-zë`**
caminar

**-zë̆**
resembrarse, repartirse

**-zë̆**
venir

**-zë` mò**
gatear

**zë̆ ta$^7$**
falta

**zë̆ ta$^7$ gǎy-é**
crudo; falta se va a cocer

**-zë`l**
agrutar, grutar, aurutar, erutar (eructar---RGBA)

**zë̆ ta$^7$**
falta

**-z(y)a$^7$**
romperse

**-zë$^7$**
embarrar

**-zë$^7$ gël gizh**
contagiar

**-zë$^7$ ndǎn**
tiznar

**-zë$^7$ yë´l zha$^7$b**
contagiar la flojera a otro

**zë^**
manteca, grasa, cebo

**-0`**
comer

**ë`j ë`j ë`j ë`j**
sonido del grito del burro

**(mbë`z) nzón**
mapache

# A2 Spanish to Zapotec

**a nivel, plano, parejo**
zê kwa$^7$

**a ver**
ñó

**abajo**
xàn

**abajo de**
gál xàn

**abajo de la olla**
xàn yêtz

**abajo/adentro de la rodilla**
lèn xîb

**abandonar a su pareja**
-la$^7$ tzǒb

**Abdon**
Dónh

**abeja**
mbêz

**abeja de castilla**
mbêz mzhìn do$^7$

**abeja de miel, enjambre**
mbêz tě mzhìn

**abeja tragasaliva, tragasaliva**
mbêz chu$^7$k

**abejoncita de saliva**
mbêz nzhu$^7$k

**abejón bruja, muestramuerte**
wàn

**abejón de saliva**
mchu$^7$k

**abejón enjambre**
mbêz énjámbré

**Abel**
Ábél

**abogado**
xa$^7$ nyi$^7$ pá ntyo$^7$ prés lít yi$^7$b

**abono**
kwë`l

**aborrecer**
-la$^7$

**abortar**
-tìd mbë̌z

**abotarse**
-yóbì

**abrazar**
-y-i$^7$d

**abrazarlo; meterlo dentro los brazos**
-g-ó xìk

**abrir**
-xë$^7$l

**abrir la boca; bostezar, dormitar; regañar, gritar, subir la voz**
-òtz

**abrirse**
-ya$^7$l

**abrirse (como una flor o un libro)**
-bi$^7$l

**abrirse (una flor)**
-tyi$^7$l

**abrirse, descuartizarse**
-bîl

**abrir; derritir**
-xa$^7$l

**abrir(se)**
-yë$^7$l

**abuela**
xna$^7$ gól

**abuela**
xna$^7$ xòtz

**abuelita, anciana, mujer vieja**
xa$^7$ go^tz gǒx

**abuelito/a; gente grande**
mé gǒx

**abuelo**
xùz gól

**abuelo**
xùz xòtz

**abuelo paterno**
xùz xùz

**abuelo/a; gente grande**
xa$^7$ gǒx

**aburrirse, fastidiarse, enfadarse**
-átê látyo$^7$

**acabarlo**
-të$^7$

**acabarse**
-álu$^7$d

**acabarse**
-të´y

**acabarse, terminarse**
-ándo^

**acabar, terminar**
-zándo^

**acariciarlo; estimarlo; quererlo; tenerle lastima**
-kë̌ lá tyo$^7$

**acarrearse**
-zë`

**acarrear(lo), manejarlo; traspasar?**
-tzë$^7$

**aceptarlo, recibirlo**
-ká ya$^7$

**acercarse**
-zo^ gâx

**aclarar**
-lu$^7$ ndo^ yu^

**aclarar; amanecer**
-zŭ xë$^7$

**acomodar**
-xo$^7$b cha$^7$

**acomodarlo**
-b-èk cha$^7$

**acordarse**
-kë$^7$ lá tyo$^7$

**acostado boca arriba**
nàx nzë^

**acostado de lado**
nàx wa$^7$tz

**acostado embrocado, acostado boca abajo**
nàx kwàz ndo^

**acostarlo; acomodarlo**
-y-ixcha$^7$

**acostarlo; pagar; reventar**
-y-ìx

**acostarse**
-àth

**acostarse atravesado, atravesar**
-àth nka$^7$n

**acostumbrarse**
-yèn

**acusar; falsificar**
-kíkê

**adelantarlo**
-g-ó ned

**adelantarse**
-nèd

**adelantarse**
-yo^ nèd

**adelante; primero**
nĕd

**adenantes, hoy en la mañana**
zhë^ lá wê

**adentro de**
gál lèn

**adentro de agua**
lèn nîtz

**adentro de la nariz**
pŏs xè

**adentro de la olla**
lèn yêtz

**adentro de la pared**
lèn btzo$^7$

**adentro de pierna**
lèn xò

**adentro del pozo del oído**
lèn pós nzhâ

**adentro (de la tierra) del muro de la casa**
gâl lèn yu^ btzo$^7$

**adentro; entre medio de**
lë`th

**admirarse**
-zhí yên

**adobe**
yu^ ble$^7$

**adobe; almácigo**
blë$^7$

**adolorido, resfriado, cuando le va a pegar gripa con calentura etc.**
ndàw yë^

**adonde**
zé nâ

**adonde**
zê nâ

**adornar**
-ákwa$^7$

**adornar**
-úkwa$^7$

**adónde mero?**
pá mér

**adónde?**
pă

**Adrián**
Yănh

**Adrián (CAN)**
Yánh

**adulterio**
xa$^7$ n-găl mě go^tz tě stúb měn

**aflojarse**
-lyë$^7$

**afuera del muro**
lâz btzo$^7$

**afuera; atrás de la casa; baño**
tzo$^7$ nì

**agachado**
nte$^7$k

**agacharlo**
-zo^ nték

**agarrar**
-z-èn

**agarrar aire en el cuerpo, tener un dolor en el cuerpo**
-à mbì lâz

**agarrar aire en la cabeza, estar loco, tener dolor de cabeza**
-zèn mbì yèk

**agarrar calambre**
-zèn mbîtz

**agarrar enfermedad**
-zèn yë´l yîzh

**agarrar la enfermedad de vergüenza**
-zèn gò

**agonizar, acabarse de morir**
-kë´ lá tyo$^7$

**agradecer**
-za$^7$ xnà

**agriarse, acedarse, ponerse agrio**
-ákwì

**agridulce**
kwì wtî

**agrio**
kwì

**agrutar, grutar, aurutar, erutar (eructar---RGBA)**
-zë`l

**agua**
nîtz

**agua babosa; babas**
nîtz to$^7$l

**agua bendita**
nîtz lèy

**Agua Blanca**
nîtz n-gŭd

**Agua Blanca**
tzo$^7$ yǐch

**agua caliente**
nîtz wǐg

**agua clara**
nîtz xyë̌

**agua clara, agua fría**
nîtz yë^

**agua de cal, lejía**
nîtz yǐ

**agua de lluvia**
nîtz yì

**agua del nacimiento de la criatura**
nîtz yîx nì

**Agua del Rayo, un pozo de agua pegado a un peñasco en el lindero de Sta. Catarina y San Miguel Coatlán.**
Bít Tě Yë`l

**agua dulce**
nîtz wtî

**agua estancada**
nîtz ndê chărk

**agua estancada del camino**
nîtz ndê ché yë`l nêz

**agua medicinal**
nîtz rréméd

**agua que está naciendo, manantial**
nîtz nzŏb lèn

**agua salada**
nîtz wtîx

**agua sucia; turbia**
nîtz kwân

**agua tibia**
nîtz wzhë^

**aguacate**
nîx

**aguacate chiquitillo**
nîx bǐ

**aguacate mantecoso**
nîx zu^d

**aguacate mantecoso**
yà nîx zu^d

**aguacate verde**
nîx ndyë^

**aguacate voludo**
nîx bǒl

**aguacero**
yì lǒ

**aguacero, diluvio**
yì lu^zh

**aguado**
mbyàk nîtz-é

**aguantar**
-tzàk

**aguantarlo**
-xǐk

**aguja**
ábúj

**aguja**
aùj

**aguja diaria (para costurear costal)**
aùj dyár

**agujerearlo**
-y-ǐd

**agujerearse**
-ǎd

**agujero de tuza; pozo de tuza**
pǒs tě mbey$^{7}$

**Agustín**
Gǔxt

**Agustín**
Tính

**ahijado**
xìn mbál

**ahogarse**
-àp nîtz

**ahora**
gór nát

**ahorita**
tâ

**ahorita**
tâ ta$^{7}$

**ahuate de caña**
xo^l tě là nîth

**ahuate de mala mujer**
xo^l tě xlêy

**ahumarlo**
-g-ó zhěn

**ahumarse**
-gó zhěn

**aire de la boca**
mbì to^

**aire malo, aire maligno, brujo**
ta$^{7}$ wxìn

**aire malo; apariciones**
mbì wxìn

**aire, viento; hinchado, gordo, lleno de aire, inflamación (BAL), enfermedad de aire (CAN)**
mbì

**ajo**
gáj

**ajonjolí**
ánhjólính

**al lado de la mano**
lâz ya$^{7}$

**al revés**
di$^{7}$n

**al revés**
gàl to^ di$^{7}$n

**ala**
lwê

**alacrán**
mbé wnè

**alacrán**
mó nè

**alacrán**
mò në`

**alacrán hembra de huevecillo**
mbé wnè ngu^

**alargarse (de tiempo)**
-to$^{7}$ go$^{7}$l

**albañil**
álbáñǐl

**albañil**

xa$^7$ ndúx kwa$^7$ nì nà máteryál

**Alberto, Beto, Norberto, Gilberto, Roberto**
Bét

**alcanzarlo**
-ǎl za$^7$b

**alcohol**
álkól

**Alejandra**
Ján

**Alejandra/o**
lěj

**alejarse**
-zo^ zîth

**Alfonso**
Kónch

**Alfonso; Consuela**
Kǒnch

**alforza**
yìch

**algodón**
xi$^7$l

**alisarlo, cepillarlo, aplanar**
-chîzh

**alistarse, apuntarse, anotarse**
-ké ni$^7$ ndo^ líst

**allá**
zó wê

**allá; al otro lado**
stúb lád

**allá; aquél**
wê

**allí mero**
wêtha$^7$

**allí; otro lado; aquél lado**
zó bâ

**alma**
mbì yêzh lu^

**almácigo**
bléy

**almácigo, vivero**
blë$^7$

**almuerzo, desayuno**
xná tèn

**alquilar, dar prestado**
-za$^7$ prést

**Alquilina; Ángela**
ǎnhk

**alrededor**
dǔp tzá

**altar**
bko$^7$

**Amador**
mǎd

**amanecer**
-àth xë$^7$

**amante, querido**
xdo$^7$

**amante, querido/a**
tzâ dyáb

**amargarlo**
-yùn wlá

**amargarse**
-lyá

**amargo**
wlá

**amarillo**
nzhìch

**amarrar**
-xì do$^7$

**amarrar**
-xíbo^

**amarrarlo**
-kë´do$^7$

**amasarlo**
-yùn ko$^7$b

**amole**
ndǒch

**amól**
yà ndǒch

**amuleto**
ta$^7$ wzhë$^7$

**anafre**
yî tî yi$^7$b

**Anastacia**
Tách

**ancharse**
-xèn

**ancharse**
-yòtz

**ancho**
mbâd

**ancho**
wxên

**ancho y parejo**

mbàd

**andar con su compañero, ser amantes**
nbìx nà-m´ tzâ-m´

**Andrés**
Lèx

**angostarse; derritirse**
-ya$^7$t

**angosto; apretado**
wyâ

**anillar el palo**
-g-ò bi$^7$z yà

**anillar el palo**
-g-o^ bi$^7$z yà

**anillo del palo**
ntzi$^7$

**anillo que redondean al tronco del palo**
bi$^7$z

**anillo (del dedo); anillo del palo**
ání

**animal**
mǎn

**animal bravo**
ma wyi$^7$

**animal de ala**
má lwê

**animal de cáscara**
má xò

**animal de cuero**
má yîd

**animal de espina**
má yǐch

**animal de la casa, mascota**
má nì

**animal de pelo**
má yìch

**animal de pluma**
má du$^7$b

**animal del campo**
má yìx

**animal que come carne**
má (nâ) ndà bë$^7$l

**animal que no cría**
má máchór

**animar a su compañero**
-ùn ánímár tzâ

**animarse, arresgarse**
-kéndo^

**animarse; arresgarse, prometerse, entrarle**
-kíndo^

**anoche, ayer noche**
na$^7$ të$^7$l wê

**anona**
xnèw

**anona**
xnò

**anona del bueno**
xnè wén

**anona del monte de ardilla**
xnèw yìx tě ndi$^7$z

**anona(l)**
xnèw

**antes**
gǎnsta$^7$

**antes, tiene mucho tiempo**
xàp

**antojo**
nwǐx

**antojo, tolín, pinto**
lë^

**Antonio**
tóy

**antrio**
kámí

**anunciar**
-ni$^7$ ndo^ ápárát

**añidirlo**
-ke$^7$l

**añidirse (local ñidirse)**
-ye$^7$l

**año nuevo**
li$^7$n kúb

**años antiguos**
li$^7$n nzhâ zë` la$^7$

**apagarlo**
-tzu$^7$

**apagarse**
-yu$^7$

**aparato que da la hora a que estamos, reloj**
yi$^7$b nza$^7$ górr (nâ) nzhò-nh´

**aparecerse, parecerse**
-z-àk

**apartarlo**
-b-o$^7$ kë$^7$

**apartarlo, repartirlo**
-tê

**apartarse**
-to$^7$ kë̆

**aparte**
du^b lád

**apenas**
mérrtha$^7$

**apenas**
pénta$^7$

**apenas**
ti$^7$

**apestoso**
kwi$^7$

**aplaudir**
-tzi$^7$d ya$^7$

**aplaudir**
-y-ich ya$^7$

**apreciarlo; recibir con las dos manos**
-ká ya$^7$ t**ǒ**p ya$^7$

**aprender**
-tzìd

**apretado, macizo, recio**
ch**ǎ**nhk

**apretarse**
-zho$^7$

**apretarse, aplastarse**
-ga$^7$d

**apuntarlo, escribirlo**
-kéni$^7$

**apurarlo**
-tzé kèn

**apurarse**
-kèn

**apurarse**
-yèn látyo$^7$

**apuro**
dîpa$^7$

**apuro**
du^pa$^7$

**apúrate!**
kárré

**Aquilina; Avelino**
Lín

**aquí**
ndë^

**aquí**
zéndë$^7$

**arado**
árád

**arador de abono de arriera**
mbêx xkê mbyòb

**arador de abono de arriera**
mbêx yi$^7$n

**arador de picante**
mbêx yi$^7$n

**arador, comején, jijén, jején**
mbêx

**araña**
mbê

**araña de piedra**
mbê nzyè lâz yê

**ararla**
-lë̆ yu^

**arco**
**ǎ**rk

**arcoiris**
mbyîth

**arder**
-xên yî

**arder**
-zeth

**arder el corazón, tener acedía**
-álë̆ látyo$^7$

**ardilla**
ndi$^7$z

**arena**
yu^x

**arena de pescado**
yu^x xkê mbë^l

**arete**
ár**ě**t

**arete**
mkóz

**arisco, brioso (animales que patean)**
wl**ǎ**ch

**arma de fuego**
yi$^7$b ndâch

**armadillo**
mbgùp

**armadillo cera negra**

mbgùp ngǐn

**armadillo grande**
mbgùp dâ

**armadillo petate**
mbgùp dâ

**Armando; Fernando**
mán

**arrancarlo**
-y-ìb

**arrancarse**
-yi$^7$b

**arrastrarlo**
-àth nǒb

**arrastrarlo**
-g-òb xêx

**arrastrarlo**
-g-òx nǒb

**arrastrarse, jalarse**
-yo$^7$b

**arrepentirse**
-bí tê látyo$^7$

**arriba**
ga$^7$p

**arriba, alto, altura**
gâp

**arriba, el aire, el cielo, el espacio**
ndo^ bë$^7$

**arriera**
mbyòb

**arriera roja**
mbyòb xlêy

**arrodillarse, hincarse**
-zo^ xîb

**arroyo**
na$^7$t

**arroyo**
yîd na$^7$t

**Arroyo Agua Blanca**
na$^7$t yî n-gǔd

**Arroyo Anda Vista**
Na$^7$t Ándávíst

**Arroyo Cacho**
na$^7$t yí bíl wǎz

**Arroyo Carrizo**
na$^7$t yà lòd

**Arroyo Chiquito**
yu$^7$ zhǎk

**Arroyo Flor del Niño**
na$^7$t yi$^7$ mbë̌z

**Arroyo Jícara**
na$^7$t yà xì

**Arroyo Macahuite**
Na$^7$t Yà Yìt

**Arroyo Magueyito**
na$^7$t yà wèd

**Arroyo Mamey**
na$^7$t yà yěl

**Arroyo Mango**
na$^7$t yà mǎnh

**Arroyo Mosquito**
na$^7$t yî bî

**Arroyo Mulato**
na$^7$t yë`l bě

**Arroyo Piedra**
na$^7$t yí lìd yî

**Arroyo Podrido, Río Podrido**
na$^7$t nzhò gu$^7$d

**Arroyo Río Guacamaya**
na$^7$t yíl bë`w

**Arroyo Tecolute**
na$^7$t yu$^7$ nzhò mko$^7$

**Arroyo Yerba Santa**
na$^7$t tá wâ

**Arroyo (Palo) Cinco**
na$^7$t yàgay$^7$

**arruga de la frente; cuero de la frente**
yîd (ndo^) xtu^zh

**arrugada**
wti$^7$ch

**arrugado; espuma**
bchi$^7$n

**arrugarlo**
-yùn bchi$^7$n

**arrugarse**
-chi$^7$n

**arrugarse**
-ti$^7$ch

**arrugarse**
-tyi$^7$ch

**arrugarse**
-yàk bchi$^7$n

**Artemia**
Těm

**arto; bastante, suficiente, mucho**

wyâx

**arto, grande**
wto$^7$b

**asarlo**
-kî

**asco (no sale, solo agua salada)**
xgâp bìd

**asco, vómito**
xgâp

**aserrín**
yîx tě yà

**aserrín, polvo de madera**
dî tě yà

**asesino**
ár wìth měn

**asesino**
wìth měn

**asiento de escaño**
yà skáyn

**así**
ba$^7$

**así**
lí

**así**
lítha$^7$

**así no más**
ba$^7$ tza$^7$

**asqueroso**
wgâp

**asucena**
xàn súsén mórád

**asucena morada**
súsén mórád

**Asunciona**
Chónh

**asustarlo**
-chêb

**asustarse, espantarse**
-zhêb

**ataque**
yîzh ndâth yë^

**ataque**
yë^l yîzh ndath yë^

**atardecer**
-zhílyu^

**ataúd**
káj tě gǎn

**atizar**
-zi$^7$ kò

**atole**
nîtz ko$^7$b

**atole de elote**
nîtz ko$^7$b nzë^

**atole de panela**
nîtz ko$^7$b pánél

**atorarse (el carro)**
-àk zǒb

**atrasarse**
-lázo^

**atrás de la mano**
tzo$^7$ ya$^7$

**atrás de los huesos de la mano**
tzo$^7$ tìth ya$^7$

**atrás del brazo; atrás del hombro**
tzo$^7$ xìk

**atrás del hueso de la nariz**
tzo$^7$ tìth xè

**Aurelia**
Áwrěl

**Aurelia**
Lěl

**Aurelio**
Áwrél

**autoridad, gente que presta servicio o justicia**
xa$^7$ nǎk ti$^7$n

**ave hembra; gallina**
ngǐd

**Avelino**
Ábélín

**avión; helicóptero**
ta$^7$ nzyë` ndo^ mbì

**avisar**
-tí di$^7$zh

**avispa amarilla; avispa zapata amarilla**
mbêz nzhìch

**avispa de humo**
mbêz mgu$^7$t zhěn

**avispa petate?**
ngwzhu^l

**avispa que guarda la tierra**
mbêz nzhè

**ayer**
na$^{7}$ wê

**ayudante al teniente**
yúdǎnt

**ayudarlo, apoyarlo**
-ùn áyúd

**ayunar**
-zhë^

**azotar la ropa**
-y-ín yî

**azotarse**
-yínyî

**azotar(se), golpearse**
-yîn yî

**azul bajo**
ásúl kwàl

**azúcar**
ásúkár

**azúcar**
ásúkr

**águila**
mtzî do$^{7}$

**Ángel**
Gǎnhj

**ángel**
ánhjl

**Ángela**
Gǎnhk

**ángel, Ángel**
ǎnhkl

**árbol izote**
yà wë`d

**árboles florales**
yà yi$^{7}$

**árboles frutales**
yà xyë^

**babas**
to$^{7}$l

**Bacilio**
Básǐl

**bagazo de panela**
yîx pánél

**bagazo (de panela)**
to$^{7}$

**bagazo, red**
yîx

**bailar**
-o$^{7}$l ndâtz

**bailar**
-úl ndâtz

**baile**
yál gúl ndâtz

**baile**
yúl ndâtz

**baile**
yë´l gúl ndâtz

**baile de la piña**
yë´l gúl ndâtz tě bxi$^{7}$zh

**baile del borracho**
yë´l gúl ndâtz tě ngù

**bajada**
nzo^ lâ

**bajarlo**
-lâ

**bajarlo, pizcar,**
**tumbarlo**
-gàb

**bajarse, llegar**
-lâ

**bajo de la olla**
xàn yêtz

**bajo; abajo**
lâ

**balancearse**
-o$^{7}$ mbì

**baltazareño, chareño, gente de San Baltazar Loxicha**
mě lxǐzh

**bañarlo**
-gàz

**bañarse**
-àz

**barrandera de lluvia, barrandera de agua**
mtí bì yì

**barrerlo, asear**
-lo$^{7}$b

**barrerse**
-go$^{7}$b

**barriga de aire**
lèn mbì

**barriga; adentro; mientras**
lèn

**barriga, panza**
yîd lèn

**barrigón, panzón**
yîd lèn tè

**barro**
yu^ wi$^7$d

**Bartolo**
Bárrt**ǒ**l

**bastante, mucho, harto**
ndë$^7$pa$^7$

**bastón, bordón**
yà gâ

**basura**
yîx

**basura blanca del maiz**
xìz nzh**ǒ**p

**batir**
-z-ìn

**batirlo**
-cho$^7$n

**batirse**
-zho$^7$n

**bautizar**
-â (w)lên

**bautizo**
nto$^7$ lë^

**bautizo**
to^ lë^

**baúl (para guardar cera o ropa); cama**
yìn

**Beatríz**
Tíx

**bejiga orinaria**
yîd xnêtz

**bejuco**
lùt

**bejuco**
lut$^7$

**bejuco de aguate**
lùt xo^l

**bejuco de asartz**
yà yìch sártz

**bejuco de calabaza chompo**
lùt yèth chi$^7$n

**bejuco de calabaza de lachicayuma**
lùt yèth na$^7$

**bejuco de calabaza huiche**
lùt yèth y**ǐ**ch

**bejuco de calabaza támala**
lùt yèth go^

**bejuco de cera negra**
lùt ng**ǐ**n

**bejuco de chayote**
lùt yâp

**bejuco de chicayuma**
lùt yë$^7$z na$^7$

**bejuco de chilcayote**
lùt yèth lân

**bejuco de comachiche**
lùt tzèth tzìn

**bejuco de ejote**
lùt la$^7$

**bejuco de ejotes**
lùt nzâ bèn

**bejuco de estropajo**
lùt t**ě** strápáj

**bejuco de fruta fresca**
lùt t**ě** ngùz xlë^

**bejuco de gallina**
lùt wàch ng**ǐ**d

**bejuco de granada**
lùt gránád

**bejuco de guía de calabaza**
lùt t**ě** lùt tzèth

**bejuco de guía de (cualquier) calabaza**
lùt tzèth

**bejuco de iguana**
lùt wàch

**bejuco de javalí**
lùt bèw

**bejuco de jícama**
lùt xgàm

**bejuco de la casa**
lùt nì

**bejuco de melón**
lùt t**ě** mélónh

**bejuco de palo**
lùt yà

**bejuco de pepino**
lùt t**ě** pépín

**bejuco de piul, santito**
lùt t**ě** bîd pyúl

**bejuco de pollo**
lùt bóy

**bejuco de sandía**
lùt t**ě** sándí

**bejuco de santito**
lùt **tě** m**ě** gu^

**bejuco de tomate**
lùt bîx

**bejuco de vainilla**
lùt (t**ě**) yi$^7$ nzâ

**bejuco montés**
lùt yìx

**bejuco negro**
lùt ya$^7$tz

**bejuco seringuina**
lùt ngìn

**Benigno**
Bénǐg

**Benito**
Béńít

**Benjamín**
Mǐnh

**Benjamín**
mínhk

**Bernabé**
Búy

**besar**
-à chít

**besar**
-à to^

**bestia de carga**
wáy ntzë$^7$ yo$^7$

**bigote; barba**
yìch to^

**bigote, barba**
yìch (yîd) to^

**billote**
bë`z

**billote de la flor de coquito**
bë`z **tě** yà ga$^7$

**billote de plátanar**
bë`z **tě** yà bdo$^7$

**bilole del río**
lo$^7$l yu$^7$

**bilol(o)**
lo$^7$l

**bisabuela**
xna$^7$ go^l g**ǒ**x

**bisabuelo**
xùz gól g**ǒ**x

**Bix Wane**
Làbcho$^7$n

**bixe, orina de nene chiquito**
bíx

**bizco**
yîd ndo^ chá

**blanco**
n-g**ǔ**d

**blando, blandito**
gu$^7$d

**blanquillo de hongo**
ngu^ **tě** mb**ě**y yu$^7$p

**boca**
yíto^

**boca abajo**
gàl **tě** ndo^

**boca ancha**
to^ wxên

**boca hinchada**
to^ ngwzo^ yî

**boca rajada**
to^ ngwlë̌

**boca remendada, boca costureada, boca operada**
to^ mbyǐb

**boca rota**
to^ chá

**boca rota**
to^ ngwza$^7$

**boca rota, boca rompida**
to^ mzya$^7$

**Bocapiedra**
yè ndo^ ngwzàn

**boca; orilla**
to^

**boda, casamiento**
yë´l chí lya$^7$

**bodega**
nì n-gócha$^7$-s ta$^7$n

**bola; puño; cosa redonda; cosa voluda**
b**ǒ**l

**bolsa de trapo/tela/ropa**
b**ǒ**ls lâd

**bonarlo**
-g-ò kwë`l

**bonarse**
-yo^ kwë`l

**bondadoso, humilde**
wàth yu^

**bonito, chulo**
wtěn

**bonito; chulo, bella**
wtzǐn

**bonito, guapo**
chú

**boquiabierto**
yí to^ nzo^ ña$^7$l

**borrac**
myìn lóx

**borrachera**
yë´l gù

**borracho**
ngù

**borrarse el sentido**
-tìd të$^7$l latyo$^7$

**borrarse el sentido, borrarse el pensamiento**
-yu$^7$ yë´l ndyên

**borrarse la mente**
-tìd kwǎ látyo$^7$

**borrego**
bórrěg

**borrego, oveja; perro de pelo fino**
mbèk xi$^7$l

**botella**
bóté

**botella de agua**
xò tě nîtz

**boton de flor**
búch

**botón de flor**
bu^ch tě yi$^7$

**bramar**
-b-èzh lò

**brasas de lumbre; soplador**
bkwi$^7$

**brasier**
lâd ntzà chǐch

**bravo**
wyi$^7$

**brayeta de pantalón, manera de pantalón**
to^ pántálónh

**brazada**
yë^tz

**brazo**
xìk

**brazo de río**
nîtz ya$^7$

**brazo mocho**
xìk mo$^7$ch

**bretaña**
là brétą́y

**brincar los cueros del ojo**
-àtz yîd ngùz ndo^

**brincar; volar**
-za$^7$b

**bruja (que chupa de noche)**
mxe$^7$

**brujería**
yë´l brúj

**brujería (enfermedad de)**
yë^l brúj

**brujo**
brúj

**buche de ave**
ndo^ xla$^7$

**buche, tragadera donde almacena comida aparte**
ndo^ xla$^7$

**buena gente**
xa$^7$ wén

**bueno**
bwén

**Buenos días, compadre.**
só mbál

**bueno; bien**
wén

**bueno, bien, sí**
mbày

**bugambilia**
ye$^7$ mómbíl

**bugambilia**
ye$^7$ mómíl

**bugambilia amarilla**
yà yi$^7$ mbíl nzhìch

**bugambilia blanca**
yà yi$^7$ mbíl n-gǔd

**bugambilia morada**

yà yi$^7$ mbíl mórád

**bule**
gë^

**bule**
yë^

**bule bailarín, estrompo de bule**
yë^ gòl

**bule chueco**
yë^ bte$^7$k

**bule de agua**
yë^ nîtz

**bule de bejuco largo**
yë^ lùt

**bule de cuchara**
yë^ kúchárr

**bule de huiro**
yë^ wírr

**bule de jícara**
yë^ xì

**bule de tortilla**
xë^th la$^7$

**bule largo**
yë^ no$^7$l

**bule metlapil**
yë^ zàb

**bule para tomar agua**
yë^ yë$^7$zh

**bule sembrador**
yë^ gób nì

**Bulmaro**
márr

**burlarse (de...)**
-chë$^7$

**burlarse; reirse**
-xîd

**burra hembra**
bǔrr go^tz

**burro**
bǔrr

**burro macho**
búr mách

**burro macho**
bǔrr ze$^7$

**buscar(lo) querer; conseguirlo**
-kwa$^7$n

**caballo del diablo**
wáy tě mě xu$^7$

**caballo, bestia**
wáy

**cabecear**
-zǒb yo^ xka$^7$l

**cabecera, almada (local for almohada); rebozo**
lâd nxo$^7$b mě yèk mě

**cabello**
yìch yèk

**cabello**
yíchèk

**cabello de elote (animal)**
yìch yë^l

**cabello de elote (tierno)**
yìch yë^l tě nzë^

**cabello de la mazorca**
yìch yë^l tě nîz

**cabello de mazorca**
yìch yél tě nîz

**cabello despeinado; cabello suelto**
yíchèk mbyë$^7$d

**cabello suelto**
yìch yo^x

**cabeza**
yèk

**cabeza de jícara, calvo**
yí yèk xì

**cabeza enredado, pelo chino; cabeza cachambrosa (se olvida mucho)**
yí yèk bxìd

**cabo de hacha; palo duro**
yà xò

**cabo, jefe, dirigente; guía, gente que va adelante**
xa$^7$ nzyo^ něd

**cacahuanano**
yà xê

**cacalote**
ngǎ

**cacalote**
wë̌g

**cacao**
nzóy

**cacao**
yà nzo^y

**cachetada**
ki$^{7}$ch ya$^{7}$ ndo^

**cadera**
tí xi$^{7}$n

**caer**
-yu^b

**caer en una trampa; ser alcanzado, detenido, localizado, cachado, visto, agarrado, o pescado por alguien**
-álâ

**caerse; gotear**
-àb

**café montés, café criollo**
káfé yìx

**cagada larga**
zàb

**cagada más amplia que normal (por ej. cuando está enfermo uno)**
të^l

**cagada voluda**
bǔtz

**cagar**
-z-òn

**Caitano**
Kǎy

**caja**
káj

**caja de cerillos de fósforos**
káj tě sérí

**caja de dinero**
káj tě tmî

**caja de madera**
káj yà

**caja de maíz**
káj tě nzhǒp

**cajete**
kájét

**cal**
yǐ

**calabaza**
yèth

**calabaza chompa**
yéth chi$^{7}$n

**calabaza de bejuco de chicayuma**
yèth tě lùt tèz na$^{7}$

**calabaza de cáscara, calabaza támala**
yèth xò

**calabaza de la chicayuma**
yèth na$^{7}$

**calabaza huiche**
yèth yǐch

**calabaza támala**
yèth go^

**calador (para calar costales de cafe)**
káládór

**calandra**
myìn bìá

**calandria**
mbí zàg

**calandria amarilla**
mbǐ nzhìch

**calandria de color amarillo bajo, (una abeja/avispa que come las matas de frijolar)**
mbîg

**calandria negra**
mbǐ n-gǎtz

**calantia amarilla, calandria amarilla, calambria amarilla**
mbǐ

**calavera, cráneo**
tìth yèk měn

**calcetines**
lâd ndâtz

**calcetín**
lâd ndyo^ ndâtz měn

**calculadora; computadora**
ta$^{7}$ nâ nbo$^{7}$ kwént xa$^{7}$ zǐl

**caldo de Ulalia, puro caldo sin verduras**
nîtz lâl

**calentarlo, chupar para curar (como hacen los curanderos)**
-chë^

**calentarse**
-tyǐ

**calentarse**
-tyǐg

**calentarse**
-zhë^

**calentarse con temperatura de edad**
-yë^l

**calentarse (junto a la lumbre)**
-bìzh

**calentura de dolor de muela o diente**
xlë̌  ndàw ndë`y

**calentura de donde se corta**
xlë̌  tě ze na nxên

**calentura de escalofrío; calelntura de paludismo**
xlë̌  xîl

**calentura de espanto**
xlë̌  zhêb

**calentura de gripa**
xlë̌  tě to^

**calentura de la gripa**
yë^l yîzh tě xlë̌  tězh yë$^7$

**calentura de oído**
xlë̌  ndàw nzhâ

**calentura de tos**
xlë̌  to^

**calentura que yá no sale hasta la muerte**
xlë̌  lu^zh

**calentura; vapor**
xlë̌

**caliente**
bzhë^

**calmarlo**
-kwë$^7$z

**calmarse**
-kwě

**calor**
wǐ

**calor, caliente; hace calor**
wǐg

**calvo, cabeza pelón**
yèk tu^zh

**calvo, pelón**
yèk tê

**calzón**
kálsónh

**cama**
kám

**cama**
yà yìn

**cama de mecate delgado**
kám do$^7$ yèzh

**cama de tierra (para hacer tapezcos de fugón)**
yà yìn yu^

**cama que tiene dibujos**
kâm là yi$^7$

**camaleon**
ya$^7$j

**camaleón**
ngîd

**camaleón**
wàch ndǎw

**camaleón**
yǎj

**camarón**
mtyë`tz

**camarón reculón**
mtyètz ka$^7$

**camarón salado**
mbíl byu^

**cambiar el corazon; cambiar novios**
-chë$^7$ látyo$^7$

**cambiarlo**
-chë$^7$

**cambiarse de pluma**
-yàz

**cambiar(se)**
-zhë$^7$

**caminar**
-zë`

**caminar chueco**
ka$^7$n -zë`

**camino**
nêz

**camino para el rancho "Confradía"**
nêz nzyá xàn yè

**camino que va del Rancho Campo Nuevo para San Miguel Coatlán**
kámín sánh jwánh

**camino tendido,**

**camino parejo**
nêz kwa$^7$

**camí**
yà wáy

**camote**
go^

**camote de cedilla**
go^ kwì

**camote de palo, yuca**
go^ yà

**canal donde echan agua (como albañil construyendo casa)**
bto$^7$tz

**canareja**
mbé xíz

**canareja de pelo**
mbé lò

**canas**
yìch kwe$^7$

**canasta**
chíkwít

**canasta de las costillas**
chíkwít kóstí

**canasto trampa de camarón**
chíkwít tě trámp tě mtyë`tz

**canción; canto; canta**
ndo$^7$l to^

**candíl**
kándíl

**cangrejo**
mbé

**cangrejo de sal**
mbé zèd

**canilla**
nî xò

**canilla, donde unen los huesos, coyuntura**
nî

**canícula, canica, 22/8-22/9**
káník

**cansado**
mzha$^7$b

**cansancio**
xkwàn

**cansarse; tener flojera**
-zha$^7$b

**cantar**
-o$^7$l to^

**caña**
nîth

**caña blanca**
nîth n-gǔd

**caña de Castilla**
nîth xtíl

**caña de castilla**
xàn nîth xtíl

**cañón**
káñónh tě yi$^7$b

**cañuela de mazorca; rastrojo de mazorca**
ñá yì tě nîz

**cañuto de hilo**
káñút tě do$^7$ aúj

**capar (local), castrar (standard)**
-b-o$^7$ ngùz kwê

**capilla del santo**
kápíy tě mbdo$^7$

**caporal**
kápórál

**capote para agua**
dà gó yîn

**cara arrugada**
yîd ndo^ bchi$^7$n

**cara arrugada**
yîd ndo^ mbya$^7$t

**cara arrugada**
yîd ndo^ yîd

**caracol**
mkwë$^7$d

**caracol**
to$^7$l

**caracol de agua**
mbël$^7$ wǎz tě nîtz

**caracól**
mbël$^7$ wǎz

**cara; punta; a(l)**
ndo^

**carbón**
bzhu$^7$

**carga**
yo$^7$

**carga de leña**
yo$^7$ yà

**cargar**
-kë$^7$

**Carlos**

Kǎr

**Carmen**
Kǎr

**carne**
bë$^7$l

**carne de cuche**
bë$^7$l kǔch

**carne podrida**
bë$^7$l go$^7$zh

**carnecuil del monte**
yà btzya$^7$ yìx

**carnecuil, guajenicuil**
btzya$^7$

**carnicero**
xa$^7$ ndùth mǎn

**carnisuelo, espina de carnesuelo**
yǐch wǎz

**caro**
wyǎp

**Carolina**
Kǎrr

**carpintero**
xa$^7$ ndúx kwa$^7$ yà

**carrizo**
lòd

**carrizo**
yà xìl

**carrizo para llamar a la venada**
bénámít

**carrizo, el mero carrizo**
yà lòd

**carro**
yi$^7$b nzyë`

**carro de carga**
kámyónh yo$^7$

**cartero, gente transporta el correo**
xa$^7$ ntzë$^7$ bǒls tě kórreó

**cartucho de rifle que quema**
ngùz tě yi$^7$b ndàch

**casa**
lìd

**casa**
lìt

**casa**
nì

**casa de campaña**
nì lâd

**casa de máscaras; casa de disfraze, donde se visten los hombres en días de fiesta**
nì tě mbgǒl xò

**Casa de Piedra de Sopilote**
yî lìd ngòl

**casa de pollito**
nì tě zhúl

**casa de vara**
nì yá tnìx

**casa de zacate**
nì yîx

**casa de zacate**
nì yîx

**casa donde se reuna la gente, casa real, casa grande**
nì wzàn

**casa pared de adobe**
yìb btzo$^7$ nì blë$^7$

**casarse**
-chílya$^7$

**cascabel de culebra**
mtzo^n

**cascabel (de la víbora)**
tzo^n

**cascada, chorro donde salta el agua**
yî nbìx nîtz

**cascarón de camarón**
xò mtyë`tz

**cascarón de cartucho de arma**
xò tě rrétrókárgá

**cascarón de huevo**
xò ngu^

**casero, jefe**
xa$^7$ gú lìd

**caspa**
tîz

**caspa (de la cabeza)**
tíz

**castigarlo**
-tzé zí

**castigo?**
zí

**castilla, castellano,**

**español**
di$^{7}$zh xtíl

**castrar, capar**
-b-o$^{7}$ bîd tě

**Catalina; Marcelina**
Lǐn

**Catarina**
Kát

**catorce**
ti$^{7}$ dâ

**catrín**
mbît go$^{7}$b

**catrín; gente grande; gente rica; gente poderosa; gente importante**
xa$^{7}$ zi$^{7}$l

**CAUS**
-tzé

**cazuela grande**
chë$^{7}$

**cazuelita (más grande que la chilmolera), cazuela hecha en barro**
të^g

**Cándida**
Kǎn

**cántaro**
tè

**Cáñida**
Kán

**cárcel**
lí tyi$^{7}$b

**cárcel**
nì tě ngù

**cárcel de borrachos**
lít yi$^{7}$b tě ngù

**cáscara de armadillo**
xò mbgùp

**cáscara de palo grueso**
lë^d

**cáscara del palo**
xâb yà

**cebolla**
ndá xît

**cebolla grande**
ndá xít zi$^{7}$l

**cebollín**
ndá xît bǐx

**cebollín**
ndá xît yi$^{7}$

**Cecilia; Vacilio**
Sǐl

**cedilla; úlcera? (líquido agrio)**
nîtz kwì

**ceja**
tzo$^{7}$ yìch ngùz ndo^

**cejas**
yìch tzo$^{7}$ ngùz ndo^

**Celedonio; Celedonia**
Dón

**Celestino**
Tín

**celoso**
wyákò

**Cemposúchitl blanco**
yi$^{7}$ yí bàn

**Cemposúchitl chica (hembra)**
yà yi$^{7}$ ndǔx

**Cemposúchitl (local), Cacalosúchil (libro)**
yi$^{7}$ ze$^{7}$ch

**Cempozúchitl amarillo**
yà yi$^{7}$ ze$^{7}$ch nzhìch

**Cempozúchitl rojo**
yà yi$^{7}$ ze$^{7}$ch nê

**cena**
sche$^{7}$

**cenicero**
ta$^{7}$ n-gócha$^{7}$-n` dî tě yë^z

**ceniza**
dî

**centro del pueblo**
tlǎ tha$^{7}$ gêzh

**centro, en medio**
tlǎ

**cenzontle**
ntu$^{7}$b

**ceñidor**
báy lèn

**ceñidor**
báy no$^{7}$l

**cepillo dental**
ta$^{7}$ ndyàt ndë`y měn

**cera**
ngǐn

**cera de abeja de**

**enjambre**
sérr tě mbêz énhjámbré

**cera del oído**
ngǐn nzhâ

**cercado de flores**
lò yi$^7$

**cercar, tapar, tajar**
-tzà bèk

**cercar, tapar, tajar**
-tzà lò

**cerca, cerquita**
gâx

**cerebro**
yòb yèk

**cerrado**
ñǎ

**cerrar los ojos**
-z-in

**cerro**
yè

**Cerro Betecá**
Yèbétkâ

**Cerro Betecó**
Yèbko$^7$

**Cerro Betecó**
Yètko$^7$

**Cerro Camote**
yè go^

**Cerro Cuapinole**
Làt Chi$^7$l

**Cerro de Huesos**
yè tìth

**Cerro Escalero**
yè bzóy

**Cerro Escopeta**
yè skópét

**Cerro Estribo**
yè dǔn

**Cerro Estribo**
yè ltyi$^7$b

**Cerro Estribo**
yè stríb

**Cerro Flores**
Do$^7$ Yè Yi$^7$

**Cerro Gavilán**
Yêzh Yè Mtzî (CAN)

**Cerro Grande**
yè zi$^7$l

**Cerro Grito**
yè tězh

**Cerro Hacha**
yè yi$^7$b yà

**Cerro Horcón**
yèk yèn tzo^

**Cerro Javalín**
yè bèw

**Cerro Leon**
yè nké bi$^7$zh

**Cerro León**
yè nkë` mbi$^7$zh

**Cerro Mordoña**
yè ngùtz kwi$^7$

**Cerro Nopal**
yè yÒj

**Cerro Otate**
yè xìl

**Cerro Pityona**
ndo^ byo^n

**Cerro Rayo**
yè tě ngwzi$^7$

**Cerro Remolino**
yè bdòn

**Cerro Sabroso**
yè wǐx

**Cerro Tejón**
yè lxi$^7$zh

**Cerro Tizne**
yè ndǎn

**Cerro Venado**
yè mzhîn

**cerveza**
nîtz n-gǎtz

**Cesario**
Chǎy

**cesto/canasto de asa (para cargar pan, etc.), canastito**
chíkwít wa$^7$n

**chacal**
mbé zo^n

**chacal**
mzo^n

**chacalota**
là yìch nǐt$^7$

**chalán, mozo**
mós

**chalán; presumido**
yë´l xǎl

**chamaca cuidanene**
wzha$^7$n

**chamaco del costoche, hijo del sancho, hijo del monte**
mbë̌z tě mbë`z

**chamacos chiquitos**
mzhë^ bǐx

**chamacos músicos**
mzhë^ músk

**chamiza**
chámǐs

**chamiza**
là yìz yî

**chancear; jugar**
-y-ìth

**chapeo**
jér

**chapulín**
chánt

**chapulín**
mbi chánt

**chapulín bixiento**
mbíchi$^7$x

**chapulín de ala**
mbît ngwlǒzh

**chapulín de cochito**
mbît yà yǐch

**chapulín, langosta**
mbît

**charco**
chǎrrk

**chayote**
yâp

**chayote de espina**
lùt yâp yǐch

**chayote montes, toloache**
mě gu^

**chayote pelón**
lùt yâp xu$^7$b

**chehuizle, chahuizlado**
bzhìn

**chepil**
yà zi$^7$x

**chepil de arena, chepil del cerro**
yë$^7$z yu^x

**chepil de leche, quelite de leche**
là yë$^7$z tòn

**chepil de media**
là yë$^7$z méd

**chepil del cerro**
yë$^7$z yè

**chepil fresco de los difuntos**
là yë$^7$z (kwàl) tě gǎn

**chepil macho**
yà zi$^7$x wze$^7$

**chepil, chicalmata**
yë$^7$z

**chicatana**
mbyë$^7$zh

**chicatana**
mtyê tě yǐch wǎz

**chicatana chiquita**
mtí yîx

**chicatana (arriera)**
mbye$^7$zh

**chichalaca (local), chachalaca (standard)**
nga$^7$x

**chicharra**
mbêz kǎ

**chicharra grande, cortapalo, muerdapalo**
kǎ

**chicharra, chiquirí, siquirí**
chíkrì

**chicharrón**
yîd yi$^7$x

**chiche**
xîd

**chicluna**
chíklǔn

**chiflar**
-òl yu$^7$

**chiflar**
-o$^7$l yu$^7$

**chiflido de lechuza (local), chiflado de lechuza (standard?)**
ngo^tz tzéy

**chigón**
mtzi$^7$l tǔzh

**chilar Bartaleño, palo de chile de San Bartolo**
yà yi$^7$n yí xìl

**chilar de chile poblano**
yà yi$^7$n gú lâzh

**chilar de tusta**
yà yi$^7$n túch

**chilatole**
nîtz ko$^7$b nzé ndè

**chilcayote, calabaza chilcayota**
yèth lân

**chile ancho**
yi$^7$n chílyánch

**chile bartoleño**
yi$^7$n yí xìl

**chile chigole**
yi$^7$n chígǒl

**chile chigole, chigole, chile chichalaca**
yi$^7$n nga$^7$x

**chile chilito**
yi$^7$n chílít

**chile costeño**
yi$^7$n yà

**chile de agua**
yi$^7$n kë^ làt

**chile de agua**
yi$^7$n yà làt

**chile seco**
yi$^7$n bìd

**chile verde**
yi$^7$n kë^

**chile, tusta**
yi$^7$n

**chile, tusta, picante**
túch

**chilmolera**
yê yi$^7$n

**chilmole, salsa de chile**
nîtz yi$^7$n

**chinchatlao**
wxî

**chinchatlao, viuda negra, tutatlama**
nhwxî

**chinche**
mbé tên

**chinche de la casa**
mtyë^n

**chinche del monte**
mbé tên yìx

**chinche que chupa sangre**
mtyên

**chinche (del campo)**
zhǐn

**chingin**
yòb ngùz ndo^

**chingín**
ngǐn ngùz ndo^

**chino, rizado, permanente**
mbi$^7$ch

**chiquero**
chíkérr tě kǔch

**chiquero**
yà lò tě kúch

**chiquito**
tǔzh

**chiquito, pequeño**
tu$^7$zh

**chismoso**
mě yîx

**chispa**
bxìl

**chispa o lumbre que se pega debajo del comal después de que se apaga la llama**
mkóz xàn tîl

**chistes; risas y juego, alegría**
yë´l xîd nà yë´l wyìth

**chistoso**
yál xîd

**chivo, cabra**
chǐb

**chocolate**
nîtz ngǎch

**chorro, diarrea**
tìd

**chotacabra (book), capote río, pájaro**
kápǒt

**chucará**
mbyìn nê

**chuchupaxtle**
mblë$^7$zh

**chuchupaxtle**
mbë$^7$l mbla$^7$zh

**chuchupaxtle**
wzhíb

**Chucupaxtle (un ´lugarcito en S. Balta.´)**
xàn yè bla$^7$zh

**chueco**
btë^l

**chupador**
xa$^7$ ndà xu$^7$p

**chupamiel**
mchînh

**chupamiel**
nhwchînh

**chupar**
-à xu$^7$p

**chupar**
-z-ùp

**chuparrosa chiquita**
zho$^7$zh bĭx

**chuparrosa, chupamirto**
nzho$^7$zh

**chuparrosa, chupamirto,**
zho$^7$zh

**ciego**
ngùz ndo^ ngwlè

**ciego**
ngùz ndo^ nzĭn

**ciego; tuerto**
wlè

**cien**
áyo$^7$

**cienpie**
yà găl

**cienpie**
yá găl

**cierto**
wyë´

**ciénega, lodo**
yòp

**cigarro**
yë^z

**cilandro**
kúlántr

**cilandro de espina**
kúlántr yĭch

**cinco**
gay$^7$

**cincuenta y cinco**
tŏp gâl nti$^7$ bgay$^7$

**cinta, caset**
ta$^7$ nzyén nâ yë´l wzá di$^7$zh ndo^ grábádór

**cintura**
to^ la$^7$n

**cintura de gusano**
to^ la$^7$n mbë`y

**cinturón**
sínch

**cirhuela**
nzhâd

**cirhuela de iguana**
nzhâd tĕ wàch

**cirhuela roja**
nzhâd nê

**cirhuela roja de tomate**
nzhâd bîx

**cirhuela seca**
nzhâd bìd

**cirhuela verde**
nzhâd kë^

**Ciriaco/a**
yák

**ciruelar amarillo**
yà nzhât nzhìch

**ciruelar rojo**
yà nzhât nê

**ciruelar verde**
yà nzhât ndyë^

**cirujano**
xa$^7$ (nâ) ndyë̌ găn

**clara del huevo**
to$^7$l ngwi$^7$

**claro**
xyë̌

**claro del huevo**
xyë̌ tĕ ngu^

**Coateco**
ke$^7$

**cobarde, atrasado**
wlë$^7$

**cobija**
lâd yìch

**cobija**
lât yìch

**cobrarlo**
-un kóbrá

**cocer (comida)**
-wi$^7$y

**cocerse**

-ày

**cochino, puerco, marrano, cerdo, cuche**
gǔch

**cocido**
ngu$^{7}$y

**cocido**
ngwi$^{7}$

**cocina**
nì yǐch

**cocina (otra casa)**
nì kósín

**coco para tortilla, bule, jicalpextle**
yë^ yèk

**cocoxtle**
xǒ

**codo**
nî xìk

**cogollo**
kógó

**cojo, renco**
kǒj

**cojo, renco**
rěnhk

**cola**
xnè

**colcha, ropa de cama**
lâd ndo^ yìn

**colgar**
-kén-gâ

**colgarse/lo, pegarse, guardar, enderezarse**
-kécha$^{7}$

**colindancia de lo que tiene dentro de la cabeza**
bzë$^{7}$ lèn xò yèk

**colindancia de tierras, lindero**
bzë$^{7}$ yu^

**colindancia, lindero**
bzë$^{7}$

**collar de fruta de palo de pipa**
nîk tě ngùz tě yà do$^{7}$ch

**collar de las mujeres, gargantilla**
nîk

**collar, gargantilla**
ník

**colmena de tierra, miel de tierra**
mzhìn yu^

**colmulgar; confesar**
-xúb dòl

**columpiar**
-yo^ mbì

**comachiche, bejuco de calabaza de ratón**
lùt tzêth tzìn

**comadre**
mál

**comadre vieja; madre del compadre o de la comadre**
mál gǒx

**comadreja**
mbèk yìx gǒx

**comadreja**
mbǒx

**comal**
tîl

**combinacion, fondo de mujeres**
lâd lèn

**comején que vive en la oguera de perico**
mbêx tě( bêx tě) pérǐk

**comer**
-à

**comer**
-ö`

**comerciante, gente que vende, vendedor**
xa$^{7}$ ndò

**comezón**
wze$^{7}$th

**comida**
kómíd

**comida**
stzi$^{7}$l

**como**
xětza$^{7}$

**compadre viejo; padre del compadre**
mbál gǒx

**compadre (BAL); compadre, comadre (CAN)**
mbál

**compañero pleitisto,**

**enemigo**
tzâ wyò

**completo**
mzá-y´

**comprarlo**
-z-i$^{7}$

**comprarse**
-xi$^{7}$

**comulgar; confesar**
-à mbdo$^{7}$

**comunero**
xa$^{7}$ làw

**con**
nà

**Concepción(a)**
Chǒn

**concha de caracol; concha del mar**
xò bzhu$^{7}$t

**conchuda**
mbé chîn

**conejo**
kóněj

**conejo**
mbë´l yè

**conejo casero**
mbêl yè nì

**conejo del campo (el más grande)**
tóx lít

**conejo (del campo)**
mbêl yè

**confesar; acolmulgar**
-xo$^{7}$b dòl

**conocer**
-zhí ndo^

**consuegro**
ngwzàn

**consuegro/a**
lzàn

**consuegro/a**
lzân

**contagiar**
-za$^{7}$b yë´l yîzh

**contagiar**
-zë$^{7}$ gël gizh

**contagiar la enfermedad, contaminar a la persona, enfermarlo**
-tza$^{7}$b yë´l yîzh

**contagiar la flojera a otro**
-zë$^{7}$ yë´l zha$^{7}$b

**contarlo**
-la$^{7}$b

**contar(se)**
-ga$^{7}$b

**convertirse/lo**
-yàk

**convivio, comida**
yë´l wàw

**coopal de cruz**
yë$^{7}$l krús

**copal**
yà yë$^{7}$l

**copal**
ya$^{7}$l

**copal blanco**
yë$^{7}$l n-gǔd

**copal de aire**
yë$^{7}$l tě mbì

**copal de cuadro, copal cuadrado, copal aplastado**
yë$^{7}$l mbàd

**copal del aire**
ya$^{7}$l tě mbì

**copal negro**
yë$^{7}$l n-gǎtz

**copetón**
mbwíx

**coquito apestoso, coyul apestoso**
ngùz ga$^{7}$ kwǐb

**coquito, coyul duro, almendra**
lë`d ngùz ga$^{7}$

**coraje; le duele el corazón**
ndyàw lá tyo$^{7}$

**coralillo**
mtzyǒn

**corazón de palma**
lë`d tě yà ga$^{7}$

**corazón de palo, corazón del tronco**
lë`d

**corazón, estómago**
ládyo$^{7}$

**corazón; estómago**
látyo$^{7}$

**corbata; pañuelo (local paynuelo)**
lâd ndyo^ yèn xa$^7$

**cordoníz**
myìn mbìch

**cordón del ombligo**
tzi$^7$ kìd

**Cornelio**
Něl

**corral**
yálò

**corral de ganado**
yá lò ngǒn

**correa**
kórré

**corredor**
mblǒ

**corredor**
mlǒ (COA)

**correr**
-xo$^7$n

**corretear**
-túblâ

**corretear; alcanzarlo**
-tu$^7$b lâ

**corriente de agua**
btzyu^b

**corriente de agua**
zê ncho$^7$n nîtz

**cortado**
mxên

**cortar**
-xên

**cortina de enfrente del sahuán**
kórtín to^ sáwán

**cortina de trapo**
lâd nkë$^7$ cha$^7$ wâtz béntán

**corto**
bxu^b

**corto; chaparro**
wxu^b

**cosa redonda**
ta$^7$ brèl

**cosa usada (que yá no sirve)**
ta$^7$ ná ñí

**cosa verde**
ta$^7$ kë^

**costal**
sák

**costal o bolsa hecho de petate donde guardaban los ancianos su maíz, costureado c/ aguja diaria y mecate**
dà bìd

**costar, valer**
-àk

**costeño; costa**
kǒst

**costilla**
kóstí

**costoche, zorra**
mbë`z

**costra, callo; tasajo**
bë$^7$l bìd

**costurear a mano, echar hilo**
-kǐb dë^

**costurearse**
-yǐb

**costurearse la carne**
-yǐb bë$^7$l

**costurear, remendar**
-kǐb

**costurear, remendar**
-kǐbdë̌

**cotorra**
kótǒr

**cotorra de ocote**
mběy yèd

**cotorra (de ocote)**
kótǒrr mběy yèd

**coyote**
mbèk be$^7$

**coyul, coquito**
ngùz ga$^7$

**coyuntura**
wtzi$^7$

**Cómo?**
xé mód

**craneo**
xò yèk

**Crecencia**
Chěnch

**crecer**
-a$^7$l

**crecerlo (a un niño)**
-ga$^7$l

**creer**
-kédî

**Cresencio**
Chénch

**cresta del pollo**
yîd yèk bóy

**Crisob**
Chój

**Crisóforo**
Chóf

**Crispina**
Pín

**Cristina**
Tǐn

**Cristina**
Xtǐn

**criticarlo, afamarlo**
-xo$^7$b di$^7$zh

**criticar, contradecir, maldecir**
-ni$^7$ kwë^

**cría, animal tierno**
má bèn

**crudo; falta se va a cocer**
zë̌ ta$^7$ gǎy-é

**crudo, verde**
kë^

**cruz**
yà to^ ba$^7$

**cruzar**
-yùn krús

**cuachepil**
là yë$^7$z ábìtz

**cuaconitos**
bǐn tǔzh

**cuaconito, guajolote tierno**
běz

**cuanacasle**
yà ngîz

**cuando**
gór lá

**cuando, entonces**
zha$^7$

**cuando, entonces**
zhe$^7$

**cuanto, tanto**
pló

**cuarenta**
tǒp gâl

**cuarta**
btîth

**cuarta, chicote**
mákán

**cuarto**
wdâp

**cuatro**
dâp

**cuándo?**
pól

**cuándo?; a qué horas?**
xé gór

**cuánto es?; cuantos no más**
plǎ tzé

**Cuánto?**
plǎ

**cuánto; por qué; cómo**
xte$^7$

**cuánto?, que tanto?**
pló

**cucaracha**
zhǐn

**cuchara chiquita**
kúchárr bǐx

**cuchara de madera**
kúchárr yà

**cuchara para sacar nixtamal**
kúchárr tě nîl

**cuche gordo**
kǔch nda$^7$l

**cuchillo**
kúchí

**cuello (de camisa--RGB)**
lâd tzo$^7$ yèn

**cuernear(lo)**
-b-ìb wǎz

**cuerno, cacho**
wǎz

**cuero**
yîd

**cuero de la orilla de la nariz**
yîd to^ xè

**cuero de los ojos,**

**párpado**
yîd ngùz ndo^

**cuero del cuerpo**
yîd lâz

**cuero del culo**
to^ yîd xi$^{7}$n

**cuero del pene del hombre**
yîd ngùz kwê xa$^{7}$ byî

**cuero del pie**
yîd mbǎd ndâtz

**cuero largo en la cabeza del guajolote macho**
chǔr

**cuero que se muda la culebra**
yîd nto$^{7}$ bdi$^{7}$n mbë$^{7}$l

**cuero verija de la mujer**
yîd kwê xa$^{7}$ go^tz

**cuero viejo**
yîd gǒx

**cuerpo**
lâz

**cuerpoespín (local), puercoespín (standard)**
mbe$^{7}$y yà

**cueva**
lyò

**cuidado**
nî

**cuidado!**
nì

**cuidanene**
ngwzha$^{7}$n

**cuidar**
-kë´ nà

**cuidarlo**
-ké nö`

**cuidarse de luto, tener dieta**
-le$^{7}$ch

**cuija, limpiacasa**
kwíj

**Cuixtla**
yí tzî

**culebra**
mbë$^{7}$l

**culebra bejuquía**
mbë$^{7}$l lùt

**culebra bejuquía**
mbë$^{7}$l yà

**culebra corolilla**
mtzé nîk

**culebra del palo**
mbë$^{7}$l yà

**culebra floreada, chuchupaxtle**
mbë$^{7}$l là yi$^{7}$

**cultivo; está preparando su terreno, surquear el terreno.**
-kë$^{7}$ sǔrk yu^

**cumplirlo**
-un kúmplír

**cumplirse; completarse**
-zâ

**cuna chiquita; hamaca chiquita (local maca chiquita)**
yìx to$^{7}$ tǔzh

**cuñado**
kúñád

**cuñado de hombre**
blë$^{7}$

**cuñado/a (m con f)**
xlòn

**curandero; médico**
xa$^{7}$ ntzí yî měn

**curar**
-tzé yàk

**curar la enfermedad**
-tzé yàk yë´l yîzh

**curarse**
-àk réméd

**curva**
xyêk

**Daniel**
ñěl

**dañarlo, hacerle daño**
-un kê

**dañero**
wín kê

**dar**
-za$^{7}$

**dar asco, tener asco**
-gâp látyo$^{7}$

**dar cachetada, cachetear**
-y-ich ya$^{7}$

**dar lastima**
-lâtz látyo$^7$

**dar pecho, amamantar**
-za$^7$ xîd

**dar permiso, dejar**
-za$^7$ di$^7$zh

**dar sed**
-yèk lá tyo$^7$

**dar vuelta; enrollarse; enredarse**
-yêk

**darle cosquillas**
-zu^y

**darle de mamar**
-gâd

**darle hambre;**
-gân

**darle vuelta**
-tzë$^7$k

**darse cuenta, adivinar**
-la$^7$n

**de**
tě

**de aquí a 15 días**
sti$^7$n wìzh

**de día**
nyé bë̌

**de lado, chueco**
ka$^7$n

**de por sí, siempre**
ába$^7$

**de repente**
pǎ tha$^7$

**de una vez**
gâx

**de una vez**
némë$^7$

**de una vez**
te$^7$(-y´)

**de vez en cuando, cada vez en cuando**
gǎw ze$^7$n

**dearrea (local for diarrea)**
tìd

**debajo de la muñeca**
lèn nî ya$^7$

**debajo de la uña se ve blanco**
xàn xò ya$^7$ ñâ n-gǔd

**deber**
-za$^7$b

**decir, hablar, contar, platicar**
-àb

**declararse**
-zha$^7$l zo^

**declarar; abrir la boca**
-xa$^7$l to^

**declarar; abrir la boca**
-xë$^7$l to^

**dedo chiquito, dedo menique**
ngǔtz tǔzh

**dedo grande, pulgar**
ngǔtz zi$^7$l

**dedos**
ngǔtz

**dedos de en medio**
ngǔtz tlǎ

**dejarlo**
-cha$^7$n

**delgado**
bdì

**delgado**
wlàtz

**delicado, quejoso**
wyë$^7$zh

**demonio; diablo**
mě xu$^7$

**derecho**
wyë̌

**derramar, podar**
-tìd ya$^7$ (yà)

**derritir, deshacer**
-yë`

**derrumbe, ladera**
wë`

**desaparecerse**
-go^n

**desatarlo**
-xë$^7$d

**desatarse, soltarse**
-ye$^7$d

**desatarse, soltarse**
-yë$^7$d

**desayunar, almorzar**
-à tèn

**desboronarse**
-zh-o$^7$b

**descansar**
-nê

**descarado, desobediente**
wlë^

**descargarlo**
-lâ yo$^7$

**descargarse**
-lâ yo$^7$

**descogerlo**
-tí

**descogerlo**
-tí bo$^7$

**descogerse**
-bíbo$^7$

**descojerse**
-bí

**descomponerse; manosearse**
-ázha$^7$

**descuidarse**
-ba$^7$n

**desenredarse**
-to$^7$ bxìd

**desfilarse**
-tyo$^7$nh

**desgranar, desboronar**
-z-o$^7$b

**deshazón**
ngú gàl

**deshojarlo**
-tu^b

**deshojarse**
-tyu^b

**desmayarse, cobardar el corazón, dominar el corazón**
-lyë$^7$ látyo$^7$

**desocuparlo, vaciarlo**
-lë$^7$th

**desocuparse, vaciarse**
-lyë`th

**despachado**
nto$^7$ cho^-y´

**despacio**
cha$^7$

**despacio**
chö$^7$

**despacito (despacito)**
cha$^7$ga$^7$ cha$^7$ga$^7$

**desparamar, batirlo, embyuxar, estrellarse, empedazarse**
-yu^

**despedazarlo; partirlo; embiuxarlo**
-zu$^7$

**despedirse antes de la muerte**
-tzë$^7$l

**despegarlo; quitarlo**
-látê

**despegarse, quitarse**
-látê

**desperdiciar, manuciar**
-úzha$^7$

**despertarlo**
-kwa$^7$n

**despertarse**
-bàn

**despierto**
ná

**despintarlo**
-látê kólór

**despintarse**
-látê kólór

**despues, atrás**
gál tzo$^7$

**destruirlo, descomponerlo, desbaratarlo**
-tzǒn

**destruirse, descomponerse**
-zyǒn

**desvelarse**
-to$^7$ xka$^7$l

**desvestirse, desnudarse**
-b-o$^7$ xâb

**deuda**
kê

**décimo**
wti$^7$

**diarrea**
yîzh nxo$^7$n lèn

**dibujo**
là yi$^7$

**diente**
ndë`y

**diente cuatrapeado, diente encimado**
ndë`y kwa$^7$

**diente de chicalmata**
mbê tě yë$^{7}$z

**diente de enfrente**
ndë`y xë$^{7}$

**diente principal**
ndë`y wzàn

**dientes desapartados, dientes saltiados, dientes desparejos**
ndë`y bxe$^{7}$ch

**dieta**
wtza$^{7}$n

**dieta del parto, (los veinte días que se cuide después), enfermedad de cría**
yîzh zàn

**diez**
ti$^{7}$

**diez y ocho**
ti$^{7}$n bchǒn

**diez y seis**
ti$^{7}$n bdyu^b

**diez y siete**
ti$^{7}$n btyǒp

**dinero**
méd

**dinero viejo; moneda vieja**
tmî gǒ

**directorio (el libro adonde está notado todos los números de teléfonos de nuestros pueblos)**
líbró nkë̌ núméró tě téléfónó tě të´tza$^{7}$ lâzh nhó

**directo, derecho**
ga$^{7}$l

**disentería, sentería de sangre**
tíd tèn

**disparar, quemar cartucho**
y-ìch yi$^{7}$b

**diversión**
mbwi$^{7}$

**diversión**
wi$^{7}$

**diversión**
yë´l wi$^{7}$

**divertirse; ir a ver**
-â wi$^{7}$

**día del santo de uno; cumpleaños**
wìzh là mbdo$^{7}$

**díle**
gu^d

**dísenteria**
yîzh tě tèn

**doblado**
mbyìt

**doblarlo**
-kìt

**doblarse**
-yìt

**doce**
ti$^{7}$ btyǒp

**docena**
sén

**doler**
-â kwë^

**doler el corazón o estómago**
-ákwë^ látyo$^{7}$

**dolerse**
-àw

**dolor de cabeza**
ndàw yèk

**dolor de hueso**
ndàw tìth

**dolores del parto**
dólór tě mbë̌z

**dominarlo**
-ku$^{7}$d lá tyo$^{7}$

**Domingo**
mǐnh

**domingo**
dómính

**donde unen los huesos del pie**
nî ndâtz

**donde?**
pǎ

**dormilón**
ár bka$^{7}$l

**dormilón**
wdyë^tz xe$^{7}$n

**dormir**
-y-êtz

**dormirse**
-ádêtz

**dormirse la carne**
-tya$^7$ bë$^7$l

**dormirse (p.e. la pierna)**
-ázìn

**dorso de la mano**
tzo$^7$ ya$^7$

**dos de ellos; no es tan seguro**
tǒp nǎk

**dónde**
mà

**dueño**
xwàn

**dueño; amo**
xwàn

**dulce**
wtî

**durar**
-ùn

**durmiente (standard); quisio (local)**
yà kísyó

**duro**
wyë^l

**echar agua, botar agua, tirar agua**
-tǒb nîtz

**echar pedos, pedorrear**
-y-ìl

**echar, tirar**
-tǒb

**eclilpse del sol**
mbyaw$^7$ wìzh

**eclipse de luna**
mbyaw$^7$ mbe$^7$

**edad; año**
li$^7$n

**Edmundo**
mún

**Eduardo**
wǎrr

**egareche (palo de)**
yà tìzh

**ejote verde**
nzâ kë^

**ejotes**
yë$^7$z

**Ejutla**
Wzyá

**Ejutla**
Yêzh Bzyá (CAN)

**el animal**
má

**el baile del compadre**
yë´l gúl ndâtz tě mbál

**el baile del guajolote**
yë´l gúl ndâtz tě mbèd

**el camino que se va para Santa Marta**
nêz nzyèn nzyá pár sántá mǎrrt

**el cogollo tierno del platanar**
pǐt tě yà bdo$^7$

**el cuero de abajo del ojo**
yîd pár lâ tě ngùz ndo^

**el cuero del ojo**
tzo$^7$ yîd ngùz ndo^

**el dueño del cerro**
xwàn yè

**el hueso de la boca del estómago**
tìth lá tyo$^7$

**el hueso del codo del mano**
tìth nî ya$^7$

**el hueso mayor del pescuezo**
tìth yèn wzàn

**el más grande, padruno, padrote**
wzàn

**el oso para cortar zacate**
ós nxên yîx

**el palo de lima limón**
yà límá límónh

**el Paraiso**
nîtz bêth

**el pelo del pecho del guajolote macho, escobilla**
yìch lë`d mbéze$^7$

**el pelo que trae el guajolote macho en el pecho**
lòx mbétze$^7$

**el pujo, disentería, disintería, sentería**
tìd xǐn

**el pulque del palma de coquito**
nîtz tě yà ga$^7$

**el resto, desperdicio**
ta$^7$ mbya$^7$n

**el seso principal de la cabeza**
yòb yèk wzàn

**el sonido cuando cae cagado de pájaro**
pras

**el Valle de Oaxaca**
nêz làt

**El Zapote**
Yêzh Ndâw (CAN)

**elección de los topilillos**
éleksyónh tě bxìl to$^7$

**elección de los topilillos**
éléksyónh tě bxìlto$^7$

**elefante**
dánt

**Eleuterio**
Lŭt

**Eleuterio**
lŭt

**Elias**
Élí

**eligirse**
-zŏbti$^7$n

**eligir, nombrar**
-zŏbti$^7$n

**Eliseo**
Chěy

**elote**
nzë^

**elote tierno**
nzë^ bèn

**Elpidio**
píd

**embarazarse**
-yo^ xìn

**embarrar**
-zë$^7$

**embarrar de blanco, pintar de blanco**
-tzë$^7$ kŭd

**emborracharlo**
-tzé gù nu^p

**emborracharse**
-zùd

**embrocarse**
-kwás ndo^

**embudo**
mbúd

**Emilia**
Míl

**empache (empacho in dicc.)**
la$^7$

**emparejarse; alisarse**
-zhîzh

**empedazarlo**
-lë̌ yî

**empedido**
de$^7$

**empeorarse**
-xo$^7$

**empezar**
-yó xàn

**empezar**
-zóxàn
vB

**empolla**
bóy

**empolla; luna**
mbér nîtz

**empujar; arrimarlo**
-zi$^7$

**en frente**
án-go$^7$

**en frente de**
gál ndo^

**en la esquina de la casa; al fondo de la casa**
skín nì

**en medio; la mitad**
tlă tha$^7$

**enano**
énán

**enblandarlo**
-ku$^7$d

**enblandarse**
-gu$^7$d

**enbotijarse**
-yàp nzhë` látyo$^7$

**encargarlo**
-ka$^7$b

**encargarse**
-ga$^7$b

**encargo**

ga$^7$b

**encelarlo**
-un yë´l wyá kò

**encenderlo**
-tzèn yî

**encenderse, arder**
-z-èn yî

**encerlarlo/se; tener celos**
-yá kò

**encerrarse**
-yo^ ñǎ

**enchiquecerse, hacerlo chiquito**
-yùn tǔzh

**enchuecarlo**
-tzë´ të^l

**enchuecarse, ponerse chueco**
-tyë^l

**encias (--RGBA)**
xàn ndë`y

**encimarse**
-wa$^7$

**encino**
yà zě

**encino de tierra, palo de gayú**
yà wyu^

**encoger(se), marchitar(se)**
-ya$^7$t

**enconarse**
-bǎn

**encontrarlo**
-zhǎl

**encontrarse, jallarse, sucederle (and stay together a while)**
-zhǎl

**encuerado**
tê

**encuerado, desnudo**
kwěr

**endelgazarse**
-lyàtz

**enderezarlo**
-kë´

**enderezarse**
-yë´

**endulzarlo**
-yùn wtî

**endurecerlo, hacerlo duro**
-yùn wyë^l

**enegrecerlo**
-yùn n-gǎtz

**enfermarse**
-lèn yîzh

**enfermedad**
yë´l yîzh

**enfermedad de aire/tonto**
yë´l yîzh mbì

**enfermedad de ciego**
yë^l yîzh wlè

**enfermedad de comezón**
yë^l yîzh wzêth

**enfermedad de cruda**
yë^l yîzh nda zha$^7$b

**enfermedad de flojera**
yîzh zha$^7$b

**enfermedad de lombríz**
yë^l yîzh tě ngězh

**enfermedad de sordo**
yë^l yîzh kwè

**enfermera**
mzhë^ go^tz ntzé yàk měn

**enfermo**
kwë^

**enfermo**
yîzh

**enfilarlo**
-g-ó wǎch

**enflaquecerse**
-yàk tìth

**enfriarlo**
-tzé yë´l

**enfriarse; refrescarse**
-yâl

**engacharse, agacharse; estar parado**
-zo^ nték

**engañar**
-kédî

**engañar, vacilar**
-kídî

**engordarse**
-yë$^7$l

**engordarse**
-zo^ yî

**engrandecerse**
-ùn zi$^7$l

**engrirlo; acostumbrarlo**
-ke$^7$n

**engruesarse, engordarse**
-tye$^7$l

**enhuecarlo**
-b-o$^7$ blo^

**enjabonarlo**
-g-ó yá xtíl

**enlargarlo**
-g-ó go$^7$l

**enlargarse**
-tógo$^7$l

**enojado**
yë´l wyi$^7$

**enojarse; estar enojado**
-àkl**ǒ**

**enpobrecerlo**
-lâ yë´l zí

**enpobrecerse**
-yàk yál zí

**enralecerlo**
-yùn bxe$^7$ch

**enralecerse**
-yàk bxë$^7$ch

**enredarse**
-têl yo^

**enredarse**
-yàk bxìd

**enredarse; enrollarse**
-yàk nzh**ǔ**zh

**enredarse/lo?**
-yo^x

**Enrique**
Énr**ǐ**k

**enrojecer**
-yàk nê

**enrollado**
mbdyu^d

**enrollarlo**
-du^d

**enrollarse**
-dyu^d

**ensalarlo**
-tzë´ tîx

**enseñar(se), mostrar; guiarlo**
-lu$^7$

**ensuciarse, envolverse de tierra**
-àch yu^

**entenado/a**
xìn mbga$^7$l

**entender**
-tzàk yo^n

**enterrarlo; esconderlo**
-ka$^7$ch

**enterrarse**
-ga$^7$ch

**entiernecer (local), enternecer**
-yùn bèn

**entonces**
zhó wê

**entonces, luego**
châ

**entrada, orilla de la casa**
to^ nì

**entrar**
-yótê

**entre medio de las pestañas**
xlë`th yìch ngùz ndo^

**entre medio de los dedos**
xlë`th ng**ǔ**tz ya$^7$

**entregarlo**
-zéya$^7$

**entremedio del diente**
xlë`th ndë`y

**entre, en medio, entre medio**
tl**ǎ**w

**entró la noche**
ngwlâ të$^7$l

**envaporarlo**
-g-ó bìch

**envase desechable de refresco**
xò t**ě** nîtz kwàl

**envejecer**
-yàk g**ǒ**x

**envejecerse**
-yàk g**ǒ**x

**enverdecer**

-yë^

**envidiar; odiar(lo), traerlo corto**
-kwë^ lá tyo$^7$

**envolverlo, enrollarlo**
-ti$^7$x kò

**envolverse**
-bíx xyo^

**epazote**
bêth

**epazote blanco**
bêth n-gŭd

**epazote de arena**
bêth yu^x

**epazote rojo**
bêth nê

**Epigmenio**
péj

**Ermelinda**
Mèr

**Ermilo**
mǐl

**eructarse**
-b-o$^7$ mbì yèn

**escalera**
éskálér

**escama de chacal**
la$^7$n mbé zo^n

**escama (~esquema) de pescado**
xâb mbë^l

**escaparse, desafarse, soltarse**
-la$^7$

**escarbarlo**
-y-ĕn

**escarbarse**
-yên

**escasearse, acabarse**
-të`

**escoba**
yà lyo$^7$b

**escoba**
yë´l yo$^7$b

**escoba de palma, palma de escoba**
yë´l yo$^7$b yîn

**escoba de plástico**
yë´l yo$^7$b plástíkó

**escoba de vara**
yë´l yo$^7$b yà

**escobilla de popote**
yël yo$^7$b xnè mbèk

**esconderlo**
-ko^n

**esconderse/lo**
-kóxla$^7$n

**escopeta de ixtle y casquillo**
éskópét yèzh

**escorpión**
wàch yo$^7$

**escríbano, secretaria, gallina ciega, gallina robón, resortera**
ngǐd wa$^7$n

**escroto**
yîx ngùz kwê

**escupir**
-b-o$^7$ chu$^7$k

**escupir**
-chúko$^7$

**escupir**
-chu$^7$k

**ese; allí**
bâ

**espacio, cielo**
bë$^7$

**espalda doblado**
tzo$^7$ te$^7$k

**espalda; atrás, detrás de; COA encima de**
tzo$^7$

**espalda; hueso de la espalda**
tìth tzo$^7$

**espantajo de zanate**
chêb tĕ mbìz

**espantapájaro**
chèb tĕ myìn

**espantapájaro**
chêb

**espantar**
-xǐtz

**espantar pájaros**
go^p

**espejo**
spéj

**Esperanza**
Lănch

**Esperanza**
Lánch (COA, CAN)

**esperarlo/se**
-b-ë̆ z

**espermatozoide**
nîtz ngùz kwê

**espeso**
kwân

**espeso**
mbyàx

**espeso de miel de caña**
mbóx

**espérate!**
wlë̆ z tha$^7$

**espiga**
do^ tě ña$^7$

**espiga de zacate**
do^ tě yîx yì

**espiga de zacate, espiga de popote**
do^ tě go$^7$b

**espiga (de la milpa)**
do^

**espina cresta de gallo**
yǐch yèk ngíze$^7$

**espina de chepil de espina**
yǐch tě ye$^7$z yǐch lo^

**espina de huisache**
yǐch tìth

**espina de malacate**
yǐch bòtz

**espina de palo**
yǐch yà

**espina de sierra**
yǐch syér

**espina dormilona**
yǐch du^n

**espina dormilona**
yǐch ngú dêtz

**espina grande**
yǐch zi$^7$l

**espíritu de muerto, fantasma**
ǎlm

**espíritu maligno, espíritu nocturno, brujo**
wxìn

**espíritu sobrenatural, espíritu del mundo, aire malo, espíritu maligno**
xa$^7$ yêzh lu^

**esposo/a**
chë$^7$l

**esquina**
skín

**esquina de la boca**
skín to^

**esta hora, este día**
nǎl

**estandarte**
yà tě bándérr

**estar**
-yo^

**estar**
-zh-o$^7$b

**estar abierto; estar destapado**
-zo^ ña$^7$l

**estar acostado**
-nàx

**estar acostado, estar puesto**
nàx

**estar adelante, pasarse adelante, pararse adelante**
-zo^ něd

**estar agachado**
-zo^ nte$^7$k

**estar alegre, alegrarse, estar contento; querer, enamorarse**
-yë^ lá tyo$^7$

**estar alegre; ponerse alegre**
-yo^ wá bèn látyo$^7$

**estar borracho**
-zo^ zùd

**estar cansado, cansarse**
-ákwàn

**estar contento**
-yo^ bwén látyo$^7$

**estar con, estar junto a**
na$^7$

**estar de lado, ponerse chueco**
-ka$^7$n

**estar destinado**

-kë´ bey$^7$

**estar débil**
-yâ látyo$^7$

**estar embarazada**
-yo^ xìn

**estar en temascal**
-zo^ bìch

**estar enojado**
-yi$^7$

**estar enojado, estar bravo, estar molestado**
-b-ê yi$^7$

**estar hinchado; hincharse; inflamarse; engordarse; esponjarse**
-zo^ yî

**estar nublado, haber nube**
-d-ê xkwǎ

**estar nublado, ponerse nublado**
-xo$^7$b mbè

**estar oscuro, entrar la noche, ponerse oscuro, oscurecer**
-kwǎ

**estar parado**
-zǒbga$^7$l

**estar parado**
-zo^ ga$^7$l

**estar recargado**
-ké ndi$^7$n

**estar ronco**
-zhê zǒb yèn

**estar tieso; ponerse tieso**
-yǎg

**estatua, ídolo, monumento**
món yî

**está**
-kë̌

**está bien**
lë^tha$^7$

**está simple, desabrido**
kwàl ndyë$^7$-y´

**Esteban**
Chěb

**Esteban**
Stéb

**este, así**
ndë$^7$

**estirarse**
-yë´ tzo$^7$

**estítico**
kwi$^7$d

**estornudar, trastornudar (local)**
-xë̌ z

**estrella alacrán**
mbé wnè

**estrella floja**
mbë^l zha$^7$b

**estrella, lucero**
mbë^l

**estropajo**
strópǎj

**estudiante; escríbano; gente sabia**
xa$^7$ ndǎk

**estudiar**
-xu$^7$t

**eucalipto**
yà yětz

**eucalipto; palo de sauce**
yà yë̌ tz

**Eulogio**
Lój

**Eusiquio**
Sík

**Eustaquio; Plutarco**
ták

**Eutiquio, Otiquio**
tík

**exigir**
-tzé kèn

**explotar, reventar**
-âch kê

**exprimir [ropa], tirarlo (agua)**
-tzi$^7$

**exprimirlo, escurrirlo, arrugarlo**
-chu$^7$n

**exprimirse [ropa]; tirarse [agua]**
-tzyi$^7$

**exprimirse, escurrirse**
-zhu$^7$n

**extranjero; gente del**

**valle**
xa$^7$ làt

**extraviarlo, perderlo**
-tza$^7$l

**él; ella; aquél**
ár

**él, ella, ellos**
xa$^7$

**él, ella; persona mayor que el hablante o a quien respeta, y/o persona que no conoce el interlocutor o con quien se tratan de Ud.**
mě

**Facundo**
Kún

**faisán**
mbèd wǎb

**faisán**
ngǐd xoj

**faisán, guajolote montes**
wǎb

**fajilla**
tnìx

**fajilla de casa**
yà fájí tě nì

**fajilla, palo de varilla, vara**
yà tnìx

**fallar**
-kwi$^7$n

**fallar**
-y-ìth

**falta**
zë̌ ta$^7$

**falta**
zë̌ ta$^7$

**faltar respecto, insultar**
-ú zha$^7$ di$^7$zh

**fanega**
áné

**Federico**
Lǐk

**Felipa**
Lǐp

**Felipe**
Blíb

**Felipe**
Líp

**Felícitas**
Lǐch

**Felícitas; Alicia**
Lǐs

**feo**
fjér

**feo**
mǎch

**feo**
ndë$^7$l

**fermentar, desasonar**
-ágàl

**festejo, cumpleaños, onomástico**
ndǎl lë^

**Félix**
Jwěltz

**Félix**
Yěch

**Fidel**
Dèl

**fierro; arma; instrumento; carro**
yi$^7$b

**fiesta de pascua**
fyěst tě pǎs

**fiesta del pueblo**
fyěst tě yêzh

**fiesta septendrinas, fiesta de Hidalgo, 15 de septiembre**
fyěst tě yídálgó

**Filemón**
Jwǐl

**filo**
wǎch

**Filogonio**
Gón

**finado, muerto, cadaver, difunto**
gǎn

**finca de cafetal**
zê nâ nzhò wyâx yà káfé

**fino, delgado**
bdì

**firme, en frente, serio, viendo para en frente, derecho**
kwìz

**fiscal, jefe de la elección y de los topilillos**
bîx kâl

**fiscal, jefe de la elección y de los topilillos**
bîxkâl

**flaco**
yîd tìth

**flaqueza**
yîzh tìth

**flauta de carrizo**
bzhí lòd

**flecha**
yà wâz

**flojera**
yë´l zha$^7$b

**flojo**
mbë^l zi$^7$l

**flojo (no apretado)**
wlë$^7$

**flojo, perezoso, peresa, flojera, vago**
zha$^7$b

**flor**
ye$^7$

**flor**
yi$^7$

**flor amarga**
yi$^7$ wlá ti$^7$ch

**flor cartucho**
là tě yi$^7$ kárrktúch

**flor de alcacio**
yi$^7$ tě mbë$^7$l

**flor de algodón**
ye$^7$ xi$^7$l

**flor de algodón blanco**
ye$^7$ xi$^7$l n-gǔd

**flor de bugambilia**
yi$^7$ mbíl

**flor de cartucho**
yi$^7$ kártúch

**flor de Cemposúchitl (local), Cempasúchil (libro), flor de muerto, flor de manzana (la más grande)**
yi$^7$ ko$^7$b

**flor de cuachipil**
yi$^7$ yë$^7$z yà bìtz

**flor de cuachipíl**
yë$^7$z yà bîtz

**flor de cuchilla**
là kúchí

**flor de cuchilla**
ye$^7$ kúchí

**flor de grilla**
ye$^7$ gù xtíl

**flor de grillal**
ye$^7$ tě yà wî

**flor de guia de calabaza**
yi$^7$ tě lùt tzèth

**flor de guía de calabaza**
zî

**flor de nopal**
yi$^7$ tě yàj

**flor de paraiso**
ye$^7$ páráys

**flor de río (blanca y olorosa)**
yi$^7$ yì nîtz

**flor de Santa Catarina**
yà yí yi$^7$

**flor de Santa Catarina**
yi$^7$ yì yi$^7$

**flor del niño, hueledenoche**
yi$^7$ mbë̌z

**flor geranio**
yi$^7$ jérányó

**flor (blanca y olorosa) de un palo que desconocemos el nombre**
yi$^7$ là btzyàk

**Flora**
Flórr

**Florencia**
Flóréntz

**Floresta, Oresta**
Yèx

**florifundio, San Nicolás**
mě yi$^7$

**florifundo, flor de San Nicolás**
yi$^7$ sán níkólás

**fondo**
lât lèn

**formar**
-úxkwa$^7$ xàn

**fracasar; atrasar**
-zha$^7$l zí

**Francisco**
Chǐk

**freirlo**
-ki$^7$x lèn zë^

**frente**
xtu^zh

**frente**
xtu^zh

**fresno**
yà fréznó

**frijol**
nzâ

**frijol molido; color de frijól molido**
nzâ dî

**frijolar**
lùt tlâ

**frijolar cuarenteño**
lùt lâ nzâ kwárént

**frijolar de netz kafé**
lùt tlâ nètz káfé

**frijolar enredador**
lùt tlâ nzâ yèl

**frijolar piñero**
lùt tlâ nzâ yî

**frijolar tabayo**
lùt tlâ (nzâ) bay$^7$

**frijól**
nzâ

**frijól blanco (piñero)**
nzâ n-gǔd

**frijól cuarentero, frijol cuarenteño**
nzâ kwárěnt

**frijól enredador (pinto)**
nzâ yë`l

**frijól piñero negro**
nzâ píñér n-gǎtz

**frijól tabayo**
nzâ bay$^7$

**frío**
kwàl

**frondoso, verde**
wyë^

**fruta**
ngùz

**fruta de huanacasle**
ngùz yà ngîz

**fruta de huanacaztle**
bîd tě yà ngîz

**fruta de la hoja de canela**
ngùz tě là nél

**fruta de magueyito**
ngùz tě yà gǔch

**fruta de palo (e)gareche**
ngùz tě yà tìzh

**fruta de quintonil**
ngùz tě là yi$^7$ ga$^7$ch

**fruta fresca**
ngùz xlë^

**fruta fresca**
ngùz xlë^ kwàl

**fruta fresca**
xlë^

**frutal**
yà xyë^

**fuerte**
másís

**fuerte**
wyê

**fuerza**
fwérs

**fugón**
yítî

**fugón**
yî tî

**fugón de comal**
yítî tě tíl

**fumar**
-tzèy

**Furmencio**
ménch

**Gabriel; Israel**
Yěl

**Gabudencio**
Yénch

**gallina**
ngǐd zàn

**gallina ciega**
mbë$^7$y zë^

**gallina montés**
ngǐd yìx

**gallina pata corta**
ngǐd gáx

**gallina ponedora**
ngǐd n-gò

**gallinea, gallina montés; chichalaca**
ngǐd yìx

**gallinero**
nì tě ngǐd

**gallo**
ngǐd ze$^7$

**gallo; pollo**
bóy

**gancho**
kwi$^7$z

**gancho**
yà kwi$^7$z

**gancho, palo orqueta**
yà xo^z

**gañote, tragadero; el hueco tragadero; la tripa tragadera**
lòd xkwězh

**garabato, gancho**
gárrbát

**Garaciano**
syán

**garrapata**
mbé chîn

**garrapata, conchuda**
mé chîn xò

**garza**
gárrs

**garza**
gárs n-gǔd

**garza**
mbyu$^7$z

**gasa de olla; gasa de jarra**
wa$^7$n tě yêtz

**gastos**
gǎst

**gatear**
-zë` mò

**gatillo**
gátí tě yi$^7$b

**gatito**
bǐch tǔzh

**gato**
bǐch

**gato montés**
bǐch yìx

**gavilancillo**
mtzî bǐx

**gavilancillo**
mtzî blíb

**gavilancillo, gavilancito del río**
mtzî yu$^7$

**gavilán**
mtzî

**Gelgoria**
Gǒy

**gemelos**
kwàch

**gemelos que se ven cambiados**
kwách xa$^7$k ñâ

**gemelos que se ven iguales**
kwách íwál ñâ

**gente**
měn

**gente adolorido; cansancio**
nzî

**gente boca cerrada; mudo; callado**
ngǔp

**gente Chatino**
xa$^7$ chátín

**gente comelón**
ár wà xe$^7$n

**gente creyente**
xa$^7$ nkí dî

**gente de la costa**
xa$^7$ párr lâ

**gente de la sierra**
xa$^7$ yà do$^7$

**gente de la sierra; gente de tierra fría**
xa$^7$ yà do$^7$

**gente de la tierra**
xa$^7$ ndo^ yu^

**gente de la tierra caliente**
xa$^7$ yu^ wzhë^

**gente del valle**
mě làt

**gente desconocida**
mě xa$^{7}$k

**gente enferma**
xa$^{7}$ yîzh

**gente flaca y alta**
ár tìth yà

**gente flaca, gente huesuda**
ár tìth

**gente gorda**
ár wte$^{7}$l

**gente grande, mayor de edad**
xa$^{7}$ wyǎk

**gente gu"era**
měn wér

**gente hombre**
xa$^{7}$ byî

**gente impaciente**
xa$^{7}$ wzǐtz lá tyo$^{7}$

**gente morena**
xa$^{7}$ mórén

**gente negra**
xa$^{7}$ n-gǎtz

**gente pinto**
xa$^{7}$ pínt

**gente que crece/cría animales**
xa$^{7}$ n-ga$^{7}$l mǎn

**gente que guarda maíz dentro del bule, gente saurín**
xa$^{7}$ n-gòcha$^{7}$ nzhǒp tě lèn yë^

**gente que juega el maíz, saurín**
xa$^{7}$ ndyìth nà nzhǒp

**gente que platica la castilla**
mě nz$^{7}$ di$^{7}$zh di$^{7}$zh xtíl

**gente que saca a los presos de la carcel, alcaide**
xa$^{7}$ nbo$^{7}$ měn lít yi$^{7}$b

**gente tonta**
mě zìn

**Gerbacio**
Bǎx

**Germán**
mánh

**girarlo**
-tze$^{7}$k

**globo; vejiga**
yîd mbì

**golondrina**
mlǔt$^{7}$

**goma**
tìl

**goma montés**
tìl yìx

**gordo**
nda$^{7}$l

**gordoníz chiquito**
mbîch bǐx

**gordoníz, cordoníz, perdís**
mbîch

**gorgojo de maiz**
mbêz nîz

**gota**
nî

**gracias**
xnò la$^{7}$

**gracias; provecho**
xnà

**grande**
wtzòn

**grande**
zi$^{7}$l

**granito**
bît

**granito de abono de arriera; granito de arador de picante**
bît (tě) mbêx yin$^{7}$

**granito de arador**
bît tě mbêx

**granito de caliente, varro**
bît wdí xò

**granito de calor**
bît bë̌

**granito de frío**
bît xe$^{7}$n

**granito de frío**
bît xîl

**granito de sancudo; granito de paludismo**
bît tě mbyǎt

**granizo**
yì yê

**granizo**
yì yî

**granos del ojo**
ngwrě

**grava, piedra quebrada**
yî ngwlë̌

**Gregorio, Goyo**
Gǒy

**greñudo, mechudo**
yèk mbyàx

**greviera**
yêtz yirbyěd

**grifo, (muchacho que fuma marijuana)**
mzhë^ yë^z là

**grilla**
là gù xtíl

**grilla**
là gu^

**grilla blanca**
yà ngùz águ^ n-gǔd

**grilla colorada/roja**
yà ngùz águ^ nê

**grilla (local), higuerilla (standard?)**
yà ngùz águ^

**grillo**
núzh

**grillo**
nzǒl

**gripe; tos**
to^

**grito**
nhwtêzh

**grito de gallina que acaba de poner o cuando ve un aire malo de noche o cuando se proxima se va a morir una persona muy cerca**
ke$^7$ke$^7$ke$^7$kérét

**grito de gusto (una carcajeada)**
ejajay

**grito de la chicharra grande**
káǎ

**grito de la gallina cuando se acaba de poner o cuando ve un aire malo de noche o cuando se proxima que una persona va a morir de cerca**
kàtkàtkàtkárét

**Grito de la gallina culeca cuando está calentando sus huevitos.**
klo$^7$k klo$^7$k

**grito de un pájaro que se llama ´rojó o ´picolargó**
hrr$^7$ hrr$^7$

**grito del buho/el tecolute más grande (mko$^7$)**
ku~

**grito del chehuizo**
wíz

**grito del cuche**
kwí$^7$i kwí$^7$i kwí$^7$i

**grito del cuche (onomatopeya)**
oy$^7$ oy$^7$

**grito del gavilán**
kwí

**grito del pájaro chehuizo**
chéwíz

**grosero, valiente, pleitisto**
wtë^tz

**grueso**
bte$^7$l

**grueso, gordo**
wte$^7$l

**grupo musical**
mzhë^ grúp músíkál

**grupo musical**
mzhë^ grúp ndo$^7$l

**guabina**
ngǐd wàch

**guabina**
ngwa$^7$ch

**guacamaya**
mběw

**guaco**
lùt wák

**Guadalupe**
Lúp

**Guadalupe**
Lúpá

**guajal**
yà ndâ tî

**guaje**
ndátî

**guaje**
ndâ

**guaje de San Bartolo**
ndâ tî yí xìl

**guaje del monte**
yà ndâ tî yìx

**guaje del valle**
yà ndâ yě

**guaje morado**
ndá yě

**guajolota hembra**
mbèt zàn

**guajolota hembra**
mbézàn

**guajolote**
mbèd

**guajolote**
mbèt

**guajolote**
mbèt$^7$

**guajolote macho**
mbèt ze$^7$

**guajolote macho**
mbéze$^7$

**guajolotilla del campo**
mbèt wǎb

**guanábana**
w´anáb

**guante**
yîd ndyo^ ya$^7$

**guardarse?**
-yo^cha$^7$

**guardar, almacenar**
-g-ócha$^7$

**guarumbo**
yà zo^n

**guayaba**
nzhu$^7$

**guayaba**
nzhu$^7$y

**guayabal**
yà nzhuy$^7$

**guel**
xó wlá

**guiarlo; pasar adelante**
-zo^ něd

**Guillermo**
Yěrr

**guía de calabaza huiche**
lùt yèth yǐch

**gusano**
mbèy

**gusano ahuatudo**
ngwlâ

**gusano de Cemposúchitl**
ngwlâ yi$^7$ ze$^7$ch

**gusano de elote**
mbèy tě nzë^

**gusano de flor de Cemposúchitl**
mbèy yi$^7$ ze$^7$ch

**gusano de mezcal**
mbèy tě nu^p

**gusano de palo de San Pablo**
mbèy tě yà tò

**gusano de resina**
ngwlâ dǒd

**gusano de (llagas de) burro**
mbèy tě lâz bǔrr

**gusano medidor**
mbèy nké go$^7$d

**gusano medidor**
mkë$^7$ go$^7$d

**gusano medidor**
ngwlâ nkë$^7$ go$^7$d

**gusano perrito, osito lanudo (book)**
mbèy skě

**gustar con ganas; querer**
-to$^7$ látyo$^7$

**güero**
wér

**haber**
-i$^7$b

**haber**
-yo^

**haber bastante, estar harto**
-d-ê wyâx

**haber, estar**
-b-ê

**haber; estar**

-yo^

**hablador**
ár to^ xàw

**hablador**
to^ xàw

**hablar escondido; susurrar**
-zá di$^{7}$zh xĕx

**hablar; decir**
-ni$^{7}$

**hace poco**
lë`th pól nàt

**hace poco**
ti$^{7}$ ndăk

**hace rato**
zhë^ la$^{7}$

**hacer**
-të^l

**hacer**
-ùn

**hacer el amor**
-kë´

**hacer limpia de milpa**
-un gòn yë`l

**hacer mentira, mentir**
-ùn yë´l ndĕz

**hacer purga**
-un púrrgá

**hacer rueda**
-yùn brèl

**hacer ruido, amenazar, regañar**
-kë$^{7}$ ngwe$^{7}$y

**hacer tortilla**
-kë$^{7}$ yë`th

**hacerle cosquilla**
-tzŭy

**hacerlo**
-úcha$^{7}$

**hacerlo**
-úná

**hacerlo**
-yùn

**hacerlo bolas, hacerlo tonto, engañarlo**
-ùn zìn

**hacerlo chino**
-yùn mbi$^{7}$ch

**hacerlo chiquito, enchiquecerlo**
-ùn tŭzh

**hacerlo llama**
-úxkwa$^{7}$ bë^l

**hacerlo llama**
-yùn bë^l

**hacerlo tonto**
-yùn zìn

**hacerse**
-ácha$^{7}$

**hacerse pelotas, hacerse voludo**
-yàk bŏl

**hacerse; servir**
-àk

**hacer(lo), construirlo, arreglarlo**
-úxkwa$^{7}$

**hacha**
yi$^{7}$b yà

**hacha americana**
yi$^{7}$b yà áméríkán

**hacha de escopla**
yi$^{7}$b yà skóp

**hamaca; cuna**
yîx to$^{7}$

**harina**
árín

**harto, bastante, mucho**
yá

**hasta ahora, hasta entonces**
wê lá

**hasta ahora, hasta entonces**
wê la$^{7}$

**hasta donde?**
pă tza$^{7}$

**hay nos vemos; hay nos encontramos**
bi$^{7}$ nzha$^{7}$l nhó

**Helena**
Lén

**Helena**
Lén

**hembra**
go^tz

**hemorragia**
yîzh mbe$^{7}$

**herida**
zê ndàw

**hermana de mujer**
bë̌ l

**hermana del monte (f, f)**
bë̌ l yìx

**hermana mayor (f, f)**
bë̌ l gǒx

**hermana mayor (f,f)**
bë̌ l wyǎk

**hermana menor (f, f)**
bë̌ l tǔzh

**hermanastro/a; medio hermano/a (m, f)**
bzàn wna$^7$

**hermana/o pol*tico, hermanastro/a, media-hermano/a, todos estos del otro sexo**
bzàn nd-yên

**hermano de hombre**
wìt

**hermano del compadre del hermano de uno (m m)**
swǐt mbál

**hermano del monte (m, m)**
wìt yìx

**hermano mayor**
bzàn gǒx

**hermano mayor (m, m)**
wìt gǒx

**hermano menor (m, m)**
wìt tǔzh

**hermano (m) del compadre (m)**
wìt mbál

**hermano/a de la comadre**
tzâ xmál

**hermano/a del monte (m, f)**
bzàn yìx

**hermano/a menor**
bzàn tǔzh

**hermano/a, compañero/a**
tzâ

**hernia**
bǒl ndyên xàn kìd mě̆n

**hernia**
ngùz ndyên mblâ ndo^ kìd mě̆n

**hernia debajo de la cintura**
bǒl xàn to^ la$^7$n

**herrero**
xa$^7$ nbo$^7$ to^ bárrét

**hervir**
-bíxla$^7$b

**hervir el pescuezo**
-ya$^7$b yèn

**hervirse**
-lya$^7$b

**hervirse, chillar la panza**
-la$^7$b

**hierba de muina, hierba de coraje**
là ta$^7$ xta$^7$n

**hierba de muina, hoja de vergúenza**
là tá xta$^7$n

**hierba de vergúenza**
là gò

**hierba mora, tomatillo**
là bîx xkê mbèk

**higuerilla, ´grillá (local)**
ngùz tě̆ yà gu^

**hija/o del padrino(/a); hermano/a del compadre del hermano de uno**
bzàn mbál

**hijo de en medio**
xìn tlǎ

**hijo de la comadre**
xìn xmál

**hijo del compadre**
xìn xmbál

**hijo del monte**
xìn na$^7$ xa$^7$

**hijo del monte**
xìn yìx

**hijo del monte del esposo de uno**
xìn yìx chë$^7$l

**hijo del monte, hijo del sancho, hijo del perro buncho**
mbë̌ z tě̆ mbèk búnch

**hijo del querido**
xìn xdo$^7$

**hijo legítimo**
xìn ga$^7$n

**hijo mayor**
xìn wyǎk

**hijo menor**
xìn tǔzh

**hijo/a**
xìn

**hijo/a del padrino**
xìn xùz mbál

**Hilaria**
Lǎy

**Hilario**
Lák

**hilo de cañuto**
do$^7$ káñút

**hilo; mecate**
do$^7$

**hinchazón**
yi$^7$n

**hinchazón debajo de la muela**
ba$^7$

**hinchazón debajo de la muela**
yî

**hígado**
lo^

**hoguera de perico, nido de perico**
bêx

**hoja**
là

**hoja amarga**
yìx là wlá

**hoja de aguacate**
là nîx

**hoja de aguacate que coma la gente**
là nîx ndà měn

**hoja de aguacate voludo**
là nîx bǒl

**hoja de albahaca**
là yi$^7$ bîd

**hoja de albahaca con ahuate**
là yi$^7$ bîd xo^l

**hoja de calentura**
là ta$^7$ xlë̌

**hoja de camarón**
là ndà go$^7$

**hoja de camote de cedilla**
là go^ kwì

**hoja de canela**
là nél

**hoja de caña aguatuda**
là nîth xo^l

**hoja de chepil en medio**
là yë$^7$z méd

**hoja de escoba de egalán, hoja de escoba de vara**
là tě yë´l yo$^7$b yà

**hoja de grilla**
là gu^

**hoja de manzana**
là róméd

**hoja de milpa aguatuda**
là yë`l xo^l

**hoja de papel**
lë̌ yìt

**hoja de platanar de cigarro**
là bdo$^7$ yë$^7$z

**hoja de platanar de espada**
là bdo$^7$ spád

**hoja de platanar espada**
là bdo$^7$ spád

**hoja de platanillo**
là ya$^7$t

**hoja de platanillo para tamal**
là bdo$^7$ bi$^7$b

**hoja de San Pablo**
là tò

**hoja de Santa María**
là sántá márí

**hoja de tabaco**
là yë^z là

**hoja de te limón**
là té límónh

**hoja de tomatillo (toda la planta)**
là bîx xkê mbèk

**hoja de vergúenza**
là zàn

**hoja de zacate de milpa, la rama seca de la milpa**
yîx là yë`l

**hoja enrollada (se ocupa para embudo)**
là ndyu^d

**hoja para espanta**
là zhêb

**hoja rota de platanar**
là bdo$^7$ mzya$^7$

**hoja verde**
là kë^

**hojas tiernitas, las plantas más tiernitas**
bèn ti$^7$tz

**hollín (de humo)**
yë`y

**hollos de la naríz**
pǒs yîd xè

**hombre(s)**
xa$^7$ byî

**hondo**
wàt

**hondura**
yë`l

**Hondura Oscura**
Yë`l Kwǎ

**hongo amarillo**
mbèy yǔp nzhìch

**hongo amarillo oloroso**
mběy zǐ

**hongo caca de burro**
mběy xkê bǔrr

**hongo cámara**
mběy kǎm

**hongo chino, hongo de cresta, cresta del gallo**
mběy che$^7$x

**hongo colorado**
mbèy yǔp në^

**hongo dañoso, hongo ilucionante (local), (book Cuacicitlal, Tzontecomananácatl)**
mběy xîn

**hongo de Castilla; hongo comestible**
mběy yúp

**hongo de gamusa, nanacate de gamusa**
mběy yîd yòb

**hongo de leche**
mběy léch

**hongo de ocote**
mběy yèd

**hongo de picante dañoso, nanacate picante**
mběy yi$^7$n wîn kê

**hongo lengua de vaca**
mběy lǔzh ngǒn

**hongo nanacate**
mběy

**hongo picante**
mběy yi$^7$n

**hongo venenoso**
mběy wîn ké

**hongo venenoso**
mbèy yǔp ye$^7$zh

**hora; cuando (rel.)**
gór

**horcón**
yà tzo$^7$

**horcón**
yà tzo^

**horcón (de en medio de la casa)**
yà tzo^ do$^7$ nì

**hormiga barrandera, arriera barrandera**
mtí bì

**hormiga de bajo el metate**
mtézí mtyên

**hormiga de carnisuelo**
mtézí mtyê

**hormiga de carnisuelo**
mtyê

**hormiga de palo**
mbyòb xlêy

**hormiga de palo**
mtyé yà

**hormiga roja**
mtézí

**hormiga roja**
mtê

**hormiguita roja, hormiga de carnisuelo, hormiga chiquitín**
mtyên

**horno de cal**

gǒr yǐ

**horno de ollas**
gǒr tě yêtz

**horno de pan**
gǒr pánh

**Hortensia**
Těntz

**hoy**
nàt

**hoy en cuatro días**
năl zdâp wìzh

**hoy en veinte días**
năl zgâl wìzh

**huamil, monte tierno**
yìx lâtz

**huapinole, cuapinole**
nzho^g

**huarache**
êd yîd

**huarache**
ndâb

**huarache de correa**
yë´l yîd kórré

**huarache de cuero**
yë´l yîd

**huarache (forma posesiva)**
xmbâd

**hueco**
blo^

**hueco**
pǒs

**hueco, agujero**
ye$^{7}$d

**huella**
răst tě mbăd ndâtz

**huella**
wéy

**huesero**
xa$^{7}$ nkë´ tìth

**hueso de en medio de la espalda**
tìth tlă tzo$^{7}$

**hueso de la barriga**
tìth lèn

**hueso de la mano**
tìth ya$^{7}$

**hueso de la nalga**
tìth xi$^{7}$n

**hueso de los dedos de la mano**
tìth nî ngǔtz ya$^{7}$

**hueso de rodilla**
tìth xîb

**hueso debajo de la barriga**
tìth xàn lèn

**hueso del muerto; craneo del difunto**
tìth tě gǎn

**hueso del pescuezo adelante**
tìth yèn ndo^

**hueso del pie**
tìth ndâtz

**hueso pegado a la espalda**
tìth lâz tzo$^{7}$

**hueso quemado; polvo que sale del hueso; color blanco como hueso quemado**
yǎ

**hueso roto**
tìth ngǒch

**hueso torcido; hueso doblado**
tìth mtíl yáth

**hueso unido de la pierna**
tìth nî xàn xò

**hueso unido de la rodilla**
tìth nî xîb

**hueso unido debajo de la barriga**
tìth nî xàn lèn

**hueso unido debajo de la barriga**
tìth nî xàn lèn

**hueso unido debajo del pie**
tìth nî xàn ndâtz

**huesos de la mano**
tìth ngǔtz ya$^{7}$

**huesos donde doblan**
tìth nî

**hueso; flaco**
tìth

**huevo**
ngu^

**huevo**
ngu^

**huevo del hombre; pene**
ngùz kwê xa$^{7}$ byî

**huevo frito**
ngu^ zë^

**huevos descompuestos**
ngu^ kwi$^{7}$

**huérfano**
pěnch

**huérfano**
wzya$^{7}$b

**huisache, carnisuelo (local),**
yǐch zâ

**huizache**
wísách

**hule; charpe; tirapiedra**
úl

**humador**
yêtz yî

**humedecerse**
-zha$^{7}$l go^p

**humillarse; rendirse**
-gu$^{7}$d lá tyo$^{7}$

**humo**
xla$^{7}$n

**humo**
zhěn

**hundirse**
-ya$^{7}$z wàt

**húmedo**
wgo$^{7}$p

**idioma, zapoteco (de Coatlán y Loxicha)**
di$^{7}$zh ke$^{7}$

**iglesia**
líb to$^{7}$

**iglesia**
lúb to$^{7}$ (CAN)

**Ignacio, Nacho**
nách

**ignorante, loco, tonto, zafado**
zìn

**igualarse**
-yàk íwál

**iguana**
wàch

**iguana de rayo**
wàch tě ngwzi$^{7}$

**iguana (verde)**
wàch yë`l

**iguana-escorpión**
wàch yèx

**importarle; juzgarlo**
-yo^ xí lë`d

**importarse, interesarse, juzgarse**
-yo^ xé lë`d

**incensor, incienso, candilero**
btzîn

**incensor, incienso, candilero, borcelana**
të^g

**incienso, incensor**
të^g ndyo^ bku$^{7}$

**Inés**
Něx

**infierno**
ndo^ bku$^{7}$

**inflamación del pescuezo, anginas (una bola hinchado en el pescuezo)**
warěch

**iniciar**
-b-èk ndâtz

**iniciar**
-zo^ ndâtz

**iniciar**
-zo^ xàn

**insultarlo, ofenderlo; amenazarlo; faltar respeto**
-ú zha$^{7}$ di$^{7}$zh

**inteligente**
wyi$^{7}$x nzhâ

**intestino delgado de la barriga**
tzi$^{7}$ wlàtz lèn měn

**intestino delgado, tripa delgada**
tzi$^{7}$ wlàtz

**intestino grueso de la barriga**
tzi$^{7}$ wzàn lèn

**intestino grueso, intestino mayor**
tzi$^{7}$ wzàn

**intestino, tripa**
tzi$^7$

**invitarlo**
-te$^7$

**ir al baño**
-â tzo$^7$ nì

**Irineo**
Néw

**irse**
-yâ

**ir; andar**
-â

**Isabel**
Běl

**Isaias**
Cháy

**Isaias**
Cháyí

**Isaias**
sǎ

**Isaías**
sâǐ

**Isidro**
sǐd

**ixcatón**
ngwlâ

**ixcatón de algodón**
ngwlâ xi$^7$l

**ixcatón, xcatón**
wlâ

**ixtle**
yèzh

**izquierda, a la izquierda**
rébés (COA)

**ídolo**
bchân

**jabón**
yà xtíl

**jabón de olor**
yá xtíl wxe$^7$

**jabón de olor**
yá xtíl wxîz

**jabón polvo de fab**
yà xtíl dî fáb

**jabón que se lava la ropa**
yà xtíl ndyàt lâd

**Jacinto**
Chínt

**jalar**
-b-ê

**jalar**
-g-òb

**jalar agua**
-g-òb nîtz

**jalar el tufo, jalar el oler**
-àxla$^7$

**jalar los mocos de la nariz**
-g-òb xè

**jalar tufo, oler tufo**
-àth xla$^7$

**jalarse el agua**
-yo$^7$b nîtz

**jambado, comelón**
ár wlë̌

**Jamín**
Mǐnh

**javalí**
kǔch mbèw

**javalí**
mbèw

**javalín**
gǔch mbèw

**Javier**
Jábyěrr

**Javier**
Jáví

**jefe**
xa$^7$ wzàn

**jémen**
go$^7$d

**jicalpextle; bule**
xë^th

**jijén**
mbyǔx

**jijén, jején**
mbyǔx

**jícama**
xgàm

**jícara**
xì

**jornalero**
xa$^7$ ti$^7$n gòn

**José**
sé

**José**
xĕb

**joven, persona joven**
ár bèn

**Juael**
Jwĕl

**Juan**
Jwánh

**Juana**
Xwán

**juego de la boca**
bît nd-yên to^

**juego de la lengua**
bît nd-yên xàn lŭzh

**jueves**
jwébs

**jugarlo**
-y-ìth nà

**Julia**
Jŭl

**Juliana**
Jŭl

**juntarlo, pegarlo, unirlo**
-chë$^7$l

**Junto**
júnt

**junto**
wâtz

**junto a, cerca, alrededor**
wâtz

**kilo**
kíl

**la bolsa de caca de venado**
yîd xkê mzhîn

**la casa del santo; fiesta**
lìd mbdo$^7$

**la casa que está arriba**
nì nzho$^7$b ga$^7$p

**la cáscara de la almendra dentro del coquito; la cáscara de afuera del coquito**
xò tĕ ngùz ga$^7$

**la comida**
stzi$^7$l

**La crucera; El manzanar (carretera que va para San Miguel o desviación a San Miguel)**
làt tĕ zi$^7$n

**la cumbre de un cerro**
do$^7$ yè

**la del pie, en medio del pie, palma del pie**
tlă mbăd ndâtz

**la entrada del camino que va para Cerro Sabroso**
nêz nzyèn nzyá pár yè wĭx

**la fiesta de cuarto viernes (de la cuaresma)**
fyĕst tĕ byĕr dâp

**la gente que último nace, chehuizle (slang when applied to people)**
chu$^7$d

**la juntura del río Sta. Ursula**
nzha$^7$l nîtz yu$^7$ sánt túrrs

**la lengua de la verija**
lŭzh yîd kwê

**la limpia (de la milpa)**
gòn yë`l

**la madera del rifle**
káj tĕ yi$^7$b

**la mata de caña blanca**
xàn nîth n-gŭd

**la mitad**
gâ tla$^7$

**la mitad del pueblo, medio pueblo**
gá tla$^7$ yêzh

**la muñeca**
nî tĕ mbăd ya$^7$

**la orilla de la ventana; por la ventana; enfrente de la ventana**
to^ béntán

**la orilla del anafre**
to^ yí tî yi$^7$b

**la orilla del Arroyo Egarechal**
to^ à tìzh

**la orilla del pozo de barro**
to^ pŏs yu^ wi$^7$d

**la orilla del río**
to^ yu$^7$

**la planta del pie, el plano del pie**
mbǎd ndâtz

**la punta de la aguja**
ndo^ yà új

**la punta de la guía de calabaza**
ndo^ lùt tzèth

**la punta del dedo**
ndo^ ngǔtz ya$^7$

**La Reforma (una agencia de Sta. Catarina que antes pertenecía a San Baltazar)**
Lá be$^7$

**la subida del mirador, el mirador**
nzo^ kë` yí zo$^7$

**la tarde**
wzhî

**La Ubicación San Juan**
gòx sánh jwánh

**la vena debajo de la barriga**
yìb xàn lèn

**la yacua (cáscara) de platanar**
làtz

**la zanja de la nalga**
bèch xi$^7$n

**labio, cuero de la boca**
yîd to^

**Ladislau**
Láy

**ladrar; aullar**
-xî

**ladrillo**
ládrí

**lagartija**
mbǐl

**lagartija**
wàch

**lagartija de rayo**
wàch mbǐl

**lagartija resbalosa, lagartija de baba**
mbǐl to$^7$l

**lagartija sereta**
wàch sérět

**lamear**
-álê

**lana**
yìch bórrěg

**langosta, chapulín comestible**
mbît tzo^

**largo**
ko$^7$l

**largo**
no$^7$l

**las rayas de la mano**
ráy tě mbǎd ya$^7$

**lastimado; herida**
mbwi$^7$

**lastimarlo**
-kwǎn

**lastimarse, quedarse herido**
-wi$^7$

**lata**
lát

**latida de corazón**
ti$^7$tz

**Latihueche (un rancho)**
xwe$^7$z

**Latixute**
làt chu$^7$t

**lavadero, piedra de lavar ropa**
yî ndyàt lâd

**lavarlo**
-zàt

**lavarlo, lavarse**
-na$^7$

**lavarse**
-yàt

**lazar**
-g-o do$^7$

**lágrimas**
nîtz ngùz ndo^

**la(s) vuelta(s) del camino nuevo**
nzó nka$^7$n nêz kúb

**Lázaro**
Lǎch

**Lázaro; Herasto**
Láx

**Lázaro, Nicolás, Erasto**
Láx (CAN)

**leche**
zhi$^{7}$

**leche de mujer**
léch tě xa$^{7}$ go^tz

**leche de palo, estítico de palo**
xu^p tě yà

**leche de palo; leche de sapo**
xu^p

**lechuza**
mbzhǎzh

**lechuza**
mwi($^{7}$)k

**lechuza, buho**
xo^z yà

**lejos**
zîth

**lengua**
lǔzh

**lengua de león**
lǔzh mbi$^{7}$zh

**lengua de vaca (planta)**
yà bîzh

**leñar, traer leña**
-â gú yà

**Leobardo**
Yǒb

**Leocadia**
Lěw

**Leodegario**
Lěw

**leoncillo**
mísélǒt

**leoncillo; tigrillo, micelote (local) ocelote (standard)**
mbi$^{7}$zh bǐx

**Leoncio**
Leóntz

**Leonilo**
Nǐl

**León**
Mbi$^{7}$zh

**león, puma**
mbi$^{7}$zh

**levantarlo**
-xìstê

**levantarse**
-ástê

**licsensiado**
lìksensyado

**liebre**
lóx

**liebre**
mbêl yè mlàn

**liendre, piojillo, ladilla**
mtyë^ dî

**lima de castilla**
lím

**lima limón**
lím límónh

**limar**
yà lím

**limatón**
límátónh

**limosna, ofrenda**
go^n

**limón**
límún

**limpiarse**
-zo^ mbî

**limpiarse**
-zyó mbî

**limpiar, asearlo**
-tzó mbî

**limpio**
mbî

**lindero**
bzë$^{7}$ yu^

**liso**
wzhîzh

**liso**
xu$^{7}$b

**liso; cueste, polvoso**
làn

**liviano**
wxàx

**llaga, juego de la boca, granito que se encone**
ye$^{7}$zh

**llamar el espíritu**
-b-ezh xbì

**llamarse; nombrarse**
-zo^ lë^

**llamar; gritar**
-b-èzh

**llama, antorcha, lumbre**
bë^l

**Llano Aguacate, Arroyo Aguacate, El Aguacate**
làt ta$^7$ nîx

**Llano Gordoníz**
to^ lát bîch

**Llano Grande**
Làt Yǒ

**Llano Santa Ursula**
làt sántúrrs

**llano, parejo**
kwa$^7$

**llano, valle, plano**
làt

**llave**
yáb

**llegar**
-lánzhá

**llegar**
-lâ

**llegar; venir**
-ye$^7$d

**llenarse**
-zhë`

**lleno**
zhë´

**llevarlo**
-yo$^7$

**llevarlo; cargarlo, traer**
-o$^7$

**llevarselo el río**
-lyâw

**llorar**
-o$^7$n

**llorón**
wi$^7$n

**llorón**
yë´l wi$^7$n

**llover**
-lâ yì

**llovizna**
yí xo^l

**lluvia**
yì

**lo dulce del coquito**
ngùz ga$^7$ wtî

**lo negro del ojo**
xgǎtz tě ngùz ndo^

**lodo**
yu^ làn

**Lola, Aurora**
Lǒl

**loma**
gòx

**loma del copal**
gòx á yë$^7$l

**loma donde hay palo de copal**
gòx yà yë$^7$l

**loma larga**
Yè no$^7$l

**lombriz de gallina**
ngězh tě ngǐd

**lombriz de lodo, lombriz de tierra**
ngězh yu^ làn

**lombriz de marrano**
ngězh tě kǔch

**lombríz**
ngězh

**lombríz de la gente**
mbë$^7$l nzhò lídyo$^7$-m´

**lombríz de la tierra**
mbë$^7$l lód

**lombríz de la tierra/lodo**
mbèy yu^ (làn)

**lombríz del estómago**
ngězh

**loquearse, empezar a pelear**
-ké lók

**Lorenzo**
Lěnch

**Lorenzo**
Lǒr

**loro**
lǒr

**Los Cuatro Cerros**
dâp yè

**los cuatro puntos cardinales del aire**
dâp ya$^7$ nêz (tě) ndo^ mbì

**los dientes de perros**
yîd ndë`y mbèk

**los pelos de atrás del pescuezo del burro**
yìch tzo$^7$ yèn bǔrr

**los pelos de la boca del gato**
yìch to^ b**ǐ**ch

**los pelos del ojo del cienpie**
yìch ndo^ yà g**ǎ**l

**los Santos Reyes**
réy

**lucero flojo**
mbë^l flój

**lucero siete**
mbë^l mbyë´zh

**lucérnaga**
mkóz

**Luciano; Feliciano**
Chán

**luciera siete**
mbë^l gât

**lugar**
zê

**lugar adonde la gallina pone**
yë^ t**ě** ng**ǐ**d

**lugar caliente**
zê wzhë^

**lugar frío**
zê kwàl

**lugar lejano**
zê zîth

**Luisa**
Lw**ǐ**s

**lumbrar**
-lu$^7$ xë$^7$

**lumbre, brasa**
bku$^7$

**luna creciente; la luna está al centro**
wîtha$^7$ mbe$^7$

**luna del río**
ngi$^7$ch lèn nîtz

**luna llena**
mbe$^7$ yén

**luna menguante**
nzhòb mbe$^7$ lèn nîtz

**lunar**
ta$^7$ wzhë$^7$

**lunar**
xgàn

**luna; mes**
mbe$^7$

**lunes**
lúntz

**Luteria**
Téy

**luz de vela**
xë$^7$ sérr

**Macario**
mák**ǎ**rr

**machete**
máchét

**maciso; duro**
wyë^l

**macizo, forzada**
wa$^7$n

**macuil**
yà yë$^7$l

**madera dura**
yà wyë^l

**madrastra**
xnà wna$^7$

**madrina**
xna$^7$ mbál

**madrina vieja, madre del padrino, madre de la madrina**
xna$^7$ mbâl g**ǒ**x

**madurarlo**
-g-óyë^

**madurarse**
-áyë^

**maduro**
ngú yë^

**maestro**
m**ě**xt

**maestro de escuela**
m**ě**xt t**ě** mbzhë^ skwél

**maestro de obras**
m**ě**xt t**ě** nì

**magalla de camarón reculador**
ya$^7$ ka$^7$

**magalla (de chacal)**
ya$^7$ ngyá lòd

**Magdalena**
Lén

**Mago**
mág

**maguey**
d**ǒ**b

**maguey de ixtle**
dǒb tě yèzh

**maguey de lumbre**
dǒb yî

**maguey de mezcal**
dǒb tě nu^p

**maguey de piña**
dǒb bxi$^{7}$zh

**maguey de piñuela (de ratón)**
dǒb tě bxi$^{7}$zh né bè

**maguey de tlacuache (BAL), palo de tlacuache (CAN)**
dǒb nděz

**maguey de tuna, órgano**
dǒb tě tún

**maguey del monte**
dǒb yìx

**maguey del pulque**
dǒb tě pǔlk

**maguey sacar ixtle**
dǒb yèzh

**maguey voludo**
dǒb la$^{7}$

**magueyito**
dǒb tě tìl

**maguey(ito) (local), (book izole, palmita)**
yà wèd

**magulladura (dic.) mallugadura (local);**

**frondoso**
xyë^

**maiz reventado**
nîl ti$^{7}$ch

**maíz**
nzhǒp

**maíz coyuche**
nzhǒp ngǎch

**maíz hueso**
nzhǒp btîth

**maíz para sembrar**
nzhǒp bnì

**maíz pinto**
nzhǒp pínt

**maíz rojo**
nzhǒp nê

**mal de corazón**
yë´l yîzh tě lá tyo$^{7}$

**mal de ojo**
yîzh ngùz ndo^

**mal de ojo**
yë´l yîzh ngùz ndo^

**mal de orina**
mbyi$^{7}$k

**mal de orina con sangre**
mbyi$^{7}$k tèn

**mala hierba**
mxo^z yë$^{7}$l

**malacate**
yà bgo^tz

**malacate**
yà bòtz

**malacate**
yà bo^tz

**malacate (la flor)**
yà bòtz

**malamujer**
là xlêy

**malamujer**
xlêy

**malamujer, mano de tigre**
là xlêy

**malbarizco**
yìx là xnêz

**maldad**
yë´l wzá lë`d

**maldecir**
-g-ó dê

**mallugarlo (con piedra)**
-ka$^{7}$d yî

**mallugarse; machucar**
-ga$^{7}$d (yî)

**malparir, abortar**
-tìd xìn

**malpasarse de comida**
-tìd yân

**maluca**
yà mblǔk

**malvarisco**
yìx là xnêz

**malvarista**
yà ngǐch là xnêz

**mamacita, mi hija**

mǎ

**mamar**
-âd

**mamá**
nǎy

**mamey**
yë̌l

**mamey zapote, sanzapotec**
yë̌l yèzh

**mameyito, palo de algodón**
yà yàj

**mancha en la cara que se da por el antojo de comer panal**
mbgu$^7$t

**mandado**
làth yêzh

**mandarlo**
-ni$^7$ be$^7$y

**mandar, disponer, ordernar**
-ní be$^7$y

**mandar, enviar**
-tu$^7$b

**mangal**
yà mánh

**mango**
mǎnh

**mango**
mánh

**mano derecha**
ya$^7$ ga$^7$l

**mano izquierda**
ya$^7$ ískyérdá

**mano mocho**
ya$^7$ móch

**manteca, grasa, cebo**
zë^

**manzanilla**
mántzání

**manzanillo**
là mántzání

**mañana**
yë$^7$

**mapache**
(mbë`z) nzón

**maravilla**
ye$^7$ márábí

**marca**
mǎrk

**marcar**
-g-ó yi$^7$b

**marcarlo**
-zǒbyë`z

**marcarse**
-zǒbyë`z

**Marcel**
Chěl

**Marcelina**
Ché

**Marcelo**
Máršěl

**marchitado**
mbya$^7$t

**Marcos**
Mǎrk

**marco, base de muestra, molde**
mǎrrk tě yètz

**marearse**
-zùd yèk

**Margarita**
Lìt$^7$

**marido**
mě byî

**marijuana**
máríwán

**mariposa**
mbe$^7$

**mariposa que se pega a la luz en la noche, clase mariposa peluda**
mxe$^7$

**mariposita**
mtí yîx

**mariuela**
mbi n-gatz

**María**
Lǐ

**María**
Márǐ

**marrano que tiene grano, marrano picado**
kǔch bît

**marruvia**
márrúbyá

**Marta**

Mǎrt

**Marta**
mǎt

**martes**
mǎrt

**Martín pescador**
mbyìn to^ yu$^7$

**marto**
mbi$^7$zh kwí

**marto, leoncito, micelote**
kwí

**mar, agua del mar**
nîtz do$^7$

**masa cruda**
ko$^7$b kë^

**masa de elote tierno**
ko$^7$b tě nzë^ bèn

**masa de la nariz**
ko$^7$b yîd xè

**masa de pozole**
ko$^7$b ndò měn

**masa de pozole reventado**
ko$^7$b tě nîl yâch

**masa, COA atole**
ko$^7$b

**mascar, masticar**
-áto^

**mata de caña roja**
xàn nîth nê

**mata de flor de cartucho**
xàn yi$^7$ kártúch

**mata de flor de gladiola**
xàn yi$^7$ gládyól

**mata de flor de margarita**
xàn yi$^7$ márgárít

**mata de flor de nube**
xàn yi$^7$ núbé

**mata de hoja de flor de niño**
xàn là tě yi$^7$ mbë̌ z

**matamoscas**
ta$^7$ ndùth ngë̌ g

**matar**
-ùth

**mata; abajo**
xàn

**Matilde**
mátíl

**Matilde; Domitilo**
Tíl

**Matías**
mátǐ

**matrimonio**
yál chí lya$^7$

**Maximo**
mák

**maya de hamaca (pozitos de la red)**
mbê tě yîx to$^7$

**mayor**
wyǎk

**mayor de cocina**
máyórsín

**mayor de vara**
máyór tě mbzhë^ xyà

**mazorca**
nîz

**mazorca de maíz coyuche**
nîz nzhǒp ngǎch

**mazorca de maíz hueso**
nîz btîth

**mazorca de maíz negro**
nîz nzhǒp n-gǎtz

**mazorca deshojada**
nîz mtyu^b

**mazorca pinta negra**
nîz máyzónh pínt n-gǎtz

**mazorca roja**
nîz nê

**más al ratito**
stu$^7$x ta$^7$

**más al rato, al rato, ahorita**
sndë$^7$p tza$^7$

**más allá**
bâ xa$^7$

**más allá**
más lád bâ xa$^7$

**más menor; menor de edad; menos años**
lâ li$^7$n

**máscara**
xò yë^

**máscara; cáscara, concha; plástico duro; duro; casco, uña**
xò

**máscara(s); disfrazados**
mbgǒl xò

**me ngǐch (P), patas de cabello (L)**
ngǐch

**mecapal**
do$^7$ kwë$^7$

**mecapal**
do$^7$ wa$^7$n

**mecapal**
kwë$^7$

**mecate de ixtle**
do$^7$ yèzh

**mecate torcido de ixtle**
do$^7$ yèzh

**mecerlo, menearlo, moverlo**
-kwîn

**medianoche**
go^ tla$^7$ të$^7$l

**medicina**
ta$^7$ rréméd

**medio-cocido y medio-crudo**
nda$^7$z mbë`z´

**mediodía**
ówìzh ta$^7$

**mediodía**
ú wìzh ta$^7$

**medir**
-bìx

**medirlo**
-ti$^7$x

**Melquiades**
mélkyǎd

**memela de elote**
mél zë^

**mentira, mentiroso, engañoso**
yë´l kwi$^7$n

**mentiroso, mentira**
kwi$^7$n

**mentir, hacer mentira**
-ùn yë´l kwi$^7$n

**mentón; quijada**
xàn to^

**menudo**
ménúd

**mercancía**
ta$^7$ ndyò

**Mercedes**
Ché

**Mercedes**
Chéd

**mes de lluvia, tiempo de lluvia**
mbe$^7$ tě yì

**metate**
yǐch

**meterlo**
-g-ó tê

**meterlo**
-tékò

**meterlo**
-tíkò

**meterse**
-yútê

**metlapil**
yî zàb

**metlapíl, mano de metate**
yê zàb

**mezcal**
nîtz tě mě gù

**mezcal**
nu^p

**mezcal del monte (local), (book agave asperrím**
yà gǔch

**mezclarse, revolverse, amasar, desolver**
-gòch

**mezquino**
yùnh

**mezquino, negón**
wxǐn

**mezquino, un hongo que se nace por las manos o por los pies**
yǒnh

**Miahuatlán**
Làt yêzh do$^7$

**Miahuatlán**
xbî

**Miahuatlán**
Yêzhdo$^7$

**Miahuatlán; la plaza, el mercado, tianguis**
xyè

**miedo**
wîj

**miedo, susto**
mzhêb

**miel**
mzhìn

**miel de caña**
mzhìn nîth

**miel de enjambre**
mbzhìn do$^7$

**mierda**
yì

**mierda, caca**
xkê

**miércoles**
myěrrk

**Miguel**
mbyél

**Miguel**
Myèl

**Miguel**
Síkél

**mil**
ti$^7$ áyo$^7$

**milpa**
ña$^7$

**milpa**
yë`l

**milpa de elote**
ña$^7$ tě nzë^

**milpa de hoja de elote**
ña$^7$ tě là nzë^

**miltomate**
bîx lìd

**miltomate**
bîx lìt (CAN)

**mira!**
na$^7$j

**mismo**
bélë$^7$

**mismo**
yu^

**mismo, mero, igual**
lë$^7$tha$^7$

**míspero**
ndoy$^7$

**mocho**
xàn yà

**mocho chiquito, estaca, palo mocho**
yà bto$^7$

**moco**
mǒk

**moco; caracol**
xngë$^7$

**Modesto**
Mǒch

**modo, estilo**
mód

**mojado**
kwàzh

**mojarlo, regar**
-gàzh

**mojarse**
-âzh

**molcajete, chilmolera, plato borcelana**
yèn be$^7$x

**mole negro**
mól n-gǎtz

**mole rojo**
mól nê

**molerlo**
-òj

**molerse**
-yo^j

**molinito de mano**
mólín ya$^7$

**molleja**
xe$^7$n

**molleja de gallina**
móyéj tě ngǐd

**moneda**
tmî

**mono, chango**
máchính

**montaña**
yìx ngú gàl

**montaña, monte cerrado**
yìx kwân

**montarlo, sentarlo, ponerlo**
-zǒb

**montarse; sentarse; estar sentado; estar**

**puesto**
-zǒb

**monte**
yìx

**monte aguatudo**
yìx xo^l

**monte costoche**
byo^n tě mbë`z

**monte de malvarisco**
yìx làx nêz

**monte ejote**
yìx ye$^7$ yë$^7$z

**morderlo**
-ákë^

**morir**
-âth

**mosca**
ngë̌

**mosca grande**
ngë̌ yìch

**mosca grande, moscón**
ngë̌ g

**moscón**
ngë̌ yi$^7$b

**moscón verde**
ngë̌ g ndyë^

**mosquito**
mbî

**mostrador, aparador**
yà nâ nzho$^7$b ta$^7$n nâ ndyò ndo^

**moverse, temblar**
-wîn

**movimiento del pulso**
tíj

**mucha gente, comunidad, común**
làw

**mucha guerra, quita tiempo, una cosa que cuesta trabajo para solucionar**
kwe$^7$th

**mucha sombra**
wto$^7$b xgǎl

**muchacha**
mbzha$^7$

**muchachos**
mbzhë^

**muchachos danzantes con cabeza de pluma**
mzhë^ datzánt yèk du$^7$b

**muchacho, joven**
mbyo^

**muchacho; soltero**
mzhë^ bèn

**mucho**
lu^zh

**mucho**
wyâx

**mucho**
yápa$^7$

**mucho humo**
yá pa$^7$ zhěn

**muda de ropa**
nêz lâd

**muela, diente molar**
ndë`y yǐch

**muerte, mortandaed**
yë´l gu^th

**muestramuerte**
mbêz wàn

**muestranene**
nzhě

**mugre**
mbíl

**muina**
xta$^7$n

**mujer**
xa$^7$ go^tz

**mujer podrida**
mě go^tz go$^7$zh

**mujer vieja**
mě go^tz gǒx

**mujeriego**
wdí xò

**muletas; estaca para sembrar**
yà gâ

**muleta, bastón**
yà bástónh

**mundo; cielo**
yêzh lu^

**municipio, casa comunal**
nì làw

**murciélago**
gǐd zìn

**murciélago**
ngí zìn

**muy**
lǒ

**muy**
lúzh

**muy bueno**
bwén lǒ

**muy noche**
yá pa$^{7}$ të$^{7}$l

**muy; potente, hermosa, maciza, grande**
brút

**música, tocada de música**
dî

**nacer**
-ǎl

**nacer [plantas, granitos]**
-lên

**nada de eso**
ña$^{7}$n xé ta$^{7}$

**nadar**
nǐth

**nadar**
-xo$^{7}$b nîtz

**nadar**
-xo$^{7}$b nîtz

**nagua**
rójwá

**nagua corta**
rójwá bxu^b

**nagua floreada**
chúf né là yi$^{7}$

**nagua larga**
chúf né ko$^{7}$l

**nagua larga**
rójwá ko$^{7}$l

**nagua (local), enaguas (standard)**
chúfné

**nagual**
xa$^{7}$ yîzh lu^

**nailo**
náylâ

**nalga; culo**
xi$^{7}$n

**nanche**
nzhǎch

**nanche amarillo**
yà nzhǎch nzhìch

**nanche rojo**
yà nzhǎch nê

**naranja**
náránhj

**naranja de caldo**
náránhj kált

**naranjal**
yà nárǎnhj

**nardo**
là yi$^{7}$ nárdó

**nariz**
xè

**Natalia**
Nátál

**nativo del pueblo**
gúlâzh

**neblina; mojo**
mbè

**negarlo**
-kâ

**negarlo**
-xǐn

**negarse**
-yén

**negón, persona negativa**
wyén

**negro**
n-gǎtz

**negro bajo**
ya$^{7}$tz

**nene**
mbë̌ z

**nene al punto de nacer**
mbë̌ z bèn

**nene chiquito de la cuna**
mbë̌ z do$^{7}$

**Nestor; Ernesto; Inez**
Néch

**Nicasio/a**
Ník

**Nicolás**
Lǎx

**Nicolás**
Lǎx

**nido**

la$^7$z

**nieto; bisnieto**
xìn xo^tz

**nieto/a**
xìn xòtz

**nigua**
níw

**nihua**
nîw

**Nilo**
Nǐl

**ninguno**
ní du^b-é

**niño difunto, niño finado**
mbë̌z gǎn

**nixtamal**
nîl

**nixtamal de pozole**
nîl ko$^7$b

**no**
ná

**no hay, no está, no, nothing**
ña$^7$n

**no se acuerda**
ná zë´ látyo$^7$

**Noberto**
Kóp

**noche**
të$^7$l

**noche oscura**
të$^7$l kwǎ

**nombre**
lë^

**nominalizador**
yë´l

**nopal**
yÒj

**nopal**
yö`j

**nopal de tuna, órgano**
yàj tě tún

**nopal grande**
yö`j zi$^7$l

**nopalito chiquito**
yöj tǔzh

**nopalito con ahuate**
yàj xo^l

**nopalito de Castilla**
yàj nda$^7$z

**nopal, nopal montés**
yàj

**nosotros**
nhó

**nosotros (exclusivo)**
sâ

**novena(s) de difunto**
lèy tě gǎn

**noveno**
wyë$^7$

**novillo**
nóbí

**nube**
xkwǎ

**nuca, atrás del pescuezo**
tzo$^7$ yèn

**nudo**
bgo^

**nudo**
bo^

**nudo aflojo**
bo^ wlë$^7$

**nudo corrido**
bo^ nxo$^7$n

**nudo que no corre; nudo macizo**
bo^ chǎnhk

**nudo suelto**
bo^ ndyë$^7$

**nudo suelto, nudo facil**
bo^ ntzi$^7$

**nuera**
nhwxîx

**nuera**
xìn xi$^7$x

**nuera**
xìn xîx

**nueve**
yë$^7$

**nuevo**
kúb

**Oaxaca de Juárez**
Lǎ

**Obdulia**
Dul

**ocho**
xo$^7$n

**ocote**
yèd

**ocote**
yèt$^7$

**ocote blanco**
yèd n-gŭd

**ocote piño chiquito**
yà yèt bxĭ tŭzh

**Ocotlán**
Làt Tzo$^7$

**octavo**
wxo$^7$n

**oculto, escondido**
xĕx

**odiarlo; dolerse el corazón**
-yàw látyo$^7$

**ofrecer rosario; rezar**
-b-o$^7$ lë`y

**oído; oreja**
nzhâ

**oír**
-yên

**ojo**
ngùz ndo^

**ojo ahumado o manchado, ciego**
ngùz ndo^ lĕ

**ojo biche, ojo brillante**
ngùz ndo^ bích

**ojo cerrado**
yîd ndo^ nzĭn

**ojo malo, ojo bizco**
ngùz ndo^ chá

**ojo negro**
ngùz ndo^ n-gătz

**ojo visco**
ngùz ndo^ nzĭn

**ojos chuecos**
ngùz ndo^ ka$^7$n

**ojos de vidrio, ojos biches**
ngùz ndo^ bídryó

**ojos verdes**
ngùz ndo^ ndyë^

**ojos viscos**
ngùz ndo^ chá

**ola del mar**
ndyìth nîtz do$^7$

**olán; alforza**
ti$^7$ch

**olerlo**
-năb xè

**olerse**
-ya$^7$

**oler(lo)**
-áxla$^7$

**Olivia**
Lĭb

**olla**
yêtz

**olla con argollas, jarro con gasa**
yêtz xwa$^7$n

**olla con asa**
yêtz wa$^7$n

**olla de barro**
yêtz yu^

**olla de café**
yêtz káfé

**olla de nixtamal**
yêtz nîl

**olla que ponen en palos de orqueta, olla para agua**
yêtz nzyŏb ndo^ yà xo^z

**ollero, alfarero**
xa$^7$ ndúx kwa$^7$ yêtz

**olor**
xla$^7$

**olor a xuquía (huevos crudos)**
wlân

**olote**
ya$^7$n

**olvidado**
lë`d kwă

**olvidarse/lo (el corazón)**
-bì lá tyo$^7$

**ombligo**
kìd

**omblígo**
ndo^ kìd

**once**
ti$^7$bdyu^b

**ordeñar**
-b-o$^7$ léch

**oreja, oído**

yîd nzhâ

**orilla del fugón, orilla del brazero**
to^ yí tî

**orina**
nêtz

**orina**
xnêtz

**orinar**
-nêtz

**orqueta**
xo^z

**orqueta de charpe**
yà tě gúl

**Oscar**
Ók

**oscurecer**
-lâ të$^7$l

**oscuridad; noche oscura**
kwǎ ngwxîn

**oscuro**
kwǎ

**otate**
lòd yǐch

**otate**
yà xìl yǐch

**Otilio**
ǐl

**otra casa**
stúb nì

**otra parte**
stúb zê

**otro**
stúb

**otro poquito**
stu$^7$ ché

**otro ratito, otro poquito de tiempo**
stu$^7$ cha$^7$ górr

**otro/a**
xa$^7$k

**oye!, oiga!**
éy

**órgano**
yàj yìx

**órgano de pitahaya**
yàj tě pítáy

**órgano, nopalito de monte**
yàj yìx

**Pablo**
Báb

**Pablo**
páb

**paciuarse, tener paz con su amigo**
-lêy

**padre**
tǎt$^7$

**padre; papá**
xùz

**padrino**
tǎt$^7$ mbál

**padrino**
xùz mbál

**padrino de casamiento**
xùz mbál yál chílya$^7$

**padrino viejo; padre del padrino**
xùz mbál gǒx

**pagar (dinero)**
-kìx

**pagarse**
-yâx

**pajaro cherihuizo, chehuiro, chehuizo**
chéwíz

**pajaro cherihuizo, chehuiro, chehuizo**
wíz

**pala**
yî bòn

**palabra**
di$^7$zh

**palabra al revés**
di$^7$zh ka$^7$n

**palabra de chistes**
di$^7$zh yë´l wyìth

**palabra de los ancianos; palabra de los antepasados**
di$^7$zh tě xa$^7$ gǒx

**palabra de pensamiento**
di$^7$zh yë´l ndyên

**palabra de risa**
di$^7$zh yë´l xîd

**palabra dulce**
di$^7$zh wtî

**palabra fea**
di$^7$zh mǎch

**palabra fija, palabra recto, palabra directa, palabra derecho, palabra legal, palabra firme**
di$^7$zh ga$^7$l

**paladar blandito**
tîn

**pala, tarecua**
yí bòn

**palillo de la caja**
yà ndo$^7$l xa$^7$ káj

**palillo para sacar cosas del diente**
yà ngǐch kǒn ta$^7$n ndë`y

**palma**
yà yîn

**palma**
yîn

**palma bendita**
yîn lèy

**palma de coquito**
yà yîn ga$^7$

**palma de coyul, palma de coquito**
yà ga$^7$

**palma de la mano**
mbǎd ya$^7$

**palma de la mano**
yîd mbǎd ya$^7$

**palo blando, palo podrido**
yà gu$^7$d

**palo carnisuelo**
yà yìch wǎz

**palo chamizo**
yà zyî

**palo cinco**
yà gay$^7$

**palo con nudo**
yà xo^z

**palo copalar blanco**
yà ya$^7$l bě

**palo coquito**
yà xǐtzá

**palo cuadrado, palo labrado**
yà bíg

**palo cuapinol**
yà nzhu^

**palo de  guayaba**
yà nzhu$^7$

**palo de aguacate**
yà nîx

**palo de aguacate mantecoso**
yà nîx zu^d

**palo de aguacate voludo, palo de aguacate verde**
yà nîx bǒl

**palo de aguacatillo**
yà nîx bǐx

**palo de aguate voludo**
yà nîx bǒl

**palo de algodón**
yà xi$^7$l

**palo de algodón; mameyito**
yà yàj

**palo de anona**
yà xnèw

**palo de águila**
yà yë`lá

**palo de bambu**
yà bámbú

**palo de bejuco**
yà lùt

**palo de cacao**
yà nzóy

**palo de carnecuil**
yà btzya$^7$

**palo de carnecuil aguatudo**
yà btzya$^7$ xo^l

**palo de carnecuil chiquito**
yà btzya$^7$ bǐx

**palo de carrizo**
yà xìl

**palo de ceiba**
yà xèn

**palo de Cemposúchitl rojo**
yà yi$^7$ ze$^7$ch

**palo de Cempozúchitl blanco**
yà yi$^7$ bàn n-gǔd

**palo de chigole**
yà yi$^7$n nga$^7$x

**palo de chile canario**
yà yi$^{7}$n kánáryó

**palo de chile de agua**
yà yi$^{7}$n kë^ làt

**palo de chile de agua**
yà yi$^{7}$n yà làt

**palo de chile de palo**
yà yi$^{7}$n yà

**palo de chile, chilar**
yà yi$^{7}$n

**palo de chilito**
yà yi$^{7}$n chílít

**palo de chocolatillo, palo de hoja amarga**
yà wlá ti$^{7}$ch

**palo de ciruela**
yà nzhâd

**palo de ciruela buena**
yà nzhâd wén

**palo de ciruela colorada, palo de ciruela roja**
yà nzhâd né

**palo de ciruela de iguana**
yà nzhâd ně

**palo de ciruela de iguana**
yà nzhâd tě wàch

**palo de ciruela de ratón**
yà nzhâd tě mzìn

**palo de ciruela roja**
yà nzhâd nê

**palo de clavo**
yà kláb

**palo de cocharillo**
yà xu^

**palo de coco**
yà kók

**palo de conchuda**
yà nîx wǎw

**palo de copal, copalar**
yà ya$^{7}$l

**palo de coquito dulce, coyul**
yà ga$^{7}$

**palo de coquito, palo de coyul**
yà ga$^{7}$

**palo de cruz**
yà krús

**palo de cuachipil**
yà bîtz

**palo de cuachipil**
yà yë$^{7}$z zá bìtz

**palo de cuapinole**
yà nzho^g

**palo de egareche ancho**
yà tìzh gu$^{7}$

**palo de encino**
yà xu^

**palo de encino**
yà zě

**palo de escoba**
yà yîn lyo$^{7}$b

**palo de escoba de vara**
yà tě yál yo$^{7}$b

**palo de espina de carnisuela**
yà yǐch zâ

**palo de espina de diente de iguana**
yà yìch ndë`y wàch

**palo de espina de espanta**
yà yìch zhêb

**palo de espina grande**
yà yìch bòtz

**palo de esquinero (de la casa)**
yà nzhâ nì

**palo de flor de bugambilia**
yà yi$^{7}$ mbíl

**palo de flor de Cacahuanano**
yà yi$^{7}$ là btzyàk

**palo de flor de Cemposúchitl**
yà yi$^{7}$ ze$^{7}$ch

**palo de flor de Cristo**
yà yi$^{7}$ wày

**palo de flor de muerto; flor de manzana**
yà yi$^{7}$ ko$^{7}$b

**palo de flor de San Nicolás, florifundo**
yà yi$^{7}$ sán níkólás

**palo de flor morada**
yà ye$^{7}$ mórád

**palo de fruta**
yà ngùz

**palo de fruta fresca, árboles frutales**
yà ngùz xlë^

**palo de gaseta**
yà tzèdá

**palo de granada**
yà gránád

**palo de grillo**
yà gu^

**palo de guaje**
yà ndâ

**palo de guaje ahuatudo del monte**
yà ndâ tí xo^l yìx

**palo de guaje colorado del valle**
yà tĕ ndâ yĕ

**palo de guaje (general)**
yà tĕ ndá tî

**palo de guanabana**
yà tĕ wánáb

**palo de guanábana**
yà wánáb

**palo de hoja de malamujer**
yà là xlêy

**palo de hoja de San Pablo**
yà là tò

**palo de huisache**
yà wzách

**palo de huizache**
yà wísách

**palo de hule, macahuite**
yà yìt

**palo de humo**
yà ndăn

**palo de leche**
yà xu^p

**palo de lima de chiche**
yà lím chĭch

**palo de limón**
yà límún

**palo de lluvia**
yà yì

**palo de macuil**
yà btzíngĭl

**palo de maluca**
yà tĕ mblŭk

**palo de mamey**
yà yĕl

**palo de mamey**
yà yë`lá

**palo de mandimo**
yà mándím

**palo de mango corriente**
yà mánh kórryént

**palo de mango criollo**
yà mánh kryóy

**palo de mango manila**
yà mánh máníl

**palo de mango petacón**
yà mánh pétákónh

**palo de manzana**
yà mántzán

**palo de miltomate**
yà bîx lìt

**palo de míspero**
yà ndo$^{7}$y

**palo de nanche**
yà nănch

**palo de nanche**
yà nzhăch

**palo de naranja**
yà tĕ náránhj

**palo de naranja de caldo**
yà náránhj kált

**palo de ocote**
yà yèt

**palo de otate**
yà xìl

**palo de palma de coco**
yà yîn yà kók

**palo de papaya**
yà pápáy

**palo de papaya**
yà tĕ pápáy

**palo de pino de ocote**
yà yèd

**palo de piñón**
yà mbĭzh yà

**palo de pipa**
yà do$^{7}$ch

**palo de plátano de izle**
yà bdo$^{7}$ yèzh

**palo de sal**

yà tzèd

**palo de sanijuela**
yà lâch

**palo de santo**
yà ye$^{7}$ bàn

**palo de sanzapote**
yà yĕl yèzh

**palo de sidra**
yà sídr

**palo de sombra**
yà xgăl

**palo de tatil blanco**
yà la$^{7}$zh n-gŭd

**palo de tejocote**
yà mántzán bĭx

**palo de tetequillo rojo**
yà yi$^{7}$ ndë̆l

**palo de tetique**
yà ngól

**palo de tetique rojo**
yà ngól nê

**palo de tetiquillo rojo**
yà tê

**palo de toloache**
yà tĕ mĕ gu^

**palo de tomate rojo**
lùt bîx nê

**palo de topíl, topil de vara, vara de topíl**
yà xyà

**palo de tulipán, sardete**
yà yi$^{7}$ túlípánh

**palo de yaco**
yà làtz

**palo de yaco de toro**
yà làtz xi$^{7}$l yĕg

**palo de yacua amarilla**
yà lâtz xîl yë̆g

**palo de zapote**
yà ndâw

**palo de zapote**
yà ndö^w

**palo de zapote**
yà tĕ ndâw

**palo de (coquito de) corozo, palma real**
yà ga$^{7}$ go^

**palo de (fruta) de mango**
yà (ngùz) mánh

**palo del café/cafetal**
yà káfé

**palo encino de ejote**
yà xu^ yë$^{7}$z

**palo enredado, palo torcido; nudo de árbol**
yà byêk

**palo frijolilla**
yà za$^{7}$

**palo gancho**
yà xo^z

**palo garroble, palo de espina de garroble**
yà yìch zâ

**palo huanacazle**
yà ngîz

**palo hueco**
yà blo^

**palo hueco**
yà xò ngu^

**palo malcahuite**
yà yît

**palo mulato**
yë´l bĕ

**palo muy viejo (no se corta nunca, como en Sta. Ma. Tule)**
yà gŏx lu^zh

**palo pajarrobla**
yà ye$^{7}$ bno$^{7}$

**palo pelado**
yà mbĭl

**palo perdís**
yà zhój

**palo piñón**
yà ndîzh

**palo que ocupan los policías para medir a los muertos**
yà be$^{7}$y

**palo que usan para medir a los difuntos para escarbar las sepulturas**
yà bey$^{7}$

**palo rollizo**
yà ndyu^d

**palo tablón**
yà táblónh

**palo tierno; planta tierna**
yà bèn

**palo toronja**
yà tórónhj

**palo travesaño de la casa**
yà to^ nì

**palo yereche (=egareche)**
yà tèzh

**paloma**
pálǒm

**paloma azul**
pálǒm tě gó

**paloma barranquera**
pálǒm ngwla$^{7}$p

**paloma de ala blanca**
ngwla$^{7}$p

**palo, arbol, madera, leña**
yà

**pan serrano**
pánh yë`th

**panal**
mgu$^{7}$t

**panal**
yîx gu$^{7}$t

**panal de humo**
mgu$^{7}$t zhë̌ n

**panal de humo; avispa de humo**
mbgu$^{7}$t zhěn

**panal de tierra**
mbgu$^{7}$t bto$^{7}$

**panal de tierra**
mbgu$^{7}$t to$^{7}$

**panal de tierra**
mbgu$^{7}$t yu^

**panal (de avispa)**
mbgu$^{7}$t

**Panuncio**
tǔnch

**panzón**
měn lèn tè

**pañal**
lâd ka$^{7}$n

**pañal(es)**
lâd ka$^{7}$n

**paño**
ndày

**pañuelo**
báy

**papacito**
pǎ

**papas**
go^ páp

**papaya**
pápáy

**papaya amarilla**
yà tě pápáy nzhìch

**papaya roja**
yà tě pápáy nê

**papá del monte**
xùz yìx

**papel**
yìt

**par**
nêz

**pararse el pene**
-zǒb yà ngùz kwê

**pararse; estar**
-zo^

**pared**
btzo$^{7}$

**pared de casa de barro/tierra**
yìb btzo$^{7}$ nì yu^

**pared de piedra**
yìb btzo$^{7}$ yî

**pared, muro, barda**
yìbtzo$^{7}$

**parejo, igual, (igual) a como...**
lǎk

**parir, dar a luz**
-z-àn

**parte blandita del pecho del guajolote macho**
xe$^{7}$n

**partera**
xa$^{7}$ go^tz nâ ndâ zê nâ ndǎl mbë̌ z

**partida de pájaros**
wyâx mbyìn

**partidura**
xnèz

**par; pareja**
nêz

**pasado mañana**
wîzh

**pasado (de maduro)**
nhwtìdá yë^

**pasador**
yà yǐch

**pasador; varita, palillo**
yà ngǐch

**pasar**
-tìd

**pasar desgracia?**
-zha$^7$l zí

**pasmado**
táx

**Paso Ancho, Río Grande, Paso Macahuite**
pás zi$^7$l

**Paso Macahuite, Paso Ancho, Río Grande**
pás áyìt

**pastilla que se pinta la ropa**
pástí ndye$^7$ lâd

**pata chueca**
yà ndâtz btë^l

**pata de gallo (un palo que se ocupa para la casa)**
yà ndâtz ngíze$^7$

**pata mocho**
yà ndâtz móch

**pata mocho; cabo de hacha quebrado**
yà xò mo$^7$ch

**patas de cabello, araña pelos de sobaco**
ngi$^7$ch

**patillas**
yìch wâtz nzhâ

**patillas**
yìch yîd ndo^

**patio**
ndo^ lè

**pato**
pǎt

**pato pata de cuero**
pát (yá) ndâtz yîd

**Patricio**
Tích

**patrícula enfática**
ka$^7$

**Paula**
Pǎw

**Paulina**
Pǎw

**payasa**
myìn ñë$^7$

**payaso**
páyás

**pájaro**
mbyìn

**pájaro**
myìn (COA)

**pájaro carpintero**
të$^7$tz

**pájaro carpintero**
xǐt

**pájaro carpintero chiquito, pájaro carpintero pinto**
të$^7$tz n-gâch

**pájaro carpintero negro**
të$^7$tz n-gǎtz

**pájaro carpintero negro**
të$^7$tz tík

**pájaro carpintero pinto chiquito**
të$^7$tz bǐx

**pájaro chereque**
mbyìn chérěk

**pájaro chismoso**
nzhúb

**pájaro del burro**
mtzi$^7$l xâb

**pájaro jicalpextle (local), azulejo copetón (standard)**
xë^th

**pájaro nocturno, anuncio de muerto**
mbyu$^7$z

**pájaro que da la hora de la comida**
mtzi$^7$l

**pájaro verde pico largo**
mbyìn ndyë^ xúp to^ no$^7$l

**párpado**
tzo$^7$ yîd ngùz ndo^

**pecho**

chích

**pedazo**
lë̌

**pedazo, medio, mitad**
gá tla$^{7}$

**pedir**
-nǎb

**pedir maldición**
-b-ódê

**pedir maldición, maldecir**
-g-o dê

**pedo**
xyìl

**Pedro**
Béd

**Pedro**
Bét

**pegajoso**
kwë$^{7}$d

**pegapiedra**
wěd yî

**pegar**
-kë$^{7}$

**pegar**
-y-ǐn

**pegar la tos**
-kë$^{7}$ to$^{7}$

**pegarle un dolor, agarrar aire en el cuerpo**
-zèn mbì lâz

**pegarlo, blanquear**
-tzèn

**pegarse**
-z-èn kë`

**pegarse, colgar, guardar**
-kécha$^{7}$

**peinarlo**
-ku$^{7}$

**peinarse**
-gu$^{7}$

**peinarse, trenzarse**
-xì

**peine**
bě

**pelar, rebanar(lo)**
-tǐl

**pelear**
-yò

**pelearse**
-b-ê yò

**pelear(se)**
-b-í yò

**pelibuey**
pélíwéy

**pellizcar**
-ánzún

**pelo**
yìch

**pelo atrás del oído**
yìch tzo$^{7}$ nzhâ

**pelo atrás del pescuezo**
yìch tzo$^{7}$ yèn

**pelo de animal**
yìch mǎn

**pelo de atrás del pescuezo del caballo**
yìch tzo$^{7}$ yèn wáy

**pelo de la espalda**
yìch tìth tzo$^{7}$

**pelo de la frente**
yìch ndo^ xtu^zh

**pelo del centro de la cabeza**
yìch tlǎ do$^{7}$ yèk

**pelo del cuerpo de la mujer**
yìch yîd kwê

**pelo del culo**
yìch xi$^{7}$n

**pelo del ombligo, bajo del ombligo**
yìch ndo^ kìd

**pelo del pene**
yìch ngùz kwê

**pelo del pozo de la nariz**
yìch pǒs lèn xè

**pelo del sobaco**
yìch lèn xìk

**pelo muy fino (como conejo)**
yìch bdì

**pelón**
tu^zh

**penar**
-ùn bìtz

**pena, imaginación**

bìtz

**penca de plátano**
bèx

**penca de sábila**
ya$^{7}$ sábílá

**pene**
ngùz kwê

**pene parado**
ngùz kwê nzǒb ga$^{7}$l

**pene parado**
ngùz kwê nzǒb yà

**penolilla; conchuda, garrapata**
mchín

**penolillo alazán, pinolillo**
mé chîn lázánh

**penolillo chiquitillo**
mé chîn dî

**penolillo de rayo**
mé chîn tě ngwzi$^{7}$

**penolillo; monchuda; sabandija; garrapata**
mé chîn

**pensamiento**
yë´l ndyên

**pensar**
-ni$^{7}$ lá tyo$^{7}$

**pensar, desear**
-ùn be$^{7}$y

**peñasco**
yèt yê

**peñasco, pedregal**
yíd yî

**peñazco**
yîd yî

**pequeño**
bǐx

**pequeño, chiquito**
tǔzh

**pequeño; pequeñez; chamacos chiquitos; mediano**
bǐx

**perder el sentido**
-tìd të$^{7}$l látyo$^{7}$

**perderlo**
-tza$^{7}$l

**perderlo, echar a perder**
-nîth

**perderse**
-zya$^{7}$l

**perderse, desaparecerse**
-nîth

**perdís**
gid zhoj

**perdís**
myìn zhój

**perico**
pérǐk

**perjudicar, molestar, tentar**
-gǎl tzâ

**peról**
pérǒl

**perrito, (cachorro)**
skě

**perro**
mbèk

**perro cazador**
mbèk go$^{7}$z

**perro de agua**
mbèk nîtz

**perro de agua**
mbèk yèl

**perseguir, ventear**
-tyu$^{7}$b

**persogarlo**
-tzékë$^{7}$

**persona de herencia africana**
měn n-gǎtz

**persona tarada**
yîd mbdu^d xa$^{7}$

**personas que no tienen hijos**
lǔd

**pesado**
kwë̌

**pesarlo, levantarlo**
-lên

**pesarse**
-bên

**pescadito**
mbë^l xó

**pescadito**
xó

**pescadito charal**

mbë^l xó

**pescado aguja**
mbë^l aúj

**pescado cinco**
mbë^l mzhìn

**pescado cuatete**
mbë^l kwátĕt

**pescado grande**
mbë^l zi$^7$l

**pescado ojotón**
mbë^l ójótónh

**pescado petate**
mbë^l dà

**pescado que sale primero**
mbë^l pérmér ntyo$^7$

**pescado seis**
mbë^l xo$^7$p

**pescado, pez**
mbë^l

**pesca; campeado**
go$^7$z

**pescuezo de la olla**
yèn yêtz

**pescuezo, cuello**
yèn

**pestañas**
yìch ngùz ndo^

**petate**
dà

**petatillo**
dà kwártí

**petatillo**
là yǔ

**picar**
-kê

**picar palo, picar con el palo**
-b-ìb yà

**picarlo**
-lë`d

**picarlo para afilarlo**
-b-ǎw

**picarlo; sacudir**
-b-ìb

**picarse**
-ba$^7$w

**picarse; sacudirse, encajarse (de espina), clavarse (de espina)**
-bi$^7$b

**picar; ojear; picarse, clavarse**
-a$^7$z

**pichanche (dicen viejos), colador (dicen jóvenes)**
byë´zh

**pichanche, colador**
mbyë´zh

**pichel de leche**
lát ndyo^ léch

**pichichi**
gárs to^ lágún

**pico de pájaro**
xúp to^ myìn

**picotear, picar**
-ákìb

**pie**
ndâtz

**pie**
yándâtz

**pie de cabo de hacha**
yà ndâtz yà xò

**pie de seis dedos**
mbǎd ndâtz xo$^7$p ngǔtz

**pie impedido, manco**
yà ndâtz kǒj

**piedra**
yê

**piedra**
yî

**Piedra Caca de Lucero**
yî xkê mbë^l

**piedra de cal**
yî yǐ

**piedra de fortuna**
yî be$^7$y

**piedra de fortuna, besuara**
yî wzhë$^7$

**Piedra de Juego**
yî bzhi$^7$l

**piedra de metate que viene de la fábrica**
yî yǐch

**piedra de metate que viene del río**
yǐch yî

**piedra de venado, piedra de fortuna,**

**besuara**
yî be$^7$y

**Piedra Gallina**
yî ngí zàn

**Piedra León**
yî lìd mbi$^7$zh

**piedra lisa**
yî wzhîzh

**Piedra Oaxaca**
yî lǎg

**Piedra Olavo**
yî ngwlàb

**Piedra Rayo**
yî lìd ngwzi$^7$

**piedra voluda**
yî bǒl

**Piedras Finas**
yî ndíb yêtz

**Piedras Negras**
yî n-gǎtz

**pierna ancha, pierna abierta**
yà xò ti$^7$l

**pierna vieja**
yë$^7$z ya$^7$

**pierna (=muslo--RGBA)**
xò

**Pifaño**
Pǐ

**pinabeta**
ye$^7$ byë^

**pinabete**
get ngax

**pintarlo, escribirlo**
-ke$^7$

**pintarse**
-ye$^7$

**pintura de uñas**
píntúr ndye$^7$ tzo$^7$ xò ngǔtz ya$^7$ měn

**pinza**
píntz

**pinza cortador, pinza para cortar alambre**
píntz pár xên álámbré

**pinza de punta (para sacar seguros como de una flecha)**
píntz tě púnt

**pinza para arrancar canas**
píntz pár yi$^7$b yìch kwe$^7$

**piña**
bxi$^7$zh

**piña de ocote**
xǐd

**piñal del árbol**
dǒb tě yà

**piño chiquito**
bxǐ tǔzh

**piño grande**
bxǐ zi$^7$l

**piño grano**
yà yèt bxǐ nîz

**piñuela de ratón**
bxi$^7$zh tě mzìn

**piñuela, piña de ratón**
bxi$^7$zh nè bè

**piojillo de gallina**
mbdi$^7$th

**piojillo; vivelula; caballito de diablo (book)**
ngír si$^7$

**piojo**
mtyë$^7$

**piojo de gallina**
mtyë$^7$ tě ngǐd

**piojo de gallina, pulgilla, ladilla**
mbyu$^7$p

**piojo de ropa**
mtyë^ lâd

**piojo, liendre**
mtyë^

**pisar el macho a la hembra (aves)**
-lo^

**pisca de mazorca**
wla$^7$p

**pista de bailes**
zê nâ ndyo^ yë´l gúl ndâtz

**pista de juegos**
zé nâ ndyìth měn

**pitahaya**
pítáy

**pityona**
byo^n yà

**pizcar mazorca**
-la$^7$p

**pisonear; apretarlo; mallugarlo; macizarlo; aplastarlo; machucarlo**
-ka$^7$d

**pizotear**
-ka$^7$d ndâtz

**pizotearlo; patear**
-lákò

**placenta**
yîx nì

**plaga**
ngwâ bzhìn

**planilla**
pláníy

**plano del pie, palma de la mano**
mbǎd

**plantas**
ta$^7$ xyë^

**platanar**
yà bdo$^7$

**platanar chaparro**
yà bdo$^7$ chápárrító

**platanar de castilla**
yà bdo$^7$ ye$^7$l

**platanar de Castilla, platanar de la Índia**
yà bdo$^7$ xtíl

**platanar de guineo**
yà bdo$^7$ ní

**platanar de plátano manzano**
yà bdo$^7$ mánsán

**platanar de plátanos machos, platanar veyaco**
yà bdo$^7$ nîz

**platanar de retango**
yà bdo$^7$ rrétángó

**platanar perón**
yà bdo$^7$ perǒnh

**platanar tierno**
yà bdo$^7$ bǐx

**platicar**
-zádi$^7$zh

**platinillo**
là bìzh

**plato**
yèn

**Platón**
Tónh

**Platón; Melitón**
tǒnh

**plato(s)**
plát

**plaza; mercado, tianguis**
ndo^ xyè

**pláatanos de Castilla, plátanos de villaco, plátano macho**
bdo$^7$ nîz

**plátano**
bdo$^7$

**plátano chiquito, plátano manzano**
bdo$^7$ bǐx

**plátano de guineo**
bdo$^7$ ní

**plátano de la Índia**
bdo$^7$ xtíl

**plátano perón**
bdo$^7$ pérǒnh

**plática; palabra**
yë´l wza$^7$ di$^7$zh

**plática; palabra**
yë´l zá di$^7$zh

**pleito, pelea, guerra**
wyò

**pleito, pelea, guerra**
yë´l wyò

**pliegue de ropa**
du^b là lâd

**plomo**
plóm

**pluma**
du$^7$b

**pluma**
du$^7$b tě yîx yì

**pluma delgada**
du$^7$b làn

**pluma delgado, la más delgada que hay**
du$^7$b bdì

**pobreza, desgracia, atrasos**
yë´l zí

**pobre; desgraci**
yál zí

**poco**

me$^7$

**poco**
wxǐ

**poco a poco**
me$^7$ga$^7$ me$^7$ga$^7$

**poder del río, dueño del río**
ngwzàn

**poderse**
-ǎk

**podrido**
ngo$^7$zh

**podrido, vómito, asco**
ngu$^7$d

**podrirse**
-àzh

**podrirse; vomitar**
-àb

**polea**
ye$^7$ wa$^7$z

**policía**
mzhë^ pólísí

**pollito**
zhúl

**pollo pescuezo encuerado**
bóy yèn kwěrr

**pollo que se cuece adentro de la tierra**
bóy ndày lèn yu^

**Polo; Apolinar; Policarpo; Hipolito**
pǒl

**polvo de jabón que se lavan trastes**
dî yà xtíl ndyàt ta$^7$n

**polvo de maiz**
dî nzhǒp

**polvo de medicina, polvo de remedio**
dî réméd

**polvo que sale de maíz podrido**
dî bêz

**pomada de ungu"ento**
pómád ngwént

**ponedora de guajolota**
yë^ tě mbèd

**ponedora, nido**
yë^

**poner a dormir, dormirlo**
-y-ix getz

**poner en almácigo**
-xo$^7$b blë$^7$

**poner encima; dobletear**
-kwa$^7$

**poner nudo**
-kë$^7$ bo^

**ponerlo**
-ti$^7$b

**ponerlo a dormir, acostarlo a dormir, dejarlo a dormir**
-y-íx yêtz

**ponerlo, guardarlo**
-b-èk

**ponerse**
-yo^

**ponerse angosto**
-yâ

**ponerse ceniza**
-yàk dî

**ponerse dulce, estar dulce**
-tyî

**ponerse en dieta**
-tza$^7$n

**ponerse enredado**
-yàk yo^x

**ponerse espesa la sangre**
-kwân tèn

**ponerse espeso**
-kwân

**ponerse negro**
-gǎtz

**ponerse tieso**
-yàk yà

**ponerse tieso (un musculo)**
-àp

**ponerse tímido, entrarle el miedo**
-yë^ch

**ponerse triste, estar triste, llorar el corazón**
-yo$^7$n látyo$^7$

**ponerse tupido, espeso, o carnado**
-yàk kwân

**ponerse viejo, envejecer**
-àx

**ponerse viejo, envejecer**
-yàx

**ponerse, estar puesto**
-b-i$^7$b

**poner; echar**
-g-ò

**poner, tapar**
-xo$^7$b

**popote**
go$^7$b

**poquito a poquito**
tu$^7$cha$^7$ tu$^7$cha$^7$

**por dentro**
gá lèn

**por el pie, al pie**
gàl ndâtz

**por qué?**
xě na$^7$

**por qué?**
xé xo$^7$l tza$^7$

**por qué?**
xěn ba$^7$

**por todo, a como va**
bì nzhâ (tza$^7$)

**Porfirio; Lafira**
Jwǐrr

**porque**
ké (nâ)

**porque**
yë´l

**porquería**
ta$^7$ xkê

**porrear (p.ej. frijól)**
-y-ǐn yà

**portero, policia; gente que se para en la puerta de la casa**
xa$^7$ nzyo^ to^ nì

**poste de luz electrica**
póst tě xë$^7$

**pozo de agua**
pós tě nîtz

**pozo de cabo de hacha**
pǒs tě yà xò

**Pólite**
Pól

**PPPyacal de tora, LDPpalo de yacua resbalosa**
yà làtz dǎb

**prementina**
dòt$^7$

**presa, hondura donde se almacene agua para sanjos o riegos**
yë`l yi$^7$d

**presidente**
xùz yêzh

**preso; gente encarcelada**
xa$^7$ nkë̆ lít yi$^7$b

**presumido, fachoso, chalán**
xǎl

**prima de mujer (BAL), concuña de mujer (CAN)**
bxìtz

**primavera**
mbyàn

**primo del otro sexo; hermano del otro sexo**
bzàn

**privarse**
-àth kwǎn

**Procopio**
Kóp

**profundo?**
wàt lu^zh

**pronto**
bkèn

**proponerlo; ofrecerlo**
-g-ó xlë^

**prostituta**
mě go^tz nâ ndò gîd lâz

**prostituta**
xa$^7$ ndò lâz

**próximo; se acercó**
mzo^ gâx

**pueblo**
yêzh

**pueblo (pos.)**
lâzh

**puente**
pwént

**puente de madera**
pwént yà

**puerco, marrano,**

**porcino, cerdo, cuche**
kǔch

**puerta**
yálâ

**puestos de autoridades**
zê nâ nzǒb xa$^{7}$ nǎk ti$^{7}$n

**pulga**
mbgǎtz

**pulga**
mbwǎtz

**pulga**
mbyu^

**pulmón**
púlmónh

**pulque**
pǔlk

**pulso**
mbîtz ya$^{7}$

**pulso; hipo; ataque; calambre**
mbîtz

**punta**
ndo^

**punzoña**
xgu$^{7}$ch

**puñalada**
ngwa$^{7}$z kúchí

**puñalarlo**
-ke$^{7}$ yi$^{7}$b

**puño; muñeca**
nî ya$^{7}$

**pura clara**
xmbǐ

**pura clara**
xyë̆

**purgarse, vaciarse, limpiarse; sufrir la enfermedad de diarrea**
-tìd lèn

**puro/a**
ábe$^{7}$ntza$^{7}$

**pus**
gu$^{7}$zh

**pus blanco**
gu$^{7}$zh n-gǔd

**pus de sangre**
gu$^{7}$zh tèn

**que**
áyí

**Que (cosa/hora etc.)**
xé

**quebrado**
ngǒch

**quebrapierro**
wdich gi$^{7}$ib

**quebrarlo**
-y-i$^{7}$ch

**quebrarse**
-ǎch

**quebrarse, rajarse; quebrarlo, rajarlo**
-lë̆

**quedarse**
-ya$^{7}$n

**quedito**
xě

**quedito, bonito**
těn

**quejarse**
-yë$^{7}$zh

**quejarse**
-zé kê

**quején**
mbyǔx

**quelite**
là yë$^{7}$z ñà

**quemado**
mbyo^l

**quemado**
mzhǔ

**quemarlo**
-chù

**quemarlo**
-zo$^{7}$l

**quemarse**
-yo^l

**quemarse**
-zhù

**queremos comer**
yed yed

**querer**
-lë`d

**querer; gustarse**
-ǎl látyo$^{7}$

**qué cosa?**
xta$^{7}$

**qué javalín!**
xâl mbèw

**Qué me estás eschuchando?; oye!**
ópé

**Qué?**
xě

**que...?**
xâl

**quicio de la puerta de la casa**
kísyó to^ nì

**quiebrafierro**
mbêz nyǐch yǐb

**quien sabe; no se encuentra**
ná zhǎl

**quién?, cuál?**
tò

**quijada**
xàn to^

**quince**
ti$^7$n

**quinto**
wga$^7$y

**quintonil**
là yi$^7$ ga$^7$ch

**quintonil**
yíz ni$^7$z

**quiota de viga**
yà gùch tě yë$^7$z bí

**quitar la cáscara, rebanarse**
-bǐl

**quitarlo**
-kâ

**quitarse**
-gâ

**quitarse la hemorragia, calmarse la hemorragia, sanarse de la hemorragia**
-b-ë̌z

**quitar, librar, defender, salvar**
-lë`th

**rabia**
yë´l yîzh zìn

**rabia**
yë^l yîzh zìn

**Rafael**
Jwǎy

**raiz**
lo^

**raíz de fuerza de la milpa, raíz principal de la milpa**
ndë`y zi$^7$ ña$^7$

**raíz de grano; raíz de clavillo**
lâx

**raíz de palo**
lo^ yà

**raíz del diente**
xàn lo^ ndë`y

**rajada, rajadura**
bèch

**rajada; rajadura; se quebró**
ngwlë̌

**rajarse, humillarse**
-lë$^7$ látyo$^7$

**ralo**
bxë$^7$ch

**rama**
xo^z

**rama de ocote negro**
ya$^7$ yà yèd n-gǎtz

**rama, mano**
ya$^7$

**rama; mano (de los dedos hasta el codo); brazo del ríos**
ya$^7$

**ramita de mango**
ya$^7$ wlàtz yà mánh

**rana**
mbe$^7$t

**rana**
mbìt$^7$

**rana de lodo**
mbe$^7$t lǒd

**rana de tomate**
mbe$^7$t bîx

**rana palo; renacuajo**
mbe$^7$t yà

**rana verde**
mbět ndyë^

**rana verde**
mbìt$^7$ nyë^

**rancho**
yêzh bë$^7$

**Rancho Locote**
lách go^

**Rancho Altemira**
yè kwǎ

**Rancho Arroyo Ciego**
Na$^7$t Wlè

**Rancho Arroyo Mangal**
Na$^7$t Yà Mánh

**Rancho Campo Nuevo**
Làt Byo^l

**Rancho el Macahuite**
yîzh bë$^7$ yíl yìt

**Rancho La Sierra**
yè ndyő̆

**Rancho Pobreza**
ránch Póbrés

**Rancho San Juan**
Yo$^7$ Sánh Jwánh

**Rancho Tres Cruces**
yo$^7$ chǒn krús

**Ranulfo**
núf

**rascar; pellizcar; arañar**
-zí xo^

**rasparse**
-zé xo^

**rasparse**
-zhu$^7$

**rasparse (con cuchillo a un elote)**
-zyo^

**raspar, arañar**
-díxo^

**rastrillo**
ta$^7$ nzhu$^7$ to^ mě

**rastro (de animal salvaje), huella**
xnǒb

**rastrojo**
ñá yì

**rasurarse**
-go$^7$j

**rata**
mzìn wâ

**ratero, robón, ladrón**
wa$^7$n

**ratón**
mzìn

**ratón padruno, rata**
mzìn bew$^7$

**Raymundo**
mǔn

**rayo**
ngwzi$^7$

**rayo**
wzi$^7$

**raza, familia**
fámíl

**rábia; tontera**
yîzh zìn

**rápido, un ratito**
xá zǐl

**reaccionar**
-lên tì

**rebajarlo**
-lákë$^7$

**rebajarse, cobardarse**
-lákë`

**rebusnar, gritar**
-b-èzh yè

**rechinar (los dientes)**
-b-èzh nzha$^7$r

**rechinar (los dienties)**
-b-èzh nzhë$^7$r

**recio**
cháj

**recogerlo, juntarlo**
-kân

**recogerse; rejuntarse**
-gân

**reconocer; oír, escuchar**
-lë$^7$ch

**recordarlo, acordarse; extrañarlo**
-tzë$^7$ la tyo$^7$

**recto**
ngì

**reculón, reculador (tipo de camarón)**
ka$^7$

**red chica para uso de paseo**
yîx ngìd

**red de mazorca**
yîx nîz

**redecita**
yîx wá

**redondearlo; dar vuelta**

-tzë$^7$ ké

**redondo**
brèl

**reflejante**
n-gâch

**refresco; agua fría, agua fresca; jugo**
nîtz kwàl

**Refugia**
Júj

**regado**
mtyë$^7$ch

**regalar**
-za$^7$ lë`d

**regañarlo, gritarle**
-ku^x

**regañarse**
-gu^x

**regar**
-të$^7$ch

**regatear**
-zu$^7$ di$^7$zh

**regidor**
réjídór

**regidor de obras**
réjídór tě óbrás

**regidor de policía**
réjídór tě pólísí

**Regina**
Jǐn

**regla**
yë^l yîzh mbe$^7$

**regresar**
-bítê

**rejidor de educación**
réjídór tě édúkásyónh

**rejuntar**
-dǔn

**rejuntarlo**
-g-ǔn

**REL**
nâ

**relampaguear**
-àth bë^l

**relinchar**
-lyu$^7$

**remolino**
mbdòn

**renacuajo**
yö$^7$j

**rendir**
-dyî

**rendirse, abundarse**
-yë$^7$x

**rendirse; aumentar, multiplicarse, abundarse**
-ya$^7$x

**repararlo; componerlo, arreglarlo**
-yùn cha$^7$

**repartirse**
-tyê

**repartir, resembrarlo, dividirlo**
-tzë̌

**repetirlo; devolverlo; regresarlo**
-tébèk

**resbalarse**
-tyo$^7$l

**resbalarse**
-tyu$^7$zh

**resbaloso**
wto$^7$l

**resbaloso**
wtu$^7$zh

**rescoldo**
mbyî

**resecarse por dentro**
-bìd yo^

**resembrarse, repartirse**
-zë̌

**resembrar; repartir**
-tzë̌

**resfriado; dolor de cuerpo**
ndàw yë^

**resina**
dǒd

**resina**
dǒt

**resina**
dǒt$^7$

**resultar**
-lu$^7$ ndo^

**retoñar**
-xîch

**reventar**
-y-ìch

**reventar la placenta**
-âch yîx nì

**reventarlo, explotarlo**
-y-ìch kê

**reventarse**
-âx

**reventarse; tronar (como huevo, cohete, hule); nacer de huevo; reventar el pie; reventar frutas, etc.**
-âch

**Reveriana**
Yą́

**revivirse, reaccionarse**
-yàth xë$^7$ látyo$^7$

**revivir(se)**
-bǎn

**revolcarse, voltearse**
-bìx tê

**revolverlo, mezclarlo**
-kòch

**Reymundo/a**
Mǔn

**Reynaldo**
Rěy

**Reynaldo; Reymundo**
Rěy

**rezador**
ko$^7$ lë`y

**rezador**
xa$^7$ nbo$^7$ lèy tě gǎn

**rezongar**
-kâb to^

**rincón**
xàn

**riñón**
ríñónh

**Rio Grande**
yo$^7$ zi$^7$l

**risa**
yë´l xîd

**río**
yu$^7$

**rodarlo**
-tzu^b yè

**rodarse**
-zǒbyè

**rodearlo, encerrarlo**
-g-ó lò

**rodilla**
xîb

**rojo**
nê

**rojo (pajaro)**
rój

**romperlo**
-tza$^7$

**romperse**
-za$^7$

**romperse**
-z(y)a$^7$

**roncar**
-la$^7$b yèn

**roncar; sonar la nariz**
-b-èzh xè

**ronco; se secó mi pescuezo**
mbìd yèn

**roñoso, desquebrajado**
têch

**ropa que tiene alforza**
lâd nzo^ ti$^7$ch

**ropa usada; ropa vieja**
lâd gǒx

**ropa; cáscara; escama**
xâb

**ropa, tela**
lâd

**ropa, tela, trapo**
lât

**Rosa**
Rǒs

**Rosalino**
rós

**rosaria**
Rósǎr

**rosarios de nochebuena**
lèy tě nóché bwén

**rosarios de santos**
lèy tě mbdo$^7$

**rosario, novena**
lèy

**Rosa, Rosalinda**
rǒs

**Rosendo**

sén

**roto**
yo^x

**rozo**
gòn

**ruda**
rúd

**ruda**
xàn rrúd

**ruedacaca, abejón ruedacaca**
mbêz xkê

**ruedacaca, ruedacuita**
mbêz yì

**ruedete**
xu$^7$n

**Rufino; Rufina**
rúf

**Rufino; Rufina**
rúfín

**ruido, ruidoso**
ngwe$^7$y

**Rupino**
Rúpǐn

**Rutilo**
tǐl

**saberlo**
-on

**saborearlo, probarlo**
-nî

**sabroso, oloroso**
wxe$^7$

**saca espanto**
nbo$^7$ zhêb

**sacar**
-b-o$^7$

**sacar al revés; vomitar**
-b-o$^7$ di$^7$n

**Sacarías**
sák

**sacerdote**
ngwlèy

**sacerdote**
ngwlèy

**sacerdote, cura, padre**
wlèy

**sacudir**
-b-i$^7$b

**sal**
zèd

**salado**
wtîx

**salir**
-to$^7$

**salir de viaje**
-to$^7$ zë`

**salir para arriba, flotar**
-to$^7$ xo$^7$b

**salir volteandose, caer volteandose**
-to$^7$ nza$^7$b

**saliva**
chúk

**salsa de miltomate**
nîtz yi$^7$n bîx lìd

**salsa de tomate**
nîtz yi$^7$n bîx

**salsa de tomate que se revuelve con huevo**
nîtz yi$^7$n bîx n-gòch ngu^

**salta de noche**
ká pót rrîw

**saltar, brincar**
-àtz

**saltillo**
sáltíy

**saludar; preguntar**
-nǎb di$^7$zh

**salvaje; animal del monte**
má yìx

**salzapote**
yà yë`l yèzh

**San Agustín Loxicha**
Yêzh Lósích (CAN)

**San Agustín Loxicha; persona de San Agustín Loxicha**
xǐtz

**San Antonio Lalana**
Yêzh Láláná

**San Baltazar Loxicha**
Yêzh Xǐzh

**San Bartolomé Loxicha**
yè xìl

**San Francisco Coatlán**
Chi$^7$ Kǎn

**San Francisco Coatlán**
Yêzh Sábránsísk (CAN)

**San Miguel Coatlán**
sámbyél

**San Miguel Yogovana**
Yêzh Ye$^7$ Bàn (CAN)

**San Pablo Coatlán**
Yêzh Yè Ke$^7$ (CAN)

**San Pablo Coatlán**
Yí Ke$^7$

**San Pablo Coatlán**
Yúke$^7$

**San Pablo Coatlán**
Yu^ Ke$^7$

**San Pedro Coatlán**
Yêzh Sán Pédr

**San Pedro Juchatengo**
yu^ zhu$^7$

**San Sebastián Coatlán**
Yêzh Sán Sébástyán

**San Vicente Coatlán**
chěnt

**sanar**
-yî

**sanarse**
-yàk yál yîzh

**sanarse, curarse, quitar**
-lâ

**sancho; perro buncho**
mbèk búnch

**sancudo**
mbyǎt

**sancudo**
mlyàt

**sandijuela (loc)**
mě lâch

**sandía chiquitilla de ratón**
sándí bǐx tě mzìn

**sangre**
tèn

**sangre de toro negro**
tèn tě ngǒn n-gǎtz

**sangre que sale de la nariz**
tèn ntyo$^7$ xè

**sanguijuela**
mbël$^7$ lâch

**sanguijuela**
mbë$^7$l lâch

**Santa Catarina Cuixtla**
Yè Tzî

**Santa Catarina Loxicha**
Sántlín

**Santa Catarina Loxicha**
Yêzh Sánt Lín

**Santa Cruz Xitla**
Yêzh Xît (CAN)

**Santa María Coatlán**
Yêzh Sántá Márí (CAN)

**Santa María Colotepec**
Bé Wnè

**Santa María Colotepec**
Yêzh Bónè (CAN)

**Santiago**
Táy

**Santo Domingo coatlán**
Yêzh Sántó Dómính

**Santo Domingo de Morelos, Cozoaltepec**
Yë$^7$ch

**Santo Tomás Tamazulapan**
Yêzh Yè Do$^7$ch (CAN)

**santo, imagen; hostia**
mbdo$^7$

**sapo**
sáp

**sapo**
xe$^7$n

**sapo chiquito**
sáp spǐrrt

**sapón, sapo panzón**
sáp lèn tè

**Sara**
Sǎr

**sarampión**
bît yu^x

**sarape**
lâd yìch káxkěm

**sarna; sarnoso**
mbǐd

**sarro**
yu^ zo^

**sastre, gente que costura la ropa**
xa$^7$ nkǐb lâd

**sauz**

là yë`tz

**sábado**
sáb

**sábana**
lâd nxo$^7$p zénâ ndà dêtz měn

**sábana**
sáb

**sámago del tronco**
xâb n-gǔd yà

**se chupa la cara, se debilita la cara, se derrite la cara, se pone pálido (como que está enfermo)**
-yo$^7$b

**secada, seco**
bìt$^7$

**secarlo**
-kwi$^7$d

**secarse**
-bìd

**seco**
bìd

**seguir**
-zò nkë´

**seguirlo**
-â nkë

**segundo**
mtòp

**seis**
xo$^7$p

**semana**
smán

**sembrar maíz**
-kë̌ gòb nì

**sembrarlo**
-àz

**sembrarse**
-yâzh

**semilla de algodón**
bîzh

**semilla de calabaza, pepitas**
mbǐzh

**semilla de flor**
bîd tě yi$^7$

**semilla; ovario**
bîd

**Senón**
nǒnh

**sentarlo**
-zǒbcha$^7$

**sentarse en los pies**
-b-ê

**sentería de pujo**
tìd tèn gu$^7$zh

**sentimiento, tristeza; luto, duelo; enfermedad de tristeza**
yîzh kóxnì

**sentirlo; quejarse**
-yěj

**señas de cortada; cicatríz; callo**
dǐb

**seña, señal**
sę́y

**señor**
mbyi$^7$

**señor grande**
tǎt

**señor grande, señora grande**
mě gǒx

**señora grande**
nǎ

**señora; mujer; esposa**
mě go^tz

**señor, señor de edad**
mbgǒl

**separado**
mbla$^7$ tzâ

**separarse**
-la$^7$ tzâ

**sepultura**
pǒs tě gǎn

**sepultura; casa de difunto**
lìd gǎn

**ser**
-ǎk

**ser dos**
tǒp

**ser humano, cuerpo de la gente**
lâz měn

**sereno**
btzya$^7$n

**sereno**
go^p

**sereno**
xîl

**sereno, helada, hielo, nevada, nieve**
yèg

**serete**
mbǐl sérét

**serio**
ga$^7$lpa$^7$

**serrojear**
sérrój tě yi$^7$b

**serrucha, serrote**
sérrúch

**servilleta**
lâd nkë´ cha$^7$ yë`th ndo^

**servilleta**
pánswél

**servirse**
-nì

**seso**
yòb

**seso de la cabeza**
yòb yèk

**seso, tuétano**
tút

**Severino/a; Eusebio**
Sěb

**sexto**
wxo$^7$p

**seyeta**
séyét

**séptimo**
wgâd

**si**
těl

**si**
télë$^7$

**siempre, de por sí**
álíka$^7$

**siempre, ya**
ká

**sierra**
yà do$^7$

**siete**
gâd

**Siete Cabrillas**
myë$^7$x

**siete pelo, una enfermedad en que se pone rojo la pierna y la rodilla**
yí bey$^7$

**siete, siete cabrillas**
mbyë´zh

**silencio, cálmate!**
kwě

**silla, montura de caballo**
xíl

**Silverio**
sílbér

**Simión**
yǒnh

**Simón**
xím

**sin protección**
tu^b

**sin punta**
ña$^7$n ndo^

**sin sal; a tiempo**
símpl

**Sinforiana**
Yǎn

**sirve; se puede**
-nì

**sitio, solar**
zè

**sí**
ké

**sí**
lí ka$^7$

**síndico**
síndíkó

**sobaco**
lèn xìk

**sobadora**
xa$^7$ n-ga$^7$b

**sobarlo**
-g-a$^7$b

**sobarse**
-ya$^7$b

**sobrino**
xìn bzàn

**sobrino**
xìn bë̌l

**sobrino**
xìn tzâ

**sobrino**
xìn wìt

**Sofía**
Bǐ

**sogo**
sóg

**Soledad**
Chǒl

**Soledad**
Sòl

**Soledad**
sǔl

**soltarlo, abandonarlo, dejarlo**
-la$^7$

**soltarse**
-ba$^7$

**sol, calor; seca; tiempo de seca, temporada seca**
bë̌

**sol, día**
wìzh

**sombra**
xgǎl

**sombrear**
-kǎl

**sombrerero**
xa$^7$ ndúx kwa$^7$ sómbrér

**sombrero de lana; sombrero panza de burro**
sómbrér yìch

**sombrero de palma**
sómbrér yîn

**sombrero de petate (de palma)**
sómbrér dà

**sombrero panza de burro**
sómbrér yìch yîd lèn bǔrr

**sombrero panza de burro, sombrero negro**
sómbrér n-gǎtz

**sombrilla**
ta$^7$ ntzà bë̌

**sonar; tocar**
-tzi$^7$d

**sonar; tocar; tronar**
-zìd

**sonido al tocar una puerta gruesa; sonido de caminar con tacón**
po$^7$j

**sonido cuando azota la ola**
prâs prâs

**sonido cuando baila el guajolote**
tünh

**sonido cuando cae lo crudo a lo caliente por ejemplo huevo estrallado en un sartén con aceite caliente**
txxxx̌

**sonido cuando le sale aire de la bestia antes de cagar**
ppl$^7$

**sonido cuando patean al perro**
kwè"nhk kwè"nhk kwè"nhk

**sonido de abrir una puerta que le falta grasa**
nzhir nzhir nzhir

**sonido de afilar machete en una piedra de afilar**
zh´unhkú zhúnhkú zhúnhkú

**sonido de agua creciente/sucia en el río**
mbro^nh mbro^nh mbro^nh

**sonido de agua hirviendo; sonido de abrir una llave de agua**
rr

**sonido de agua o comida bajando en el pescuezo**
gmp$^7$

**sonido de aguacero**
x

**sonido de animales comiendo pastura**
mbo^rrs mbo^rrs mbo^rrs

**sonido de arrancar una moto**
rr

**sonido de arrastrar**
hrr

**sonido de arrugar papel**
xuk xuk xuk

**sonido de beso de boca limpia**
pw$^7$

**sonido de borrego**
mę̈^$^7$

**sonido de caballo cuando relincha**
yi$^7$i$^7$i$^7$i$^7$i

**sonido de cachetada**
tas tas tas tas tas tas

**sonido de caer algo pesado**
tanh

**sonido de caminar en el piso con tacón; sonido de tocar en puerta gruesa**
to$^7$k to$^7$k to$^7$k to$^7$k

**sonido de caminar en lodo**
tràs tràs tràs tràs tràs

**sonido de campana sonando**
tánh tânh tánh tânh tánk

**sonido de campanila**
nzírính nzírính

**sonido de cascabel de la culebra**
chk chk chk chk chk chk chk

**sonido de cascabel que le ponen a los nenes**
chinh chinh chinh chinh chinh

**sonido de cerrar una puerta grande**
mbro^j

**sonido de chapotear, botear agua en una pared**
pras pras

**sonido de chicharra**
chíkrì

**sonido de cohete que amarra en mecate**
xxx̌ xxx^

**sonido de comer sopa o de marranos tomando agua**
pl$^7$

**sonido de comer tostadas**
nzhis nzhis nzhis nzhis

**sonido de cuerda tensada**
tinh tinh tinh tinh

**sonido de dedo en la boca**
kwrâs

**sonido de derrumbe o rayo**
mbru^nh

**sonido de destapar un refresco**
pí

**sonido de diarrea**
prrs

**sonido de eructarse**
mběw

**sonido de gallina (onomatopeya)**
tétérét

**sonido de gente que va corriendo**
tak tak tak tak tak

**Sonido de grito del guajolote macho**
ko$^7$l ko$^7$l ko$^7$l ko$^7$l

**sonido de hacer el amor**
pl$^7$

**sonido de hojas secas**
ch$^7$ch$^7$k

**sonido de jalar bultos en el piso**
xárr xárr xárr xárr

**sonido de jalar el corazón**
j

**sonido de la boca cuando está comiendo**
pl$^7$ pl$^7$ pl$^7$ pl$^7$

**sonido de la cagada de un pájaro cuando cae al suelo, sonido de cagada seca en bola de caballo cuando se cae; sonido de tocar en puerta de madera delgada, sonido de cortar carne encima de madera**
tâs tâs tâs

**sonido de la cuija**
ts$^7$

**sonido de la gente gorda cuando camina; sonido de ropa mojada (puesta cuando camina)**
pras pras pras

**sonido de la lengua de culebra**
l$^7$

**sonido de la persona que se cae por detrás**
tânh

**sonido de la vaca**
mų̌

**sonido de las campanas**
ndánh ndánh ndánh

**sonido de las campanas**
ndinh ndinh

**sonido de las mujeres que se rían de un hombre con quién tuvieron relaciones y luego se dejaron, con coraje**
jajajây

**sonido de las tripas cuando tienen hambre**
grr´

**sonido de llenar ánfora con agua**
jorr

**sonido de lo que se cae en el suelo**
ta$^7$j

**sonido de marrano caminando; sonido de rechazo (cuando comió cebolla uno y el otro no lo quiere besar)**
hn

**sonido de molino eléctrico**
trr

**sonido de morder**
ngarrs

**sonido de papel que se rompió**
x̌$^7$

**sonido de pedo de gente delgada**
bbll̆

**sonido de pedo de gente gordo**
bbll^

**sonido de pedo de niño**
bbll$^7$

**sonido de perro ladrando**
wâw wo^w wâw wo^w

**sonido de picar navaja a persona o animal**
pus

**sonido de quebrar nixtamal en metate**
zhrraja zhrraja zhrraja

**sonido de rajar leña entera**
chaj

**sonido de rascar uñas**
xârr xârr xârr xârr

**sonido de ratón comiendo maíz**
nzherr$^7$ nzherr$^7$ nzherr$^7$ nzherr$^7$

**sonido de repicar la campana**
tinh tinh tinh telânh telânh telânh

**sonido de resbalar**
pras

**sonido de retrocarga (refle gruesoö**
po^nh

**sonido de reventar un mecate o de romper una ropa o de arrancar un palo o un monte o una planta sembrada (la raíz se revienta)**
chas

**sonido de rifles largos**
px

**sonido de romper ropa/tela**
xarr

**sonido de sancudo**
ính

**sonido de semilla seca adentro**
x$^7$x$^7$x$^7$x$^7$x$^7$x$^7$

**sonido de serrucho cortando tablas**
xǔr

**sonido de sonaja**
ch$^7$k ch$^7$k tz ch$^7$k ch$^7$k

**sonido de sorprenderse**
h

**sonido de sorpresa**
ǎj

**sonido de tener frío**
s$^7$

**sonido de tocar la puerta**
taj taj taj taj taj

**sonido de tomate**
purrs

**sonido de tortolita**
so^lsto^y

**sonido de tronar los dedos**
kwi$^{7}$rs

**sonido de un burro o caballo soplando cuando está comiendo**
pp

**sonido de un caballo corriendo**
tepraka tepraka tepraka tepraka

**sonido de un caballo rascando tierra**
xarr xarr xarr

**sonido de un carro cargado**
m´m`m´m`m´m`m´m`

**sonido de un chasquido**
kwri$^{7}$s

**sonido de un cuchillo cortando carne y pegando a la madera abajo; sonido de la cagada de un caballo cuando va caminando**
tâj tâj tâj

**sonido de un destornudo**
akwisa

**sonido de un gato roncando**
jj$^{7}$ jj$^{7}$ jj$^{7}$ jj$^{7}$

**sonido de un hombre que se ría de una mujer (con coraje)**
hų$^{7}$

**sonido de un nene llorando**
mágâ

**sonido de un pajaro volando**
jjjjj

**sonido de un pájaro que se llama ´rojó o ´picolargó**
rrâ rrâ rrâ

**sonido de un pescado azotando su ala en el agua; sonido de una cosa que se cae en el agua**
prás

**sonido de un pollo/gallina recojiendo maíz en el suelo**
tak tak tak tak

**sonido de un viento fuerte**
j(jj)

**sonido de una botella que se estrella**
mbras

**sonido de una botella quebrándose en el suelo; sonido de machete contra piedra; sonido de una cosa de fierro que se cae en el piso o contra otra cosa dura o contra otra cosa de fierro.**
ndrính

**sonido de una botella quebrándose en el suelo; sonido de machete contra piedra; sonido de una cosa de fierro que se cae en el piso o contra otra cosa dura o contra otra cosa de fierro.**
nzính

**sonido de una botella quebrándose; sonido de machete contra piedra; sonido de una cosa de fierro que se cae en el piso o contra otra cosa dura o contra otra cosa de fierro.**
nzérình

**sonido de una cubeta/tambo que cae en un pozo profundo**
tranh

**sonido de una culebra**
fff

**sonido de una lata que tiene piedritas.**
tktktktk$^{7}$

**sonido de una llama que está quemando un monte**
ju ju ju

**sonido de una persona caminar con tacones**
ták tàk ták tàk ták

**sonido de una persona corriendo dentro del agua**

trasatrasatras

**sonido de una persona enferma; sonido de cocoxtle**
hay hay hay

**sonido de una persona roncando**
jj

**sonido de una silla rechinando**
nzhi$^{7}$rranzhi$^{7}$rra

**sonido de vaciar refresco en un vaso**
jorr jorr jorr jorr jorr

**sonido de víbora de cascabél**
ch$^{7}$ch$^{7}$ch$^{7}$

**sonido de zanates y otros pájaros**
xu$^{7}$p

**sonido de zapato que tiene aqua por dentro**
kros kros kros

**sonido de zapatos caminando en charcos o en un camino mojado; sonido cuando cae la cagada de una bestia**
tra$^{7}$s

**sonido del bostezo**
aja

**sonido del chasquido**
pi$^{7}$j

**sonido del dolor que sufre uno cuando se corta**
â â

**sonido del gallo (onomatopeya)**
kíkíríkí

**sonido del gato enojado**
jjj

**sonido del globo reventándose, sonido de rajar leña con hueco adentro**
pǒj

**sonido del grito del burro**
ë`j ë`j ë`j ë`j

**sonido del grito del chivo**
wë$^{7}$ wë$^{7}$ wë$^{7}$

**sonido del grito del gato (onomatopeya)**
myǎw

**sonido del hipo**
h´$^{7}$

**sonido del huracán Paulina**
brum brum brum brum

**sonido del palo que yá está quebrando para caerse**
kri$^{7}$ kri$^{7}$ kri$^{7}$

**sonido del pato; grito de la guajolota hembra**
kwàk kwàk kwàk

**sonido del R-15**
tktkt$^{7}$

**sonido del suspiro**
hái hą^

**sonido del tambor**
pǫpǫ pǫpǫ

**sonido del teléfono**
drính

**sonido del teléfono cuando marca**
trr

**sonido del viento**
jwf

**sonido que hace la burra hembra cuando el burro macho está encima**
kwrás kwrás kwrás

**sonido que hace la guajolota hembra cuando llama a su cría**
pí pí pí chàk chàk chàk

**soñar**
-chë$^{7}$ lá tyo$^{7}$

**sopilote cabeza negra**
ngòl yèk n-gǎtz

**soplador**
mbë^l zche$^{7}$

**soplador (para soplar la lumbre, o para soplar cara)**
btzë$^{7}$ bì

**soplar**
-lábì

**soplar el viento**
-xo$^{7}$n mbì

**soplete eléctrico**
sóplét xë$^{7}$

**sordo**
kwè

**sordo mudo**
múd kwè

**soyate**
lí yîn

**soyate, faja**
là yîn

**sólo, a púro**
ábe$^7$n

**su espalda de la bestia**
tzo$^7$ wáy

**su mamá del gatito**
bǐch gǒx

**su marido de la cuñada de uno (la hermana de la señora de uno), concuño**
blë$^7$ yu^zh

**su padrino de la mujer del cuñado/a**
xùz mbál xlòn

**su padrino del hermano**
xùz mbál wìt

**subida**
nzo^ kë`

**subida**
-zo^ kë`

**subir**
-àp

**subir (de precio); llenarse**
-yàp

**subirlo; llenarlo**
-xǎp

**suciedad**
ta$^7$ mǎch

**sucio**
měk

**sudar**
-âch nîtz

**sudar**
-zo^ nîtz

**sudor**
nîtz bě$^7$

**suegra**
xna$^7$ yi$^7$n

**suegra de mujer**
xna$^7$ yi$^7$

**suegra de un hombre**
xna$^7$ zha$^7$p

**suegro**
xùz yi$^7$n na$^7$

**suegro de hombre**
xùz zha$^7$p

**suegro de mujer**
xùz yi$^7$

**sueño**
mka$^7$l

**sueño**
xka$^7$l

**suficiente**
wyâx

**sufrir una enfermedad**
-z-àk

**suplente**
súplént

**surtido, cosa revuelta**
ta$^7$ nǒch

**Susana**
ǎn

**suspirar**
-zi$^7$ látyo$^7$

**susto**
ndyë^ch

**tabaco**
yë^z là

**tacón del pie, debajo del pie**
xí zèd ndâtz

**tajacamino (local), correcamino, cocoxtle**
xǒ

**talón**
bzhòl

**talón del pié**
zê zèd

**tamal de chepil**
támǎl yë$^7$z

**tamal de frijól**
támǎl nzâ

**tamal de masa**
támǎl ko$^7$b

**tamales de calabaza**
támǎl yèth

**tamales de carne**
támǎl nzhò bë$^7$l

**tamales de chepil**

támǎl yà zi$^7$x

**tamales de ejotes tiernos; tamal con polvo de maíz podrido**
támǎl yàz

**tamales de elote**
yë`th bǎd

**tamales de elote blanco (simple)**
yë`th bǎd

**tamales de elote con frijól**
btzi$^7$ yî

**tamales de elote tierno con frijol**
tamǎl btzé yî

**tamales de elote tierno solo**
támǎl yë^th bǎd

**tamales de flor de guía de calabaza**
támǎl yi$^7$ lùt tzèth

**tamales de gallina**
támǎl ngǐd

**tamales de guajolote**
támǎl mbèd

**tamales de hoja de quelite**
támǎl là yë$^7$z ñà

**tamales de puerco**
támǎl kǔch

**tamales de tecolmeca**
támǎl yà wtó

**tamaño**
tzo^

**también, y**
nà

**tambo**
tǎm

**tambo de miel, tambo para cocer la miel**
tǎm tě mzhìn

**tambor de cuero**
támbór yîd

**Tanacia**
Nách

**tanto, que tanto**
xo$^7$l tza$^7$

**tapanco**
yà yìn bë$^7$

**tapanco, tapezco**
yà bli$^7$

**tapar malocidades o creencias, ahogar malocidades, ahogar a los brujos**
-ka$^7$p

**taparlo, cerrarlo**
-tzà

**taparrabo**
zho^g

**taparse, cerrarse**
**-yǎ**

**taparse, vestirse**
-òj

**tapezco**
yà bli$^7$

**tapezco para asar carne**
yà yìn n-yi$^7$x bë$^7$l mǎn

**tarado, zonzo, lento, pasmado, paciente**
bchân

**tarántula**
xo^z yë^l

**Tarcicio**
tàrr

**tartamudear; hablar el tartamudo**
-za$^7$ di$^7$zh to^ kâ

**tartamudo**
to^ kâ

**tarugo**
tárǔg

**tatíl**
yà la$^7$zh

**tatomoxtle, totomoxtle**
là nîz

**távano**
mti$^7$ch

**távano, mosca grande**
mtyi$^7$ch

**tecolmeca**
yà wto^

**tecolmeca comestible**
yà wtó bwén

**tecolmeca de tlacuache**
yà wtó nděz

**tecolote**
mkók

**tecolotilla**
mběd

**tecolute**
mběd

**tecolute**
mgo^

**tecolute de elotes, enfermedad de elote, (Cuitlacoche, Huitlacoche)**
mběd bey$^{7}$

**tecolutito**
mběd pǎj

**tecolutito, tecolute chiquito**
mběd làn

**tecolutón, tecolute chiquito**
mko$^{7}$ làn

**teculutón, tecolute**
mko$^{7}$

**teja de barro**
téj yu^

**tejabanil (con tabla)**
téjámáníl

**tejocote, manzanita**
mántzán bǐx

**tejón**
mxi$^{7}$zh

**tela de araña**
dá bê

**tela de araña**
do$^{7}$ bê

**Teléspero**
Léx

**temazcal**
ngwzó yî

**temazcal**
yë^

**temblar**
-xìz

**temblor**
mbwîn

**temporada de agua, tiempo de agua, mes de agua, mes de llluvia**
mbe$^{7}$ bíyì

**temporada de lluvia, temporal de agua**
nzó do$^{7}$ yì

**temprano**
tzi$^{7}$l

**temprano, madrugada, tempranito**
zi$^{7}$l ta$^{7}$

**tenate**
tòb

**tenate hecho con palma**
tòb

**tener**
-âp

**tener antojo**
-lë$^{7}$

**tener calentura**
-yo^ xlë̌

**tener hambre**
-ân

**tener infección, llaga, o herida; estar lastimado**
-zǒbye$^{7}$

**tener muina, odiar**
-xǐ lá tyo$^{7}$

**tener relaciones, tener contacto**
-àp xi$^{7}$n

**tener risa**
-tyěn

**tener sed**
-yèk lá tyo$^{7}$

**tener sueño**
-yo^ xka$^{7}$l

**tener vergu"enza**
-dyò látyo$^{7}$

**tenerfrío**
-z-àk kwàl

**teniente**
tényént

**tentarlo, sostentarlo**
-gǎl

**tepache**
nîtz tě mbèy

**tepehuaje**
yà yë`z

**tepezquillo**
yà blà

**tercero**
mbyòn

**Teresa**
Lěx

**Teresa**

Téch

**terminarse**
-lùd

**terminarse**
-nì

**terremoto; terreno quebrado**
yu^ ngwlë̌

**terreno no trabajado**
yu^ ná ndàk lá ti$^7$n

**terreno virgen**
yu^ kúb

**tesorero**
xa$^7$ n-gòcha$^7$ tmî

**testigo**
xa$^7$ wnâ-y´

**tetique blanco**
yà ngól n-gŭd

**tetiquillo**
yà tê

**tetiquillo, palo de yacua de tetique amarillo**
yà làtz xìl yë̌g

**Tibursio**
Mbu^x

**tiempo**
wlë̌th

**tiempo de antes**
tyémp nzhâ zë` la$^7$

**tiempo de lluvia, tiempo de agua**
bí yì

**tiempo de miel, mes que hay miel**
tyémp tĕ mzhìn

**tiempo de sol**
mbe$^7$ bë̌

**tiempo de viento, mes de viento**
mbe$^7$ tĕ mbì

**tiempos antes, tiempos antepasados**
tyémp xàp

**tierno**
bèn

**tierra abonada**
yu^ kwë`l

**tierra arenosa brillante**
yu^ xkê mbë^l

**tierra arenosa, tierra de nuda, tierra desierto, tierra esteril**
yu^ yu^x

**Tierra Blanca**
yìt yă

**tierra caliente**
yu^ wzhë^

**tierra cocida, barro cocido**
yu^ ngwi$^7$

**tierra comunal**
yu^ làw

**tierra de adobe**
yu^ blë$^7$

**tierra de polvo**
yu^ ko^l

**tierra derrumbada; barranco**
yu^ wë`

**tierra fría**
yu^ kwàl

**tierra triste; tierra cascajo; tierra muerta de cerro con piedras que no sirve**
yu^ yu^x

**tierra, terreno, suelo**
yu^

**tieso**
mbyăg

**tijera de la casa**
yà téjér tĕ nì

**Timoteo**
mót

**tincuatla**
xìtz bèw

**tirarlo**
-g-ó bì

**tirarlo, aventarlo**
-tza$^7$b

**tirar, botar**
-g-ó bì

**tiro**
tír

**tiznar**
-zë$^7$ ndăn

**tizne**
ndăn

**tizón**
yà bo$^7$

**tizón**
yà yí tî

**tía**
nětz

**tía**
xna$^7$ xìt

**tía**
xnètz

**tío**
xìt

**tío**
xùz xìt

**tlacomixtle (local), cacomixtle (book)**
mbë´

**tlacuache**
nděz

**tlamalote**
yà zo$^7$b

**toalla**
lâd ni$^7$

**toalla**
lâd wni$^7$

**toalla**
twáy

**tocar**
-o$^7$l

**tocar**
-yîn

**todavía**
bélítza$^7$

**todavía**
ta$^7$

**todo**
dǔb gâx

**todo**
dúp tza$^7$

**todo**
të´ tzé

**todo**
të´tza$^7$

**todo el mundo**
dǔb yêzh lu^

**todos**
të´

**todos**
të´-x

**todos los años**
të´tza$^7$ li$^7$n

**todo(s)**
zǎ

**tolín de camote**
lë^ go^

**tolín de panal**
lë^ mbgu$^7$t

**tolín de pescado**
lë^ mbë^l

**tolín de viuse (carnitas)**
lë^ byúx

**toloache**
nîtz xi$^7$n xa$^7$ go^tz

**toloache**
nîtz yîd kwê xa$^7$ go^tz

**tomar**
-ò

**tomar**
-ù

**tomate**
bîx

**tomatillo de flor, tomatillo de ratón**
bîx ye$^7$

**tomatillo de ratón**
bîx tě mzìn

**tomatillo de ratón**
bîx yi$^7$

**tomatillo de ratón**
lùt bîx yi$^7$

**Tomás**
Mǎx

**Tomás**
Máx (CAN)

**tono**
tì

**tono alto**
tónó ga$^7$p

**tono ascendente**
tónó ndàp

**tono bajo**
tónó lâ

**tono descendente**
tónó ndlâ

**tono, tonante, tonal**
wzhë$^7$

**toparse**
-zha$^7$l

**topil de cocina**
xyà wsín

**topil de vara**
xyà

**topilillo de la iglesia**
bxìl to$^7$

**torcaza (JSV); tortolita (LDP)**
mběx

**torcer el ixtle, hacer mecate**
-úxkwa$^7$ do$^7$ yèzh

**torcerse**
-té lyàth

**torcerse, doblarse, troncharse, desviarse el hueso**
-tíl yàth

**torcido**
yà byêk

**Toribio**
trǐb

**toros uncidos, yunta uncida**
ngǒn nzhǐ

**toro, vaca, novillo, buey, ganado**
ngǒn

**torpe, terco**
tòb yo^x

**tortilla**
yë`th

**tortilla blanda**
yë`th gu$^7$d

**tortilla de alguien**
la$^7$

**tortilla podrida**
yë`th go$^7$zh

**tortilla seca**
yë`th bìd

**tortilla tlayuda, xonga**
yë`th kwë^d

**tortilla tostada; totopo**
yë`th gi$^7$x

**tortilla tostada, totopo**
yë`th mbo$^7$ch

**tortilla tostada, totopo**
yë`th yi$^7$x

**tortuga**
mbě

**tortuga de lodo**
mbě yu^ làn

**tortuga del cerro**
mbě yè

**tortuga del lodo, tortuga del cerro**
mbě yu^ làn

**torzon de la criatura**
ntë^l tě mbë̌z

**torzón**
ntë^l

**tos ferina**
to^ ndàp

**tostado**
mbgi$^7$x

**tostado**
wyu$^7$x

**tostarlo**
-ki$^7$x

**tostarse**
-yi$^7$x

**tostarse, asarse**
-yî

**total**
ndo^ të´

**trabajador**
xa$^7$ ndùn ti$^7$n

**trabajar, usar, ocupar**
-ùn ti$^7$n

**trabajo**
ti$^7$n

**trabajo comunal**
ti$^7$n làw

**trabajo de jornal; jornalero**
ti$^7$n gòn

**trabajoso**
wgàn

**trabajoso; duro**
wyî

**traer, venir a dejar**
-yë$^7$d na$^7$

**tragadero**
xkwězh

**tragarlo**
-kǎb

**tragón**
wlë̌

**traguntín**
là byòl

**trampa**
trámp

**trasparente**
ntyìd xë$^7$

**travesaño de la casa, travesaño de en media, viga**
yà do$^7$ nì

**trece**
tîn

**trementina**
do$^7$d

**trementina**
do$^7$t

**trenchar**
-tèk zǒb

**trenza**
měch

**tres**
chǒn

**tres cientos**
chǒn áyo$^7$

**Trinjilina**
Jyél

**tripa del desperdicio de la gente**
tzi$^7$ xkê měn

**troja, cerca**
lò

**trompezarlo**
-te$^7$p

**trompezarse**
-tye$^7$p

**tronar el agua con su brazo de uno**
-y-ìch kê-m´ yèth

**tronar el estómago**
-b-èzh lèn

**tronar el rayo, pegar el rayo**
-âch ngwzi$^7$

**tronar rayo**
-b-ezh ngwzi$^7$

**tronar (huesos)**
-b-o$^7$ mbîtz

**tronchadura, torcedura**
ntel yath

**tronco de corazón, palo macizo**
yà lë`d

**tronco; mocho**
bto$^7$

**trozo, pedazo**
to$^7$

**trucha**
mbë^l trúch

**tufo de javalín; lunar de javalín**
xkwe$^7$ tě mbèw

**tufo feo**
mbe$^7$k

**tulipán amarillo**
túlípánh nzhìch

**tulipán rojo, sardete**
túlípánh nê

**tulipán (flor)**
yi$^7$ túlípánh

**tumbar**
-tzu^b

**tumba; adonde se enterró el difunto**
zê mbgǎch gǎn

**tupido**
kwa$^7$

**tuza**
mbe$^7$y

**tú**
lo^

**Ud., Uds.**
gó

**ulabo**
ngwlàb

**Ulalia**
Lǎl

**un codo**
btîth

**un enredo; enredado**
bxìd

**un par de yuntas**
du^b nêz ngǒn

**un pedazo de vidrio**
du^b lë̌ bídry

**un peso**
du^b pés

**un pliegue de papel, una hoja de papel**
du^b là yìt

**un ratito**
xla$^7$l

**un ratito; un segundo; poco**

tu$^7$cha$^7$

**una bolita de carne dura donde sale pelo en el pecho de guajolote macho**
la$^7$n

**una clase de infección de la piel, que se pinta la piel color rojo o morado (BAL); hinchazón (CAN)**
yî bèy

**una comida sencilla, rústica, campesina**
nzhe$^7$n

**una docena**
du^b sén

**una hora**
du^b górr

**una lengua pegada al estómago, como hígado pero más pequeño**
lo^ yîx

**uno**
du^b

**un, una (comida preparada)**
châ

**uña del dedo (de la mano); casco (de caballo, etc.)**
xò ya$^7$

**uñas de los dedos de la mano**
xò (ngǔtz) ya$^7$

**Urbano**
Bǎn

**urraca**
lóx

**urraca con gusano**
lóx mbèy

**urraca espalda de gusano**
lóx lâz mbèy

**uso; lo usa, lo ocupa**
ndùn ti$^7$n

**uvula (RGBA)**
tîn

**uvula, lengüita**
lǔzh nké n-gâ wâtz tîn

**último**
lúlt

**úvera de vaca**
úbrá tě ngǒn

**vaciarse**
-tyë^ch

**vaciarse, descargarse**
-to$^7$ cho^

**vacío**
të^ch

**vagina**
pǒs yîd kwê

**vainilla**
yi$^7$ nzâ

**Valeria; Valerio**
Bálěr

**valer; costar**
-zàk

**vapor**
bìch

**vaquero**
bákér

**vara**
yà ku^zh

**varaña de gusano**
yà ngǐch tě mbèy

**varaña, palillo**
yà ngǐch

**varias veces**
kwa$^7$d bés

**varios, bastante**
kwa$^7$d

**varios, muchos**
lók

**vaso**
bás

**vaso de agua bendita (que tira el cura)**
bás tě nîtz lèy

**vecino**
xa$^7$ ndi$^7$b gâx wâtz nì té-n^

**veinte**
gâl

**vela, luz; electricidad**
xë$^7$

**vellos de la mano**
yìch ya$^7$

**vellos de los pies**
yìch ndâtz

**vellos del pecho o estómago**
yìch lá tyo$^7$

**vena de la mano**
yìb ya$^7$

**vena del pie**
yìb ndâtz

**venadero**
mbë$^7$l yo$^7$z

**venadito tierno**
gámít

**venado**
mbzhîn

**venado**
mzhîn

**venado tierno**
mzhîn bèn

**Venancia**
Nánch

**vena; cuerda**
yìb

**vencerse**
-yál látyo$^7$

**vencerse, calmarse**
-tzé yë´l lá tyo$^7$

**venderlo, despacharlo**
-dò

**venderse**
-dyǒ

**vengarse; reponerlo**
-g-òl tzá

**venir**
-ǎl

**venir**
-i$^7$d

**venir**
-zë̌

**venirse, regresar(se)**
-yë$^7$d

**ventado**
bìch

**ventana corredisa**
béntán nxo$^7$n

**ventear; jalar tufo**
-g-òb xla$^7$

**ventilarlo**
-lë`d mbì

**ventilarse**
-lë`d mbì

**ver**
-nâ

**ver**
-nî

**ver**
-wi$^7$

**verás**
kárǎ

**verás, Ud. crea, pensó, creyó**
kóndě

**verde**
ndyë^

**verde bajo**
ndyë^ là

**verdolaga**
tze$^7$w

**vereda de animal**
xnèz mǎn

**vereda; camino chiquito**
nêz bǐx

**veredear, hacer vereda**
-kë´ nêz

**vergüenza (enfermedad)**
gò

**verija**
bë$^7$l yîd kwê

**verija**
yîd kwê

**verse**
-nâ

**vez**
bés

**vez**
nê

**vez**
nka$^7$n

**viaje**
wzë`

**viaje**
zë`

**Vicente**
Chént

**Victoria**
Bǐk

**vida**
yë´l nbǎn

**viejez (local), vejez (standard)**
yë´l yîzh gǒx

**viejo**
gǒx

**viendo para arriba con los ojos abiertos**
bë^l

**viene aclarando, viene amaneciendo**
xgǔd

**viernes**
byěrr

**viga**
yèth yë$^7$z zbí

**vigilar, cuidar, guardar, espiar; oír**
-lë$^7$ch

**vilús**
mlu^x

**violento; apurativo**
wyèn lë`d

**Viralonga, Confradía (un rancho)**
xàn yè

**virgen**
nǎ

**virgen**
náx nâx

**virgen**
nâx nâx

**Virginia**
Jín

**viruela, viruela loca; varicela**
bît bdo$^7$

**viruxe (flor), Cemposúchitl chiquito**
yi$^7$ ndǔx

**visitar; ir a ver**
-â nâ

**viuda**
mě go^tz ngùth mě byî tě

**viudo**
mě byî ngùth chë$^7$l

**vivelula**
mko$^7$ yîx

**vivelula**
mtye$^7$n

**vivir**
-yo^

**vivo**
nbǎn

**vía**
nêz ntyìd trénh

**víbora corta**
wìz

**víbora de cascabel**
mbë$^7$l no$^7$ mtzo^n

**víbora de cascabel**
mbë$^7$l wzhíb

**víbora de cascabel**
wzhíb

**víbora de cáscabel**
mbyu$^7$z

**vívo, liviano, ágil, rápido**
wlǔt

**voltear**
-ti$^7$x běk

**voltearlo**
-ti$^7$x tê

**voltearlo, darle vuelta; doblarlo**
-tze$^7$k

**voltearse, brincar, ocultarse [el sol, la luna]**
-bìx

**vorlita o adorno que tiene la punta del cabello**
bórrlít

**voz, alma, pena**
xbì

**wrist bone**
tìth nî mbǎd ya$^7$

**x josefa**
yî yâ

**Xiteco, persona de Santa Cruz Xitla; Santa Cruz Xitla**
xîd

**xuquía**
wlân ndya$^7$

**ya**
lá

**ya**
la$^7$

**yá tiene (mucho) tiempo, tiempo de antes**
nzhâ zë´ la$^7$

**yegua**
yéw

**yerba buena**
byo^n

**yerba santa**
yà wâ

**yerba santilla**
là wâ bë$^7$l

**yerba santilla**
là yà wâ bë$^7$l

**yerbabuena de Castilla**
byo^n xtíl

**yerno**
xìn yu^zh

**yerno de planta, yerno sentado**
gùzh zǒb

**yo**
nâ

**zacate**
yîx

**zacate color de rosa**
ye$^7$ tě yîx yì kólór dé rós

**zacate cortador**
yêl

**zacate cortador**
yîx yë^l

**zacate cortador**
yë^l

**zacate cortadora**
yîx yì yë^l

**zacate de bejuco**
yî yî lùt

**zacate de casa**
yîx yì nì

**zacate de gordura de javalín, zacate gordo**
yîx mbèw

**zacate de sereno**
yîx bxo$^7$n

**zacate de sereno**
yîx go^p

**zacate de tempranero**
yîx ngyón

**zacate manteca**
yîx yì zë^

**zacate pará**
yîx párá

**zacate petate**
yîx yì dà

**zacate popote**
yîx yì go$^7$b

**zacate sacatón**
yîx sákátónh

**zacate (grande de monte)**
yîx yì

**zacatillo para enflaquerse**
yîx yî nîtz

**zacatillo, zacate de jardín, zacate petate, zacate conejo**
yîx dà

**zacatón**
sákátónh

**zanate**
myìn n-gǎtz

**zanate grande**
sánát

**zanatillo, zanate chico de ojo colorado**
mbìz

**zanja**
yë^tz

**zapato**
yîd ndyo^ ndâtz xa$^7$

**zapotal**
yà ngùz yê

**zapote**
ndâw

**zarandear, colar**
-ti$^7$b

**zopilote cabeza roja, zopilote cabeza colorada**
ngòl yèk nê

**zopilote del río, zopilote cabeza roja**
ngòl yu$^7$

**zopilote (cabeza negra)**
ngòl

**zorrillo**
mbìth

**1. paxle, el heno; 2. araña manos de cabello**
yìch yî

**3i**
ta$^7$

**(bebida)**
ngǎch

**(palo, semejanto al mandimo)**
yà zi$^7$

**(una especie de palo)**
yà ngùz y**ǐ**

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[1] Note, the material contained here appears to be copied from at several sources. One is Gutiérrez (1609). Another is Espíndola (1580), though there are details found in these originals which do not appear here. Whenever I use such material I cite it as (Espíndola, 1580) or (Gutiérrez, 1609) and not as (Anonymous, 1609). There is a lot of repetition and there may even be copying between the different accounts that are here pasted together as one. One account which I have not been able to obtain but which appears to be the other source used here is the "summary account of the visit made to this same town by Juan de Corral in the middle of the sixteenth century" (my translation, del Paso y Troncoso, 1905). Del Paso y Troncoso mentions that in this account, which appears in PNE Tomo I, num. 949, p. 316, the Nahua names are given and that it is said that there are actually 33 estancias but only 13 are named. This coincides with the information given in one piece of (Anonymous, 1609?) and when I give this citation this is the portion I am referring to.

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# Appendix B: Selected CLZ texts

Here I provide one sample text from each of the dialects of CLZ I have recorded texts in: Santa María Coatlán, San Baltazar Loxicha, and San Miguel Coatlán. These texts are available in wave form on the cd included with this dissertation.

## B1

Kwént tě Mbál Mbi$^{7}$zh kónh Mbál Nděz
El Cuento del Compadre León con el Compadre Tlacuache
The Story of Compadre Puma and Compadre Possum

Narrated by José Santos Velasquez of Santa María Coatlán in 1996[1]

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Kwént* | *tě* | *mbál* | *mbi$^{7}$zh* | *nà* | *kónh* | *mbál* | *nděz.* | 1 |
| **cuento** | **POS** | **compadre** | **AN-león** | **con** | **con** | **compadre** | **AN-tlacuache** | |
| **story** | **POS** | **compadre** | **AN-puma** | **with** | **with** | **compadre** | **AN-possum** | |

El Cuento del Compadre León con Compadre Tlacuache.
The Story of Compadre Puma and Compadre Possum.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Mbál* | *nděz* | *wze$^{7}$---* [2] | 2 |
| **compadre** | **AN-tlacuache** | **macho** | |
| **compadre** | **AN-possum** | **male** | |

Compadre tlacuache---
Compadre possum---

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Ndàb* | *mbál* | *gôtz* | *nděz* | *gôtz* | *ndô* | *mbál* | *wze$^{7}$,* | 3 |
| **H-decir** | **compadre** | **hembra** | **AN-tlacuache** | **hembra** | **cara** | **compadre** | **macho** | |
| **H-say** | **compadre** | **female** | **AN-possum** | **female** | **face** | **compadre** | **male** | |

Dice Comadre Tlacuacha al Compadre Tlacuache,
Comadre Possum says to Compadre Possum,

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Ndàb* | *“nâ* | *nwǐx* | *gą̌* | *nwǐx* | *nâ.* | 4 |
| **H-decir** | **1s** | **huixera** | **ir.1s** | **huixera** | **1s** | |
| **H-say** | **1s** | **craving.for.meat** | **go.1s** | **craving.for.meat** | **1s** | |

Dice, “Yo tengo huixera (ganas de comer carne).
She says, “I feel like eating meat.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Yá* | *nâ* | *lô* | *ndô* | *mbál,* | 5 |
| **P-ir** | **M-ver** | **2f** | **cara** | **compadre** | |
| **P-go** | **M-see** | **2f** | **face** | **compadre** | |

Vas a ver al compadre,
You’ll go and see the compadre,

---

[1] Thanks go to Terrence Kaufman and John Justeson, directors of the PDLMA, on which this text was recorded.

[2] It seems like this line introducing the male compadre as the subject was spoken in error and the femaleness of the comadre is perhaps overemphasized in the next line to make up for it.

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Nú* | *nhâ* | *lá* | *go$^7$* | *mbál* | *lô* | *go$^7$z,* | 6 |
| **X** | **X** | **NEG** | **P-llevar** | **compadre** | **2f** | **pesca** | |
| **X** | **X** | **NEG** | **P-take** | **compadre** | **2f** | **piercing** | |

A ver que no va a llevarte el compadre al campeado,
To see whether he’ll take you hunting,

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Pár* | *wǎ* | *nhá* | *bë$^7$l”.* | 7 |
| **para** | **P-comer.P** | **1i.N** | **carne** | |
| **for** | **P-eat.P** | **1i.N** | **meat** | |

Para que vamos a comer carne”.
So that we’ll eat meat.”

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *“Mbày”* | *ndàb* | *mbál* | *nděz.* | 8 |
| mba(ʔ)y nda(ʔa)β(əʔ) mbál ndésəʔ pár wá | | | ŋa βɛ́ʔlʔ | |
| **bueno** | **H-decir** | **compadre** | **tlacuache** | |
| **good** | **H-say** | **compadre** | **possum** | |

“Bueno” dice el compadre tlacuache.
“Fine” says Compadre Possum.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Ngwâ* | *mbál* | *nděz* | *ndô* | *mbál* | *mbi$^7$zh.* | 9 |
| **C-ir** | **compadre** | **tlacuache** | **cara** | **compadre** | **león** | |
| **C-go** | **compadre** | **possum** | **face** | **compadre** | **puma** | |

Fue el compadre tlacuache a ver al compadre león.
Compadre Possum went to see Compadre Puma.

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Ndàb,* | *“Kompádhr* | *á* | *lá* | *go$^7$* | *gá* | *nâ?* | 10 |
| **H-decir** | **compadre** | **COMP** | **NEG** | **P-llevar** | **2r** | **1s** | |
| **H-say** | **compadre** | **COMP** | **NEG** | **P-take** | **2r** | **1s** | |

Dice, “Compadre, ¿que no va Ud. llevar a mi?
He says, “Compadre, won’t you take me?

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Yá* | *nhá* | *go$^7$z.* | *Mbál* | *gôtz* | *nwǐx”.* | 11 |
| **P-ir.P** | **1i.N** | **pesca** | **compadre** | **hembra** | **huixe** | |
| **P-go.P** | **1i.N** | **piercing** | **compadre** | **female** | **huixe** | |

Vamos al campeado. La comadre tiene huixe”.
Let’s go hunting. The comadre feels like eating meat.”

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *“Yá* | *nhá”* | *ndàb* | *mbál* | *mbi$^7$zh.* | 12 |
| **P-ir.P** | **1i.N** | **H-decir** | **compadre** | **león** | |
| **P-go.P** | **1i.N** | **H-say** | **compadre** | **puma** | |

“Vamos” dice el compadre león.
“Let’s go,” says Compadre Puma.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Wî* | *nzhâ* | *mę́* | *[3] | *go$^7$z.* | 13 |
| **DET** | **H-irse** | **3hr** | | **pesca** | |
| **DET** | **H-go.away** | **3hr** | | **piercing** | |

Entonces se van al campeado.
Then they went away to the hunt.

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Ndzhâ* | *mę́* | *zá* | *na* | *ndzô* | *të$^7$l* | *dîb* | *ngǒn* | *dîb* | *bák* | 14 |
| **H-ir** | **3hr** | **lugar** | **REL** | **H-parar** | **noche?** | **uno** | **ganado** | **uno** | **vaca** | |
| **H-go** | **3hr** | **place** | **REL** | **H-stand** | **night?** | **one** | **stock** | **one** | **cow** | |

Se van donde está parado un ganado, una vaca.
They go where there is an ox standing, a cow.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Ndàb* | *‘bák* | *tìth’.* | 15 |
| **H-decir** | **vaca** | **flaca** | |
| **H-say** | **cow** | **flaca** | |

Dice ‘xonga (vaca flaca)’.
Like they say, ‘xonga (skinny cow).’

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Ndàb* | *mbál* | *nděz* | *ndô* | *mbál* | *mbi$^7$zh,* | 16 |
| **H-decir** | **compadre** | **tlacuache** | **cara** | **compadre** | **león** | |
| **H-say** | **compadre** | **possum** | **face** | **compadre** | **puma** | |

Dice Compadre Tlacuache al Compadre León,
Says Compadre Possum to Compadre Puma,

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *“Kompádhr,* | *kompádhr* | *á* | *lë$^7$* | *bë$^7$l* | *ta$^7$* | *bâ”?* | 17 |
| **compadre** | **compadre** | **COMP** | **FOC** | **carne** | **3i** | **allí** | |
| **compadre** | **compadre** | **COMP** | **FOC** | **meat** | **3i** | **there** | |

“Compadre, Compadre, ¿que ésa es la carne”?
“Compadre, Compadre, is that the meat?”

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ---*“Ña$^7$n”* | *ndàb* | *mbál* | *mbi$^7$zh* | 18 |
| **NEG** | **H-decir** | **compadre** | **león** | |
| **NEG** | **H-say** | **compadre** | **puma** | |

---“No”, dice Compadre León,
“No,” says Compadre Puma,

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *“(Lá*[4]*)* | *ná* | *ta$^7$* | *bâ* | *bë$^7$l.* | 19 |
| **NEG** | **NEG** | **3i** | **allí** | **carne** | |
| **NEG** | **NEG** | **3i** | **there** | **meat** | |

“No es carne.
“It’s not meat.

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Nzhâ* | *nhá* | *más* | *ádélánt”,* | *ndàb* | *mbál* | *mbi$^7$zh* | 20 |
| **H-ir** | **1i.N** | **más** | **adelante** | **H-decir** | **compadre** | **león** | |
| **H-go** | **1i.N** | **more** | **ahead** | **H-say** | **compadre** | **puma** | |

Vamos más adelante”, dice Compadre León.
Let’s go further ahead,” says Compadre Puma.

---

[3] At this point JSV made what he later deemed a speech error: *ngwâ mę́* **|C-ir 3hr; C-go 3hr|.**
[4] Not audible on the recording, but spoken by JSV when making the transcription from the tape.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Wî* | *nzhâ* | *mę́* | *más* | *ádélánt* | 21 |
| **DET** | **H-ir** | **3hr** | **más** | **adelante** | |
| **DET** | **H-go** | **3hr** | **more** | **ahead** | |

Entonces se van más adelante.
Then they go further ahead.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Ndàb* | *mbál* | *ndĕ̌z* | *stúb* | *nê,* | 22 |
| **H-decir** | **compadre** | **tlacuache** | **F-uno** | **vez** | |
| **H-say** | **compadre** | **possum** | **F-one** | **time** | |

Dice Compadre Tlacuache otra vez,
Once again Compadre Possum says,

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Kómpádhr,* | *kómpádhr* | *á* | *lë$^7$* | *bë$^7$l* | *ta$^7$* | *bâ* | 23 |
| **compadre** | **compadre** | **COMP** | **FOC** | **carne** | **3i** | **allí** | |
| **compadre** | **compadre** | **COMP** | **FOC** | **meat** | **3i** | **there** | |

“Compadre, Compadre, ¿que ésa es la carne”?
“Compadre, Compadre, is that the meat?”

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Ą̌ją$^7$* | *ndàb* | *mbál* | *mbi$^7$zh* | 24 |
| **uh-huh** | **H-decir** | **compadre** | **león** | |
| **uh-huh** | **H-say** | **compadre** | **puma** | |

‘Sí,’ dice Compadre León.
‘Uh-huh,’ says Compadre Puma.

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Kómó* | *lë$^7$* | *mbál* | *mbi$^7$zh* | *ndzhô* | *ndô* | *má* | *nda$^7$l,* | 25 |
| **como** | **FOC** | **compadre** | **león** | **H-[X cara: conocer]** | | **animal** | **gordo** | |
| **as** | **FOC** | **compadre** | **puma** | **H-[X face: know]** | | **animal** | **fat** | |

Como Compadre León conoce animal gordo,
As Compadre Puma knows fat animals,

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Wî* | *wlya$^7$* | *mę́* | *ndàb.* | 26 |
| **DET** | **C-llegar** | **3hr** | **H-decir** | |
| **DET** | **C-arrive** | **3hr** | **H-say** | |

Ahí llegaron, dice.
They arrived there, he says.

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Mbe$^7$n* | *mbál* | *mbi$^7$zh* | *atakára* | *dîb* | *bák* | *nda$^7$l,* | 27 |
| **C-hacer** | **compadre** | **león** | **atacar** | **uno** | **vaca** | **gordo** | |
| **C-do** | **compadre** | **puma** | **attack** | **one** | **cow** | **fat** | |

El compadre león atacó una vaca gorda,
Compadre Puma attacked a fat cow,

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Ástá* | *ké* | *lá* | *ngu$^7$n* | *mbál* | *mbi$^7$zh* | *gán.* | 28 |
| **hasta** | **que** | **NEG** | **IRR-hacer** | **compadre** | **león** | **ganar** | |
| **until** | **that** | **NEG** | **IRR-do** | **compadre** | **puma** | **achieve** | |

Hasta que no ganó de matarla.
Struggling to kill it.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Mbìth* | *mbál* | *mbi$^7$zh* | *lë$^7$* | *bák.* | 29 |
| **C-matar** | **compadre** | **león** | **FOC** | **vaca** | |
| **C-kill** | **compadre** | **puma** | **FOC** | **cow** | |

Mató el compadre león la vaca.
Compadre Puma killed the cow.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Wî* | *mwdö`* | *mę́* | *bë$^7$l.* | 30 |
| **DET** | **C-comer** | **3hr** | **carne** | |
| **DET** | **C-eat** | **3hr** | **meat** | |

Entonces comieron carne.
Then they ate meat.

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Mbál* | *mbi$^7$zh* | *kómó* | *mbál* | *mbi$^7$zh* | *ndǎk* | *ndö`* | *bë$^7$l,*[5] | 31 |
| **compadre** | **león** | **como** | **compadre** | **león** | **H-poder** | **H-comer** | **carne** | |
| **compadre** | **puma** | **as** | **compadre** | **puma** | **H-can** | **H-eat** | **meat** | |

Compadre León sabe comer carne,
Compadre Puma knows how to eat meat,

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Pér* | *mbál* | *nděz* | *nadǒj* | *tá* | *ndö`.* | 32 |
| **pero** | **compadre** | **tlacuache** | **poquito** | **3i** | **H-comer** | |
| **but** | **compadre** | **possum** | **little** | **3i** | **H-eat** | |

Pero Compadre Tlacuache poquito la que come.
But Compadre Possum only eats it a little.

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Wî* | *ndàb* | *mbál* | *mbi$^7$zh* | *ndô* | *mbál* | *nděz,* | 33 |
| **DET** | **H-decir** | **compadre** | **león** | **cara** | **compadre** | **tlacuache** | |
| **DET** | **H-say** | **compadre** | **puma** | **face** | **compadre** | **possum** | |

Entonces dice Compadre León al compadre tlacuache,
Then says Compadre Puma to Compadre Possum,

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *“Kómpádr,* | *wdö`* | *gó* | *bë$^7$l* | *wdö`* | *gó* | *bë$^7$l!”* | 34 |
| **compadre** | **IMP-comer** | **2r** | **carne** | **IMP-comer** | **2r** | **carne** | |
| **compadre** | **IMP-eat** | **2r** | **meat** | **IMP-eat** | **2r** | **meat** | |

“Compadre, ¡come Ud. carne! ¡come Ud. carne!”
“Compadre, eat some meat, eat some meat!”

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *“Ą̆ją$^7$,”* | *ndàb* | *mbál* | *nděz* | *“ndö`* | *ká* | *nâ.”* | 35 |
| **uh-huh** | **H-decir** | **compadre** | **tlacuache** | **H-comer** | **FOC** | **1s** | |
| **uh-huh** | **H-say** | **compadre** | **possum** | **H-eat** | **FOC** | **1s** | |

“Sí” dice el compadre tlacuache, “como yo siempre como”.
“Uh-huh,” says Compadre Possum, “like I always do.”

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Á* | *lë$^7$* | *mbál* | *nděz* | *be$^7$ntza$^7$* | *ta$^7$* | *wgu$^7$t$^7$* | *ndö`* | 36 |
| **COMP** | **FOC** | **compadre** | **tlacuache** | **puro** | **3i** | **blando** | **H-comer** | |
| **COMP** | **FOC** | **compadre** | **possum** | **only** | **3i** | **soft** | **H-eat** | |

El compadre tlacuache come pura carne blandita.
The compadre possum eats only soft meat.

---

[5] The word *bë$^7$l* was not actually spoken on the recording but was added when I transcribed this text with the narrarator.

*Ndö`* *lô* *ngǒn* *lô* *yîx* *má* *ndö`.* 37
**H-comer higado buey higado basura animal H-comer**
**H-eat liver ox liver trash animal H-eat**
Come higado, boja..... come.
He eats liver, guts... He eats.

*Wî* *mwdhö`* *mę́* *mwdhö`* *mę́.* 38
**DET C-comer 3hr C-comer 3hr**
**DET C-eat 3hr C-eat 3hr**
Entonces comieron carne.
Then they ate meat.

*Myo$^7$* *mę́* *bë$^7$l.* 39
**C-llevar 3hr carne**
**C-take 3hr meat**
Llevaron la carne.
They took the meat.

*Za* *ngwâ* *ndô* *mwdhö`* *mę́,* 40
**X C-ir cara C-comer 3hr**
**X C-go face C-eat 3hr**
Cuando acabaron de comer,
When they were finished eating,

*Myo$^7$* *mę́* *bë$^7$l* *lìt* *mę́.*[6] 41
**C-llevar 3hd carne hogar 3hr**
**C-take 3hd meat home 3hr**
Se llevaron la carne a su casa.
They took the meat home.

*Mwlinzhá* *mbál* *nděz* *ndô,* *ndô* *ngôtz* *tě.* 42
**C-llegar compadre tlacuache cara cara AN-hembra POS**
**C-arrive compadre possum face face AN-female POS**
Llega Compadre Tlacuache a su mujer.
Compadre Possum arrives back with his wife.

*Ndàb* *"mbe$^7$n* *sâ* *gán* *go$^7$z.* 43
**H-decir C-hacer 1e ganar pesca**
**H-say C-do 1e earn piercing**
Dice, "ganamos (la carne) del campeado.
He says, "we got the meat hunting.

---

[6] There was a speech error in this recording. JSV began to say *nì* which just means 'casa; house' and is alienably possessed and changed it to *lìt* which is an inalienably possessed word meaning 'hogar; home.'

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Wdö`* | *bë$^{7}$l* | *nàt* | *lë$^{7}$* | *lô* | *nwǐx”.* | 44 |
| **IMP-comer** | **carne** | **ahora** | **FOC** | **2f** | **huixe** | |
| **IMP-eat** | **meat** | **now** | **FOC** | **2f** | **craving** | |

¡Come carne ahora! Tú tienes huixe”.
Eat meat now. You have a craving for it.”

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Wî* | *“stúb* | *jalónh* | *wî”* | *ndàb* | *nděz---* | 45 |
| **DET** | **F-uno** | **jalón** | **DET** | **H-decir** | **tlacuache** | |
| **DET** | **F-one** | **jalón** | **DET** | **H-say** | **possum** | |

Entonces “otro jalón” dice el tlacuache---
Then “another trip” says the possum---

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Nděz* | *wze$^{7}$* | *ndô* | *nděz* | *gôtz,* | *gôtz* | *tě* | 46 |
| **tlacuache** | **macho** | **cara** | **tlacuache** | **hembra** | **hembra** | **POS** | |
| **possum** | **male** | **face** | **possum** | **female** | **female** | **POS** | |

El tlacuache macho a la tlacuacha, su mujer
The male possum to the female possum, his female

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Ndàb* | *nàt* | *dîb* | *nâ* | *gą̌* | *go$^{7}$z* | 47 |
| **H-decir** | **ahora** | **uno** | **1s** | **1s.ir.1s** | **pesca** | |
| **H-say** | **now** | **one** | **1s** | **1s.ir.1s**[7] | **piercing** | |

Le dice “ahora yo solito voy a campear.
He says “Now I’m going to hunt by myself.

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Lá* | *gǔn* | *nâ* | *abís* | *ndô* | *mbál.* | *Dîb* | *nâ* | *gą̌* | 48 |
| **NEG** | **P-hacer** | **1s** | **aviso** | **cara** | **compadre** | **uno** | **1s** | **1s.ir.1s** | |
| **NEG** | **P-do** | **1s** | **notice** | **face** | **compadre** | **one** | **1s** | **1s.go.1s** | |

No voy a avisar al compadre. Yo solo voy.”
I’m not going to let the compadre know. I’m going alone.”

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *“Mbày”* | *ndàb* | *nděz* | *gôtz.* | 49 |
| **bueno** | **H-decir** | **tlacuache** | **hembra** | |
| **fine** | **H-say** | **possum** | **female** | |

“Bueno” dice la tlacuacha.
“Fine,” says the female possum.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Wî* | *nzhâ* | *nděz* | *wze$^{7}$* | *nzhâ* | *go$^{7}$z.* | 50 |
| **DET** | **H-ir** | **tlacuache** | **macho** | **H-ir** | **pesca** | |
| **DET** | **H-go** | **possum** | **male** | **H-go** | **piercing** | |

Entonces se va el tlacuache macho a campear.
Then the male possum goes to camp/hunt.

---

[7] This is a special form of the verb ‘go’ that only occurs with the first person singular. Besides being marked tonally it takes a *g-* potential aspect prefix where with other subjects it would be *y*-initial. Before this word in the recording there was another word that the consultant and I never transcribed. It may have been a speech error that he edited out. It was *gǫ$^{7}$* which may mean ‘I’m going to take.’

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Kóntě* | *nděz* | *wze*$^7$ | 51 |
| **pensó** | **tlacuache** | **macho** | |
| **believe** | **possum** | **male** | |

Pensó el tlacuache
The male possum thought

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Ké* | *sùn* | *nděz* | *wze*$^7$ | *gán* | *gǔth* | *bák.* | 52 |
| **que** | **F-hacer** | **tlacuache** | **macho** | **ganar** | **P-matar** | **vaca** | |
| **que** | **F-hacer** | **tlacuache** | **macho** | **ganar** | **P-matar** | **vaca** | |

Que iba a ganar a matar la vaca.
That he would be able to kill the cow.

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Xte*$^7$ | *gǔn* | *nděz* | *gán* | *lë*$^7$ | *nděz* | *tu*$^7$*zh?* | 53 |
| **cómo** | **P-hacer** | **tlacuache** | **ganar** | **FOC** | **tlacuache** | **pequeño** | |
| **how** | **P-do** | **possum** | **achieve** | **FOC** | **possum** | **small** | |

Que va a ganar el pequeño tlacuache![8]
How would the possum be able to do it? Little possum!

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Lá* | *ndâp* | *fwěrz.* | 54 |
| **NEG** | **H-tener** | **fuerza** | |
| **NEG** | **H-have** | **strength** | |

Porque no tiene fuerza,
He doesn't have any energy.

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Wî* | *mbyo*$^7$*b*[9] | *zǒb*[10] | *nděz* | *tzo*$^7$ | *xwǎz* | *bák.* | 55 |
| **DET** | **C-jalarse** | **M-sentarse** | **tlacuache** | **espalda** | **POS-cacho** | **vaca** | |
| **DET** | **C-walk** | **M-sit** | **possum** | **back** | **POS-horn** | **cow** | |

Se sienta atrás de su cache de la vaca.
Then the possum went to sit behind the cow's horns.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Ásta* | *bâ* | *mtza*$^7$*b* | *xnè*[11] | *bák* | *nděz.* | 56 |
| **hasta** | **DET** | **C-aventarlo** | **POS-cola** | **vaca** | **tlacuache** | |
| **up.to** | **DET** | **C-throw** | **POS-tail** | **cow** | **possum** | |

Hasta por ahí botó la (cola de la) vaca el tlacuache.
Way over there the cow's tail threw the possum.

---

[8] La traducción arriba fue dada por JSV, el narrador de Santa María Coatlán, en 1996, unos momentos después de grabar este cuento. Otra posible traducción que ofrece LDP de SBL en 2004 es la siguente: ¿Cómo iba a ganar el tlacuache? porque el tlacuache esta chiquito!

[9] On a phonetic transcription of this recording that I made in 1996, all I heard of this word was *myo*$^7$. This could be a form of the verb 'llevarlo; take' and either the *b* of the completive marker was spoken but inaudible or perhaps it could be missing before *y*-initial roots in the SMaC variety. I also considered the possibility that this was a variant of the word *mbyô* 'muchacho, jovén; boy, youth' here referring to the little possum. In 2004 I have consulted with LDP, a speaker of a different dialect of this language, and he tells me that he thinks the proper word here is *mbyo*$^7$*b*, which I have retranscribed above.

[10] I actually heard something like [tsoʔbˀ] on the recording when I transcribed in in 1996. It may very well have been *zǒb* and LDP and I reason in 2004 but I make note of my first impressions here in case there is some fortition in the SMaC dialect for this form of the verb.

[11] In 1996 I heard [ṣlɛː] but in 2004 LDP and I agree that *xnè* makes more sense. I probably mistook /n/ for /l/. The word *xlë*ˆ means 'fresh,' which wouldn't make sense here.

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Ngòk* | *zǒb* | *nděz* | *ndô* | *kách* | *tě* | *bák* | 57 |
| **C-hacerse** | **INF-sentarse** | **tlacuache** | **cara** | **cacho** | **POS** | **vaca** | |
| **C-become** | **INF-sit** | **possum** | **face** | **horn** | **POS** | **cow** | |

Se (a)toró el tlacuache la punta del cacho.
The possum gored himself on the point of the horn.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Wti$^7$b* | *xnè* | *bák.*[12] | 58 |
| **C-R2-sacudir** | **POS-cola** | **vaca** | |
| **C-R2-shake** | **POS-tail** | **cow** | |

Sacudió la vaca su cola.
The cow shook its tail.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Ngòb* | *nděz* | *ndô* | *yû.* | 59 |
| **C-caer** | **tlacuache** | **cara** | **tierra** | |
| **C-fall** | **possum** | **face** | **earth** | |

Se cayó el tlacuache al suelo (a la tierra).
The possum fell to the ground.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Yá* | *nzhâ* | *lá* | *wìzh.* | 60 |
| **ya** | **H-irse** | **ya** | **sol** | |
| **already** | **H-go.away** | **already** | **sun** | |

Yá tiene días.
Days have passed already.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Wî* | *stûb* | *wìzh,* | *splǎ* | *wì$^7$zh,* | 61 |
| **DET** | **otro** | **sol** | **F-cuánto** | **sol** | |
| **DET** | **another** | **sun** | **F-how.many** | **sun** | |

Entonces otro día, otros cuantos días[13],
Then another day, another so many days,

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Wnǎb* | *di$^7$zh* | *mbál* | *nděz* | *gôtz* | 62 |
| **C-pedir** | **palabra** | **compadre** | **tlacuache** | **hembra** | |
| **C-request** | **word** | **compadre** | **possum** | **female** | |

Preguntó Comadre Tlacuache
Comadre Possum asked

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[12] This sentence has been significantly altered from my original transcription of [wəti:(ʔ)β: ndé---šlɛ: βák$^h$]. *nde* was likely a speech error, the beginning of the word *nděz.* As in line 56, also altered, I heard the word [ṣlɛ] but as I correct this text in 2004 I only have access to a speaker from SBL and not SMaC. It is possible that there really is a word *xlë* that belongs in both lines and which only exists in SMaC and not in SBL. Again though, LDP's and my best guess is that the word intended is *xnè* 'cola; tail.' The original translation did not mention a tail here but a head 'sacudió la vaca su cabeza. I have changed the translation to match the new reconstructed sentence.

[13] The translation of *splǎ wìzh* was given as 'otro día' by the narrator, JSV, and 'otros cuántos días' by LDP. I have used the latter here because it is a more precise representation of what *splǎ* means as opposed to *stûb*.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Ndô* | *mbál* | *mbi$^7$zh,* | 63 |
| **cara** | **compadre** | **león** | |
| **face** | **compadre** | **puma** | |

Al compadre león,
Compadre Puma,

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *“A* | *lá* | *nhnî* | *gó* | *kompádr* | *zâ* | *ngwâ* | *gán* | 64 |
| **COMP** | **NEG** | **IRR-ver** | **2r** | **compadre** | **lugar** | **C-ir** | **ganar** | |
| **COMP** | **NEG** | **IRR-see** | **2r** | **compadre** | **place** | **C-go** | **score** | |

“¿Que no vió Ud. al compadre donde fue Ud.?”
“Didn’t you see the compadre where you went?”

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Ndàb* | *nděz* | *gôtz.* | 65 |
| **H-decir** | **tlacuache** | **hembra** | |
| **H-say** | **possum** | **female** | |

Dice la comadre tlacuacha.
Says Comadre Possum.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Ndàb* | *“ña$^7$n* | *lá* | *nhnî* | *kompádhr.* | 66 |
| **H-decir** | **NEG** | **NEG** | **IRR-ver** | **compadre** | |
| **H-say** | **NEG** | **NEG** | **IRR-see** | **compadre** | |

Dice, “No ví el compadre.
(Puma) says, “I didn’t see the compadre.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Pǎ* | *nzhâ* | *kompádhr?”* | 67 |
| **adónde** | **H-irse** | **compadre** | |
| **where** | **H-go.away** | **compadre** | |

¿Adónde se fue el compadre?”
Where did the compadre go?”

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *“Kompádhr* | *nzhâ* | *go$^7$z.* | 68 |
| **compadre** | **H-irse** | **pesca** | |
| **compadre** | **H-go.away** | **piercing** | |

“Compadre se fue a campear.
“The compadre went camping/hunting.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Dîb* | *kompádhr* | *nzhâ.”* | 69 |
| **uno** | **compadre** | **H-ir.se** | |
| **one** | **compadre** | **H-go.away** | |

Sólo compadre se fue.”
The compadre went by himself.”

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *“Ña$^7$n.”* | *ndàb* | *mbál* | *mbi$^7$zh,* | 70 |
| **NEG** | **H-decir** | **compadre** | **león** | |
| **NEG** | **H-say** | **compadre** | **puma** | |

‘No’ dice el compadre león,
‘No’ says the compadre puma,

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *“Únika* | *dîb* | *chakét* | *wnî* | *nàx* | *ta*$^7$ | *yo*$^7$ | *zâ* | *wî* | 71 |
| **única** | **uno** | **chaqueta** | **C-ver** | **acostado** | **3i** | **río** | **lugar** | **DET** | |
| **only** | **one** | **jacket** | **C-see** | **lying** | **3i** | **river** | **place** | **DET** | |

“Sólo una chaqueta ví. Está tirada a la orilla del río.
“I only saw a jacket. It’s lying on the edge of the river.

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Pwéd* | *lë*$^7$ | *chakét* | *tě* | *mbál* | *tá* | *wî* | 72 |
| **puede** | **FOC** | **chaqueta** | **POS** | **compadre** | **3i** | **C-ver** | |
| **can.be** | **FOC** | **jacket** | **POS** | **compadre** | **3i** | **C-see** | |

Capáz su chaqueta del compadre es la que ví.”
Maybe it’s the compadre’s jacket that I saw.’

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Lìth* | *ngwâ* | *ndô* | *kwént* | 73 |
| **X-matar** | **C-ir** | **cara** | **cuento** | |
| **X-kill** | **C-go** | **face** | **tale** | |

Así acabó el cuento.
This is how the story ended.