A Sketch of Mixtepec Zapotec Grammar

Eugene S. Hunn, Akesha Baron
University of Washington, Seattle, WA 98195-3100
Roger Reeck
SIL, La Ceiba, Honduras
Meinardo Hernández Pérez, Hermilo Silva Cruz
San Juan Mixtepec, Oaxaca, México

Table of Contents:

1. Introduction. Mixtepec Zapotec is a language of the Zapotec family within the Otomangue Phylum. It is spoken by ca. 8,000-12,000 people of five adjacent towns on the north slope of the Sierra de Miahuatlán in Oaxaca, Mexico. This sketch is based on the speech of one of those towns, San Juan Mixtepec, located at 16º 16' N, 96º 18' W.

The Zapotec family includes an indeterminate number of "languages," reputed to be somewhere between four and 54 (). It is, in fact, impossible to count Zapotec languages with any certainty, since speech differs among each of the several hundred Zapotec-speaking communities, with mutual intelligibility – the standard criterion for defining language boundaries – declining gradually – and not always symmetrically – with intertown distances (Weathers 1975).

Most scholars recognize four genetic divisions within the Zapotec family, with Chatino closely allied, but distinct. Two of these divisions are located in the Sierra Norte, a third is located south and west of the Central Valleys of Oaxaca, adjacent to the Chatino region. The Zapotec family is comparable in time depth (and thus, presumably, in internal diversity) to the Romance language family, descendant languages of the language of the Roman Empire, roughly contemporary with Classic Monte Albán.

Mixtepec Zapotec is best placed with this Central Division of the Zapotec family. Despite considerable contact influences with adjacent Zapotec languages to the west, such as those of the Amatlán towns and of Miahuatlán, MZ is most closely allied with other Zapotec languages downriver within the Tehuántepec River basin, such as the eastern dialects of Mitla Zapotec. This suggests that the Mixtepec towns were settled by a movement up the Tehuántepec River valley from near Mitla. Classic period ruins in San Juan Mixtepec (Winter 1997) suggest that this occupation dates back at least 1500 years.

1.1. Current status of Mixtepec Zapotec. MZ is not at present endangered. Census figures for 2000 (INEGI) report the following totals and percentages of Native Zapotec speakers (five years of age and over) with percentages of those bilingual in Spanish, as follows:

TABLE 1.—Status of Zapotec in representative towns of the Sierra de Miahuatlán region.

Municipio/Agencia	Native Speakers ≥5 yrs old	Percent	Percent Monolingual
San Juan Mixtepec	837	98.6%	21.9%
San Pedro Mixtepec	1059	96.6%	4.3%
San Lorenzo Mixtepec	156	86.7%	0.6%
San Agustín Mixtepec	18	5.0%	0.0%
San Ándres Mixtepec	201	98.5%	2.5%
San José Lachiguirí	2659	99.3%	23.8%
Santa Catarina Quioquitani	330	91.4%	1.1%
Santa Catalina Quieri	833	98.9%	4.9%
San Juan Ozolotepec	3	0.5%	0.0%
Santo Domingo Ozolotepec	311	36.7%	0.5%

Names of municipos for which we cite municipal totals are in bold type; the names of settlements subordinate to a municipal head town or representing the head town only are in regular type. There are 4662 native speakers of MZ $\geq$ 5 years of age in the five MZ towns, San Juan, San Pedro, San Lorenzo, and San Ándres Mixtepec and San José Lachiguirí. San Agustín Mixtepec has largely abandoned Zapotec since the mid-1960s, according to local residents (pers. comm., 2002), but the few remaining speakers might be added to those speaking MZ, bringing that total to 4680. In addition, we estimate that perhaps 3,000 to 7,000 MZ speakers now live outside their natal communities, mostly in cities of the Isthmus of Tehuantépec and the Central Valleys in Oaxaca and on the Pacific Coast of Oaxaca and Chiapas.

The Yautepec-district towns of Quioquitani and Quieri speak closely related forms of Zapotec and might be considered to speak the same language as those of the Mixtepec towns already enumerated. The several communities included in the census tallies for San Juan and Santo Domingo Ozolotepec also speak related dialects, though these are at a somewhat greater remove. The head town, San Juan Ozolotepec, is now predominantly Spanish-speaking. It is not entirely clear what historical, social, political, and/or economic factors might account for this pattern of linguistic conservatism and innovation, but it is clearly not simply a matter of geographic isolation, as some of the least isolated communities (e.g., San José Lachiguirí) are conservative while some more isolated towns (e.g., San Juan Ozolotepec) have nearly abandoned Zapotec.

1.2. Linguistic research on Mixtepec Zapotec. The only linguistic research to date on MZ is that of Roger Reeck, begun in 1973 and focused on the San Juan Mixtepec dialect. Reeck's Master's Thesis (Reeck 1991) is an abridged trilingual dictionary (MZ-Spanish-English). This thesis includes a characterization of the MZ speech community, a phonological sketch, and discussion of orthographic conventions. Hunn's ethnobiological research (initiated in 1996 in San Juan), relies heavily on Reeck's analysis. The Summer Institute of Linguistics has published a number of booklets in MZ (written without marking tone), which include folk tales and translations of sections of the *New Testatment* (Reeck, M., Hermilo Silva, and Meinardo Hernández 1980;). Native speakers literate in Spanish (of those >15 years of age: 51% of San Juan, 67% of San Pedro, biased strongly toward males: 80% and 85% respectively) can read these without difficulty, but only two native speakers – Hermilo Silva Cruz and Meinardo Hernández Pérez, both of San Juan Mixtepec -- have mastered writing the language. This sketch draws heavily on material developed in a MZ workshop led by Hernández Pérez held at the University of Washington in August 2000.[1]

1.3. Outline of this grammatical sketch. This sketch includes a description of the MZ phonological system and the orthography developed for MZ. We describe the consonants in terms of a pervasive contrasting lenis-fortis series. We note also a few rare consonant phonemes that occur primarily in Spanish loans. We discuss consonant clusters and the affects of assimilation between adjacent consonants. There are six vowel positions, each of which occurs in simple and glottalized variants and with anyone of four contrastive

---

tones. These are illustrated by minimal pairs. We also note briefly some morphophonemic tone changes.

We describe MZ syntax in terms of traditional "parts of speech": nouns, pronouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, conjunctions, and "ornaments" (Cordova 1578a:112). We describe typical word order (VSO; head first) and topic marking and provide a brief sketch of compound word formation and derivation. We pay particular attention to the forms of names for plants, animals, and places, most of which are compounds.

The core of our account of MZ syntax is our analysis of verbs. We describe verb inflection patterns by person, number, and tense/aspect (the six primary contrasting tense/aspect forms are described). Several common patterns of "irregular" verb paradigms (a function of person and number) are illustrated, but we are well aware that the verb inflection system is far more complex that what we describe here. We note also some regular derivational processes, such as those for causatives, and illustrate a number of productive verb suffixes that have regular adverbial or semantic force.

We describe the most common negative, possessive, comparative, relative, and interrogative constructions. We describe adjectival and adverbial expressions, such as those for number, color, and those specifying temporal and spatial relations. We conclude by noting several intriguing semantic subtleties that distinguish a MZ (or Zapotec) cosmovision.

2.1. MZ phonemes (see Table 2) include labial, alveolar, velar, and labiovelar occlusives, in fortis and lenis series, plus alveolar and palatal affricates and fricatives, also fortis and lenis. The three semivowels do not contrast on the fortis-lenis dimension. Labial and alveolar semivowels following velar occlusives are analyzed as unitary labiovelar phonemes. The sound written "***ngu***" is analyzed as a unitary consonant phoneme (a nazalized labiovelar sonorant). These analytic decisions and orthographic conventions are justified in more detail in Reeck (1991:262-270). Labial ("***f***") and velar ("***j***," "***x***") fricatives and the palatal nasal (***ñ***) are found only in Spanish loans, as is the silent "***h***" (which is not pronounced but written to conform to Spanish orthographic conventions in loan words).

Table 2.—Mixtepec Zapotec phoneme inventory in the practical orthography, consonants.[2]

	labial	*alveolar*	*palatal*	*velar*	*labiovelar*
occlusive:					
fortis	**p**	**t**		**c, qu, k**	**cu, cw**
lenis	**b**	**d**		**g, gu**	**gu, gü, gw**
affricate:					
fortis		**ts**	**ch**		

---

[2] This chart is adapted from Reeck (1991:262-270). Due to limitations in our available fonts we have written the sixth vowel as **E**, rather than **ë**, as Reeck does. Symbols in brackets are found only in Spanish loans. Sounds with multiple spellings follow Spanish orthographic rules.

lenis		*dz*	*dx*		
fricative:					
fortis	*[f]*	*s*	*x*	*[x]*	
lenis		*z*	*zh*		
nasal:					
fortis	**<u>m</u>**	**<u>n</u>**	*[ñ]*	**ngu**	
lenis	**m**	**n**		**ngu**	
lateral:					
fortis		**<u>l</u>**			
lenis		**l**			
vibrant:					
fortis		**rr, <u>r</u>**			
lenis		**r**			
semivowel:					
fortis	**w**		*y*		
lenis	**w**		*y*		

As a naïve native English speaker, Hunn has experienced particular difficulty hearing the fortis-lenis contrast, as this is similar to but not quite the same as the unvoiced-voiced contrast characteristic of English and Spanish occlusives, affricates, and fricatives. The contrast is particularly subtle for nasal and lateral sonorants. In word-final position, lenis sonorants are scarcely audible. One strategy useful for learning this distinction is to note how vowels are shortened when followed by a fortis as opposed to a lenis nasal or lateral sonorant. If still in doubt, one may elicit the word in a construction where the sonorant in question is followed by a vowel, e.g., "***mèl-á***" 'it is a star' versus "***mè<u>l</u>-á***" 'it is a fish'.

Table 2.—Mixtepec Zapotec phoneme inventory in the practical orthography, vowels.[3]

vowel (tone)	*front, simple*	*glottalized*	*back, simple*	*glottalized*
high	*í, î, ǐ, ì*	*íi, îi, ǐi, ìi*	*ú, û, ǔ, ù*	*úu, ûu, ǔu, ùu*
mid	*é, ê, ě, è*	*ée, êe, ěe, èe*	*ó, ô, ǒ, ò*	*óo, ôo, ǒo, òo*
low	*É, Ê, Ě, È*	*ÉE, ÊE, ĚE, ÈE*	*á, â, ǎ, à*	*áa, âa, ǎa, àa*
diphthongs	*íe, íE, íu, ío, ía* *îe, îE, îu, îo, îa* *ǐe, ǐE, ǐu, ǐo, ǐa* *ìe, ìE, ìu, ìo, ìa*	*úi, úe, úE, úo, úa* *ûi, ûe, ûE, ûo, ûa* *ǔi, ǔe, ǔE, ǔo, ǔa* *ùi, ùe, ùE, ùo, ùa*		

The vowel system is perhaps easier for a native English speaker than for a native Spanish speaker, as the "sixth vowel" is the familiar "*Ɵ*" of English "hat" or "cat." The simple versus glottalized vowel contrast is also not entirely foreign to English speakers, as we are accustomed to the glottalized vowel of the admonitions "uh-uh" and "oh-oh." MZ glottalized vowels sound much like these admonitive interjections when word final or when followed by a lenis consonant, but are reduced before fortis consonants to a preglottalization of the following consonant. One should be aware also that glottalization may be transferred to the preceding word in compounds or phrases, e.g., "*gâz + lùu* ➔ *gâazlù* 'you will bathe' (Reeck 1991:265).

The following minimal (or near minimal) pairs illustrate the more subtle MZ phonological distinctions.

Table 3.—Minimal pairs that illustrate the fortis-lenis contrast.

	word initial or medial	word final
b vs. p	*bès* 'omen' vs. *pês* 'fish\<sp\>'	*ráb* 'swallow' vs. *ràp* 'have'
c/qu vs. g/gu	*cŏc* 'coconut' vs. *gòc* 'did it'	*rcàl* 'shade' vs. *rgàl* 'burp'
cu/cw vs. gü/gw		*ràcw* 'wear' vs. *ràgw* 'get stuck'
ch vs. dx		
d vs/ t	*tiè* 'earth' vs. *diè* 'dust	*mèd* 'tick' vs. *mèt* 'skunk'
dz vs. ts	*dzìn* 'honey' vs. *tsìn* '13'	*ràts* 'break' vs. *ràdz* 'get wet'
l vs/ l̲		*mèl* 'star' vs. *mèl̲* 'fish'
m vs. m̲		*prêm* 'prize\<sp\>' vs. *dăm̲* 'owl'
n vs. n̲		*gŏn* 'I planted' vs. *gŏn̲* 'I saw'
r vs. rr	*ròb* 'tenate' vs. *rròb* 'pour liquid'	
s vs. z	*sêd* 'silk\<sp\>' vs. *zêd* 'salt'	*rgâs* 'turn back' vs. *rgâz* 'bathe'
x vs. zh	*xòn* 'eight' vs. *zhòn* 'skirt'	*mèx* 'chigger' vs. *mèzh* 'dove'

Table 4.—Minimal pairs that illustrate simple versus glottalized vowels.

i vs. ii	*dzìn* 'honey' vs. *dzìin* 'work'
e vs. ee	*mèl̲* 'fish' vs. *mèel̲* 'snake'
E vs. EE	*mÈ* 'cooked beans' vs. *mÈE* 'moon'
u vs. uu	*rlŭ* 'show' vs. *rlŭu* 'be shown'
o vs. oo	*ròn* 'listen' vs. *ròon* 'cry'
a vs. aa	*nià* 'narrow' vs. *niàa* 'would have done'

Tone is of moderate significance in MZ, though native speakers literate in Spanish can read MZ text without tone being marked. In fact, native speakers find written diacritics specifying tone to be distracting. However, tone is not readily predictable, so must be written for the benefit of non-native speakers seeking to learn the language. (It is also the case that tone systems vary substantially among even closely related Zapotec languages.)

There are four tones in MZ: low, rising, falling, and high, roughly in order of frequency (see Reeck 1991 for more detail). Tones are most readily heard on simple vowels in word final position or preceding lenis consonants. A trailing fortis consonant shortens the vowel, making tone less apparent. Tone is especially difficult to determine – even for

linguistically trained native speakers – for glottalized vowels. However, examples of falling and high tones on glottalized vowels are few, thus simplifying matters somewhat. Tone is tricky on diphthongs, as these involve a glide which simulates a falling tone. The actual pitch of a given high or low tone and of the onset of a rising or falling tone also varies (for a given speaker) depending on the height of the vowel (an "i" with low tone sounds higher than an "a" with the same tone) and the context of the preceding tone (the second of two successive low tones is lower than the first, for example [Reeck 1991:264]). Finally, the tone of a syllable spoken in isolation may well be different than the tone of the same syllable in a compound or sentence. For example, *yâg* 'tree' is pronounced *yàg* in the compounded plant names *yàg-guièr* 'pine tree' and *yàg-guiál̲* 'custard apple tree'. Native speakers cannot identify tone consistently without a great deal of systematic practice, but will be highly amused by the awkward efforts of the novice to master these subtleties.

Table 5.—Minimal pairs that illustrate tone contrasts.

	low	rising	falling	high
i				
e	*yè* 'raw' *mèd* 'tick'	*yě* 'sweat bath"	*mêd* 'money'	*yé* 'also'
E	*nlÈE* 'loose'	*nlĚE* 'hot'		
u	*gùt* 'dead'	*gǔt* 'may kill'		
o	*chò* 'next to'	*lǒzh* 'hairy' *chǒ* 'who?	*lôzh* 'beard'	
a	*mbàn* 'rob' *sàc* 'because'	*mbǎn* 'sad' *sǎc* 'suffer'	*mbân* 'miss'	*mbán* 'live'
ii				
ee				
EE				
uu				
oo		*gǒol* 'yolk'		*góol* 'I aged'
aa	*bàa* 'tomb'		*bâa* 'will lie'	
ui	*buì* 'looked'	*buǐ* 'guava'		
ay		*bǎy* 'rebozo'	*bây* 'I wonder'	
ia	*riàl̲* 'freeze'		*riâl̲* 'end'	
ie	*guièl* 'lake'	*bziě* 'flute'	*guiêl* 'corn'	*bzié* 'well'

2.2. Syllabic structure. Mixtepec Zapotec words for the most part have a single vowel nucleus, that is, the exhibit the following canonical forms: (C)(C)CV(V)(C)(C), where VV represents either a diphthong or a glottalized vowel. Deviations from these forms are most often either compounds or Spanish loans. For example: *báy-guièt*, literally 'rebozo' + 'tortilla', a special woven cloth for covering tortillas; *kàwây* 'horse', < Spanish *caballo*. Polysyllabic Spanish words typically lose the terminal vowel. The stressed vowel (the penultimate in regular Spanish words, which becomes the final vowel in the truncated Mixtepec Zapotec form) takes falling tone.

3. Morphosyntax.

3.1. Pronouns

3.1.1. Personal pronouns. Subject, direct and indirect object, and possessive pronouns are invariant and follow the verb (subject first, then object) or possessed noun. The first approximation is straightforward, as follows:

nàa	I, me, my, mine	*lîbr nàa* 'my book'
lùu	you, your, yours (sing.)	*lîbr lùu* 'your (singular) book'
mé	he/she, him/her, his/her(s)	*lîbr mé* 'his/her book'
nè	we, us, our, ours (incl.)	*lîbr nè* 'our (inclusive) book'
nó	we, us, our, ours (excl.)	*lîbr nó* 'our (exclusive) book'
tó	you, your, yours (pl.)	*lîbr tó* 'your (plural) book'
zhó	they, them, their, theirs	*lîbr zhó* 'their book'

"He gave you my book," would be, "***Bdèed mé lùu lîbr nàa***."

The third person singular pronouns, however, vary by sex and age of speaker and referent, as well as by animacy. Pronoun choices in this instance may also index familiarity and/or respect. The form cited above, ***mé***, is only used by adults of either sex for male or female persons of equal or superior age/status. A number of other third person singular pronouns double as nouns. The most frequently employed are as follows:

mé	only used by adults of either sex for male or female persons of equal or superior age/status
ndzôop	by adults referring to a young female
ndîip	by adults referring to a young male
nguièg	by adults referring to a young person of either sex
mguì	used to refer to an adult male
mĔEd	by adults referring to a child
wìn	by adults referring to a child
mâ	used to refer to an animal (> mushrooms, acorns)
C-á, V-w	pronominal suffixes used to refer to inanimate entities

3.1.2. Interrogative pronouns introduce questions. These are treated in detail below in section 4.2. The most common interrogative pronouns are:

pě "What?" [with respect to nominals];
chǒ "Who?";
chǒ-chěn 'Whose?";

3.1.3. Relative pronouns link subordinate and independent clauses. The particle ***nè*** 'that' most often serves this function.

> **GrÊsé mâ nè nŏ dán guìx ntséb mâ.**
> All wild animals are timid. [All animals that there are [in] wild bush [are] timid.]

3.2. Verbs.

3.2.1. Verb stem forms. Verb stems may be simple or compound.

3.2.1.1. Simple verb stems may have the canonical forms (C)V(V) (C)(C). Noun and adjective stems very rarely begin with a vowel (except for many Spanish loans) and frequently begin with two consonants, verb stems are commonly of the form –V, -VV, -VC, -VVC and never begin with two consonants. This suggests that the tense/aspect prefix functions as an integral part of the word morphophonemically. A sample of simple verb stems is listed below:

r-	*àa*	lie down
r-	*áb*	swallow
r-	*càan*	hit, bump into
r-	*dèed*	give
r-	*èt*	die
r-	*ĭee*	dance
r-	*lăb*	read, count
r-	*òol*	play (an instrument)
r-	*ôw*	eat
r-	*rièe*	leave, go out
r-	*tò*	sell
r-	*uì*	see, look
r-	*ùt*	kill
r-	*xèel*	send

3.2.1.2. Compound verb stems. Compound stems may be composed of a simple stem plus and adverbial suffix (which may be more or less productive), of a simple stem plus a noun or adjective, of two simple stems, or of a simple stem plus a stem with an aspect or derivational prefix.

3.2.1.2.1. Adverbial stem suffixes. The following productive stem suffixes contribute adverbial clarification to the action of the verb:

-àqué 'also':
    brièequiâ-àqué 'succeed also' < ***rrièequiâ*** 'succeed';
    dôw-àqué 'has eaten already' < ***rôw*** 'eat';
    Wên-àqué-w. "It's good also."
-lé 'already':
    Dôw-lé nàa. "I have already eaten."
    găn-lé 'may see, take care of already' < ***răn*** 'see, take care of' [idiomatic polite expression];

     gôl-lé 'has matured already' < *râl* 'get old, mature', e.g., *¿Bód gôl-lé hôr ná gáaguiès né*? "Perhaps the hour that we may eat has arrived?

     Q: *¿Pé gùg-lé bzìàa*? Are the beans cooked yet? A: *Gùg-lé-w*. "They are already cooked." < *règ* 'boil, cook by boiling';

     Q: *¿ Pé riò-lé zhìmcàal lô luu*? "Are you sleepy yet?" [literally, "Exists already your sleep to you?" < *rió* 'be located, exist, live';

-lsà 'one another' < *lsà* 'fellowman, mankind':

     rcàan-lsà 'hit one another' < *rcàan* 'hit';

     rlÉE-lsà 'get angry at everyone' < *rlÉE* 'get angry';

     rùt-lsà 'kill one another' < *rùt* 'kill';

-niĕ 'with':

     ràc-niĕ 'accompany/help' < *ràc* 'do/make';

     rdíl-niĕ 'to fight with' < *rdíl* 'fight';

     riáad-niĕ 'bring' < *riăad* 'come';

     riè-niĕ 'to take with, carry along' < *riè* 'go';

     ròol-niĕ 'praise, honor' < *ròol* 'play an instrument';

     rquià-niĕ 'to have' < *rquiâ* 'be attached';

     rzÉ-niĕ 'walk with [someone]' < *rzÉ* 'walk';; *Biă-niĕ nàa x-àmîgw nàa ló wgàa.* "My friend went with me to the corn field."; *Güèy-niĕ x-àmîgw nàa nàa ló wgàa.* "I went with my friend to the corn field."

-pâa 'definitely/exactly':

     Dôw-pâa mé guièt. "She definitely ate tortillas."

     nă-pâa 'right now' < *nă* 'now';

-ráa 'besides/in addition':

     Q: *¿Pá tsiè lùu*? "Where are you going?" Q: *¿Pá-ráa tsiè lùu*? "And where else?"

     Q: *¿Pè-ráa*? "What else?"

-rê 'completely':

-sé 'only/just':

     màa-sé "OK";

     yèen-sé 'just a little' < *yèen* 'a little';

     znîip-sé 'soon' < *znîip* 'a little more';

     Làa nàa zòb-sé. "I'm just sitting here." < *rzòb* 'sit', *zòb* 'seated';

-sô '':

     rdèd-sô '?' < *rdèd* 'pass through, enter';

-wàa 'as it is known';

-xĭ 'while moving':

     riăad-xĭ ''come, move bringing' < *riăad* 'come'

     rié-xĭ '?' < *rié* 'go';

-yé 'extremely':

     ràts-iè 'explode' < *ràts* 'get broken';

     rèc-yè 'burn severely [by the sun]' < *rèc* 'burn';

     rów-yè 'bite' < *rôw* 'eat'.

3.2.1.2.2. Nominal and adjectival stem suffixes. The following stem suffixes also contribute adverbial clarification to the action of the verb, but are somewhat idiomatic, hence are listed as separate dictionary entries:

-dìidz 'word, language, message':
  rdíl-dìidz-niě 'quarrel, argue' < *rdíl* 'fight' + *-niě* 'with';
  rgăal-dìidz 'insult' < *rgăal* 'to be touched';
  rnáb-dìidz 'ask' < *rnăb* 'ask for';
  rzò-dìidz 'chat, converse' < *rzô* 'stand up, appoint';
-làdz 'center, town':
  ràc-làdz 'want' < *ràc* 'happen, be done, be able';
  rbín-làdz 'feel sad, betrayed' < *rbîn* 'be piled up' ?;
  riòb-làdz 'be in a hurry' < *riòb* '?';
  rlí-làdz 'believe' < *nlǐ* 'certain, true'*rnèe-làdz* 'sigh' < *rnèe* 'speak';
  riàan-làdz 'forget' < *riăan* 'remain, stay, be left ';
-lô [meaning uncertain] < *lô* 'face':
  rbÉz-lô 'welcome a visitor' < *rbÉz* 'wait, live, dwell';
  rguín-lô 'cast spell with evil eye' < *rguín* 'strike, hit someone';
  rquià-lô 'pretend, fake' < *rquià* 'hit, affix, shoot'
  rrìèe-lô 'be able to do something' < *rrìèe* 'go out, leave';
  rsì-lô 'begin' < *rsì* 'penetrate, soak' ?;
  rsiáab-lô 'diminish' < *rsiăab* 'lower [the price]';
  rsìib-lô 'show up, appear' < *rsìib* '?';
  rzìèe-lô 'cross oneself' < *rzìèe* 'be painted, decorated';
-nì 'with the foot' < *nì* 'foot'
  rcàan-nì 'kick' < *rcàan* 'hit'
  rriál-nì 'stumble' < *rriál* 'be wrapped'

3.2.1.2.3. Compound verbal stems. These are compounded of the aspect marker plus the first stem followed by the second stem, with or without aspect or derivational prefixes:

ràc-lày 'bless' < *ràc* 'happen, be able';
ràc-lày 'bless' < *ràc* 'happen, be able';
rùn-ctîb 'use up, finish something' < *rùn* 'do' + potential aspect of *rdîb* 'be used up, finished';
zié-càa 'went to sell' < *rié* 'go' + 'rcàa* 'sell';
zié-tǒ 'went to buy' < *rié* 'go' + '*rtǒ* 'buy';
zié-wzǐ 'went to buy [intrans]' < *rié* 'go' + '*rzǐ* ' 'buy [intrans]', with the stative prefix "*w-*";

3.2.2. The tense/aspect system. The canonical verb inflectional paradigm involves an invariant stem with a mandatory tense/aspect prefix. The prefix may vary morphophonemically (as will be indicated below). We refer to these invariant stems as Class I verbs. An example is *rlílàdz* 'believes' (note: this involves a compound stem: *r-* marks the habitual aspect, which is used as the canonical verb form; + *-lí-* "; + *-làdz* 'center'):
  Habitual aspect:
    rlílàdz nàa   I believe
    rlílàdz lùu   you (singular) believe

rlílàdz mé	he/she believes
rlílàdz nè	we (inclusive) believe
rlílàdz nó	we (exclusive) believe
rlílàdz tó	you (plural) believe
rlílàdz zhó	they believe

Completive aspect (also the singular imperative, with no trailing pronoun):
      blílàdz nàa (et cetera)
Imperative:
      blílàdz [no pronoun appended]
Future aspect:
      zlílàdz nàa (etcetera)
Potential aspect:
      glílàdz nàa (etcetera)
Progressive aspect:
      nólílàdz nàa (etcetera)
Irrealis aspect:
      nlílàdz nàa (etcetera)

An additional "continuative" aspect appears to be in play, but is poorly documented in our materials. Examples include:

    zònquià 'was leaning against, and still is' < rzònquià ***'lean against'***; this contrasts with the future ***sònquià*** 'leaned against';
    zìrièe 'left, but has not returned' < ***rrièe*** 'leave'; this contrasts with the future ***zrièe*** 'left';
    Bdzě dzê ziê mé. "He/she left late in the afternoon [and has not returned]." ***riè*** 'go'; contrasts with future ***ziè*** [in tone] and completive ***gò***.

3.2.3. Irregularities in the verbal paradigms.

3.2.3.1. The regular morphophonemic accommodations for the aspect prefixes are as follows:

r-	invariant
b-	before lenis and sonorant consonants (except ***b***) and vowels;
	w- before ***b***;
	p- before fortis consonants;
z-	before lenis and sonorant consonants (except ***z***) and vowels;
	0- before ***z***;
	s- before fortis consonants;
g-	before lenis and sonorant consonants (except ***g***) and ***a, o***, and ***u***;
	gu- [pronounced ***g***] before ***e*** and ***i*** (as in Spanish);
	c- before ***ch, s***;
	y- before ***c, qu***;
nó-	invariant (except that stem-initial ***i-V*** is written ***y-V***);
n-	before all consonants;
	ni- before ***a, e, o***, and ***u***;

0- before **i**.

3.2.3.2. Stem changing verbs. Several Class I verbs are irregular in the completive aspect, changing the stem vowel (often, but not always, without change of tone). The stem vowel is invariant in the other aspects. The following are the most common patterns:

Stem vowel **u** to **e** in the completive:

rùn̲	'do'	**bèn̲**	'did'
rŭt̄	'kill'	**bĕt**	'killed'

Stem vowel **a** to **o** in the completive:

ràc	'be, make'	**gòc**	'was/were, made'
râz	'bathe'	**gôz**	'bathed'

Stem vowel **e** to **u** in the completive:

rèt	'die'	**gùt**	'died'

Stem vowel **o** to **i** in the completive:

ròn	'hear'	**bín**	'heard'

3.2.3.3. Irregular first person conjugations. Many verbs have contrasting stem forms for certain categories of subject pronouns. These may otherwise inflect quite regularly. We define a series of verb classes in terms of these patterned irregularities. As noted above, Class I verb stems are invariant across subjects. Class II verb stems show an irregular stem pattern for first person plural only. Class III verb stems show irregularities for first person singular only. Class IV verb stems are doubly irregular, with one stem change for first person plural and another for first person singular. Other patterns may be noted, but we have not yet analyzed them. They are infrequent.

	1s	2s	3s	3p	2p	1p
I						
II						
III						
IV						

An example of a Class II verb is **rzàc** 'think, imagine, suffer' (which exhibits a number of additional irregularities):

1s	**rzàc**	**bzhàac**	**sàc**	**nzàc**	**nózàc**	**ysàc**
1p, 2, 3	**rziâac**	**bzhiâac**	**siàac**	**nziâac**	**nóziâac**	**siâac**

An example of a Class III verb is **rcă** 'buy':

1s	**rcă**	**pcă**	**scă**	**ncă**	**nócă**	**ycă**
1p, 2, 3	**rcăa**	**pcăa**	**scăa**	**ncăa**	**nócăa**	**ycăa**

A Class IV verb is **ră** 'go':

1p	**ră**	**biă**	**ză**	**niă**	**nóyă**	**gă**

1s		*riǒ*	*biǒ*	*ziǒ*	*niǒ*	*nóyǒ*	*guiǒ*
2,3		*riè*	*güèy*	*zìe*	*nìe*	*nóyè*	*tsiè*

The patterning of these stem changes is complex, but not entirely unpredictable. One pattern common to Class II verbs is the insertion of *-diV-*/*-dzV-* between the aspect prefix and the base stem (sometimes doubling the vowel of the base stem), with a variety of tone shifts. The following exhibit the range of variation within this type:

	1st singular, 2, 3	1st plural
'plant, cultivate'	*ràn*	*rdziǎn*
'see, take care of'	*răn̲*	*rdziǎn̲*
'enter, pass'	*rdèd* `	*rdiêed*
'carry, bring'	*rěy*	*rdzêey*
'live, be'	*rió*	*rdziǒ*
'hear'	*ròn*	*rdziǒn*
'sing (as a bird)'	*ròol̲*	*rdziôol̲*
'cry'	*ròon*	*rdziôon*
'eat'	*rôw*	*rdziôow*
'kill'	*rǔt*	*rdziûut*
'cook'	*rùug*	*rdziûug*
'think, imagine, suffer'	*rzàc*	*rdziâac*

A common pattern in Class III verbs involves doubling (glottalizing) the base stem vowel (with or without a tone change). This pattern is occasionally reversed (the cases marked *) and may be combined with a Class II type change in Class IV verbs.

	1st singular	1st plural, 2, 3
'give'	*rděd*	*rdèed*
'cause to give'	*rtěd*	*rtèed*
'buy'	*rcǎ*	*rcǎa*
'get tired'*	*rdzâag*	*rdzâg*
'arrive'	*rdzîin̲*	*rdzîn̲*
'speak, say'	*rně*	*rnèe* (2nd, 3rd only)
'hit, stick'	*rquiǎ*	*rquiàa* (2nd, 3rd only)
'begin'	*rsílóo* (1st, 2nd sing.)	*rsìlô*
'weigh, measure'	*rtǐx* (1st, 2nd sing.)	*rtǐix*

3.3. Nouns.

3.3.1. Nouns derived from verbs.

3.3.1.1. Agentives. The prefix *ngù-* before a verb stem may derive an agentive noun. For example, *ngùtǐix* [< *rtǐix* 'measures'], literally 'measurer', 'inch worm'; *ngùzì* [< *rzì* 'buys', 'penetrates, soaks through'], literally 'buyer', 'penetrator', 'God of Lightning' [cf. *Cocijo*]'; *nguâat* [< *rcuàat* 'to be deaf'] 'deaf', 'deaf person'; *ngùběch* [< *rběch* 'be lazy'] 'lazy'. This prefix also serves as an animate prefix in a number of animal names

for which the stem is unanalyzable. For example, ***ngùrăgw*** 'spiny lizard', ***ngùládz*** 'fly', ***ngùxôg*** 'weevil', ***ngùxôop*** [agentive + six], 'six-point buck deer'.

3.3.1.2. Stative verbal nouns. These are derived from verb stems by one of several stative prefixes:

  w-: ***wchŭup*** 'whistling' < ***rchŭup*** 'whistle'; ***wgàa*** 'growing *milpa*' < ***rgàa*** 'stretch, get longer'; ***wguíb*** 'searching' < ***rguíb*** 'search, look for'; ***wguìib*** 'washing' < ***rguìib*** 'wash'; ***wguìt*** 'toy' < ***rguìt*** 'play'; ***wìil*** 'song' *<* ***ròol*** 'sing, chirp [as a bird]'; ***wtĭix*** 'measuring, measurement' < ***rtĭix*** 'measure, weigh'; ***wzùdz*** 'drunkenness' < ***rzûdz*** 'be drunk'; ***wzhòobnìs*** 'swimming' < ***rzhòobnìs*** 'swim, float' [< ***nìs*** 'water'];
  n-:

3.3.1.3. Abstract nouns from stative verbs. The prefix ***guièl-*** plus the stative form of the verb may derive an abstract noun. The state described must be enduring. Thus ***guièl-wiĕe*** [< ***riĕe*** 'dance'] 'dancing' implies that the dancing continues indefinitely, as in the story of the girl who could never stop dancing because of her enchanted shoes. Examples include: ***guièl-mbán*** [< ***rbán*** 'be alive, live'] 'life'; ***guièl-gòn*** [< ***ràn*** 'plant, cultivate'] 'planting'; ***guièl-blĕy*** [< ***rlĕy*** 'be happy, joyful'] 'joy, happiness'; ***guièl-gùt*** [< ***rèt*** 'die] 'death'.

Table 6: Derivation of nouns and adjectives from verbs.

r-ál	to be born	***n-dé***	deformed
n-ál	following behind	***r-dèd***	to pass through, to get through, enter
r-bĕch	be lazy, feel lazy		
ngu-bĕch	lazy	***n-dédbùinî***	transparent
r-căadz	to crush, to smash	***r-díbĔd***	to be rolled up
w-ncádzguìib	blacksmith, smithy	***n-díbĔd***	wrapped around, coiled up
r-chòol	to blur (vision), to weaken (vision)	***r-dìib***	to be sewn
		n-dîib	sewn
n-chòol	blurry (unclear vision)	***r-díl***	fight
r-chŭup	to whistle	***ngu-ndíl***	argumentative, looking for a fight
w-chŭup	whistling, whistled song		
r-còw	to faint, to lose consciousness	***r-dòo***	to become tame, to be domesticated
n-còw	dark	***n-dòo***	tame
r-cuĕe	to choose	***n-dòolàdz***	humble, meek
n-cuĕe	special, especially chosen, not common	***r-dòp***	to collect, to make a list, to shrink
r-dă	to become delicate, get moody, become sensitive	***n-dŏp***	short, not tall
		r-dzĔE	to warm up
n-dă	delicate, breakable, sensitive	***n-dzĔE***	warm
		r-dzìbdĕe	to condemn, to damn, to curse
r-dàan	to be healed, to go get healed		
		n-dzíbdĕe	accursed, damned
n-dâan	healthy, not sick	***r-èt***	to die
r-dé	to be bedridden	***n-èt***	clear, bright

r-ètòo	to go to sleep (feet), to be anesthetized, to lose feeling	*r-guìzh*	to pay, to give wages
n-étòo	stupefied	*n-guǐzh*	stingy, selfish
r-éy	to carry	*r-gǔudz*	to become soft, to soften
n-éyzhìn	pregnant	*n-gǔudz*	soft
r-gàa	to stretch oneself, to get longer	*r-ì*	to become sour
w-gàa	corn plant	*n-ǐ*	acidic, very sour
r-gàa	to stretch oneself, to get longer	*r-iàaz*	to get stuck
n-gàa	stretched, elongated	*r-iàaz*	to be nailed, to be pricked (with a thorn)
r-gàay	to be painted, to be colored	*n-iâaz*	caught, caged
n-gâay	painted, colored	*r-iág*	to get cold, to become chilled
r-gǎb	to be counted	*n-iág*	cold
n-gǎb	counted	*r-iǎl*	to open up (flowers, buds)
r-gòtsòw	to put away, to save, to store	*n-iǎl*	open
n-gótsòw	stored away, protected	*r-iân*	to be hot (food), to feel hot, to bu
r-guěedz	to hug, to embrace, to hold (a child)	*n-iǎn*	hot (tasting), spicy
w-děedz	hug	*r-iàts*	to become proud
r-guèets	to hide	*n-iǎts*	proud, prideful, stuck-up
n-guèets	hidden, secret	*r-iàzh*	to have the nerve to do something, to have valor, be brave
r-guěts	to yellow, to turn yellow, to fade	*n-iâzh*	expensive, costly
n-guěts	yellow	*r-iècw*	to rotate, to turn around
r-guià	to green upp, to become green, to grow (plant)	*n-iêcw*	twisted, spun
n-guiǎ	full of leaves, verdant	*r-ìinî*	to clear up (weather), to dawn, to get light
n-guiǎ	green, blue, any combination of blue and green	*n-ìinî*	light, clear
r-guíb	to hunt for, to seek	*r-iòog*	to close
w-guíb	search	*n-iôog*	closed, shut
r-guiěex	to be toasted, to be fried crisp, to become brittle	*r-là*	to be bitter, to become bitter tasting
n-guiěex	brittle	*n-lǎ*	bitter
r-guìib	to wash	*w-là*	gall bladder
w-guìib	washing, cleaning	*r-làdz*	to want
r-guìid	to attach, to add on	*w-làdz*	purslane (plant)
n-guîid	attached, connected, glued on	*r-làs*	to become thin, to lose weight, to get skinny
r-guǐits	to break	*n-lǎs*	thin, skinny
w-guǐits	breaking	*r-lÈE*	to be loose, to loosen
		n-lĚE	loose (not tight)
		r-lèngw	to twist, to bend, to be crooked, to warp
		n-lěngw	twisted, bent

r-lěy	to be happy, to be joyful		*n-tàadz*	squashed, smashed
n-lěy	happy, joyful		*r-tǐix*	to measure, weigh
r-lǐib	to be tied, to be harnessed		*w-tǐix*	measurement, weighing
n-lǐib	tied, bound, wrapped up		*r-tsêb*	to frighten, to scare
r-òn	to hear		*n-tséb*	fearful
n-òn	important, powerful, valuable		*n-tsěeb*	cruel, fierce
r-òol̲	to sing, to read, to speak foolishly		*r-xìi*	to milk, to squeeze the liguid out of
w-ìil̲	song		*n-xìi*	thick (growth), jungle-like
r-òon	to weep, to cry		*r-zèe*	to marvel, to wonder at
w-ìin	weeping, crying		*w-zèe*	mocking, taunt
r-quiáblàdz	to want, to desire		*r-zÊEb*	to owe, to be in debt
n-quiálàdz	loving, kind		*n-zĚEb*	owing, being in debt
r-quìts	to whiten, to become white		*r-zhên*	to become wide
n-quǐts	white		*n-zhên*	wide
r-riěts	to be dispersed, to be strewn about, to be let out of school		*r-zhiăl*	to be open
n-riěts	scattered		*n-zhiăl*	open
r-riêz	to be ripped, to be to		*r-zhìxcuàa*	to fix, to make, to fix up
n-riêz	torn, ripped		*n-zhíxcuàa*	fixed up, decorated
r-ròob	to get big, to grow		*r-zhòobnìs*	to swim, to float
n-rôob	large, big, huge		*w-zhòobnìs*	swimming
r-rùdz	to slop, to slide		*r-zìguì*	to swell, to become swollen, to become expanded
n-rùdz	smooth, slippery		*n-zíguì*	swollen
r-sìoguiù	to lock up, to enclose		*r-zòobdìidz*	obey
n-sìoguiù	caught, caged		*ngu-zòbdìidz*	obedient
r-sǐs	to get weak		*r-zòoblàdz*	to desire, to envy
n-sǐs	weak		*w-zòoblàdz*	desire
r-tàadz	to get crushed, to be smashed		*r-zûdz*	to get drunk
			w-zùdz	drunkenness

3.3.2. Compound nouns.

3.3.2.1. Plant names. Most plant names are binomial or trinomial compounds of the form LF + GEN + SP [life-form name + generic name + specific name] (cf. Berlin 1992; Hunn 1998). For example, ***yàg-dùr*** [*yâg* 'tree/shrub' + pine needle] 'pine tree'; ***yàguièts*** [*yâg* 'tree/shrub' + ***guièts*** 'spine'], a general term for several species of spiny trees, mostly of the genera *Acacia* and *Mimosa*; these trees may be further specified as, for example, ***yàguièts-clâv*** ['tree/shrub + spine + nail <Sp *clavo*], e.g., *Acacia farnesiana*. The generic stem is not always analyzable: ***yàg-yàaz*** 'seep willow' [which includes primarily species of the genus *Baccharis*]; ***blâg-wê*** [leaf + ?] 'hoja de San Pablo' (*Wigandia urens*); ***yàg-blâg-bnù*** [tree/shrub + leaf + ?] '*cazahuate* tree' (*Ipomoea intrapilosa*); ***guìèe-cŏb*** [flower + ?] 'marigold' (*Tagetes* spp.), several varieties of which are named: e.g., ***guìèe-cŏb-guìin*** [flower + ? + chili pepper] *Tagetes patula*; ***guìèe-dâl*** [flower + dahlia <Sp *dalia*] 'dahlia'; ***guìzh-crùz*** [herb + cross <Sp *cruz*] 'fern'; ***guìzh-dǐp*** [herb + ?] 'grass'. Simple plant names tend strongly to be Spanish loans. For example, ***ârnìcà*** [< Sp *árnica*] *Bocconia arborescens*; ***spìnòsî*** [< Sp *espinocilla*] *Loeselia mexicana*. The local referents of these loans may or may not correspond to their referents in other Spanish-speaking regions however.

3.3.2.2. Animal names. The great majority of animal names begin either with ***m-***, which is almost certainly derived historically from ***mâ*** 'animal' or ***ngù-***, which is likely historically derivative of the agentive prefix. Exceptions include Spanish loans and onomatopoetic [ON] names. Representative examples follow: ***bǎd*** [<Sp *pato*] 'duck'; ***bízhcâl*** [<Sp *fiscál*] 'katydid'; ***càrpìntêr*** [<Sp *carpinter*] 'woodpecker'; ***cònêf*** [<Sp *conejo*] 'rabbit'; ***cuǐḻ*** 'jay' [ON]; ***dzǐng*** 'hummingbird' [ON]; ***má-dòozhêr*** [animal + <Sp *tijeras* 'scissors'] 'earwig'; ***mdzîd*** 'horned lizard'; ***mÈcw*** 'dog'; ***mèedz*** 'wild cat'; ***mèeḻ*** 'snake/worm'; ***mèr*** 'turkey'; ***mguîn*** 'bird'; ***mliàn*** 'jack rabbit'; ***msì*** 'hawk/eagle'; ***mzîn*** 'rat/mouse'; ***ngúbéch-yâg*** [lazy + tree/stick] 'walking stick'; ***ngùp*** 'armadillo'; ***ngùrǎgw*** 'spiny lizard'; ***ngúzhánch*** 'grasshopper'; ***ngùzhǐn*** 'wren'; ***wǐt*** '*Empidonax* flycatcher' [ON].

     Curiously, 'mushroom' ***mĕy*** and 'acorn' ***mgàg*** also begin with ***m-*** and are treated syntactically as if they were animate. For example, if one asks if there are 'mushrooms' or 'acorns' present when there are not, the response requires the animate pronoun: ***guìĕnd mâ*** 'there is none [animal]' rather than the inanimate ***guìĕnd-á*** 'there is none'.

3.3.2.3. Place names. Most place names are compounds of the following form: (spatial adverb) + generic landform + modifier. For example, ***dán-lbàa*** 'Tomb Forest/Hill'; ***guì-guiùbèe-l-guìt*** 'Squash River Mountain'; ***guì-ngúliá*** "Caterpillar Mountain"; ***guìùu-mÈz*** 'Fox Creek'***; làdz-cuǐḻ*** 'Scrub-Jay Town'; ***lèts-pxüzh*** 'Chepíl Flat'; ***psÉ-nìslày*** 'Holy Water Barranca'; ***quìè-vèntân*** 'Window Cliff'; ***rò-dán*** 'Forest/Mountain Edge'; ***zhàn-quìè-bĔE*** 'Base of Moon Cliff'. Town names are most often compounded of a borrowed Spanish saint name plus a local place name. The "official" names of towns are often Hispanicized Nahuatl translations of the Zapotec element of the town name. For example, San Juan Mixtepec is ***Sàn Fân GbĔE***, which is literally 'San Juan Moon', a reference to a local legend of the founding of the first "Mixtepec" settlement in the headwaters of the

Tehuantepec River area, at the place now known as **quiè-bĔE** 'Moon Cliff'. This was apparently mistranslated by the Spanish invaders and their Central Mexican allies as "Mixtepec," 'Cloud Mountain' in Nahuatl, when the correct Nahuatl translation would have been "*Mæztepec*," 'Moon Mountain'. However, Spanish lacks the low front vowel "*æ*" of Zapotec and Nahuatl. Thus the confusion today caused by the fact that there are two quite different San Juan Mixtepecs in Oaxaca, the other a large Mixtec town in the far western part of the state. Another example is **sàn-màtêw zhĭits** [Saint Mathew + pineapple] 'San Mateo Piñas'.

3.3.2.4. Personal Names. Personal names are Spanish names adapted to Mixtepec Zapotec phonology. Many are old loans from 16th century Spanish. Such loans invariably have a single vowel nucleus, usually with falling tone.

Eucario < *Eucarius* = **Ûc**;
Eufrosina = **Dxîn**;
John < *Juan* = **Fân**;
Juárez = **Fâr** [as in *Benito Juárez*]**;**
Peter < *Pedro* = **BÈd**;

3.4. Adjectives

3.4.1. The normal order in adjectival phrases is (numeral + (classifier)) + noun + (adjective). For example, tìb lE guìts nquĭts ['one' + 'piece' + 'paper' + 'white'] 'one piece of white paper'; tìb làp ngăs [one + pen/pencil <Sp lápiz + black] 'one black pen'. Cardinal numerals precede the noun modified while ordinals follow the noun: chòp hôr 'two hours' versus hôr chòp 'two o'clock'.

3.4.2. Numbers.

tíb, wdì	1	*tsìib-chòp*	12	*chòo*	40
chòp, wròp	2	*tsìn*	13	*chòo-ptsìi*	50
tsón, bión	3	*tsìi-dâ*	14	*gról-gàyò*	100/2
tàp, wdàp	4	*tsìin*	15	*tsón-gál*	60
gàay	5	*tsíim-tîb*	16	*tsón-gál-tsìi*	70
xòop	6	*tsíim-chŏp*	17	*tàp-gâl*	80
gàdz	7	*tsíim-tsòn*	18	*tàp-gâl-tsìi*	90
xòn	8	*tsíim-tăp*	19	*gàyòo*	100
guìèe	9	*găl*	20	*tsìi-gàyòo*	1000
tsìi	10	*gàl-ptíb*	21		
tsìib-tîb	11	*gàl-ptsìi*	30		

3.4.3. Colors. Mixtepec Zapotec appears to have had five (or six, if we count 'gray') basic color terms and thus qualifies as a Stage IV (of V) system according to Berlin and Kay's scheme (Berlin and Kay 1969): ngăs, yâas 'black', nquĭts 'white', nìzhniê 'red'; **gùts** 'yellow'; **nguiă** 'green/blue', **xquìdiè** 'gray/ash'; **yèech** 'milky white'; **nguĕts**

'yellow/yellowish/pallid' is a secondary term that may be in the process of replacing **gùts** as the most common term for 'yellow'. Similarly, **ngǎs** may have replaced **yâas** as the basic term for 'black'. Contemporary Mixtepec Zapotec uses Spanish loans to name the remaining basic color foci: **mòrâd** [<Sp *mortada/o*] 'purple'; **càfê** [<Sp *café*] 'brown', **vêrd** [<Sp *verde*] 'green', **àzûl** [<Sp *azul*] 'blue', **ròsâd** [<Sp *rosada/o*] 'pink', **mìyâg** [< achiote (*Bixa*)]**, nàrânj** [<Sp *anaranjada/o*] 'orange'. Pattern terms include **msì** 'banded', **pînt** [<Sp *pintada/o*] 'multicolored/spotted'. "What color is this?" = *¿Pé còlôr rîí*? "What color is this book?" = *¿Pá còlôr lîbr rĕc*? "It is red." **Nìzhniê-w**.

3.4.4. Possessive forms. The normal possessive construction is: **x-** + possessed noun + possessor (noun or pronoun). For example, **x-niǎ nàa** [poss + mother + 1st sing] 'my mother'; **x-nĚz guièel** [poss + path + night], literally 'night's path', 'The Milky Way'. If the possessed noun begins with a lenis or sonorant consonant, that consonant becomes fortis in agreement with the possessive prefix: **x-pĚEd lùu** [poss + **mĚEd** 'child' + 2nd sing] 'your (sing) child'; **x-quîzh tó** [poss + **guîzh** 'payment' + 2nd pl], literally 'your (pl) payment, 'Thank you (pl)'; **x-tsìt nguǐd** [poss + **dzìt** 'egg' + chicken] 'a chicken's egg'. Note that Spanish loans do not undergo this morphophonemic transformation: **x-mîcw nîib** [poss + monkey <Sp *mico* + boy] 'the boy's monkey'; **x-fâld mé** [poss + skirt <Sp *falda* + 3rd sing] 'her skirt'. If the possessed noun begins with **zh-**, this is elided following the possessive prefix: **x-àb mguì** [poss + **zhàb** 'clothing' + man] 'the man's clothing'. If the possessed noun begins with a double consonant, the prefix changes to **zhì-**. For example, **zhì-mcàal̲ nàa** [poss + dream + 1st sing] 'my dream'; **zhì-wnàa lùu** [poss + woman + 2nd sing], literally 'my woman', 'my wife'.

   A few forms mark possession by a first person singular subject by suffixing **–n**. For example, **bàa-n** [tomb + poss] 'my tomb'; **gǔ-n mé** [**gù** 'tuber' + poss + 3rd sing] 'his/her tuber'.

3.4.5. Comparative constructions and expressions of quantity. Comparative adjectival constructions suffix **–ràa** to the adjective in question.

gól-ràa "older";
Nôol-ràa nàa ló lùu. "I'm taller than you.";
Q: *¿Chǒ gól-ràa*? A: "Who is older?";
Q: *¿Pé gól-ràa pêdr ló Fân*? A: "Is Peter older than John?";
 dèmâstè 'much' [**Dèmâstè nǒ bèn̲** 'There is a lot of mud.'];

3.4.5.1. Reduplication. Adverbs, and adjectives may be reduplicated to indicate distributive plurality, multiplicity, or emphasis. For example:

biù biù 'completely broken up, fragmented' < **biù** 'broken up, fragmented';
dzĕgà dzĕgà 'little by little, < **dzĕgà** 'slow';
mêr mêr 'right away' < **mêr** 'very soon' < Sp *mero* ;
pǒc pǒc 'once in a while' < **pǒc** 'when?';
zhàasé zhàasé 'very distinct' < **zhàasé** 'distinct';
zhǐgà zhǐgà 'little by little < **zhǐgà** 'little by little'.

3.5. Adverbs. Adverbs normally follow the VSO core of the sentence.

3.5.1. Temporal expressions:

nìinà [emphasis + 'now'], 'right now';
gzhě 'tomorrow';
wìdz 'day after tomorrow';
nàdzê [*nà* 'now ' + *dzê* 'day'], 'today';
nàwdzè 'tonight';
niêeg 'yesterday';
niêewdzè 'last night';
nàs 'day before yesterday';

3.5.2. Spatial reference. These adverbs follow the noun they modify:

nú 'here';
něc 'there' (within speaker's field of view);
gà 'there' (beyond speaker's field of view);
ríi 'this';
uíi 'that' (close to addressee);
rěc 'that'(within speaker's field of view);
có 'that' (beyond speaker's field of view).

3.6. Prepositions.

3.6.1. Prepositional phrases describing spatial relationships typically begin with a preposition that is an anatomical metaphor. For example:

ló 'to' 'on', 'of', < *lô* 'face'; e.g., *ló gòdz* 'at/of the marsh'; *quiè ló yù*][stone + of + house], 'a stone house';
ró 'edge', 'entrance to', < *ró* 'mouth'; *ró yù* 'door of the house'; *rò dán* 'edge of the forest/mountain', *ró tâs* 'lip of the cup', *ró mězh* ['edge' + table < Sp *mesa*] 'edge of the table';
chò 'next to, near, by, on [a vertical surface]', < *chò* 'side of the body', *chó yù* 'on/next to the wall', *chò dán* 'at the top/bottom of the hill'; *rquiǎ càlèndâr chó yù* 'The calendar is [stuck] on the wall';
lé<u>n</u> 'in, inside, into', < *lè<u>n</u>* 'stomach, belly', *lé<u>n</u> nì* 'arch of the foot', *lé<u>n</u> lîdz mé* 'inside his/her house';
lád 'on', 'between', 'beside'; *làd yǎ*, literally 'beside above', 'north';
zhà<u>n</u> 'under', 'beneath', 'at the foot of', *nǒ-w zhá<u>n</u> mêzh* 'it is beneath the table', *zhà<u>n</u>chórò* [under + next to + mouth] , 'chin';
guiět 'below', 'down', 'deep', *guiět í* 'down there', *guiět-lèts* 'Plain Below' [a place name]; *làd guiět*, literally 'beside below', 'south';

yǎ 'up','above', 'high', *yǎ í* 'up there', *yǎ guì* 'top of the mountain', *làd yǎ*, literally 'beside above', 'north'.

3.7. Conjunctions.

3.7.1. *ní* 'and' is used to join the elements of compound phrases as well as independent sentences.

Drâz ní mèlôn nàc grǒp nèx mázdràa rdzìilàdz nàa.
Peaches and melons are the fruits I like best.

Gòn̲ zhó wìn, sàc bién̲ zhó tí mÈEd bziáb-á, ní tîb chôot ràp-d-ràa wìn.
They cared for the child, because they realized that he was an orphan and no longer had any relatives.

3.7.1.1. Multiple subjects and predicates may be joined by simply repeating the multiple elements. For example,

---

Bzhixcuaa mé tí bĚd blòo mé niǎ wìn.
She made the taco and put it in the child's hand.

3.7.2. A number of conjunctions are compounds formed with the suffix *nè* 'that':

    gà-nè 'therefore';
    ncuàan̲è 'what, that, which' > *ncuàan* + *nè*;
    nǒ-né 'it is necessary'
    pàr-nè 'because';
    pòr-nè 'because';
    sàc-né 'because';
    tél-nè 'if';
    zaat-nè 'where';
    zêen̲è 'when' [relative pronoun] > *zêen* + *nè*;
    zhâ-né 'she/he/they who, whoever, that which';

3.7.3. Additional conjunctions include:

ádél̲ 'if by chance, if, for fear of'
nîic-lé 'even though, in spite of'

Zhâ nè nÊ-d gòn dìidz, nîiclé mázdràa rnèe zhó ló zhó íb ròn-d zhó-w.
If a person doesn't listen to reason, even though they tell him over and over he will not listen.

---

nîic-xé 'even though'
pèr 'but' < Sp *pero* 'but';

> ***Sĭl bdèed nàa ró lîdz lùu rbêdz nàa lùu, pêr íb chôot rquiábd.***
> This morning I passed by your house and called you, but no one answered.

pòrquè 'because' < Sp *porque* 'why';
sàc 'because';

> ***...sàc tél̲ pĕtàa-w rlĕy zhó rù̲n̲ zhó-w.***
> ...because whatever there is to do they do it happily."

tél̲ 'if;
tél̲nè 'if;

> ***Tél̲nè guiĕn̲d nì né gàcd sÊ, scàqué mâ tél̲nè guiĕnd xìil̲ mâ gàcd csìbê mâ.***
> If we had no legs we couldn't walk; likewise if a bird had no wings it couldn't fly.

zêen̲ 'so that';
zêen̲-á 'in order that';
zêen̲è 'when' [relative pronoun] > ***zêen̲*** + ***nè***;

> ***Zêen̲è blòzh gò nàa càfê, gŏ̲n nàa niápsé bǎan ndxiĕ zhàn̲ tâs.***
> When I finished drinking my coffee, I saw that all that was left were the dregs.

zhâ-né 'she/he/they who, whoever, that which';

> ***Zhâné rchòob nguǐd gà rlǔ nè rléyniĕ zhó nguǐd...***
> Whoever raises chickens goes to show that they like chickens...

zĭig-nè 'as soon as';

> ***Zĭignè rsìlô tí guièl̲guîdz, nŏné luêgw tsiè mén̲rzàcnÈ ló zhâné rù̲n rmêd.***
> As soon as a disease starts, it is necessary that the sick person go immediately to the
>   person who is a healer.

3.8 Modals.

nŏné 'it is necessary, have to, must'

> ***Nŏné gà nàa màndâd.*** 'I have to/must go on an errand

3.9. "Ornaments"

bód. "maybe";
bzhìguiêl̲. "Please";
diên̲ "Who knows?";
íblé "surely, doubtless, always";

màasé. "OK";
x-quìzh lùu. "Thank you (sing)." [< *rguìzh* 'pay'];

4. Word order. The normal word order is VSO. For example, *zguìzh nàa lùu* 'I will pay you' and *zguìzh lùu nàa* 'You will pay me'. Reflexive verbs simply repeat the pronoun: *gôw-yé nàa nàa* 'I bit myself'.

4.1. A topical focus on the subject or object is marked by moving the subject or object ahead of the verb and preceding it with a focus particle. For example, *làa nàa zguìzh lùu* '*I* will pay you'; *làa mé zié gòn dòoz* '*He* has gone to cultivate the corn field.'

4.2. Questions. Questions normally begin with an interrogative particle or pronoun. These are illustrated below. They include:

pě "What?" [with respect to nominals]**,**
pǎ "What?" [with respect to adjectival qualities];
chǒ "Who?";
chǒ-chě<u>n</u> 'Whose?";
blǎ 'How many?";
pá-lál "How much?";
pá hôr "When?" [literally "What hour?"];
zhǎ "How?".

4.2.1. *pě* "What?" [with respect to nominals and verb objects].

Q: ¿ *Pě-w*? What is it?
Q: ¿ *Pě nú*? What is [this] here?
Q: ¿ *Pě rùn-sé lùu*? What are you doing? A: *Làa nàa nǔ-sé.* "I'm just here."
Q: ¿ *Pé ráclǎdz lùu gôw lùu*? "What would you like to eat?"
Q: ¿ *Pé rǎn lùu*? "What do you see?"

4.2.1.1. *pě* also serves as a general interrogative particle:

Q: ¿ *Pě nǒ BÈđ*? "Is Peter here?" A: *Guiěnd mé*. "He is not."

4.2.2. "What?" *pǎ* [with respect to adjectival qualities]?". Q: ¿ *Pǎ còlôr lîbr rěc*? "What color is this book?".

4.2.2.1 "Where?" *pǎ*:

Q: ¿ *Pǎ tsiè lùu*? "Where are you going?". Asking "where" requires that an appropriate verb be selected.
Q: ¿*Pǎ nǒ lâp*? "Where is the pencil?" A: *Nǒ-w lád mêzh.* "It's between the tables.";
¿*Pǎ lô nàc lìdz lùu*? "[At] where is your house [built]?";
¿*Pǎ zǒ mènârđ*? "Where is Meynardo [standing]?";
¿*Pǎ zhôob lîbr*? "Where is the book [lying/placed]?";

¿Pă ndxiě Sàn Wân GbĚE? "Where is San Juan Mixtepec [spread out]?" ;

4.2.2.2. *pá-lál* "How much?": Q: *¿Pá-lál nòn-á?* "How much is it worth/What does it cost?"

4.2.2.3. "When?" *pá hôr, pá dzê, pá mĚE* "When?" [literally "What hour, day, month?"];

4.2.3. *chǒ* "Who?":

Q: *¿Chǒ lÈ lùu?* "What is your name?" A: *BÈd lÈ nàa.* "My name is Pedro.";
Q: *¿Chǒ zhá lùu?* "Who are you/what is your occupation?" A: *Maîstr nàa.* "I'm a teacher."
Q: *¿Chǒ nàc lùu?* "Who are you/what is your ethnicity?" A: *Grîngw nàa.* "I'm a "gringo" [without negative connotations]."

4.2.3.1. *chǒ chěn* 'Whose?":

Q: *¿Chǒ chěn lîbr rîí?* "Whose book is this?" A: *Chěn nàa-w.* "It is mine."

4.2.4. *blǎ* 'How many?':

Q: *¿Blǎ îz x-pÈEd lùu?* "How old is [how many years has] your child?

4.2.5. *zhǎ* "How?":

Q: *¿Zhǎ güèy lùu?* "How did it go [with you]?" A: *Wên-á.* "It [went] well."
Q: *¿Zhǎ lÈ guìèe rîí?* "What is the name of this flower?"
Q: *¿Zhǎ psèed lùu rněe lùu dìidz-zÈ?* "How did you learn to speak Zapotec?"

4.3. Negation.

Còo. "No."; *Còo, sÊ-d nàa.* "No, I won't go.";
léd, lÉd "no, not";

4.3.1. To assert to the contrary, affix *–d* to the verb or noun. For example:

Gàc-d csìbê mguîn. "The bird can't fly."
Gǎr-d-á. 'Not yet.';
Guiěn-d lÈ má. "The animal has no name." [Literally, the animal's name does not exist.];
Guiěn-d-á. "There is none/It is not."
Nǎn-d nàa. "I don't know."
Nlǐ-d-á. [true/certain + neg + inanimate pronoun] "It is not true.";
Psòo-d-á. 'It is not adobe.' *Ladrî-w.* 'It is brick.'
Rlǔ-d mé. "The sun's not out." [Literally, the sun does not show itself. Note that the sun is treated as a person, requiring the pronoun *mé.*]
wên-d 'bad' [literally, 'not good' < *wên* 'good' < Sp. *bueno*]

4.3.1.1.When the stem to be negated ends in *d*, add *–èdè* or the doubled *d* becomes fortis *t* + *è*.

bziùud 'purse', ***Bziùud-á.*** 'It is a purse.' ***Bziùud-èdè-w.*** "It is not a purse."
pé 'something', ***pêtèdè*** 'nothing, zero';
Rmêd-èdè-w. or ***Rmêtè-w.*** "It is not a medicine." Contrast, ***Rmêd-á***. "It is a medicine."

4.4.1. Nominal and adjectival predicates may lack a verb. For example:

Maîstr mé. "She is a teacher." Alternatively, ***Maîstr nàc mé.*** "She is a teacher." < ***ràc***
　'happen, be done, be able'
MÈEd-scuêl nàa. "I am a student." [Literally, "School-child I."];
Ndǐp liù. 'The earth is hard." [Literally, "Hard/strong earth."];
Nìzhniê-w. "It is red."
Scà-w. "That's the way it is."

4.4.2. Simple existential assertions employ ***nǒ*** 'there is/are/was/were' and ***guiěnd*** 'there is/are/was/were not'. For example:

Nû nǒ quiè. "Here there are rocks."
Q: *¿Pé nǒ tîgr nû*? "Are there jaguars here?" A1 *Nǒ mâ*. "There are." A2: *Guiěnd mâ*.
　"There aren't."

5. Complex and compound sentences.

5.1. Embedded subordinate clauses.

5.1.1. *nè* 'that' is used to introduced embedded subordinate clauses: ***Diên pálál tiêmp, nè biò zhó gà*,...** "Who knows how long [it was], that they were there, ..."

5.1.2. *zêenè* 'when' is used to introduce contemporaneous coordinate clauses. ***Làa zhó gbìlé, zêenè làa Dǎm bdzîn.*** "They had already returned, when Owl arrived."

6. Literature cited.

Black, Cheryl. 1994. "Quiegolani syntax." Ph.D. dissertation. University of California, Santa Cruz.

Briggs, Elinor. 1961. *Mitla Zapotec Grammar.* Instituto Lingüístico del Verano, México, D.F.

Butler, Inez M. 1976. "Reflexive constructions of Yatzachi Zapotec." *International Journal of American Linguistics* 42:331-337.

Córdova, Fray Juan de. 1578a. *Arte en lengva çapoteca*, Casa de Pedro Balli, México. Reeditado como Juan de Córdova, *Arte del idioma zapoteco*, bajo la dirección y cuidado de Nicolán León, Imprenta del Gobierno dn la Escuela de Artes, Morelia, 1886. Una edición facsimilar de la edición de 1886 fue publicada por Ediciones Toledo, México, D.F., 1987.

Córdova, Fray Juan de. 1578b. *Vocabulario en lengva çapoteca*, Pedro Charte y Antonio Ricardo, México. Una edición facsimilar fue publicada como Juan de Córdova, *Vocabulario casstellano-zapoteco*, con introduccíon y notas de Wigberto Jiménez Moreno, Biblioteca lingüística mexicana, 1, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, SEP., México, 1942.

Earl, Robert. 1968. "Rincón Zapotec clauses." *International Journal of American Linguistics* 34:269-274.

Egland, Steven T. 1978. *La Integibilidad Interdialectal en México: Resultado de Algunos Sondeos.* Instituto Lingüístico del Verano, México, D.F.

Fernández de Miranda, María Teresa. 1964. "Los préstamos españoles del zapoteco de Mitla." *Anales de antropología* 17:259-274..

Galant, Michael R. 1998. "Comparative constructions in Spanish and San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec. Ph.D. dissertation. University of California, Los Angeles.

Grimes, Barbara F. et. al. 1996. *Ethnologue*. Summer Institute of Linguistics, Dallas, Texas. http://www.sil.org/ethnologue/.

Hunn, Eugene S. 1998. "Mixtepec Zapotec ethnobiological classification: A preliminary sketch and theoretical commentary." *Anthropologica* 40:35-48.

Hunn, Eugene S. 2000. "La Etnobiología en 'El Vocabulario en Lengua Çapoteca' de Fray Juan de Córdova en Comparación con la Actual de San Juan Mixtepec." *Cuadernos del Sur* No. 15.

Jones, Ted E., and Ann D. Church. 1985. "Personal pronouns in Guelavía Zapotec." *S.I.L. Mexico Workpapers* 7:1-15.

Jones, Ted E., and Lyle M. Knudson. 1977. "Guelavía Zapotec phonemes." Pp. 163-180 in *Studies in Otomanguean Phonology*, William R. Merrifield, editor. S.I.L. / University of Texas, Arlington.

Junta Columbina, eds. 1982. *Vocabulario Castellano – Zapoteco.* (Facsimile version of the 1893 publication). H. Auntamiento Popular de Juchitán, Juchitán, Oaxaca.

Leal, Mary. 1950. "Patterns of tone substitution in Zapotec morphology." *International Journal of American Linguistics* 16:132-136.

Leal, Mary and Otis Leal. 1954. "Noun possession in Villa Alta Zapotec." *International Journal of American Linguistics* 20:215-226.

Lee, Felicia. 1996. "Antisymmetry and the syntax of San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec." Ph.D. dissertation. University of California, Los Angeles.

Lopez, Felipe and Pamela Munro. 1999. "Zapotec immigration: The San Lucas Quiaviní experience. *Aztlán* 24:129-149.

Lyman, Larry. 1964. "The verb syntagmemes of Choapan Zapotec." *Linguistics: An International Review* 7:16-41.

Lyman, Larry and Rosemary Lyman. 1977. "Choapan Zapotec phonology." *Studies in Otomanguean Phonology*. Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Texas at Arlington, Dallas.

MacLaury, Robert Ethan. 1970. "Ayoquesco Zapotec: Ethnography, phononlogy, and lexicon." M.A. Thesis, University of the Americas, México.

Marcus, Joyce. 1980. "Zapotec writing." *Scientific American* 242:50-64.

Marlett, Stephen and Velma Pickett. 1987. "The syllable structure and aspect morphology of Isthmus Zapotec." *International Journal of American Linguistics* 53:398-422.

Munro, Pamela. 1996. "Making a Zapotec dictionary." *Dictionaries* 17:131-155.

Munro, Pamela and Lopez, Felipe. 1999. *Di'csyonaary X:tèe'n Dìi'zh Sah Sann Lu'uc. San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec Dictionary. Diccionario Zapoteco de San Lucas Quiaviní.* Volume 1. *Zapotec-English-Spanish Dictionary.* Chicano Studies Research Center, Los Angeles.

Nader, Laura. 1969. "The Zapotec of Oaxaca." Pp. 329-359 in *Handbook of Middle American Indians*, volume 7: *Ethnology*, part 1, Robert Wauchope and Evon Vogt, editors. University of Texas Press, Austin.

Nellis, Donald and Barbara Hollenbach. 1980. "Fortis and lenis in Cajonos Zapotec phonology." *International Journal of American Linguistics* 46:92-105.

Nellis, Neal and Jane Nellis. 1983. *Vocabulario Zapoteco de la Sierra Juárez.* Instituto Lingüístico del Verano, México, D.F.

Pickett, Velma et al.. 1988. *Vocabulario Zapoteco del Istmo: Castellano-Zapoteco y Zapoteco-Castellano, corregido y aumentado.* Serie de Vocabularios Indígenas Mariano Silva y Aceves 3. Secretaría de Educación Pública, México, D.F.

Pickett, Velma. 1960. *The Grammatical Hierarchy of Isthmus Zapotec.* Linguistic Society of America, Baltimore, Maryland.

Pike, Eunice V. 1948. "Problems in Zapotec tone analysis." *International Journal of American Linguistics* 14:161-170.

Radin, Paul. 1930. "A preliminary sketch of the Zapotec Language." *Language* 6:3.

Radin, Paul. 1935. "An historical legend of the Zapotecs." *Ibero-Americana* 9. University of California Press, Berkeley.

Rendón, Juan José. 1967. "Relaciones internas de las lenguas de la familia Zapoteca-Chatino." *Anales de Antropología* 4:187-190. México, D.F.

Rendón, Juan José. 1975. "Estudios de los factores sociales en la diversificación del Zapoteco." *Anales de Antropología* 12:283-318. México, D.F.

Rendón, Juan José. 1995. *Diversificación de las lenguas zapotecas.* Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social – Oaxaca, Instituto Oaxaqueño de las Culturas, México, D.F.

Reeck, Roger. 1981. "Mixtepec Zapotec kinship terms." In. *Proto-Otomanguean Kinship*, William Merrifield, editor. International Museum of Cultures, Dallas, Texas.

Reeck, Roger. 1982. "Sixteenth-century Valley Zapotec: A challenge for linguistics and ethnohistory." *Native American Ethnohistory* 23 (2):369-375. Joseph Whitecotton and Judith Bradley Whitecotton, editors. University of Oklahoma, Norman.

Reeck, Roger. 1991. "A trilingual dictionary in Zapotec, English and Spanish." M.A. Thesis, Universidad de las Américas-Puebla.

Rojas, Basilio. 1958. *Miahuatlán: Un Pueblo de México*. México, D.F.

Ruegsegger, Manis and Jane Ruegsegger. 1956. *Vocabulario Zapoteco del Dialecto de Miahuatlán del Estado de Oaxaca.* Instituto Lingüístico del Verano, México, D.F.

Stubblefield, Carol. 1981. "Mitla Zapotec kinship terms." Pp. 307-308 in *Proto Otomanguean Kinship*, William R. Merrifield, editor. International Museum of Cultures, Dallas, Texas.

Stubblefield, Morris and Carol Miller de Stubblefield. 1991 *Diccionario Zapoteco de Mitla, Oaxaca.* Instituto Lingüístico del Verano, México, D.F.

Suárez, Jorge A. 1983. *The Mesoamerican Indian Languages*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, England.

Swadesh, Morris. 1947. "Phonemic structure of Proto-Zapotec." *International Journal of American Linguistics* 13.

Weathers, Mark. 1975. "Investigaciones de inteligibilidad entre los idiomas Zapotecos." Pp. 243-249 in *Sociedad Mexicana de Antropología, XII Mesa Redonda: Antropología Física, Lingüística, Códices.* Sociedad Mexicana de Antropología, México, D.F.

Zuñiga, Rosa Maria. 1982. *Toponimias Zapotecas*. INAH, México, D.F.

Texts

Làa pèrîcw ziérièe nÉz lèy, zêenè làa tí gòxtiè-dŏx psô, làa mriě brièequiá gà bdzínniě xtíib.

art	*làa*	focus/emphasis particle
N \<sp\>	*pèrîcw*	'perico'
asp + V	*nó-rièe*	'esta saliendo' [rrièe, progresivo]
prep.	*nÉz*	'hacía'
adv	*lèy*	'afuera'
rel pro	*zêenè*	'cuando'
art	*làa*	focus/emphasis particle
adj/num	*tí*	'one'
N comp	*gòxtiè-dŏx*	'big cloud of dust' ['smoke' + 'dust' + 'large']
asp + V	*p-sô*	'burst forth' [completivo, r-sô 'alzar']
art	*làa*	focus/emphasis particle
an + N	*m-riě*	'correcamino' '[roadrunner]'
asp + V + sf	*b-rièe-quià*	'left in front' [completivo, r-rièe+quià]
adv	*gà*	'there'
asp + V + sf	*b-dzín-niě*	'arrived with' [completivo, r-dzín+niě]
pos + N	*x-dìib*	'its feather'

Loxaque brieequia win ro yu laa mEcw biasle pquia lad win, pquiadan win redz, lo redz co haxta mEcw bdzieb.

"As soon as the child went outside, the dog jumped on her and she let out so loud a scream that even the dog got scared."

adv + adv	*lòx + àqué*	as soon as
asp + V + V	*b + rièe + quiâ*	past + left + in front
N	*wìn*	child
prep	*ró*	mouth, edge
N	*yù*	house
focus	*làa*	topic
an + N	*m + Ècw*	dog
asp + V + adv	*b + iàs + lé*	past + jump + already
asp + V	*p + quià*	past + hit
prep	*làd*	on, toward
N	*wìn*	child
asp + V	*p + quià*	past + hit
N	*wìn*	child
N	*rèdz*	shout, cry
prep	*ló*	to, at, on
N	*rèdz*	shout, cry
rel pro	*cò*	over there
prep	*hàxtâ* <Sp	until
an + N	*m + Ècw*	dog
asp + V	*b + dziêb*	past + be frightened

Lo grE ncuaane no lo guidz-liu, miine mazd-raa rley-nie miech nac diimi.
Of all the things on earth, that which people love the most is money.

ĬĭŎŏŬŭĂăĔĕ

Table 6: Derivation of nouns and adjectives from verbs.