A Coatlan–Loxicha Zapotec grammar (Mexico)

Beam de Azcona, Rosemary Grace

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Para Martina, quién me abrió el camino...

nà tē’ tzaʔ mē nzádiʔzh diʔzhkeʔ...

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

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<td>CN</td>
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<td>Juchitán (variety of IZ)</td>
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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  Irreals
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]
Acknowledgements

With this dissertation I am ending a long and happy time in the UC Berkeley Linguistics department, which I entered 9 years ago as an undergraduate. During and leading up to this time there are many people and organizations both in the department and outside of it which have supported me and my study of Southern Zapotec languages. This dissertation has many shortcomings of which I am painfully aware, but I would like to here thank some of the people who have helped bring about the positive features of this dissertation, none of whom share any blame for its deficiencies.

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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 /ɾ/ whereas these have become /ɾ/ and /ɾ/ 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 diʔzh keʔ [ðiʔʃkɛʔ]. Diʔzh means ‘palabra, idioma; word, language’. Keʔ 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 Keʔ or sometimes just Yi keʔ. 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 keʔ 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, Quieguiti, Quielovego and Quierí (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, Guiiedo, 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 /ɣ/ 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.

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.

/kol/, 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

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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.’
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 mbèwnè ‘scorpion’ to Bèwnè ‘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 keʔ 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, diʔzh keʔ could be translated as ‘palabra o lengua de los señores; word or language of the lords.’

Other Zapotec languages also use their cognates of the diʔzh 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 didxsázá (Picket et al., 1959), San Agustín Mixtepec Zapotec diʔis tæ’, Cuixtla (aka Miahuatlán) Zapotec diʔstèʔ, Santo Domingo de Morelos (same language as San Agustín Loxicha) Zapotec [ðiʔis tey], Mitla Zapotec didxsaj (Stubblefield & Stubblefield, 1991), San Lucas Quiavini Zapotec (SLQZ) Diiʔzh Sáh (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 dīʔiz têy].

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 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 languages³ in this region which are spoken in towns with the *apellido* 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.

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 bimorphic 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 *ndó* 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 *Yēzh Xižh* and its people are *mē Lxīzh*. The word for pineapple is *bxiž*zh. An equally good candidate as ‘pineapple’ is ‘tejón; coatimundi’ *mxižh*. 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 *mē yiž* 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 *mē yiž* being used in this way in SBL but the use of a higher animate classifier *mē* 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 Sántlin, and San Bartolomé Loxicha is Yixil. However the name of San Agustín Loxicha is somewhat similar, Xîtz. 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 niça, 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 xîtz 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 Xîtz 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-xhiiss ‘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’.

is still very similar to what is spoken in San Agustin 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 diʔzh keʔ. However, to authentically use the name Diʔzh Keʔ 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)

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<th>Eastern Otomanguean</th>
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<td>Oto-Pamean-Chinantecan</td>
<td>Tlapanecan-Chorotegan</td>
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<td>North</td>
<td>Chichimec</td>
<td>Chiapanec</td>
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<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>Pame</td>
<td>Chorotegan</td>
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<td>Matlatzinca-Tlahuica</td>
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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 occasionally 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

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 Cisyautepcan 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 [d^b] 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 ð, δ 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.
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.
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 access 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 Zapotecos 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 province of Coyolapan (now Cuilapan)” which covered the Zapotec area in Oaxaca⁴. 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.

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 relationship 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 Qui egoqui, 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 (Gutiérrez, 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 Tzo⁷ which is literally ‘the back’s plain,’ làt meaning ‘llano o valle; plain or valley’ and tzo⁷ 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.

⁵ Cf. Córdova, 1578: ‘noche’ (night) quèela, 1. guèela and ‘pelea’ (fight) quelatilla, quelayè, ‘battalla o guerra’ (battle or war) quelayè, guelatìlla, quelaticchélattilla.
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.

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, 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, 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

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**
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 recognizable 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 governed by Quiegoqui
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 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, *dīzh ke*.

### 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 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, Tetipac (or Tetequipa, aka Rio 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 launched operations against Valley Zapotec towns including Mitla (Brockington, 1973). The Mixtecs took over the MA2 Zapotec site on a hill overlooking 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 graffiti, 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 Monjarraz9 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)

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 inaccuracy 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 proslelyzed 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 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\(^2\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Retroflex</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Labiovelar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless plosives</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t, ( \text{\textit{t'}} )</td>
<td>tz</td>
<td>ty</td>
<td>ch</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>kw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiced spirants</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>zh</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless spirants</td>
<td>((f))</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ñ</td>
<td>nh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquids</td>
<td></td>
<td>r (rr)</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glides</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

---

\(^1\) 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 > /ʃ/, 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.

---

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 /ɶ/ and the retroflex /ɽ/ 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. /ɶ/ 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 /ɽ/ 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.

(2.1) Initial before a vowel:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/ɶ/</th>
<th>/ɽ/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tzो /tzo/</td>
<td>chुक /chúk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ʃo]</td>
<td>[cukʰ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>espalda</td>
<td>saliva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>back</td>
<td>saliva</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2.2) In the onset before /y/:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/ɶ/</th>
<th>/ɽ/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tzyा /tzya/</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ʃyा]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P-romperlo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P-break (it)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2.3) Non-initial affricates in clusters:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/ɶ/</th>
<th>/ɽ/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b Moor /btzo/</td>
<td>sche /scé/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ʃe]</td>
<td>[scé]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pared</td>
<td>cena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wall</td>
<td>dinner</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2.4) Final affricates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/ɶ/</th>
<th>/ʃ/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ndāţi /ndâtz/</td>
<td>nzhāĉ /ŋzâc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ŋdā]</td>
<td>[ŋzã]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pie</td>
<td>nanche</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foot</td>
<td>nanche</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Three of the six stops are marginal and the other three are common. The more common /p, t, k/
are usually heavily aspirated [pʰ, tʰ, kʰ] in word-final position, often to the point of affrication
[pʰ, tʰ, kʰ]. However, /p/ is just as often unreleased in word-final position.

/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: pół ‘¿cuándo?; when?’, pà ‘¿dónde?; where?’
and pló and plà both meaning ‘¿cuánto?; how many?’. There are two other p-initial words which
are not definite Spanish loans or question words. Pènch means ‘huérfano; orphan’. I do not know
of an etymon but pènch 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 pít (tè yà bdo’)
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 kuška and laška,
and posits that the initial /p/ in these words may come from *kʷ, not the *pp that is the likely
ancestor of word-final /p/ in both Coatecas Altas and CLZ.

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. krikí krikí krikí
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* a short voiceless [u] is inserted between *k* and *r*, making this not a good example of a cluster.

(2.5) Main initial stops before vowels: 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>/p/</th>
<th>/t/</th>
<th>/k/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pă</td>
<td>tŏ</td>
<td>ka'ń</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[păːʔ]</td>
<td>[tŏ]</td>
<td>[kaʔŋ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>¿dónde?</td>
<td>tos</td>
<td>de lado</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>where?</td>
<td>cough</td>
<td>on the side</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2.6) Main initial stops in clusters: 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>/pl/</th>
<th>/tn/</th>
<th>/kró/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>plă</td>
<td>tnix</td>
<td>kros kros kros</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[plăːʔ]</td>
<td>[tnis]</td>
<td>[kroʊ kroʊ kroʊ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>¿cuánto?</td>
<td>varilla</td>
<td>Sonido de zapatos que tienen agua por dentro</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>how many?</td>
<td>rebar</td>
<td>sound of shoes that have water in them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2.7) Main non-initial stops in clusters: 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>/st/</th>
<th>/mk/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>stúb</td>
<td>mkóz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[stúβ]</td>
<td>[mkóz]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>otro</td>
<td>luciérnaga</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>lightning bug</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2.8) Main final stops: 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>/mb/</th>
<th>/lå/</th>
<th>/lák/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mbgùp</td>
<td>låt</td>
<td>låk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[mbgùpʰ]</td>
<td>[låtʰ]</td>
<td>[låkʰ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>armadillo</td>
<td>llano</td>
<td>igual</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are three less common voiceless stops which all involve some secondary articulation: 

/ʃ, tʃ, kʷ/. For historical reasons each of these has a somewhat marginal distribution.

/ʃ/ 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, /ʃ/ 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
unfortunately not yet met. /tː/ only occurs word-finally. Furthermore, its occurrence is restricted to words with low, rising, or glottal tone. The phonetic difference between this and the /t/ 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 /tː/ as a single phonemic segment because it contrasts with the plain /t/. 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 /tː/ 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 *t'.

A related and also marginal segment is CLZ /tː/. The articulation of this sound is similar to that of /t/ but with a [ʔ] offglide. This segment is the reflex of what has been reconstructed as a palatalized stop *tʰ by Benton (1988) and Kaufman (1993). Reasons for analyzing ty as a separate phoneme in CLZ have to do with /tːʰ’s synchronic morphological distribution.

reflex, not /p/ before back rounded vowels in other words, e.g. ‘take out’ potential koʔ habitual nboʔ.
/tɬ/ 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 /tɬ/ occur medially following a prefix. The only instances of initial /tɬ/ 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 *tɬ is /ɬ/. Although /tɬ/ 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 /tɬ/ is a voiceless stop. However there is synchronic morphological and phonotactic evidence which points to /tɬ/’s status as a lenis stop.

All verbs in which /tɬ/ 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 *ttɬ.

One might argue that tɬ 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 tɬ 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 tɬ 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. /tʰ/, 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.

/kʷ/ 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 /kʷo/ or /kʷu/ sequences there was dissimilation throughout Zapotec, resulting in the loss of the glide portion of the segment. /kʷ/ always occurs in pre-vocalic position except in two onomatopoetic words in which it occurs before /t/, e.g. kwrás is a sound made by pulling the finger against a taught lip. /kʷ/ 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 /kʷ/ 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 /kʷ/’s phonemic status.

(2.9) Initial stops with secondary articulation: ------ /tʰ/ (SMaC only) /t̚/ /kʷ/
tyo’l [t̚o’l] kwàl [kʷa’l]
P-resbalarse frio
P-slip cold

(2.10) Secondarily articulated stops in clusters: ------ mtye’tz [mtʃæ’z] bkwa’n [fkʷa’n]
camarón IMP-despertarlo
shrimp IMP-wake up

(2.11) Final stop with secondary articulation: dōt’ [dɔt’]
resina
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, n, η, η, /β, δ, γ/ are realized as stops [b, d, g]. /z/ and /ζ/ are usually realized as phonetic affricates when preceded by /η/, the transition between nasal and fricative resulting in an epenthetic [d]. Non-homorganic nasals do not produce these changes and the orthography distinguishes the homorganic sequence ng [ŋg] from the heterorganic sequence n-g [ŋγ].

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].

/γ/ has merged with /γ/ before front vowels and so /γ/ can only now occur before the vowels /a, ɔ, o, u/ in most varieties of CLZ, except when preceded by /η/ 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 /γ/ is often heavily labialized, sometimes sounding more like /w/ than /γ/, though CLZ speakers recognize such words as beginning in the same sound as other /γ/-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/ occasionally ends in labial closure rather than glottal closure. When present, the epenthetic vowel following lenis obstruents tends to have the quality of [ɔ], 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(2.12) Initial, voiced cluster</th>
<th>/β/</th>
<th>/ð/</th>
<th>/z/</th>
<th>/ʒ/</th>
<th>/γ/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bdûd</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[βðûð̆]</td>
<td>IMP-enrollarlo</td>
<td>IMP-roll.up</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(2.13) Initial, voiceless cluster</th>
<th>bcha n-é</th>
<th>/h/</th>
<th>/d/</th>
<th>/z/</th>
<th>/ʒ/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[ʃʃɔʔŋé]</td>
<td>IMP-dejarlo=3i</td>
<td>IMP-put.down=3i</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(2.14) Initial before a vowel</th>
<th>bó</th>
<th>dà</th>
<th>zèd</th>
<th>zhûl</th>
<th>ga'y</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[βð]</td>
<td>[ðà]</td>
<td>[zèd̆]</td>
<td>[zhûl]</td>
<td>[gã y̩]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nudo</td>
<td>petate</td>
<td>sal</td>
<td>pollito</td>
<td>cinco</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>knot</td>
<td>mat</td>
<td>salt</td>
<td>chick</td>
<td>five</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(2.15) Homorganic nasal cluster</th>
<th>mbe'y</th>
<th>ndô</th>
<th>nzâ</th>
<th>nzhâ</th>
<th>ngidle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[mbfʔ?]</td>
<td>[ŋðô]</td>
<td>[ŋzâ]</td>
<td>[ŋzhâ]</td>
<td>[ŋgïôʔ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luna</td>
<td>cara</td>
<td>frijol</td>
<td>oreja</td>
<td>gallina</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moon</td>
<td>face</td>
<td>bean</td>
<td>ear</td>
<td>chicken</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is necessary to explain why I have not listed a phoneme /\w/ in Figure 8. There are some good reasons for doing so. I analyze [w] following [k] as a single phoneme /k\w/ 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 /\y/ is also a single labiovelar phoneme /\w/. Just as [w] can follow no stop other than [k], it cannot follow /\b/ or /\ð/ but can follow /\y/. This may mean that /\w/ is emerging as a new phoneme, but while /k\w/ is the true reflex of an earlier fortis labiovelar sound, the reflex of the lenis counterpart of that sound is /\b/. In fact /\w/ or the allomorphic variant [g\w] 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 /\w/ are not only historical.
There are several variants of the completive marker and the markers related to it. $ngw$- is realized as $[\eta gw]$ when preceding voiced consonants. $[\eta gw]$ 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 $[\eta gu]$ or $[\eta go]$ with the [u] or [o] replacing the initial vowel of the root. Before roots with initial voiceless consonants the variant of $ngw$ is $[\eta w]$. Since these four variants of the completive marker are all one morpheme, if I proposed a phoneme /γw/ I would be pressured to say that the [w] in $[\eta w]$ is an allophone of /γw/, and I would have to find a synchronic explanation for the $[\eta gu]$ and $[\eta go]$ 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 /γ, w, o, u/. These difficulties do not arise in the analysis of /kγw/ since that phoneme occurs initially in roots while the would-be /γw/ only occurs in a prefix. For these reasons I analyze the fullest form of the completive prefix as a sequence of three segments $/\eta \gamma \eta/$.  

2.1.1.3 Voiceless spirants

The set of voiceless fricatives is an emergent class of sounds in CLZ. Only /s/ (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 /s/ has a restricted distribution in CLZ.

/∅/ 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 /∅/ in the lending language. One possible exception to the Spanish loanword rule for /∅/ 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 *tlātha7 ‘la mitad; half.’ The first portion of this compound word, *tlā, 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 (sā the first person exclusive), one fossilized compound verb (-ástē ‘levantarse; to rise’) and in Spanish loanwords.

Retroflex /s/ (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’ xgām.

/x/ (written <j>) occurs in many onomatopoetic words and in Spanish loanwords which contain either /x/ or some labial, usually /ʃ/, 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 /ʃ/. The contrast between loans like ‘Refugia’ > Júj or ‘Rafael’ > Jwāy and loans like ‘Ranulfo’ > Núf and ‘fiesta’ > fyēst 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(2.19) Initial in a cluster</th>
<th>/ɸ/</th>
<th>/θ/</th>
<th>/s/</th>
<th>/ʃ/</th>
<th>/x/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Flór</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>stúb</td>
<td>xgāl</td>
<td>Jwēltz</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ɸlōɾ]</td>
<td>[stūβ̠]</td>
<td>[syāl̠]</td>
<td>[xwēltz]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flora</td>
<td>otro</td>
<td>sombra</td>
<td>Félix</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>shade</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(2.20) Initial before vowel</th>
<th>/fámil/</th>
<th>/sà/</th>
<th>/xàn/</th>
<th>/Jín/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[fámil]</td>
<td>[sâ]</td>
<td>[xàn]</td>
<td>[Jín]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>familia</td>
<td>le</td>
<td>parte debajo</td>
<td>Regina</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>family</td>
<td>le</td>
<td>base</td>
<td>Regina</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(2.21) Medial</th>
<th>/chuínfė/</th>
<th>/tlā̃ha/²</th>
<th>/Bāsîl/</th>
<th>/nhwxa/²k</th>
<th>/lijēr/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[cũ̃îfė]</td>
<td>[tlā̃θâ]</td>
<td>[bāsil̠]</td>
<td>[ŋhwə̃k̠]</td>
<td>[liŋɛɾ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nagua</td>
<td>la mitad</td>
<td>Basilio</td>
<td>C-parecersele</td>
<td>giero</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skirt</td>
<td>half'</td>
<td>Basil (name)</td>
<td>C-appear</td>
<td>light</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(2.22) Final</th>
<th>/Chóf/</th>
<th>/nîh/</th>
<th>/bās/</th>
<th>/bîx/</th>
<th>/yāj/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[cũ̃îf]</td>
<td>[nīθ]</td>
<td>[bâs]</td>
<td>[bîš]</td>
<td>[yâx]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crisóforo</td>
<td>caña</td>
<td>vaso</td>
<td>tomate</td>
<td>nopal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crisóforo</td>
<td>sugarcane</td>
<td>drinking glass</td>
<td>tomato</td>
<td>cactus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 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 distinction⁷. CLZ

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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 jugs 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.
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 elitics
are not affected by these processes.

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, ñ, n, N/. /ñ/ is the apparent newcomer but
despite its likely Spanish origin it is found in a few core native vocabulary items, e.g. ñaʔ ‘milpa,’
and is even used to mark potential aspect on some n-initial verbs which make use of a ň~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’ mēn, were assimilations of labial obstruents to *n
elsewhere 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 mā ‘animal’
and mē ‘gente; person.’ /m/ also is the initial segment in the most common completive prefix in
SZ, mb-. /ñ/ 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. /ñ/ also occurs

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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
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. /ŋ/ is the most common nasal in CLZ and can occur in initial, medial, or final position.

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/.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(2.23) In a prefix</th>
<th>/m/</th>
<th>/n/</th>
<th>/ñ/</th>
<th>/ŋ/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mbíth</td>
<td>ndèz</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>nhwxî</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[mbíθ]</td>
<td>[ndèz^ʔ]</td>
<td>[ŋwsi]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zorrillo</td>
<td>tlacuache</td>
<td>chichatla</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skunk</td>
<td>possum</td>
<td>black widow</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(2.24) Root-initial</th>
<th>mân</th>
<th>nhna^ʔ-l</th>
<th>ŋa^ʔn</th>
<th>nhó</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[màːŋ]</td>
<td>[ŋnâʔ']</td>
<td>[ŋâŋʔ']</td>
<td>[ŋò]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>animal</td>
<td>IRR-lavarse=2f no hay</td>
<td>1i</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>animal</td>
<td>IRR-wash=2f there isn’t</td>
<td>1i</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(2.25) Final</th>
<th>xgàm</th>
<th>ŋa^ʔ</th>
<th>------</th>
<th>yônâ^8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[sɔɾm^ʔ']</td>
<td>[tâŋ]</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>[yôn]^2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jícama</td>
<td>cosa</td>
<td>mezquino</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jícama</td>
<td>thing</td>
<td>type of skin fungus</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 [ɾ] and [r] 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 yônâ.
reason, in both Spanish and CLZ orthography the digraph <rr> is only used between vowels. When not in this position, [r] follows syllable-initial consonants, [ɾ] 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, /ɾ/ 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 /l/ are actually pretty long themselves, giving them a very distinctive sound compared to a typical coda lateral in other languages. /l/ occurs preconsonantally as a prefix in three recorded words: once before a glide and twice before sibilants.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/ɾ/</th>
<th>/ɾ/</th>
<th>/l/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(2.26) Initial and preconsonantal------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>lwê</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| [ɾ] | [ɾwx] | [ɾwx]
| ala | wing |
| (2.27) Initial and prevocalic | rójwá | lúzh |
| [róxwá] | [jús] |
| nagua | lengua |
| slip | tongue |
### 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 /ŋ/ (see 2.1.1.2 for an explanation of why I don’t analyze the latter sequence as a single segment /ŋw/), 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 [j] 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 /ý/ 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.

(2.31) Preconsonantal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/w/</th>
<th>/y/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wxēn</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[wsēn]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ancho</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wide</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2.32) Postconsonantal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/w/</th>
<th>/y/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xwàn</td>
<td>byôn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[swànː]</td>
<td>[bỳôn]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dueño</td>
<td>yerba buena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>owner</td>
<td>peppermint</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2.33) Word-initial before a vowel

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/w/</th>
<th>/y/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wàch</td>
<td>yìch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[wàc]</td>
<td>[jìc]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iguana</td>
<td>pelo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iguana</td>
<td>hair</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2.34) Root-final

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/w/</th>
<th>/y/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xnèw</td>
<td>báy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[șnèwː]</td>
<td>[bày]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anona</td>
<td>pañuelo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soursop</td>
<td>kerchief</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 [j] 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 [i] 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. <e> tends more towards [æ] in the
Loxichas and more towards [e] 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
Coatlán. 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/.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>In a diphthong</th>
<th>Before a consonant</th>
<th>Final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(2.35)  inh</td>
<td>níw</td>
<td>ník</td>
<td>mbi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[iŋ]</td>
<td>[ŋiŋ]</td>
<td>[ŋǐk]</td>
<td>[mbiː]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sonido de sancudo</td>
<td>nigua</td>
<td>gargantilla</td>
<td>aire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sound of a mosquito</td>
<td>sandflea</td>
<td>necklace</td>
<td>wind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2.36)  êd yîd</td>
<td>mbèw</td>
<td>mbèk</td>
<td>scheʃ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[iʊ jʊt]</td>
<td>[mbêʊ]</td>
<td>[mbêk]</td>
<td>[ʃɛc]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huarache (SMigC)</td>
<td>javalí</td>
<td>perro</td>
<td>cena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sandal</td>
<td>peccary</td>
<td>dog</td>
<td>dinner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2.37)  êj êj êj êj</td>
<td>ndêy</td>
<td>mbèz</td>
<td>lê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[əx æx æx æx]</td>
<td>[ndɛj]</td>
<td>[mbɛz]</td>
<td>[lɛ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grito del burro (SMigC)</td>
<td>diente</td>
<td>costoche</td>
<td>tolin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>call of the donkey</td>
<td>tooth</td>
<td>fox</td>
<td>crave-sickness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2.38)  áyo</td>
<td>ga'y</td>
<td>kwâl</td>
<td>Lâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[áyɔʔ]</td>
<td>[gəy]</td>
<td>[kɔl]</td>
<td>[l̥ã]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cien</td>
<td>cinco</td>
<td>frío</td>
<td>Oaxaca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hundred</td>
<td>five</td>
<td>cold</td>
<td>Oaxaca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2.39)  -----</td>
<td>yà ndöw</td>
<td>yòj</td>
<td>ndö'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[yɑndɔ̃w]</td>
<td>[yɔʔj]</td>
<td>[n̥ɔdɔ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>palo de zapote</td>
<td>renacuajo</td>
<td>H-comer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>zapote tree</td>
<td>tadpole</td>
<td>H-eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2.40)  òwizhta'y</td>
<td>nzóy</td>
<td>góm</td>
<td>gó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ɔwizʃَاʔ]</td>
<td>[nzo]</td>
<td>[ɣɔ]</td>
<td>[ɡə]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mediodía</td>
<td>cacao</td>
<td>limosna</td>
<td>2r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noon</td>
<td>cocoa</td>
<td>offering</td>
<td>2r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2.41)  úwizhta'y</td>
<td>mtziy</td>
<td>zhûl</td>
<td>ngû</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[úwizʃَاʔ]</td>
<td>[mɛu]</td>
<td>[zʊl]</td>
<td>[ŋgû]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mediodía</td>
<td>C-hacerle cosquilla</td>
<td>pollito</td>
<td>huevo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noon</td>
<td>C-tickle</td>
<td>chick</td>
<td>egg</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>mbé</th>
<th>mbè</th>
<th>mbê</th>
<th>mbe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mbé</td>
<td>[mbé]</td>
<td>[mbè:?]</td>
<td>[mbê]</td>
<td>[mbe:?]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[mbè]</td>
<td>[mbé:?]</td>
<td>[mbê]</td>
<td>[mbe:?]</td>
<td>[mbê:?]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cangrejo</td>
<td>neblina</td>
<td>araña</td>
<td>tortuga</td>
<td>luna; mariposa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crab</td>
<td>mist</td>
<td>spider</td>
<td>turtle</td>
<td>moon; butterfly</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>high</th>
<th>low</th>
<th>falling</th>
<th>rising</th>
<th>glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>240Hz.</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>140</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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
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
chónná  chóñ      ‘tres; three’
màñiʔ  mán      ‘animal’
rálé   ndál      ‘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 Vʔ syllables contrast with rearticulated VʔV syllables. CLZ has both Vʔ and VʔV 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 VʔV 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 Vʔ 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

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{yi}^\acute{x} & \text{xn}a^\acute{\imath}-s \\
[ji\acute{\imath}s] & [sn\acute{\imath}s]
\end{array}
\]

P-tostrarse POS-madre=1e
P-toast POS-mother=1e

(2.45) Post-glottalized sonorants\(^{10}\)

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
bkwa'n & bch\acute{e}l & ga'y \\
[\phi k\acute{w}n] & [\phi c\acute{e}l] & [\gamma\acute{a} y]
\end{array}
\]

IMP-buscar IMP-unir cinco
IMP-seek IMP-unite cinco

(2.46) Pre-glottalized sonorants

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
bkwa'n-e & bch\acute{e}l-\acute{e} & ga'y-\acute{e} \\
[\phi k\acute{w}n\acute{e}] & [\phi c\acute{e}l\acute{e}] & [\gamma\acute{a} y\acute{e}]
\end{array}
\]

IMP-buscar=3i IMP-unir=3i cinco=3i
IMP-seck=3i IMP-unite=3i cinco=3i

(2.47) Checked vowels

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
mb\acute{e}k & bxi\acute{e}zh & xa^\acute{\imath} \\
[m\acute{b}i\acute{\imath}] & [\phi s\acute{e}\acute{\imath}] & [\gamma\acute{a}]
\end{array}
\]

tufo feo piña mano POS-madre=1i
bad odor pineapple hand 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

\(^{10}\) 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 labeled 3-4-footnote and 3-6-footnote, these are \(x\acute{i}n\) ‘nalg;a, buttock,’ \(x\acute{i}n\) ‘M-comprar/buy=1s, ya\acute{\imath}\) ‘olote; corncob’ and \(ya\acute{\imath}\) ‘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.
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.

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 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).
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 \([^*]\) 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 /l/) 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 mè has a high instead of rising tone in the enclitic form –mè 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 than 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 gives examples of \textit{gēyī} \textit{yā} ‘five steambaths’ and \textit{gēyī} \textit{yá} ‘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 \textit{=C} and are reductions of the fuller \textit{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 \textit{ta} 7, based on \textit{ta} 7 \textit{n} ‘cosa; thing’ but is not included here since the enclitic forms are not based on it in any obvious way.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(2.51)</th>
<th>Generic noun</th>
<th>Free Pronoun</th>
<th>Enclitic</th>
<th>Phonological environment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>\textit{nā}</td>
<td>-n'</td>
<td>C__</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1i</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>\textit{nhó}</td>
<td>-nh'</td>
<td>C__</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>\textit{ló}</td>
<td>-l'</td>
<td>C__</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3hr</td>
<td>\textit{mê}</td>
<td>\textit{mê}</td>
<td>-m'</td>
<td>C__</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>\textit{mē}</td>
<td>\textit{mē}</td>
<td>-ý</td>
<td>V__</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2r</td>
<td>\textit{gá}</td>
<td>\textit{gá}</td>
<td>-á</td>
<td>C__ and V__</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3i</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-é</td>
<td>C__</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(gá variant occurs in SMaC)
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 enclitics 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 xnad- ‘mi mamá; my mom’
Figure 12: Spectrogram with pitch tracing of \textit{xna}^{-nh}`nuestra(s) mamá(s); our mother(s)`

Figure 13: Spectrogram with pitch tracing of \textit{tô-l}`tu boca; your 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.
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, perceptually, 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 mbith and ngwzi 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.

\[(2.52) \quad \text{xèn} \quad \text{xè-n} \quad \text{xè-nh'}\]

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{P-ancharse} & \text{P-widen} & \\
\text{nariz.1s=1s} & \text{nose.1s-1s} & \\
\text{nariz=1i} & \text{nose=1i} & \\
\text{Se va a anchar.} & \text{Mi nariz.} & \text{Nuestras narices.} \\
\text{It's going to widen.} & \text{My nose.} & \text{Our noses.} \\
\end{array}
\]

The root-final nasal of \text{xèn} 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 \( x\)\(\text{E}
\) (\( /e/ \) 155 ms., \( /\eta/ \) 274 ms.)

Figure 18: Spectrogram with pitch tracing of \( x\tilde{\text{E}}-\eta \) (\( /e/ \) 133 ms., \( /\eta/ \) 130 ms.)
2.2.2 Register

All CLZ tones except rising have two main realizations that differ by pitch height. I analyze these variations as occurring 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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>high</th>
<th>low</th>
<th>falling</th>
<th>rising</th>
<th>glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><img src="image.png" alt="Pitch Patterns" /></td>
<td>240Hz.</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 onomatopoeic 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 pre-tonic 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 in 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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yìch} + \text{yèk} &= \text{yìchèk} \\
\text{‘pelo; hair’} + \text{‘cabeza; head’} &= \text{‘cabello; head hair’} \\
\text{mbèd} + \text{zàn} &= \text{mbézàn} \\
\text{‘guajolote; turkey’} + \text{‘hembra; child-bearing’} &= \text{‘guajolota hembra; female turkey’} \\
\text{ngìd} + \text{mbzìn} &= \text{ngìzin} \\
\text{‘gallina; chicken’}^{12} + \text{‘ratón; mouse’} &= \text{‘murciélago; bat’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[^{12}\text{This root used to mean ‘butterfly’ and so the original metaphor for ‘bat’ was not the now-folk-etymologized ‘chicken mouse’ but in fact ‘butterfly mouse’. This metaphor goes back to at least Proto-Zapotec (Kaufman, 2003).}\]
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, \textit{kwë}^* \textit{me}' means ‘(estar) enfermo; (to be) sick’ as in \textit{kwë}^* \textit{wê}' \textit{aquella persona está enfermo; that person is sick}’ but –\textit{ákwë}^- means ‘doler; to hurt’ as in \textit{ndákwë}^* \textit{ndë}' \textit{nâ} \textit{mi diente; my tooth hurts}.’ There are many verbs that begin in unstressed –\textit{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

\begin{align*}
\text{ngûd} & \quad \text{wze}^7 & = & \text{ngizê}^7 \\
\text{‘gallina; chicken'} & \quad \text{‘macho; male'} & = & \text{‘gallo; rooster'} \\
\text{lid} & \quad \text{mbdo}^7 & = & \text{libto}^7 \\
\text{‘casa; house'} & \quad \text{‘santo; saint'} & = & \text{‘iglesia; church'} \\
\text{lid} & \quad \text{yi}^7 \text{b} & = & \text{lityi}^7 \text{b} \\
\text{‘casa; house'} & \quad \text{‘fierro; metal'} & = & \text{‘cárcel; jail'} \\
yîd & \quad \text{tô} & = & \text{yîtó} \\
\text{‘piel; skin'} & \quad \text{‘boca; mouth'} & = & \text{‘boca; mouth'}
\end{align*}

\textit{In SMaC this word is lipdo}^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 \textit{lid} in SBL, \textit{lit} in SMigC, and \textit{lit}’ in SMaC, the final consonant coming from earlier \textit{*ty}. In CLZ \textit{tô}’ is a bound morpheme meaning ‘big’ or ‘holy’ such as in the word for ‘ocean’ \textit{nîtz do}, literally ‘big or holy water.’ This is related to the word \textit{mbdo}’ 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, \textit{b} or \textit{p} is the earlier animacy prefix, before the SZ languages acquired prenasalization. The lack of \textit{m} could be predicted with the synchronic phonological generalization that there are no medial CCC consonant clusters. In other words such as \textit{mbzin} ‘mouse’ \rightarrow \textit{ngizin} ‘bat’ the whole \textit{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.
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.

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).

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{(2.54) } & \text{Ábélín} & \text{yìˈb yà áméríkán} & \text{éskópét} & \text{pülmón} \\
\text{Avelino} & \text{hacha americana} & \text{escopeta} & \text{pulmón} \\
\text{American hachet} & \text{shotgun} & \text{lung} \\
\end{array}
\]

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).

---

14 The retention of a voiceless ɬ 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 *ŋ into d in SBL.
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 \textit{Láx} ‘Lázaro’ and \textit{Láx} ‘Nicolás.’

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.

\begin{tabular}{llllll}
(2.55) & \textit{xgàm} & \textit{áúj} & \textit{báy} & \textit{wáy} & \textit{xtil} \\
\textit{jícama} & \textit{aguja} & \textit{pañuelo} & \textit{caballo} & \textit{Castilla} \\
\textit{jicama} & \textit{needle} & \textit{handkerchief} & \textit{horse} & \textit{Hispanic} \\
\hline
\textit{mbál} & \textit{mál} & \textit{yàxìl} & \textit{séy} (SMaC only) \\
\textit{compadre} & \textit{comadre} & \textit{silla} & \textit{seña} \\
\end{tabular}

\begin{tabular}{llllll}
(2.56) & \textit{Láx} & \textit{Béd} & \textit{Bét} & \textit{páyás} & \textit{pápáy} \\
\textit{Lázaro} & \textit{Pedro} & \textit{Beto} & \textit{payaso} & \textit{papaya} \\
\textit{payaso} & \textit{clown} & \textit{papaya} & \\
\hline
\textit{Láx} & \textit{Bé̂l} & \textit{Má̂x} & \textit{pé̂rl̂} \\
\textit{Nicolás} & \textit{Isabel} & \textit{Tomás} & \textit{perol} & \textit{aluminum pot} \\
\end{tabular}

\begin{tabular}{llllll}
(2.57) & \textit{Bárt̄ol} & \textit{Bál̄er} & \textit{bórr̄eg} & \textit{pál̄om} & \textit{pér̄ık} \\
\textit{Bartolo} & \textit{Valeria/o} & \textit{borrego} & \textit{paloma} & \textit{perico} \\
\textit{sheep} & \textit{dove} & \textit{perikeet} & \\
\end{tabular}

\(^{15}\) Only \textit{xíl} is borrowed from Spanish. This is a compound formed with the root for ‘tree’ (or ‘wood’) \textit{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)  $\text{Gānhj}$  $\text{pūlk}$  $\text{Bēnīg}$  vs.  $\text{Bēnit}$

Ángel  pulque  Benigno  Benito

agave wine

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

(2.59)  $\text{Āwrēl}$  $\text{Chēnch}$  vs.  $\text{Āwrēl}$  $\text{Chēnch}$

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.

16 In an apparent exception to the generalization being highlighted here, the name Gelacio, which has normal unmarked penultimate stress in Spanish, is also Lax, 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 mbízh nà kónh mbál nděz`. The consultant was a 65-year-old man from Santa Maria 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

![Intonation Graph](image)

`kwěnt` `tě` `mbál` `mbízh` `nà` `kónh` `mbál` `nděz` 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’ 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 tê and má in Figure 23. A full gloss of this sentence is given in section (2.74).

Figure 23: Falling intonation in SBL

```
"Klo k klo k" nbêzh má gör nzhô b má ndô yë tê má.
```

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 *xāl*. 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)  lã bréťąy  séy  Yą
        bretaňa  seńa, seńal  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’ ġįąąą. Example (2.61) is from Appendix B1.

(2.61)  “ţiįįį” ndą mbál mbįį zh.
        uh-huh H-decir compadre leόn
        uh-huh H-say compadre puma
        “Śí,” dice Compadre Leόn.
        “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’ měń.
Elsewhere in the CLZ region the pronoun is mē but in SMaC it is męą.17 Interestingly the third
person animal pronoun, mà, is also based on a full noun with a nasal, män, 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 nà 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

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, měń and män, 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.
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 -n’ 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 ťê 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.

(2.62) Xè me. Xè.
nariz 3hr nariz.1s.1s
nose 3hr nose.1s.1s
Su nariz. Mi nariz.
His nose. My nose.

(2.63) Wà me. Wú.
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 te me. Mbèk té.
perro POS 3hr perro POS.1s.1s
dog POS 3hr dog POS.1s 1s
Su perro. Mi perro.
Her dog. My dog.

(2.65) Mkè7 me té. Wkè’7 te lò.
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 nā) rather than the preceding vowel. This form of the pronoun can be considered a clitic.

(2.66) \( Tzō^\text{-q} \)  \( Ndá xí^\text{-q-yá} \)

\[ \text{espalda=1s} \quad \text{H-ir.1s M-comprarlo=1s=3i} \]
\[ \text{back=1s} \quad \text{H-go.1s M-buy.it=1s=3i} \]

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 -q 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 [tisk tisk] 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-êzh 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-èzh would be ungrammatical. However, in (2.69) –b-èzh 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-èzh 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’k to’k” nzyid ndâtz xa7.
sonido.de.caminar.con.tacón H-sonar pie 3hd
sound.of.walking.with.high.heels H-sound foot 3hd
“To’k to’k” suena su pie de la gente cuando traen tacón.
“To’k to’k” sounds her/his foot when wearing a hard- or high-heeled shoe.

(2.68) “Mbras” ngwzid bóté ngwlë.
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” ngwzid yálá. Mbyâ yálâ.
sonido.de.puerta.grande.cerrando C-sonar puerta C-cerrar
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”, ngwzid 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) “We’wë we’wë” nbèzh chîb.
(grito.del.chivo H-R1-gritar chivo
sound.of.the.goat H-R1-scream goat
“We’wë wë’wë” grita el chivo.
“We’wë wë’wë” screams the goat.
(Example from SMigC, not SBL)

(2.72) Xè-mó 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) “Mbëw”, ngwîtêzh yên më.
sonido.de.eructarse C-R2-gritar pescuezo 3hr
sound.of.burping C-R2-scream neck 3hr
“Mbëw”, gritó su pescuezo.
“Mbëw,” screamed his throat.

(2.74) “Klo’k klo’k” nbèzh má gôr nà nzho’b má ndô yë’ tê mà.
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’k klo’k” la gallina culeca cuando está calentando (o abrazando) sus huevitos.
“Cluck Cluck” says the hen when she is on her nest.
(2.75) "Xūr xūr nbèzh sèrrûch.
sonido.de.serrote.cortando.madera H-gritar serrucho
sound.of.saw.cutting.wood H-scream saw
"Xūr xūr" suena el serrucho cuando está uno cortando la madera.
"Xūr xūr" goes the saw (when cutting wood).

(2.76) "Aj", ngwdòb mè látyo₇-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) Nà nbo₇ kwri₇’s ngûtz yaⁿ-Benz.
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 “kwri₇’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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CLZ word</th>
<th>Spanish gloss</th>
<th>English gloss</th>
<th>Phonetic description and other comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>châj</td>
<td>sonido de cortar carne encima de la mesa</td>
<td>sound of chopping meat on a butcher block (wood surface)</td>
<td>cf. JCH cha a; for effect vowel can be made whispered and raspy or quickly and repeatedly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chikri</td>
<td>sonido de chicharra</td>
<td>sound of the cicada (insect)</td>
<td>May be said repeatedly. Said singly it is also the name of the insect that makes this sound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kâtkâtkâkârét</td>
<td>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</td>
<td>sound of a hen after laying an egg or when seeing a bad spirit at night or when a person will soon die nearby</td>
<td>See variant below. The final vowel is stressed: longer duration, louder, higher pitch, and closed syllable.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kë’tkë’tkë’tkérét</td>
<td>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</td>
<td>sound of a hen after laying an egg or when seeing a bad spirit at night or when a person will soon die nearby</td>
<td>See variant above. The final vowel is stressed: longer duration, louder, higher pitch, and closed syllable.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kikiriki</td>
<td>sonido del gallo</td>
<td>sound of the rooster</td>
<td>Borrowed from Spanish. Last vowel is longer due to stress.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>klo7k klo7k</td>
<td>grito de la gallina culeca cuando ya terminó de poner</td>
<td>sound of a hen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko’l ko’l</td>
<td>sonido de grito del guajolote macho</td>
<td>sound of the male turkey</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwâk kwâk</td>
<td>sonido del pato; grito de la guajolota hembra cuando ando buscando el macho</td>
<td>call of the duck; call of the female turkey in heat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbrôj</td>
<td>sonido de una puerta grande que se cierra</td>
<td>sound of shutting a big door</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mû</td>
<td>sonido de la vaca</td>
<td>sound of a cow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>myâw</td>
<td>sonido del grito del gato</td>
<td>sound of a cat</td>
<td>Higher pitched than normal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngôtzéy</td>
<td>chiflado de lechuza (mbzhâzh, xôz yâ)</td>
<td>the call of a particular owl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nzinh</td>
<td>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.</td>
<td>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</td>
<td>Synonymous with nzérînh and ndrînh.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
pí pí  | sonido que hace la guajolota hembra cuando llama a su cria (cuando se pierden), y de la cria cuando buscan a la mamá | the sound a female turkey makes when looking for her lost young and the young looking for her |
poʔj  | 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 |
rârrâ  | 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 |
toʔ toʔ  | 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 |
weʔ weʔ weʔ  | 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 |
xûr xûr  | 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). |
xûp  | 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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CLZ word</th>
<th>Spanish gloss</th>
<th>English gloss</th>
<th>Phonetic description and other comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ja</td>
<td>sonido del bostezo</td>
<td>sound of yawning</td>
<td>Voiceless and ingressive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akwisa</td>
<td>sonido de un destornudo</td>
<td>sound of a sneeze</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anhjaja</td>
<td>sonido del grito del burro</td>
<td>sound of the donkey</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ây ây</td>
<td>sonido del dolor que sufre uno cuando se corta</td>
<td>sound of the pain one suffers when s/he is cut</td>
<td>Both vowels are long. Probably the same as the following.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ay ay ay</td>
<td>sonido de una persona enferma; sonido de cocoxtle (tajacaminos)</td>
<td>sound of a sick person; sound of the cocoxtle</td>
<td>Because it sounds like a sick person it is believed that the cocoxtle is an anuncio of illness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brônh brônh</td>
<td>sonido de agua creciente en el rio</td>
<td>sound of the river when it rains a lot</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brum brum brum brum</td>
<td>sonido del huracán Paulina</td>
<td>sound of hurricane Paulina</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chas</td>
<td>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)</td>
<td>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)</td>
<td>For effect vowel can be made whispered and raspy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch’ch’ch’ch’</td>
<td>sonido de víbora de cascabèl</td>
<td>sound of the rattlesnake</td>
<td>Can continue indefinitely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch’kch’kch’k</td>
<td>sonido de hojas secas</td>
<td>sound of dry leaves</td>
<td>cf. JCH cha’a cha’a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chk chk chk</td>
<td>sonido de sonaja</td>
<td>sound of a (non-metal) rattle</td>
<td>Voiceless echo vowels are audible on recording</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ê j ê j ê j ê j</td>
<td>grito del chivo</td>
<td>sound of the goat</td>
<td>SMigC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fiiiiii</td>
<td>sonido de un pajaro o culebra volando</td>
<td>sound of a bird flying or a snake gliding through the air</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gorr gorr gorr gorr</td>
<td>sonido de vaciar refresco en un vaso</td>
<td>sound of pouring a soft drink in a glass</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hwxhwxhwxhwxhwxhwx</td>
<td>sonido de cohete que amarra en mecate</td>
<td>sound of fireworks wrapped in rope</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inh</td>
<td>sonido de sancudo</td>
<td>sound of a mosquito [ŋ] is long</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jajay</td>
<td>sonido de las mujeres que se rían de un hombre con quien tuvieron relaciones y luego se dejaron, con coraje</td>
<td>sound made by women who are jilted lovers laughing at their exes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jorr</td>
<td>sonido de llenar una ánfora con agua</td>
<td>the sound of filling a jug with water Trill is long</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jwf</td>
<td>sonido del viento</td>
<td>sound of the wind</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jj</td>
<td>sonido de un viento fuerte</td>
<td>sound of a strong wind Long [x]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāā</td>
<td>sonido de chicharra grande</td>
<td>sound of a big cicada</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kros kros kros</td>
<td>sonido de zapato que tiene agua por dentro</td>
<td>sound of (walking with) wet shoes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwēnh kwēnh kwēnh</td>
<td>sonido cuando patean al perro</td>
<td>sound of people kicking a dog Rising tone is higher than normal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwí</td>
<td>grito del gavilán</td>
<td>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.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwras kwras</td>
<td>sonido que hace la burra hembra cuando el burro macho está encima</td>
<td>sound the female donkey makes when mating Found in SMigC as well as SBL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwri7s</td>
<td>sonido de un chasquido</td>
<td>sound of a snap</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mānhâ mānhâ</td>
<td>sonido de un nene llorando</td>
<td>sound of a baby crying [a] is farther back than normal and more nasal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbè’w</td>
<td>sonido de eructarse</td>
<td>sound of burping Besides the predictable final[ʔ], the vowel is creaky; cf. JCH au*ʔ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbôrs mbôrs</td>
<td>sonido de animales comiendo pastura o maíz</td>
<td>sound of animals grazing Low falling tone</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbras</td>
<td>sonido de una botella que se quiebra</td>
<td>sound of a bottle breaking Vowel is raspy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbrûnh</td>
<td>sonido de derrumbe o rayo</td>
<td>sound of a landslide or thunder cf. JCH braa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mêmêmêmêmêmêmêmêmêm</td>
<td>sonido de un carro cargado</td>
<td>sound of a loaded cargo truck Successive falling tones</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mê’*</td>
<td>sonido de chivo</td>
<td>sound of goat Vowel is creaky, nasal, long and followed by [ʔ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndríngh</td>
<td>sonido de una moneda que cae</td>
<td>sound of a coin that falls</td>
<td>Other variants below</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngô7r</td>
<td>sonido que hay cuando uno quiere ir al baño</td>
<td>sound the body makes before going to the bathroom</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nguru7nh</td>
<td>sonido de agua o comida bajando en el pescuezo</td>
<td>sound of a gulp</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nzêríngh nzêríngh</td>
<td>sonido de cascabel que le ponen a los nenes</td>
<td>sound of a baby's metal rattle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nzéríngh</td>
<td>sonido de una botella quebrándose o de una moneda cayendo al piso</td>
<td>sound of a bottle breaking or a coin hitting the floor</td>
<td>cf. JCH brin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nzhûngh</td>
<td>sonido de las tripas cuando tienen hambre</td>
<td>sound of stomach growling</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nzríngh</td>
<td>sonido del teléfono</td>
<td>sound of the telephone</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nzhe rzhe’rzhe’rzhe’</td>
<td>sonido de ratón comiendo maíz</td>
<td>sound of a mouse eating corn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nzhi7r</td>
<td>sonido de abrir una puerta que le falta grasa</td>
<td>sound of opening an ungreased door</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nzhi’s nzhi’znzhi’s</td>
<td>sonido de comer tostadas</td>
<td>sound of eating tostadas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nzhi’rzhi’rzhi’rzhi’</td>
<td>sonido de una silla rechinando</td>
<td>sound of a chair squeaking against the floor</td>
<td>cf. JCH dxî:’ dxî:’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>po(‘)j</td>
<td>sonido del globo reventándose, una olla (de barro) quebándose, o de rajar leña con hueco adentro</td>
<td>sound of a baloon exploding, a clay pot breaking, and of chopping wood that’s hollow inside</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>punh</td>
<td>sonido de retrocarga (rifle grueso)</td>
<td>sound of a thick rifle</td>
<td>cf. JCH bam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>popo popo</td>
<td>sonido del tambor</td>
<td>sound of the drum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prás pras</td>
<td>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</td>
<td>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</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gwras gwras</td>
<td>sonido de la gente gorda cuando camina; sonido de ropa mojada (puesta cuando camina)</td>
<td>sound of overweight people walking; sound of walking in wet clothes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pras (1)</td>
<td>sonido de resbalar</td>
<td>sound of slipping</td>
<td>This sounds the same as the next one in the 2004 recordings on the CD.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prás (2)</td>
<td>sonido cuando azota la ola</td>
<td>sound of the waves crashing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prss</td>
<td>sonido de diarrea</td>
<td>sound of diarrhea</td>
<td>rr is voiceless</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pus</td>
<td>sonido de picar navaja a persona o animal</td>
<td>sound of stabbing a person or animal with a knife</td>
<td>&lt;u&gt; is lax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pyj</td>
<td>sonido de rifles largos</td>
<td>sound of long rifles</td>
<td>with some labio-dental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Symbol</td>
<td>Spanish Description</td>
<td>English Description</td>
<td>Closure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hrr</td>
<td>sonido de agua</td>
<td>sound of boiling water; sound of turning a water faucet</td>
<td>voiceless [ʰːːː]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hirviendo; sonido</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>de abrir una llave</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>de agua</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ranh</td>
<td>sonido de arrancar</td>
<td>sound of starting a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>una moto</td>
<td>motorcycle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rr rr</td>
<td>el grito del pa*jaro</td>
<td>call of the “red”</td>
<td>See a more</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rojo (picolargo)</td>
<td>bird (aka ‘longbeak’)</td>
<td>phonologized</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>variant in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Figure 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sólstöy</td>
<td>sonido de tortolita</td>
<td>sound of the turtledove</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tak tak tak tak</td>
<td>sonido de gente que</td>
<td>sound of people running</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>va corriendo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta’j ta’j ta’j ta’j</td>
<td>sonido de una persona</td>
<td>sound of someone</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>caminar con tacones</td>
<td>walking with high heels</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tanhk</td>
<td>sonido de caer algo</td>
<td>sound of something</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pesado</td>
<td>heavy that falls</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tánh tánh tánh</td>
<td>sonido de campana</td>
<td>sound of a bell ringing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sonando</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prass</td>
<td>sonido de cachetada</td>
<td>sound of a slap in the face</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tanhj</td>
<td>sonido de la persona</td>
<td>sound of someone</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>que cae por detrás</td>
<td>falling backwards</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tas</td>
<td>el sonido cuando cae</td>
<td>sound of bird excrement</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cagado de pájaro</td>
<td>when it falls</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tepraka tepraka tepraka</td>
<td>sonido de un caballo</td>
<td>sound of a galloping horse</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tepraka</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>téteret</td>
<td>sonido de gallina</td>
<td>sound of a hen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tinh tinh telánh telánh</td>
<td>sonido de repicar la campana</td>
<td>sound of striking the bell</td>
<td>Some echo vowels are heard on the recording</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tinh tinh tinh/7</td>
<td>sonido de cuerda tensada</td>
<td>sound of a taught cord</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to’kto’kto’k</td>
<td>sonido de una lata que tiene piedritas</td>
<td>sound of a can with rocks in it</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tranh</td>
<td>sonido de una cubeta/tambo que cae en un pozo profundo</td>
<td>sound of a bucket that falls in a deep well</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tra7s</td>
<td>sonido de zapatos caminando donde está mojado como en charcos; sonido cuando cae excremento de bestia</td>
<td>sound of shoes walking on a wet surface such as in puddles; sound of horse or mule excrement falling</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trás trás trás trás trás</td>
<td>sonido de caminar en lodo</td>
<td>sound of walking in mud</td>
<td>Borrowed from Spanish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trasatrasatras</td>
<td>sonido de una persona corriendo dentro del agua</td>
<td>sound of a person running (deep)in water</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trr7</td>
<td>sonido del teléfono cuando marca</td>
<td>pulse sound of telephone when dialing</td>
<td>&lt;rr&gt; is a voiceless trill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trrr</td>
<td>sonido de molino eléctrico</td>
<td>sound of an electric mill</td>
<td>Trill is long and voiceless</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tunh</td>
<td>sonido cuando se hincha el guajolote</td>
<td>sound of the male turkey when it displays</td>
<td>Rime is long</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chunh</td>
<td>sonido cuando se hincha el guajolote</td>
<td>sound of the male turkey</td>
<td>Rime is long</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>el guajolote</td>
<td>when it displays</td>
<td>This sounds pretty much the same as the next sound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>txxxxx</td>
<td>sonido cuando cae lo crudo a lo caliente p. ej. huevo estrallado en un sartén con aceite caliente</td>
<td>sound of something cold or uncooked hitting something hot, like an egg in a pan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>txxxxxx</td>
<td>sonido del aguacero</td>
<td>sound of the rainstorm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xar xar xar</td>
<td>sonido de un caballo rascando tierra</td>
<td>sound of a horse scratching the earth</td>
<td>[a] is semi-voiced and raspy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xuk xuk xuk</td>
<td>sonido de arrugar papel</td>
<td>sound of scrunching up paper</td>
<td>[u] is voiceless</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xj</td>
<td>sonido de papel que se rompió</td>
<td>sound of paper that’s torn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x̆    t̆    ĭ x̆ t̆ ĭ</td>
<td>sonido de semilla seca adentro</td>
<td>sound of hollow fruit with a dried seed inside</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yi’i’i’i’i</td>
<td>sonido de caballo cuando relincha</td>
<td>sound of a horse whinnying</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbraja mbraja mbraja</td>
<td>sonido de quebrar nixtamal en metate</td>
<td>sound of grinding corn on a grindstone</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zhînhkû zhînhkû zhînhkû</td>
<td>sonido de afilar machete en una piedra de afilar</td>
<td>the sound of sharpening a machete on a sharpening stone</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. Different 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 phonology, 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, η/ 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 exception 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CLZ word</th>
<th>Spanish gloss</th>
<th>English gloss</th>
<th>Phonetic description and other comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fwj</td>
<td>sonido de una culebra</td>
<td>sound of a snake</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>sonido de sorprenderse</td>
<td>sound of being surprised</td>
<td>Ingressive [h]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>háyha</td>
<td>sonido del suspire</td>
<td>sound of a sigh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hn</td>
<td>sonido de marrano caminando; sonido de rechazo (p.ej. cuando)</td>
<td>sound of a pig walking; sound of rejection, e.g. when someone won’t</td>
<td>Strong nasal exhalation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sound</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Transcription</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hũʔ</td>
<td>sonido de un hombre que se ri*a de una mujer (con coraje)</td>
<td>[hũʔ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i)hũʔ</td>
<td>sonido del hipo</td>
<td>A high-pitched ingressive back (uvular to pharyngeal, with variation) fricative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jj</td>
<td>sonido de una persona roncando</td>
<td>Ingressive and egressive uvular trill (softer than the mad cat one)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jij</td>
<td>sonido del gato enojado</td>
<td>Uvular trill, it can be strictly ingressive or it can alternate with egressive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ju ju ju</td>
<td>sonido de una llama que está quemando un monte</td>
<td>Voiceless [u]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kū</td>
<td>grito del tecolúte más grande (mkoʔ)</td>
<td>/k/ followed by a very nasalized u, repeated.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pfyũ</td>
<td>sonido de destapor un refresco</td>
<td>Voiceless [u]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plʔ plʔ</td>
<td>sonido de comer sopa o de marranos tomando agua</td>
<td>Linguolabial click</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plʔ plʔ plʔ plʔ</td>
<td>sonido de la boca cuando está comiendo</td>
<td>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.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plʔ</td>
<td>sonido de pedo de niño</td>
<td>Short voiceless labio-lingual trill cut off by a glottal stop</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pplʔ</td>
<td>sonido de pedo de gente delgada</td>
<td>Slightly longer labio-lingual trill</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pplll</td>
<td>sonido de pedo de gente gordo</td>
<td>Long labio-lingual trill</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ppp</td>
<td>sonido de un burro o caballo soplando cuando está comiendo, sonido de la nariz de la bestia</td>
<td>Voiceless bilabial trill</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purs</td>
<td>sonido de tomate</td>
<td>Bilabial trill followed by [ts]. LDP says there's a &lt;u&gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pwʔ</td>
<td>sonido de beso</td>
<td>Labial click</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ssʔh</td>
<td>sonido de tener frío</td>
<td>Ingressive [sʔ̚]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tzʔ</td>
<td>sonido de la cuija</td>
<td>Alveolar click</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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.
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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(3.1)</th>
<th>‘asustarlo; scare’</th>
<th>‘asustarse; be frightened’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IRR</td>
<td>nhchêb</td>
<td>nhzhêb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>wchêb</td>
<td>zhêb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INF</td>
<td>wchêb</td>
<td>zhêb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>wchêb</td>
<td>zhêb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>nchêb</td>
<td>nzhêb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>mchêb</td>
<td>mbzhêb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>bchêb</td>
<td>(not attested)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>schêb</td>
<td>sxêb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 \( \text{replacives} \), 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).
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>class A</th>
<th>class B</th>
<th>class C</th>
<th>class D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>potential</td>
<td>ki+</td>
<td>ki+</td>
<td>k+</td>
<td>k+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>completive</td>
<td>kwe+</td>
<td>ko+</td>
<td>ko+</td>
<td>ko+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>replacives</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>begin with</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>V,C</td>
<td>V,s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

---

\(^1\) 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Macro-class</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B-C</th>
<th>Ch-D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Basic class</td>
<td></td>
<td>B</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potential</td>
<td>Ø-, w-, g-²</td>
<td>palatalization</td>
<td>g-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compleactive</td>
<td>mbi-</td>
<td>ngw-</td>
<td>ngw-, ngo, ngu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Replacives</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Begins with’</td>
<td>C, o, u</td>
<td>coronals</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 mbdì’b, the completive of the SAMZ class D verb –g-i’b ‘costurearlo; sew’). This labial completive

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

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* ꞔ. 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.

\[(3.3) \quad -ôn \quad -yêzh \quad -kâ\]

Completive  *mbîn*  *mbyêzh*  *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 (including compounds and irregulars) in the sample**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>C-stem vt</th>
<th>C-stem vi</th>
<th>V-stems</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total lexical items</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total roots</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total irregular verbs:</td>
<td>6, all with irregular 1s alternants</td>
<td>9 verbs with 7 irregular patterns</td>
<td>5 verbs with 5 irregular patterns</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

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 \(F \rightarrow H, L \rightarrow R, 7 \rightarrow R\). The \(7 \rightarrow R\) 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 Lachixio Zapotec (Sicoli, 1998). If the result of

\(^4\) I recognized that this potential aspect prefix was related to transitivity in 1997 thanks to a suggestion from Thom Smith-Stark.
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
1st 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.

-kwán
‘lastimar; injure’

-kit
‘dolbarlo; bend’

-níth
‘perderlo; lose’

-łó7b
‘barre; sweep’

(3.4) Potential aspect with non-first person subject

Kwán ló lâz ná.
P-lastimar 2f cuerpo 1s
P-injur 2f body 1s
Me vas a lastimar mi cuerpo.
You’re going to injure my body.

Wkit mê-y.
P.T-dolbarlo 3hr=3i
P.T-bend 3hr=3i
Lo va a doblar.
S/he’s going to bend it.

Wníth ló.
P.T-perderlo 2f ‘abrir’
P.T-lose 2f
You’re going to lose.

Wlö́7b xa7.
P-barrer 3hd
P-sweep 3hd
S/he’s going to sweep it.

(3.5) Completive aspect with non-first person subject

Mkwán ló lâz ná.
C-lastimar 2f cuerpo 1s
C-injur 2f body 1s
Me lastimaste mi cuerpo.
You injured my body.

Mkit mê-y.
C-dolbarlo 3hr=3i
C-bend 3hr=3i
Lo dobló.
S/he bended it.

Mníth ló.
C-perderlo 2f
C-lose 2f
You lost.

Mbłób ná.
C-barrer 3hd
C-sweep 3hd
S/he swept.

(3.6) Forms with first person singular subjects

Kwán ná lâz ló.
P-lastimar 1s cuerpo 2f
P-injur 1s body 2f
Te voy a lastimar tu cuerpo.
I’m going to injure your body.

Wkít ná-y.
P.T-dolbarlo.1s 1s=3i
P.T-bend.1s 1s=3i
Lo voy a doblar.
I’m going to bend it.

Wníth ná.
P.T-perderlo.1s 1s
P.T.-lose.1s 1s
Voy a perder.
I’m going to lose.

Mbłób ná.
C-barrer.1s 1s
C-sweep.1s 1s
Barri.
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, -ka'ch, -ke, -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  
‘quitarlo; remove’  
Mkâ-n’-é  
C-quitarlo.1s=1s=3i  
Lo quité.

-ka’ch  
‘enterrarlo; bury’  
Mkâ’ch nâ-ý  
C-enterrarlo 1s=3i  
Lo enterré.

-dò  
‘venderlo; sell’  
Mbdò-n’-é  
C-venderlo=1s=3i  
Lo vendí.

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 /ʃ/ (<ss) and the zy-initial verbs have transitive partner verbs beginning in tz (/ʃ/). In the case of /ʃ, ð, l/ 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 /y/ 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 -yo7 means ‘llevarlo, cargarlo,
traer; carry, bring’ and is related to the verb –o7 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
–yo7 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 \(\emptyset\)-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 \(\text{L} \rightarrow \text{R}\) and \(\text{F} \rightarrow \text{H}\) 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 \(\ddot{e} (/\ddot{a}/ < *\text{eCa})\), 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 \(/l/\) 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.
(3.8) Potential aspect with non-first person subject

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-bid</th>
<th>-zhë`</th>
<th>-dyûd</th>
<th>-yûb</th>
<th>-lyë`th</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘secarse’</td>
<td>‘llenarse’</td>
<td>‘enrollarse’</td>
<td>‘caerse’</td>
<td>‘vaciarse;’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘dry’</td>
<td>‘fill up’</td>
<td>‘roll up’</td>
<td>‘fall’</td>
<td>‘empty’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3.9) Habitual aspect with non-first person subject

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P.secarse tierra</td>
<td>P. llenarse canasta</td>
<td>enrollarse=3i</td>
<td>P.caerse 3hr</td>
<td>P.vaciarse=3i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.dry earth</td>
<td>P.fill.up basket</td>
<td>roll.up=3i</td>
<td>P.fall 3hr</td>
<td>P.empty=3i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Se va a secar la tierra.</td>
<td>Se va a llenar la canasta.</td>
<td>Se va a enrollar.</td>
<td>Se va a caer.</td>
<td>Se vació.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The dirt is going to dry.</td>
<td>The basket is going to fill.</td>
<td>It’s going to roll up.</td>
<td>He’s going to fall.</td>
<td>It emptied.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3.10) Forms with first person singular subjects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bi &amp;d yû.</td>
<td>Zhë´-n`.</td>
<td>Dyûd ná.</td>
<td>Dyûb ná.</td>
<td>(not attested)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H.secarse 1s</td>
<td>P. llenarse=1s</td>
<td>H-llenarse=1s</td>
<td>H-caerse 1s</td>
<td>H-vaciarse=1s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H-dry 1s</td>
<td>P.fill.up=1s</td>
<td>H-roll.up=1s</td>
<td>H-fall 1s</td>
<td>H-empty=1s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I dry myself.</td>
<td>I’m going to fill up.</td>
<td>I roll myself up.</td>
<td>I fall.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 –kê ‘cargar; carry,’ a syntactically unusual verb, has tonal free variation (or confusion).

Irregular verbs | Phonologically similar regular verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Potential</th>
<th>Habitual</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yi</td>
<td>Ndi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yín</td>
<td>Ndyin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
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,
\(-ly\’d mbì, -lyà\) and \(-lyë\), 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

(3.12) \(-zhëb\ \ \ -zhîzh\)
\(\‘asustarse; be scared’ \ ‘emparejarse, alisarse; become level, become smooth’\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Potential</th>
<th>Zhëb</th>
<th>Zhîzh</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Habitant</td>
<td>Ndzhëb</td>
<td>Ndzhîzh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Potential</th>
<th>Zhëb</th>
<th>Zhîzh</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Habitant</td>
<td>Ndzhëb</td>
<td>Ndzhîzh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
is a first person singular subject. Another irregular verb, –yèk lâtyô, shown in (3.14), is irregular because the \( y \) is deleted in the habitual form.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Irregular verbs</th>
<th>Phonologically similar regular verbs in this class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(3.13)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-to(^7)</td>
<td>-të(^7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘salir; go out’</td>
<td>‘escapearse; run out (of stock)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Potential</th>
<th>Potential w/ 1s</th>
<th>Completive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tyo(^7)</td>
<td>Të(^7)</td>
<td>Tye(^7) \ p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘tener sed’</td>
<td>‘acostumbrarse’</td>
<td>‘dar vuelta’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘be thirsty’</td>
<td>‘get used to’</td>
<td>‘turn around’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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).

\(-\text{otz}\
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{‘tocar’} & \text{‘hacer;’} & \text{‘abrir la boca’} \\
\text{‘play music’} & \text{‘make’} & \text{‘open one’s mouth’}
\end{array}
\)

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

\(\text{Go’l ló.}\
\begin{array}{llll}
P\text{-tocar 2f} & \text{P-hacer uno remedio} & \text{NEG P-abrir.boca.P 2f} \\
P\text{-play.music 2f} & \text{P-make one remedy} & \text{NEG P-open.mouth.P 2f} \\
\text{Vas a tocar.} & \text{Va a hacer un remedio.} & \text{¡No grites!} \\
\text{You’re going to play.} & \text{(S/he)’s gonna make a cure.} & \text{Don’t yell!}
\end{array}
\)

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

\(\text{Ndè yo’l xa’ byólính.}\
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{H-AUX INF-tocar 3hd violin} & \text{C-hacer cosa} & \text{C-AUX INF-abrir.boca} \\
\text{H-AUX INF-play.music 3hd violin} & \text{C-make thing} & \text{C-AUX INF-open.mouth} \\
\text{Está tocando violin.} & \text{Hizo la cosa.} & \text{Estuvo bostezando.} \\
\text{S/he’s playing the violin.} & \text{(S/he) made the thing.} & \text{(S/he) was yawning.}
\end{array}
\)

(3.17) Forms with first person singular subjects
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 underlingly 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 –i7d 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, -aI, in complementary distribution with this one which can only take a first person singular subject.

The verb –o 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 has been given in compounds based on this root.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Potential prefix</th>
<th>vtA C-stems</th>
<th>viA C-stems</th>
<th>vA V-stems</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Completive prefix</td>
<td>w-</td>
<td>O-</td>
<td>g-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tonal alternation w/ Potential Aspect</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tonal alternation w/ 1s subject</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roots begin in:</td>
<td>Fortis and/or unpalatalized C</td>
<td>Lenis and/or palatalized C</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Out of a sample of 302 verbs:</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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, I 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)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Allomorphs</th>
<th>Completes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-àb</td>
<td>‘caerse; fall’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-áth</td>
<td>‘morir; die’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nâ</td>
<td>‘ver; see’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-yò</td>
<td>‘pelear; fight’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-zê</td>
<td>‘caminar; walk’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 \textsuperscript{Æ} high tone alternation that occurs with the potential aspect, but only on \textit{y}-initial roots. In this class there is only one \textit{y}-initial root that has falling tone, \textit{-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 \textit{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.

\begin{verbatim}
(3.19)  -âp  -zê`  -yô
     ‘subir; ascend’ ‘caminar; walk’ ‘vivir; live’

Potential  gâp  zyê`  yô
\end{verbatim}
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).

\[
\begin{align*}
(3.20) & \quad HL + H \\
\sigma & \quad \text{HH} \\
\sigma & \quad \text{H}
\end{align*}
\]

(3.21) HL + H

\[
\begin{align*}
(3.22) & \quad HL + H \\
\sigma & \quad \text{HH} \\
\sigma & \quad \text{H}
\end{align*}
\]

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).

\[(3.23) \quad -zô \quad -âzh \quad -âp
\]

‘estar parado; be standing’  ‘mojarse; get wet’  ‘tener; have’
Nzyó-n.  Ngózh nâ.  Nâ ndáp dûb lò yi'.
H-estar.parado.1s=1s  C-mojarse.1s 1s  1s H-tener uno cercado flor
H-be.standing.1s=1s  C-get.wet.1s 1s  1s H-have one fence flower
(De por sí) estoy parado.  Me mojé.  Yo tengo un cercado de flores.
I am (habitually) standing.  I got wet.  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 useful 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Class B (C-stems)</th>
<th>Class C (V-stems)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total lexical items:</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total roots:</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total irregular roots:</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.1 Class B(-C) consonant-stems

Most class B verb roots begin in one of the coronal consonants /l, n, ñ, z, ç/ 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 \( n \) 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)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>-nîth</th>
<th>-lâ</th>
<th>-zâ(b)</th>
<th>-tid</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Potential</td>
<td>‘perderse; get lost’</td>
<td>‘bajarse; get down’</td>
<td>‘volar; fly’</td>
<td>‘pasar; pass’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habital</td>
<td>nîth</td>
<td>lyâ</td>
<td>zya(\tilde{b})</td>
<td>tyîd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completive</td>
<td>nhwnîth</td>
<td>ngyâ</td>
<td>nzya(\tilde{b})</td>
<td>ntyîd</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Besides the \( F \rightarrow H \) 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 \( L \rightarrow R \) 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 \( ê \) 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 \(-Cê\ (–lê ‘quebrar; break’)\) 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’
        ‘caminar’  ‘walk’  
        -zõb
        ‘sentarse’  ‘sit down’  
        -lë’
        ‘quebrar’  ‘break’  
        -lâ
        ‘bajarse’  ‘get down’  

| Ngwze’-n˚. | Ndzy’b n˚a. | Lyë’-n˚-é. | Ly˚-n˚ |
| 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 –lë’ it is also possible that its transitivity is related to the aberrant tonal alternation. Most class B-C verbs are intransitive. The verb –lë’ 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’b
        ‘volar; fly’  
        N˚a zya’b nd˚o m˚bi.  
        1s P-P.volar cara viento  
        1s P-P.fly face wind  
        Yo voy a volar al aire.  
        I’m going to fly.
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 ę. 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\(\rightarrow\)R with potential aspect, R\(\rightarrow\)7 and L\(\rightarrow\)7 with 1s-marking, and 7\(\rightarrow\)R with 1s-marking on transitive or causativized intransitive verb roots. The L\(\rightarrow\)R alternation and the R\(\rightarrow\)7 alternations have the variants L\(\rightarrow\)H and R\(\rightarrow\)H when the root is an open syllable, as already shown in (3.19) and (3.25) respectively. The 7\(\rightarrow\)R alternation with 1s subject marking on transitive and causativized verbs just shown in (3.27) also has a correlate 7\(\rightarrow\)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, -zê ’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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Closed syllables</th>
<th>Open syllables</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘pasar; pass’</td>
<td>‘caminar; walk’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘sentarse; sit’</td>
<td>‘quebrar; break’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘trompezarlo; trip (someone)’</td>
<td>‘romperlo; break’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>L→R</strong></td>
<td>L→7</td>
<td>L→H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>R→7</strong></td>
<td>7→R</td>
<td><strong>7→H</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>P tyê’</strong></td>
<td><strong>Dyê’</strong></td>
<td><strong>Dyê’</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(C-)1s vi</td>
<td>nhwtî’d nà</td>
<td>ngwzo’b nà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(C-)1s vt</td>
<td></td>
<td>ngwtep nà ār</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(C-)1s vi</td>
<td>ngwzê’n”</td>
<td>ngwlep’n”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(C-)1s vt</td>
<td>ngwle’-n”</td>
<td>nhwtzà-n”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 Lachixio 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 Lachixio 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)  \[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{chí} & \text{dâna7} \\
\text{‘flute’} & \text{‘tumpline’} \\
\text{chí-a} & \text{dâna-a} \\
\text{‘my flute’} & \text{‘my tumpline’} \\
\text{chí7-lò} & \text{dâna7-lò} \\
\text{‘your flute’} & \text{‘your tumpline’} \\
\end{array}
\]

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 Lachixio.

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
\textit{strived} \textasciigrave \textit{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
depalatalized 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)  \begin{tabular}{lll}
 & -\textit{tid} & -\textit{zôb} & -\textit{zê} \\
\textit{pasar; pass} & \textit{tyi} & \textit{zyô} & \textit{zyê} \\
\textit{sentarse; sit down} & \textit{ntyi} & \textit{nzyô} & \textit{nzyê} \\
\textit{caminar; walk} & \textit{ti} & \textit{zo} & \textit{zê} \\
\end{tabular}

\begin{tabular}{llll}
Potential w/ non-1s (“\textit{X}”) & -\textit{tid} & -\textit{zôb} & -\textit{zê} \\
\textit{tyi} & \textit{zyô} & \textit{zyê} \\
Potential w/ 1s & -\textit{ti} & -\textit{zo} & -\textit{zê} \\
\textit{ntyi} & \textit{nzyô} & \textit{nzyê} \\
\end{tabular}
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 -zöb, 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 -zöb paradigm and the transitive class A -zöb paradigm. All of the intransitive compounds use an unambiguously class B version of the root. There are three transitive compounds headed by -zöb. One has been consistently recorded with the transitive class A form of the root. Another, -zöb ti'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 -zöb and the intransitive class B root -zöb alongside the class B transitive compound verb -zöbcha'.
The portmanteau morpheme \textit{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 \textit{-zöbcha}\textsuperscript{7} is a transitive verb, the habitual and completive forms shown above indicate that it is headed by the intransitive class B verb \textit{-zöb}. Considering the potential form of this last verb, \textit{wzöb} we might consider this compound irregularly uses a class A potential form but class B forms elsewhere in the paradigm. Although the \textit{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

\begin{table}[h]
\begin{tabular}{lcc}
\textbf{P} & wzöb & zyöb & wzöbcha\textsuperscript{7} \\
\textbf{H} & ndzöb & ndzyöb & ndzyöbcha\textsuperscript{7} \\
\textbf{C} & mbzöb & ngwzöb & ngwzöbcha\textsuperscript{7} \\
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

\textit{Cha}\textsuperscript{7} is a word meaning ‘despacio; slow,’ which is not related in an obvious way to the bound morpheme in this compound. The sequence \textit{cha}\textsuperscript{7} also occurs in the word \textit{tu'cha}\textsuperscript{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: \textit{-úcha}\textsuperscript{7} vtA ‘hacerlo; make,’ \textit{-ácha}\textsuperscript{7} viB-C ‘hacerse; become,’ \textit{-kécha}\textsuperscript{7} vtA ‘colgarse/lo, pegarse, guardar, enderezarse; hang, stick, keep, straighten,’ \textit{-kécha}\textsuperscript{7} viB ‘pegarse, colgar, guardar; stick, hang, be kept,’ and \textit{-g-ócha}\textsuperscript{7} vtD ‘guardar, almacenar; keep, store.’ It occurs in at least another six compounds with verb roots that occur in isolation. \textit{Cha}\textsuperscript{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 ‘acostar(lo); 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, \textit{-zöb} ‘sentar(lo); sit, seat’ the resulting compound means ‘sentarlo; seat.’ I would suggest a reading like ‘tweak.’ In some of these compounds the \textit{cha}\textsuperscript{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
where the potential form of the verb –à ‘comer; eat’ is wà. 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 –te7p ‘trompearlo; trip (someone)’ is tye7p. However, there are two more class B verbs which behave like -zöbcha7 and and unlike -zöbcha7 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).

(3.31)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kikê</th>
<th>dixò</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘acusar; accuse’</td>
<td>‘raspar; scrape’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

P  
| wkipê | wdixô |

One additional compound headed by the class B verb -zöb is irregular in a different way than -zöb in isolation or the compounds just described. The verb -zöbye7 ‘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 ndzöbye7 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 –lå ‘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 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 –lâ- is probably derived, the three irregular compounds, and the larger compound or idiom –lâtê kólôr which shows regular class B morphology.

(3.32) –lâ
‘bajarse’ ‘get down’
‘atrasarse’ ‘fall behind’
‘rebajarse’ ‘back down’
‘quitarse’ ‘come off’
‘despintarse’ ‘fade’

–lázô
–lákë’
–lâtê
–lâtê kólôr

P lyâ
lázô
lákë’~lyákë’
lyâtê~lâtê
lyâtê kólôr

H ndyâ
ndyázô
ndlákë’
ndlyâtê~ndlâtê~ndyâtê
ndyâtê kólôr

Similar to –lâtê the l-initial class B verb –lâ7 ‘escaparse; escape’ is irregular in having different habitual forms that vary as to whether or not there are palatalization and deletion of l. Unlike –lâtê there is no irregularity in the potential form of –lâ7, lyâ7, but the habitual form varies between ndya7~ndlâ7~ndlya7.

The class B verb which has produced the most compounds is the verb –zô ‘pararse; stand.’ Like -zo  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 –zô- 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

slowly, carefully, and to not make something from scratch but to repair it, i.e. to do a little construction.
7 In isolation té means ‘encuerado; naked.’
it usually occurs unpalatalized in the habitual aspect) and I show two compounds, one with –zó reduced to –zó and one unreduced, which do not show any irregularities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(3.33)</th>
<th>Irregular</th>
<th>Regular &amp; reduced</th>
<th>Regular &amp; unreduced</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-zó</td>
<td>‘pararse; stand’</td>
<td>-zóxàn</td>
<td>-zóndâtz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘iniciar; begin’</td>
<td>zóxàn</td>
<td>zóndâtz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>zyó</td>
<td>zyóxàn</td>
<td>zyóndâtz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>nzó–nzyó</td>
<td>nzyóxàn</td>
<td>nzyóndâtz</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some –zó-initial compounds have an irregular pattern similar or identical to that seen on the free root –zó. 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 –zó 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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(3.34)</th>
<th>-zónîtz</th>
<th>-zôxîb</th>
<th>-zôzîth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘sudar; sweat’</td>
<td>‘hincarse; kneel’</td>
<td>‘alejarse; get farther away’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Zyónîtz</td>
<td>Zyóxîb</td>
<td>Zyózîth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>Nzyónîth</td>
<td>Nzyóxîb</td>
<td>Nzyózîth</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One last –zó-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).

---

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.’
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 –kikë ‘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 -zôb 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 –lênyîzh ‘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).

---

12 In isolation zîth means ‘lejos; far.’
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$\rightarrow$R tonal change with potential aspect marking and a F$\rightarrow$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$\rightarrow$R with 1s marking. What is most unique to this verb class (although also seen on one irregular class A vowel stem, the verb –$ustainability$ –$hs; do’ is the existence of tonal alternations in the completive aspect on 6 irregular verbs.

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‘x ndô list kê té-n ‘están viendo en la lista de mi deuda; they’re looking at the list of my debts (or misdeeds?).’
15 I have not found xo in isolation but a similar root with a different tone, xo, 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

\[\text{The word } yîzh \text{ means ‘enfermo; sick.’}\]
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(3.37)</th>
<th>C1</th>
<th>C2</th>
<th>C3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Historically underlying morphs</td>
<td>*ko+appa</td>
<td>*ko+atti</td>
<td>*ko+yasV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vowel cluster simplification</td>
<td>koppa</td>
<td>kotti</td>
<td>kuyasV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umlaut</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fortis/lenis consonant shift</td>
<td>gopa</td>
<td>guthi</td>
<td>guyazV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SZ prenasalization</td>
<td>ngopa</td>
<td>nguthi</td>
<td>nguyazV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-tonic vowel reduction</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$y$ deletion &amp; leveling</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-tonic V deletion</td>
<td>ngôp</td>
<td>ngûth</td>
<td>ngwa'y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(3.38)</th>
<th>-âl</th>
<th>-âch</th>
<th>-a$^7$l</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘nacer; be born’</td>
<td>‘reventar; burst’</td>
<td>‘crecer; grow’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compleative</td>
<td>ngôl</td>
<td>ngôch</td>
<td>ngo$^7$l</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>1s Alternation</th>
<th>Completive</th>
<th>Irrealis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-àb 'decir; say'</td>
<td>Ndàb nà L→R</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-àth 'acostarse; lie down'</td>
<td>Ndàth nà L→R</td>
<td>Ngoòh L→7</td>
<td>Ngàth L→F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-àk 'ser; be'</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ngòk R→L</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-àz 'bañarse; bathe'</td>
<td>Ndàz nà L→H</td>
<td>Ngoòz L→F</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Two irregularities involve the usage of -àk and -àb. The copula never occurs in the habitual (*ndàk) but has a stative nàk, 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, *ngìb, *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) Abaŋaŋ nàk yèl ndyên tè-l.

always S-ser [N H-hear: thought] POS=2f
De por sí es tu pensamiento.
You always think like that.

(3.40) Nàl yë wà ndàb lá nà-y.

como mañana a estas horas ya le hablé.
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.\(^{17}\)

\(^{17}\) 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
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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Is</th>
<th>Potential</th>
<th>Completive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ástê</td>
<td>gastê</td>
<td>ngùdêtz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘levantarse; rise’</td>
<td>H→R</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-âb</td>
<td>gab</td>
<td>ngu’d 1→7 &amp; suppletion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘podrirse; rot’</td>
<td>H</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ây</td>
<td>ngwi7y (SBL) – ngûy (SMaC)</td>
<td>1→7 &amp; semi-suppletion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘cocerse; cook’</td>
<td>L→H</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-âth</td>
<td>No F→H</td>
<td>ngùth 1→L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘morir; die’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 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’ wâ 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)  
\[ -á \text{ñ} \quad -á \text{tz} \quad -á \text{z} \]  
\[ ‘\text{venir; come}' \quad ‘\text{saltar; jump}' \quad ‘\text{picar(se); penetrate}' \]  

Completive \( ngwáñ \quad ngwátz \quad ngwaáñ \)

The two irregular C3 roots are both motion verbs. The verb \(-á\ ‘\text{ir; go}' \) could still be analyzed as a \( y \)-initial verb \(-yá \) 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

\[ \text{participle (compare \(-o\ ‘\text{llorar; cry} \) to the participle \( wñ \) class D vowel-stems simply concatenate \( w- \) and the root as in \( wá \) the participle of ‘\text{eat}’ \(-á\).} \]

\[ \text{18 This verb can only take a 1s subject.} \]
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 \(-{(y)}\dot{a}\)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1s subject</th>
<th>2f subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Potential</td>
<td>( g\dot{a}n )</td>
<td>( y\dot{a}l^- )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habitual</td>
<td>( nd\dot{a}n )</td>
<td>( nd\dot{a}l^- )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completive</td>
<td>( ngw\dot{a}n )</td>
<td>( ngw\dot{a}l^- )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The C3 verb \( \dot{a}p \) ‘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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C1</th>
<th>C2</th>
<th>C3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Completive prefix:</td>
<td>( ngw- )</td>
<td>( ngo- )</td>
<td>( ngu- )</td>
<td>( ngw- )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tonal alternations w/ 1s subjects:</td>
<td>( F \rightarrow H )</td>
<td>( L \rightarrow 7 )</td>
<td>( R \rightarrow 7 )</td>
<td>( 7 \rightarrow R ) if vt and closed ( \sigma ), ( 7 \rightarrow H ) if vt and open ( \sigma )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tonal alternations w/ potential aspect:</td>
<td>( L \rightarrow R ), ( L \rightarrow H ) if open ( \sigma )</td>
<td>( L \rightarrow R )</td>
<td>( L \rightarrow R )</td>
<td>( L \rightarrow R )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Segmental changes:</td>
<td>Palatalization in P and H forms; I-deletion in H form; n-stems have ( \tilde{n}, ny, n ) in the P, H, C forms</td>
<td>Stem-initial vowel replaced by /o/ in the completive and imperative</td>
<td>Stem-initial vowel replaced by /u/ in the completive and imperative</td>
<td>Stem-initial vowel remains when completive and imperative prefixes are added</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roots begin in:</td>
<td>Coronal C</td>
<td>( a )</td>
<td>( a )</td>
<td>( a )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total roots in sample</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total transitive roots</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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]base]stem]inflected word
  e.g. ngwlo⁷ : [ngw [l [o⁷ ]]]
  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)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Class Ch</th>
<th>Class D C-stem</th>
<th>vtD V-stem</th>
<th>viD V-stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-èn</td>
<td>-èzh</td>
<td>-à</td>
<td>-àw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘agarrar’</td>
<td>‘gritar’</td>
<td>‘comer’</td>
<td>‘dolerse’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘grab’</td>
<td>‘scream’</td>
<td>‘eat’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRR (ng ~ nh-) + R1</td>
<td>nhzèn</td>
<td>nhbèzh</td>
<td>ngwà</td>
<td>ngàw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C (ngw ~ nhw-) + R2</td>
<td>nhwxèn</td>
<td>nhwtêzh</td>
<td>ngwdà</td>
<td>ngwdàw</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**  
zyèn   kwézh   wà   gàw

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.
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 ([c̃e]).

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 $\emptyset/y$ 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 $–ën$ shown in (3.44) above is listed as $–z–ën$. 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 $–z–ën$.

(3.46) $–z–ën$

‘agarrar; grab’

| Potential | zyën |
| Habitual  | ndzyën |
| Infinitive | zën |
| Irrealis  | nhzën |
| Future (certain) | sën |
| Completive | nhwxën |
| Imperative | wxën |
| M (complement of motion verb) | xën |
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)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ch1</th>
<th>Ch2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>–z-àk</td>
<td>–z-in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘sufrir una enfermedad; be sick’</td>
<td>‘cerrar los ojos; close eyes’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completive</td>
<td>nhwxà’k</td>
<td>nhwxín</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potential</td>
<td>zyák</td>
<td>zyín</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

example w/1s subject  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1s H-R1.H-suffer vapor</th>
<th>1s H-R1.H-suffer vapor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Estoy ventado.</td>
<td>I’m bloated.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1s H-R1.1s H-cerrar vapor</th>
<th>1s H-R1.1s H-cerrar vapor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1s H-R1.1s H-close.eyes.1s 1s</td>
<td>1s H-R1.1s H-close.eyes.1s 1s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Voy a cerrar mis ojos.</td>
<td>I’m going to close my eyes.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are two class Ch verbs with irregular tonal alternations, and one with some segmental irregularity. The regular class Ch verb –z-o7’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 nhwxo7’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 ndzhòp ‘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 –yó ‘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-o7b.

(3.48) -z-o7b -zh-o7b -x-o7b -yó
‘desgranar; shell (corn)’ ‘desboronar; crumble’ ‘estar; be’ ‘haber; be’
P zyo7b zho7b xo7b wi7
H ndzyo7b ndzho7b ndzho7b ndzhò
IRR nhzo7b nhzho7b
INF zo7b zho7b
F so7b xo7b syó
C nhwxo7b nhwxo7b nhwxo7b ngyó
IMP wxo7b unattested

The two remaining irregular Ch verbs have minor irregular tonal alternations. The verb –z-àn ‘parir; give birth’ has the LÆH 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-i7 ‘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-o7b which I arbitrarily labeled “regular” out of these two. These patterns are shown in (3.49)

(3.49) -z-àn -z-i7
‘parir; give birth’ ‘comprarlo; buy’
Compleitive nhwxàn nhwxì7
Potential w/ 1s Nà zyàn xìn. Nà zì7-nì-é.
1s R1.P-parir.1s hijo NEG R1-comprarlo=1s=3i
R1.P-give.birth.1s offspring NEG R1-buy=1s=3i
Voy a dar a luz a un niño. No lo voy a comprar.
I’m going to have a child. 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 occurring 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.

\[(3.50) \quad \begin{array}{cccc}
-b-o^7 & -b-êzh & -g-a^7b & -âw \\
'sacar; take out' & 'gritar; scream' & 'sobarlo; massage' & 'dolerse; hurt'
\end{array}\]

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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>R1</th>
<th>Base Vowel</th>
<th>R2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(-y-)</td>
<td>(i)</td>
<td>*/-t-\</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(-b-)</td>
<td>(e)</td>
<td>*/-l-\</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(-g-)</td>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>*/-d-\</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(-Ø-)</td>
<td>(ö)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the commonest CLZ vowels \(a, e, i, o, \) and \(u\) and to the Coatlán-only vowel \(\ddot{o}\), but so far there are no examples with the vowel \(\ddot{e}\). 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 \(\ddot{e}\). 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 \(\ddot{e}\) 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 \(\ddot{o}\)-initial roots occur with a zero R1. The R1 prefix \(-b-\) occurs with all vowels except \(u\) and the rare \(\ddot{o}\). Historical \(^*k\)- occurs with all vowels except \(\ddot{e}\) and \(\ddot{o}\), 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(3.51)</th>
<th>HHH</th>
<th>777</th>
<th>RRR</th>
<th>HFF</th>
<th>RLF</th>
<th>RLL</th>
<th>RL7</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(-g)-ódê</td>
<td>(-b)-ô</td>
<td>(-y)-ín</td>
<td>(-b)-ê</td>
<td>(-g)-ô</td>
<td>(-à)</td>
<td>(-y)-ix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘maldecir’</td>
<td>‘sacar’</td>
<td>‘pegar’</td>
<td>‘jalar’</td>
<td>‘poner’</td>
<td>‘comer’</td>
<td>‘acostar’</td>
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</tbody>
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<th></th>
<th>P</th>
<th>H</th>
<th>C</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kôdê</td>
<td>n-gôdê</td>
<td>ngwlôdê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ko</td>
<td>nbô</td>
<td>ngwlo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kîn</td>
<td>ndîyín</td>
<td>ngwdîn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kwê</td>
<td>nbê</td>
<td>nhwtê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kô</td>
<td>n-gô</td>
<td>ngwlô</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wâ</td>
<td>ndà</td>
<td>ngwdà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kîx</td>
<td>ndyix</td>
<td>nhwtî</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 \(b-o\) ‘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 \(b-o\) 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) \(\begin{array}{lll}
-y-i\acute{d} & y-i\acute{d} & -g-\acute{o}b \\
\text{‘abrazar; hug’} & \text{‘agujerearlo; make a hole in’} & \text{‘jalar; pull’}
\end{array}\)

C w/ 1s subj \(\begin{array}{lll}
Ngw\ddot{d}i\acute{d} \text{ nà.} & Ngw\ddot{d}i\acute{d} \text{ nà.} & N\ddot{a} \text{ ngwdo}b\acute{e}. \\
\end{array}\)

(3.53) \(\begin{array}{lll}
-g-a7b & -y-\acute{in} & -y-\text{i}l \\
\text{‘sobar; massage’} & \text{‘pegar; hit’} & \text{‘pedorrear; fart’}
\end{array}\)

C w/ 1s subj \(\begin{array}{lll}
Ngwd\ddot{b} \text{ nà mè.} & Ngwdin \text{ nà} & Ngwdil \text{ nà.}
\end{array}\)

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 kwê. 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.

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{(3.54)} & \text{-b-ê} & \text{-k-ìx} \\
\text{\textit{sentarse en los pies; squat}} & \text{\textit{haber; for there to be}} & \text{\textit{pagar; pay}} \\
\text{Potential} & \text{kwê} & \text{kwê} & \text{kìx} \\
\text{Habitual} & \text{nbê} & \text{ndê} & \text{nkìx} \\
\text{Irrealis} & \text{nhbê} & \text{nhbê} & \text{nhkìx} \\
\text{Compleative} & \text{nhwtê} & \text{nhwtê} & \text{nhwtìx} \\
\end{array}
\]
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 $L \rightarrow H$ alternation found on open syllables rather than the expected $L \rightarrow R$ which is found on closed syllables. In some cases the minority $L \rightarrow H$ pattern seems to be further restricted to open syllables ending in the vowel $\hat{e}$. 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 $\tilde{n}$-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 languages. For example the CLZ word for ‘pez; fish’ is $mbê\hat{l}$ and the Isthmus Zapotec cognate is $benda$ (Britton, 2003). In this case CLZ
has l where another Zapotec language has \textit{nd} but there are cases of the reverse as well. For example, the CLZ word for ‘zapote’ is \textit{ndâw} while the SAMZ word is \textit{blâw}, CLZ possessed ‘huarache; sandal’ is \textit{ndâb} while in SAMZ it’s \textit{lâb}, ‘diente; tooth’ is CLZ \textit{ndë`y} SAMZ \textit{lèy} IZ \textit{laya}, ‘cara; face’ CLZ \textit{ndô} SAMZ \textit{lô} IZ \textit{lú}. Since the CLZ habitual marker is \textit{nd}, if at some point the initial \textit{l} in a verb root were also \textit{nd} (or if at some point the habitual marker was \textit{l}) then this may have conditioned the deletion of the identical root-initial segment. Today the regular pattern is for the \textit{l} to go missing in the habitual forms of these verbs but irregularities crop up through paradigm leveling, with the deleted \textit{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 \textit{y} and the retroflex sibilants \textit{x} and \textit{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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Irrealis Stem</th>
<th>Class/Type</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Type of/Example of Irregularity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-kā</td>
<td>vtA C-stem</td>
<td>‘quitarlo; remove’</td>
<td>Wkā-n mbḕz ndō bḕ. P.T-quitarlo.1s=1s AN-nene cara calor P.T-remove.1s-1s AN-baby face heat Voy a quitar la criatura en el sol. I’m going to take them out of the sun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-b-o’</td>
<td>vtD</td>
<td>‘sacar; take out’</td>
<td>Nā ka’ ngwlō-m’. 1s FOC C-sacar.1s=3hr 1s FOC C-take.out.1s=3hr Yo lo saqué. I took him out.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ùn</td>
<td>vtA V-stem</td>
<td>‘hacer; do, make’</td>
<td>Xé mód mbḕn lô? qué modo C-hacer 2f what mode C-do 2f En qué modo hiciste? How did you do (it)? Sín dúb ná gán. F-hacer uno 1s ganar F-do one 1s achieve Voy a poder yo sólo. I will do it by myself.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-àz</td>
<td>1. viC1</td>
<td>1. ‘bañarse; bathe’</td>
<td>Ngōz mé. C-bañarse.C 3hr C-bathe.C 3hr Se bañó. S/he bathed Nā ngōz yá káfé ndḕ. 1s C-sembrarlo.1s palo café este 1s C-plant.1s tree coffee this Yo sembré este cafetal. I planted this coffee plant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. vtC1</td>
<td>2. ‘sembrarlo; plant’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-àp</td>
<td>vtC3</td>
<td>‘subir; go up’</td>
<td>Nā ngwāp yá. 1s C-subir.1s palo 1s C-go.up.1s tree Yo subí el palo. I went up the tree.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-àth</td>
<td>viC1</td>
<td>‘acostarse; lie down’</td>
<td>Aliká ndāth ná. de.por.sí H-acostarse.1s 1s always H-lie.down.1s 1s</td>
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<tr>
<td>‘ir; go’</td>
<td>‘cambiarlo; change’</td>
<td>‘revolverlo; mix’</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘pintarlo; paint’</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘bañarlo; bathe (someone)’</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>‘emborracharse; get drunk’</td>
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</table>

**De por sí me acuesto.**
I always lie down.

**IMP-acostarse**
IMP*-*lie.down

¡Acuéstate!
Lie down!

---

**Y- potential prefix w/ non-1s subject, F→R w/ 1s subject**

-**â** viC3

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<tr>
<td>‘ir; go’</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>‘emborracharse; get drunk’</td>
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**Expected tone change w/ 1s subject is lacking**

-**chë** vtA C-stem

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<td>‘cambiarlo; change’</td>
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<td>‘revolverlo; mix’</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>‘emborracharse; get drunk’</td>
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-**kë** vtA C-stem

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<td>‘pintarlo; paint’</td>
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<td>‘venderlo’</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘cambiarlo; change’</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘revolverlo; mix’</td>
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-**dô** vtA C-stem

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘cambiarlo; change’</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘venderlo’</td>
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<td>‘pintarlo; paint’</td>
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<td>‘cambiarlo; change’</td>
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-**kôch** vtA C-stem

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<td>‘pintarlo; paint’</td>
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<td>‘cambiarlo; change’</td>
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<td></td>
<td>‘venderlo’</td>
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-**gâz** vtA C-stem

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘cambiarlo; change’</td>
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<td>‘venderlo’</td>
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-**zùd** viB

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘cambiarlo; change’</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘venderlo’</td>
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<tr>
<td>‘emborracharse; get drunk’</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘cambiarlo; change’</td>
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**Yá-m’**

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<td>‘ir; go’</td>
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<td></td>
<td>‘revolverlo; mix’</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘emborracharse; get drunk’</td>
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**Gâ-n**

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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘bañarlo; bathe (someone)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘emborracharse; get drunk’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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**Va a ir.**
S/he’s going to go.

**Voy a ir.**
I’m going to go.

**Me voy a cambiar la ropa.**
I’m going to change my clothes.

**Lo voy a pintar.**
I’m going to paint it.

**Lo revolví.**
I mixed it.

**Voy a bañarlo.**
I’m going to bathe it.

**Me emborraché.**
I got drunk.

---

**Wchë-n’xáb nà.**
Me voy a cambiar la ropa.

**Wkë-n’-é.**
Lo voy a pintar.

**Wgâz ná-y.**
Lo revolví.

**Ngwzùd nà.**
Me emborraché.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbs</th>
<th>Affixes</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I got drunk.</td>
<td>-z-ì'</td>
<td>vtCh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nà zi'ì-ỳ.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1s P.1s.buy=3i</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I’m going to buy it.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**F→L in the completive aspect form, expected F→H alternation w/1s subject lacking**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbs</th>
<th>Affixes</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yo lo voy a comprar.</td>
<td>-áth</td>
<td>viC2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngàth mè.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>C-die.C 3hr</td>
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<tr>
<td>S/he died.</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>P-morir 1s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P-die 1s</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Palatalization in the potential and habitual, w/ depalatalization in the potential w/ 1s subject**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbs</th>
<th>Affixes</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>¿A qué horas vas a salir?---Mañ*ana voy a salir.</td>
<td>-to</td>
<td>viA C-stem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xé gòr tovo³-ì’?---Yë³ to7-n'.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>what time P.go.out=2f tomorrow</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.1s.go.out=1s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When are you leaving?--- I’m leaving tomorrow.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Depalatalization of potential aspect form w/ 1s subject**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbs</th>
<th>Affixes</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Voy a pasar.</td>
<td>-tid</td>
<td>viB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ti³-d nà.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.1s.pass.1s 1s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I’m going to pass.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voy a sentar en el suelo.</td>
<td>-zòb</td>
<td>viB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nà zo³-b ndò yù.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1s P.1s.sit.1s face earth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I’m going to sit on the ground.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voy a caminar.</td>
<td>-zë`</td>
<td>viB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zë³-n'.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.1s.walk.1s=1s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I’m going to walk.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**No tone change in completive, no potential depalatalization w/1s**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbs</th>
<th>Affixes</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ella dió a luz a un niño.</td>
<td>-z-àn</td>
<td>vtCh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mé nhwxán dàb mbë`z.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3hr C-give.birth one AN-baby</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>She gave birth to a baby.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verb</td>
<td>stem</td>
<td>meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-zò</td>
<td>viB</td>
<td>‘pararse, estar; stand, be’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-zò ga’l</td>
<td>viB</td>
<td>‘estar parado; be standing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-g-ò nèd</td>
<td>vtD</td>
<td>‘adelantarlo; advance something’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ástè</td>
<td>viC2</td>
<td>‘levantarse; get up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-yì</td>
<td>viA C-stem</td>
<td>‘sanar; heal’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-yèˆ</td>
<td>viA C-stem</td>
<td>‘enverdecer; become green’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-g-òl tzà</td>
<td>vD</td>
<td>‘vengarse, reponerlo;’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stem</td>
<td>Type</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>avenge, reinstate'</td>
<td>avenge=3i</td>
<td>Se va a vengar. It will be made right.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**F→L in the habitual & irrealis**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>H-Stem</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ôn</td>
<td>vtA V-stem</td>
<td>‘saberlo; find out’</td>
<td>Ndòn mē nza’ dī zh nhō. H-saberlo 3hr H-dar palabra 1i H-find.out 3hr H-give word 1i</td>
<td>S/he found out that we talked.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**No palatalization in potential or habitual (formerly analyzed as class C consonant-stem)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>H-Stem</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-kêcha'</td>
<td>vB</td>
<td>‘colgar, pegarse, guardar; hang, stick, keep in place’</td>
<td>Kêcha=m’ xāb mē. P.guardar=3hr ropa 3hr P.keep.in.place=3hr clothing 3hr</td>
<td>S/he’s going to hang up her/his clothes.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**No palatalization in habitual aspect form**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>H-Stem</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-zôbye'</td>
<td>viB</td>
<td>‘tener herida; have a wound’</td>
<td>Ndzôbye=lāz mē. H-[sentarse-X: tener.herida] cuerpo 3hr H-[sit-X: have.wound] body 3hr</td>
<td>His body is damaged.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Suppletive habitual form**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>H-Stem</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-zō lē'</td>
<td>viB</td>
<td>‘llamarse, nombrarse; be named’</td>
<td>Nā nzē lē' Lāx. 1s H-[X nombre:llamarse] Lázaro 1s H-[X name: be.named] Lázaro</td>
<td>Me llamo Lázaro. My name is Lázaro.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Suppletion in the habitual:** P: kōndō, H: ndzhíndō, C: ngwlóndō

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>H-Stem</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-X-óndō</td>
<td>vtD</td>
<td>‘conocer; know’</td>
<td>Gōndzhí ndō xa’ bā. 2r H-[X-cara: conocer] 3hd allí 2r H-[X-face: know] 3hd there</td>
<td>Ud. conoce a esa persona. You know that person.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(L→7 and) (semi-)suppletion in the completive form

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>H-Stem</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-âb</td>
<td>viC2</td>
<td>‘podrirse, vomitar;’</td>
<td>Xāl ngu’-d mbē’z?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

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 –kêcha’ can occur with a subject only (the thing hanging) or with an agentive subject and an object.

20 The high tone on lē’ 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.
<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rot, vomit’</td>
<td>INTERROG C-vomitar AN-nene</td>
<td>INTERROG C-vomit AN-baby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>¿Qué vomitó la criatura?</td>
<td>Did the baby throw up?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ày</td>
<td>viC2</td>
<td>‘cocerse; get cooked’</td>
<td>Ná ndé wti nzà, tò-ý ngwí nà tò-ý zë’ta’ gòy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1s H-AUX.1s P-descoger AN-frijol cuál=3i C-cocerse y cuál=3i falta P-cocerse. P</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1s H-AUX.1s P-pick.out AN-bean which=3i C-get.cooked y which=3i not.yet P-get.cooked. P</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yo estoy descogiendo frijol, cuál se coció y cuál falta que se cuece.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>I’m picking out beans, which ones have cooked and which ones are not cooked yet.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-y-ô</td>
<td>AUX(Ch?)</td>
<td>‘haber, estar; (for there to) be’</td>
<td>Ná yá wléth ná gà-n fyést.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>NEG P.haber tiempo 1s P.1s.ir.1s=1s fiesta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>NEG P.be.there time 1s P.1s.go.1s=1s fiesta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>No voy a tener tiempo de ir a la fiesta.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>I’m not going to have time to go to the fiesta.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Nzhò lâd yèk Mâx.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>H-haber trapo cabeza Tomás</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>H-be.there cloth head Terry</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tiene trapo la cabeza de Tomás.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>There’s a bandana on Terry’s head.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fortis R1 in the completive (rather than lenis R2):</td>
<td>P xo’b; H ndzho’b; C nhwxo’b</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-zh-o’b</td>
<td>viCh</td>
<td>‘estar; be’</td>
<td>Ndzhò b ngû ndô la’z.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>H-estar huevo cara nido</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>H-be egg face nest</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hay huevitos en el nido.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>There are eggs in the nest.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-zh-o’b</td>
<td>viCh</td>
<td>‘desboronarse; crumble’</td>
<td>Ngwxo’ b nzhôp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>C-desboronarse maíz</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>C-crumble corn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Desgranó el maíz.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The corn crumbled</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R1 absent in habitual form</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-b-ê</td>
<td>AUXD</td>
<td>‘haber; for there to be’</td>
<td>Jwánh ndé yà pán nà chôkolát.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Juan H-AUX INF-comer pan con chocolate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>John H-AUX INF-eat bread with chocolate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Juan está comiendo pan con chocolate.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>John is eating bread and chocolate.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fortis R1 in habitual (not just the potential)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-k-ix</td>
<td>vtD</td>
<td>‘pagar (dinero); pay (money)’</td>
<td>Áli kà nkix më tmi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>de.por.si FOC H-pagar 3hr dinero</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>always FOC H-pay 3hr money</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>De por si paga el dinero.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>S/he always pays the money.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H⇒F in the completive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-g-ócha’</td>
<td>vtD</td>
<td>‘guardar, almacenar; store’</td>
<td>Ngwlocha’-m’ yá.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>C-almacenar=3hr madera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>C-store=3hr wood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Guardó la leña.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>S/he stored the wood.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-b-i’ b</th>
<th>vtD</th>
<th>‘sacudir; shake’</th>
<th>Wtib-é!</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>IMP-sacudir=3i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>IMP-shake=3i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>¡Sacúdalo!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Shake it!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>PZ</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Potential</td>
<td>*ki+,</td>
<td>w-</td>
<td>g-</td>
<td>Ø-</td>
<td>fortition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*k+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habitual</td>
<td>tyi+</td>
<td>nd-</td>
<td>nd-</td>
<td>nd-</td>
<td>(y-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completive</td>
<td>kwe+,</td>
<td>mb-</td>
<td>mbi+</td>
<td>ngw-</td>
<td>ngw-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ko+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>“ “</td>
<td>b-</td>
<td>bi+</td>
<td>(g)w-</td>
<td>(g)w-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participle</td>
<td>kwe+</td>
<td>w-</td>
<td>wi+</td>
<td></td>
<td>go+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>sa+</td>
<td>s-</td>
<td>s-</td>
<td>s-</td>
<td>s-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>si+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infinitive</td>
<td>Ø-</td>
<td>y-</td>
<td>Ø-</td>
<td>Ø-</td>
<td>Ø-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motion vb.</td>
<td>Ø-</td>
<td>y-</td>
<td>Ø-</td>
<td>Ø-</td>
<td>Ø-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>complement</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irrealis</td>
<td>ni+</td>
<td>y-</td>
<td>ng-</td>
<td>y-</td>
<td>ng-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 beginning in y, w or l, the irrealis marker is ng- [ŋŋ].
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)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Root</th>
<th>Irrealis Formed</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-àb vC</td>
<td>-yêj vTA</td>
<td>‘decir; say’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngàb</td>
<td>ngyêj</td>
<td>‘fastidiarse; be fed up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-àw vD</td>
<td>-à vTD</td>
<td>‘dolerse; hurt’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngàw</td>
<td>ngwà</td>
<td>‘comer; eat’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deontic Formed</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nà-mí ngà.</td>
<td>Él también hubiera ido.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>también=3hr IRR-ir</td>
<td>He too should have gone.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nà nhzhâl lô.</td>
<td>No te encontramos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nà ngwà-l’-é.</td>
<td>No te comiste.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 mé Chân ná n翰á xé mòd nhwxèn yì wê._


_ní 3hr Luciano NEG IRR-Ver que modo C-tozar piedra det_

NEG 3hr Luciano NEG IRR-see what way C-touch rock det

_Ní 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) _Për ŋaⁿ xtaⁿ nhzhẽl ár._

_per o 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_.

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.

---

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 mè ngë’g.  
NEG F-matar 3hr AN-mosca  
NEG F-kill 3hr AN-fly  
*Ná sà-m’.
NEG F-comer=3hr  
NEG F-eat=3hr
(4.7)  ✓Ná gùth mè ngë’g.  
✓Ná wà-m.
NEG P-matar.P 3hr AN-mosca  
NEG P-kill.P 3hr AN-fly  
No va a matar la mosca.  
S/he’s not going to kill the fly.  
NEG P-comer=3hr  
NEG P-eat=3hr
No va a comer.  
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)  Gäb lò, ‘Sà-nh’ gò’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) Ndáp nà ti7 xīn nà: chōn mbzhë” götz nà sgâd mbzhë” byí.
H-tener.1s 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 mbî7l 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 stib 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 stib) 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

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3 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.
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 sgál-é in (4.11) and stúb sga7y in (4.12). The word ‘other’ stúb occurring 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 schon gâl-é.

(4.11) Nà kíx dúb áyo7 pés: gâl-é kíx nà ndô érréró
 1s P-pay uno cien=3i P-pay 1s cara herrero
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 sgál-é kíx nà ndô álbañil
y otro FUT-Veinte=3i P-pay 1s cara álbañil
and other FUT-twenty=3i P-pay 1s face handyman
y otros veinte voy a pagarle al álbañil
and another twenty I’m going to pay to the handyman

nà schon gâl-é kíx nà tê mbzhê’ ndûn òyuíd álbañil.
y FUT-tres veinte=3i P-pay 1s POS AN-joven H-hacer ayuda álbañil
and FUT-three twenty=3i P-pay 1s POS AN-youth H-make help handyman
y otros sesenta a los ayudantes del álbañil.
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) Ná guṯ dûb ti’ män: dûb ga’y mbzhîn nà stûb sga’y ndêz.
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 continuous 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’z mbzhîn te’l.
diario H-ir 3hf pesca AN-venado noche
daily H-go 3hf hunt AN-deer night
Diario iba a campear venado de noche.
Daily he went to hunt deer at night.

(4.14) Ndùn be’y xa’i.
H-[hacer X: pensar] 3hr
H-[do X: think] 3hr
Está pensativo.
S/he’s preoccupied.
(4.15) *Nkwān nā ḏāb pósād.*
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' nzyāk lò.*
INT-cosa H-sufrir 2f
INT-thing H-suffer 2f
¿Qué cosa tienes tú?
What’s the matter?

(4.17) *Wē ta' ḏuń bē'y xa'.*
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) *Lōk nza yich kwe' yēk xa'.*
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) *Bēlīza' ḏe yā-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) *Jwānh ḏe yā pān nā chōkólāt.*
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) *Ālī ka' ḏār-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) *Ālī ka' ḏār-yā-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 –ázì́n ‘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) Ndážìn ndázt ná.
H-[X tonto: dormirse] pie.1s 1s
H-[X dumb4: 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) Nàñ yë’ wë ndàb lá nà-n-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) Wë ndàb mé gox ndó ár wë...
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- preeding 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 /n/ 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\textsuperscript{7} vtA -tid viB -àb viC -z-in vtCh -g-a\textsuperscript{7} b vtD -à vtD
‘mostrar’ ‘pasar’ ‘gotear’ ‘batir’ ‘sobarlo’ ‘comer’
‘show’ ‘pass’ ‘drip’ ‘stir’ ‘massage’ ‘eat’
H ndlu\textsuperscript{7} ntyìd ndàb nzyin n-ga\textsuperscript{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)  
\[\text{Nàt sí kòndè-l, gàk tá ndá kwént.} \]
\text{ahora sí verás=2f P-hacerse 3i H-ir cuento}
\text{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)  
\[\text{“Xta' ndùn be'y-á gùn nà nà?} \]
\text{INT-3i H-[hacer X: pensar]=2r P-hacer con 1s}
\text{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)  
\[\text{Lë' ár ár zìn wè pàr tè-x tè nà ñà ár xta' nò prínsésà.} \]
\text{FOC 3hf 3hf tonto DET para POS-3hd POS NEG P-ver 3hf INT-3i H-traer princesa}
\text{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)  
\[\text{Lá gùn ná ábis ndó mbál.} \]
\text{SMaC}
\text{NEG P-hacer.P 1s aviso cara compadre}
\text{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)  
\[\text{Ná gàk tá' lvà ár ndó bè' zhó wè.} \]
\text{NEG P-poder todavía P-bajarse 3hf cara cielo [X DET: entonces]}
\text{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 \textit{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.
P-ir 1i.NOM pesca
P-ir 1i.NOM hunt
Vamonos a campear.
Let’s go hunting.
(4.33) “Yáñhá” ndàb mbál mbízh.
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 wlaʔ-á ná nzyán zé ná mtoʔ-n\.
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 ná ló ndô mbál.
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 goʔ-gá ná?
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.
NEG P-ir.P=2r
NEG P-go.P=2r
¡No se van Uds.!
Don’t go! (plural)

(6.38) Ná wä-l tâ bâ nyäl mâch tâ 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 ñë-1’ diʔ zh kaʔn.
NEG P-decir=2f palabra chueco
NEG P-say=2f word crooked
¡No digas palabras chuecas!
Don’t say crooked words!

(4.40) Xúz lô ndâb ná gul 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 syâl nà wzhî nât.

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’ mê gôx.

Luego entonces fue la viejita a enseñar.
Later then the old lady went to show.

(4.43) Nzhâ yo’ mê byî pár ké do’ mà.

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.

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{(4.44)} & \text{class A C-stems} & \text{class D V-stems} \\
-kân & vtA & -â & vtD \\
\text{'recogerlo; pick up'} & \text{'comer; eat'} & \text{'dolerse; hurt'} \\
gân & viA & âw & viD \\
\text{'recogerse; get picked up'} & \text{} & \text{} & \text{} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
P \quad wkân \quad gân \quad wâ \quad gâw
\]

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.

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-synchronous 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 CVCV (or in PZ *ko CVCV). 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

\(^5\) 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.
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.

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

```
Non-causative potential C-stem:  *k(i)CVC(V) > CVC

Causative V-stem (class A or C)  *k(i)-o- VCV ➔ *koCV > goC

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).
Guionna’ bi’cu’  
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.  
C-take 3rd P-three POS-rifle thief  
‘He carried the thieves’ three rifles.’

(4.47)  
W-eey men tson x-kwiib ngbaan.  
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  tòp  chôn  yàk
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.

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

\textit{Byá!} ‘¡Vete!; Go’  \textit{Byá-á} ‘¡Vayanse!; Go!’

\textit{Wdá!} ‘Come!; Eat!’  \textit{Wdá gó!} ‘¡Coman Uds! o Coma Ud.!: Eat!’

4.6 Compleitive aspect

The compleitive 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 compleitive are given in (4.50-4.55).

(4.50) \textit{Mbyàk má mbë’l nà mbi7 mbë’l.}  \textbf{Past compleitive examples}
\textit{C-volverse 3a AN-culebra y C-llevarlo AN-culebra}
\textit{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) \textit{Mbzhëˆ bxìl to7 ndâ yúkwa7 líbto7.}
\textit{AN-muchacho [X grande/sagrado: topilillo] H-ir M-adornar}
\textit{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) \textit{Yë7 mbe7 ngóch yîx nî.}
\textit{nueve luna C-reventar [basura casa: placenta]}
\textit{nine moon C-explode [trash house: placenta]}
A los nueve meses se reventó la placenta.
At nine months her water broke.

(4.53) \textit{Ná ni-n’ xé mód ba7 ngwlá yâl ná ndë’.}
\textit{NEG H-saber=1s INTE modo así C-llegar M-venir.1s 1s aquí}
\textit{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.
Future completive examples

Mañana esta hora ya terminé de casarme.
Tomorrow at this time I’ll already be married.

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.

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).

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)  
\[
\begin{array}{lcl}
-ùth & -lu^7 & -zhù \\
\text{matar; kill} & \text{enseñar; show} & \text{quemarse; get burnt} \\
C & mbith & mbzhù \\
\end{array}
\]

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)  
\[
\begin{array}{lcl}
\text{C1} & \text{C2} & \text{C3} \\
-àk & -âth & -a^\prime z \\
\text{‘costar; cost} & \text{‘morir; die} & \text{‘picar; pierce} \\
\text{C} & ngòk & ngùth & ngwa^\prime z \\
\end{array}
\]
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    -z-in    -b-ib    -à
‘escaparse; escape’ ‘batir; stir’ ‘sacudir; shake’ ‘comer; eat’

C ngwia    nhwxì    nhwtìb    ngwò

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

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’ *chtón* 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 *schón*. The completive form of this verb is shown in (4.66).

(4.66) *Mbyòn bès ndê yöj-ê.*

* 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 tôt 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 its 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’. ‘S/he’s walking and eating tortilla(s).’

\begin{verbatim}
Nzyë´-m´ ndà-m´ yë´th.
H-caminar=3hr H-comer=3hr tortilla
H-walk=3hr H-eat=3hr tortilla

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

Më nzyë´ ndà yë´th.
3hr H-caminar H-comer tortilla
3hr H-walk H-eat tortilla
\end{verbatim}

*\begin{verbatim}
Nzyë´ ndà-m´ yë´th.
*Nzyë´-m´ ndà yë´th.
*Më nzyë´-m´ ndà yë´th.
*Nzyë´-m´ më ndà yë´th.
*Më nzyë´ më ndà yë´th.
\end{verbatim}

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

\begin{verbatim}
Nzhâ yúth më ngé’g.
C-irse M-matar 3hr mosca
C-go.away M-kill 3hr fly
\end{verbatim}
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)  
\[ \text{Nzhâ yúth mè ngè'g.} \]
\[ \text{C-irse M-matar mosca} \]
\[ \text{C-go.away M-kill fly} \]
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)  
\[ \text{Mè ndé yúth ngè'g.} \]
\[ \text{3hr H-AUX INF-matar mosca} \]
\[ \text{3hr H-AUX INF-kill fly} \]
Él está matando moscas.
S/he is killing fly(s).

(4.73)  
\[ \text{Sàk gu th mè ngè'g.} \]
\[ \text{F-poder P-matar 3hr mosca} \]
\[ \text{F-can P-kill 3hr fly} \]
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' gôtz.
H-AUX INF-moler 3hd hembra
H-AUX⁶ INF-grind 3hd female
Están moliendo las señoras.
The women are grinding.

(4.75)  
Nà ntzé kèn mbzhê.
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 –bê ‘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.’
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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Infinitive prefix</th>
<th>Example verb</th>
<th>Example sentence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A vt</td>
<td>-chê</td>
<td>'calentararlo; heat'</td>
<td>Mé ndé wehê 'niitz. 3hr H-AUX P-calentararlo agua 3hr H-AUX P-heat water Él está calentando el agua. S/he is heating water.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vi</td>
<td>-dyûd viA</td>
<td>'enrollarse; get rolled up'</td>
<td>Ndê dü-dé. H-AUX INF.enrollarse=3i H-AUX INF.getrolled.up=3i Se está enrollando. It's getting rolled up.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A vi</td>
<td>-yub</td>
<td>'caer; fall'</td>
<td>Ndê yûb me'. H-AUX INF-caer 3hr H-AUX INF-fall 3hr Se está cayendo. S/he is falling.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>-la'b viB</td>
<td>'hervirse; boil'</td>
<td>Ndê tzé la'b mé nîtz. H-AUX INF-CAUS INF-hervirse 3hr agua H-AUX INF-CAUS INF-hervirse 3hr agua Él está herviendo el agua. S/he is boiling water.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch-D</td>
<td>-b-o' vtD</td>
<td>'sacar; take out'</td>
<td>Ndê bo7 bxìl. H-AUX INF-sacar chispa H-AUX INF-take.out spark Está sacando chispa. (S/he) is producing sparks.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A vtA</td>
<td>-in</td>
<td>'hacer; do'</td>
<td>Mé ndé yùn yë'l wa'n. 3hr H-AUX INF-hacer NOM PART-robar 3hr H-AUX INF-do NOM PART-steal Él está robando. S/he is stealing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>y-</td>
<td>'comer; eat'</td>
<td>Nàx yà-m'. S-acostarse INF-comer=3hr S-lie.down INF-eat=3hr Él o ella está acostado comiendo. S/he is lying down eating.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C vtC</td>
<td>-àz</td>
<td>'sembrarlo; plant'</td>
<td>Mé ndé yàz-è. 3hr H-AUX INF-sembrarlo=3i 3hr H-AUX INF-plant=3i Él está sembrando. S/he is planting.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D vtD</td>
<td>-à</td>
<td>'comer; eat'</td>
<td>Nàx yà-m'. S-acostarse INF-comer=3hr S-lie.down INF-eat=3hr Él o ella está acostado comiendo. S/he is lying down eating.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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’  

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 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’d ni  më-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 yâz më-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)  
Më nzë” dâ.  
3hr H-venir M-comer.M  
Él viene a comer.  
S/he comes to eat.

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 dâ-ñh’ kált ngîd.
   mañana P-ir.P M-comer.M=1i caldo AN-gallina
   mañana 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)  Yë7 yá-ñh’ pár wâ-ñh kált ngîd.
   mañana P-ir.P=1i para P-comer.P=1i caldo AN-gallina
   mañana 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)  *Yë7 yâ wâ-ñh kált ngîd.
   mañana P-ir.P P-comer.P=1i caldo AN-gallina
   mañana P-go.P 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 its 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)  *Yē7 yá-nh´ pár dā-nh kált ngīd.
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)  *Yē7 yá pár dā-nh kált ngīd.
mañana P-ir.P para M-comer.M=1i caldo AN-gallina
tomorrow P-go.P=1i for M-eat.M=1i broth AN-chicken

(4.91)  *Yē7 yá-nh´ dā-nh kált ngīd.
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)  Yē7 yá-nh´ wā-nh´ kált ngīd.
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. (or ‘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. Examples (4.93-94) show that these forms can be used interchangeably.

(4.93)  Mèn ngwâ là mà.
        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)  Mèn ngwâ wlá mà.
        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

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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.
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.

(4.95) Nzhâ-m pár bîzh mē.
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 bîzh mē.
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 yûth mē.
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 yoîz mē.
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) Nzhá nêtz mē.
C-irse M-orinar 3hr
C-go.away M-urinate 3hr
Se fue a orinar.
S/he went away to urinate.

(4.100) Nzhá nā mē-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) Nzhá wtza7 mē-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) Nzhá yâth mē.
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) Nzhá yâd mbë'z .
C-irse M-mamar.M nene
C-go.away M-suck.M baby
Se 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 xōn mē.
   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 lō mé-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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root-initial</th>
<th>Verb Class</th>
<th>Transitivity</th>
<th>Prefix on root</th>
<th>Tonal marking</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>Ø-</td>
<td>Same as on potential, if any</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B</td>
<td>vt</td>
<td>w-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
<td>y-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>D</td>
<td></td>
<td>R2-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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)  -ôj vtC2 irregular -yôj viA
      ‘molerlo; grind’   ‘molerse; be ground’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>goj</th>
<th>yoj</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>goj</td>
<td>yoj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>ndoj</td>
<td>ndoj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>nguj</td>
<td>mbyoj</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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)  
\[ -o^7 \text{ vtA} \quad -nîth \text{ viB} \quad -bèzh \text{ vD} \]
\[ \text{‘tocar (instrumento)’} \quad \text{‘perderse’} \quad \text{‘gritar’} \]
\[ \text{‘play (instrument)’} \quad \text{‘get lost’} \quad \text{‘scream’} \]

\[ \text{P (g- ~ Ø-)} \quad \text{go}^7 l \quad nîth \quad \text{kwêzh} \]
\[ \text{H (nd- ~ n-)} \quad \text{ndo}^7 l \quad \text{nyîth} \quad \text{nbèzh} \]
\[ \text{C (mbi- ~ nhw-)} \quad \text{mbi}^7 l \quad \text{nhwnîth} \quad \text{nhwêtêzh} \]

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 \( nhwêtêzh \) 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     -åth viC
  ‘matar; kill’  ‘morir; die’
-gâd vtA     -åd viC1
  ‘amamantar; suckle’  ‘mamar; suck’

(5.4) Active          Passive
-kît vtA     -yît viA
  ‘doblar; fold’  ‘doblarse; get folded’
-lo’b vtA    -go’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 -zôb and differ only by verb class, and take an incorporated noun ti’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) Ngwzôb ti’n meč.
C-sentarse trabajo 3hr
C-be.seated job 3hr
Se nombró él.
He was selected.
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 Zapoteganists 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 /ŋ, l, z/. I show these in Figure 46.

**Figure 46: Zero-derived vtA/viB pairs**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>vtA</th>
<th>viB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-la'</td>
<td>‘soltarlo; let go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-látê</td>
<td>‘despegarlo; take off’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-lâ</td>
<td>‘bajarlo; lower something’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nîth</td>
<td>‘perderlo; lose’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-zőb</td>
<td>‘ponerlo, sentarlo; put, seat’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 –lākḗ
(vtA) with final (stressed) glottal tone means ‘rebajarlo; reduce’ while the verb –lākḕ (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 –tḗ (vtA) ‘acabarlos; finish off’ and –tḕ
(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 –ūcha (vtA) ‘hacerlo; make’ is related to the verb –ácha ‘hacerse; be made,’ and this is probably another pair produced by the causative morpheme *o. The pair –úcha/-ácha appear related to a similar pair –úzha/-azha which differ from the former pair by their stem-medial consonant. The difference in meaning is interesting too. While –úcha means to ‘make’ something, i.e. to be productive, –úzha means to ‘waste’ something (‘desperdiciar’). Likewise, whereas –ácha means to ‘get made’ – azha 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

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.
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.

(5.8)  
H /*CV₁-V₂CV/ → [*CV₂CV]  
C /*CV₁-V₂CV/ → [*CV₁CV]  

(5.9)  
H /C-V₂C/ → [CV₂C]  
C /CV₁-V₂C/ → [CV₁C]  

(5.10)  
-ùth       -âth  
‘matar; kill’ vtA ‘morir, die’ viC  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>H</th>
<th>IRR</th>
<th>INF</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>IMP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gùth</td>
<td>sùth</td>
<td>ndùth</td>
<td>ngùth</td>
<td>yùth</td>
<td>yùth</td>
<td>mbìth</td>
<td>bìth</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ī-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 recognizable 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 unrecognizable 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)  
\[-z-i^7\]  ‘comprar’ vtCh  \[-x-i^7\]  ‘comprarse; get bought’ viA  

\[\text{INF} \quad zi^7 \quad xi^7\]  
\[\text{H} \quad ndzi^7 \quad nx\,xi^7\]  
\[\text{C} \quad nh\,xi^7 \quad m\,xi^7\]

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.
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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>vtD</th>
<th>viA</th>
<th>vtA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-b-ìb</td>
<td>-bi7b</td>
<td>-ti7b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'sacudirlo; shake something'</td>
<td>'sacudirse; shake'</td>
<td>'colar; winnow, strain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P kwìb</td>
<td>bi7b</td>
<td>wti7b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H nbib</td>
<td>nbi7b</td>
<td>nti7b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C nhwtib</td>
<td>mbi7b</td>
<td>mti7b</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>vtD</th>
<th>viA</th>
<th>vtA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-y-ìn</td>
<td>-y-ìb</td>
<td>-yi7b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>escarbarlo dig</td>
<td>arrancarlo pluck</td>
<td>escarbarse get dug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P kên</td>
<td>klb</td>
<td>yên</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H ndyên</td>
<td>ndyìb</td>
<td>ndyên</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C ngwdên</td>
<td>ngwdìb</td>
<td>mbyên</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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\(^7\). 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.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{vtA w/ R2} & \text{viA w/ R1} \\
\text{(5.13)} & \\
\text{t-initial} & \text{b-initial} \\
-t'i'x & -bix \\
\text{medirlo} & \text{medir} \\
\text{measure (something)} & \text{be measured} \\
-t'il & -b'il \\
\text{rebanarlo, pelarlo} & \text{to have a hard covering removed} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{(5.14)} & \\
\text{l-initial} & \text{g-initial} \\
-la'^7'b & -ga'^7'b \\
\text{contarlo} & \text{contarse} \\
\text{count} & \text{be counted} \\
-lo'^7'b & -go'^7'b \\
\text{barrerlo} & \text{barrerse} \\
\text{sweep} & \text{be swept} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{(5.15)} & \\
\text{l-initial} & \text{b-initial} \\
-l'en & -b'en \\
\text{pesarlo} & \text{pesarse} \\
\text{weigh (something)} & \text{get weighed} \\
-la' & -ba' \\
\text{soltarlo} & \text{soltarse} \\
\text{release} & \text{be let go} \\
\end{array}
\]

The last verb pair listed in (5.15), -la'/-ba' ‘soltar; release’, is also related to another intransitive verb –la' 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-ôb/-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 \(y-\)
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>vtD</th>
<th>viA w/ y-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-g-a&lt;object&gt; b (-g- R1, -d- R2)</td>
<td>-ya&lt;object&gt; b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘sobarlo; massage’</td>
<td>‘sobarse; get a massage, be rubbed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-g-&lt;object&gt;bêx (-g- R1, -d- R2)</td>
<td>-yo&lt;object&gt;b (xê)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘arrastrarlo; drag (something)’</td>
<td>‘arrastrarse; be dragged’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(5.16)  
(5.17) -k-ix (-k- R1, -t- R2)  
-ya<object>x  
‘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 nôb ‘huella; imprint, footprint, tracks’ and go<object>b ‘popote; straw.’ Though semantically more tenuous, these words may also be related to the verbs -tôb ‘tirar; throw,’ –z-o<object>b ‘desgranar; shuck (scrape corn kernels off the cob)’ and words that are in turn derived from these like –zh-o<object>b ‘desboronar; crumble’ and ko<object>b ‘masa; dough.’

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) $-g$-$ô$ ‘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) $-b$-$ô$ ‘sacar; take out’ $-tô$ ‘salir; go out.’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>P</th>
<th>$ko$</th>
<th>tyo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>$nbo$</td>
<td>$ntyo$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>$ngwlo$</td>
<td>$mto$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The verb $-b$-$ô$ is a regular class D verb with no special morphology other than that all class D verbs have. The verb $-tô$ 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. $/y$ 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 $-tô$, 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 mtyē`tz ‘camarón; shrimp’ and mtyē` ’piojo; louse,’ and in the compound látyo7 ‘corazón; heart’ (< ‘holy liver’). If like these nouns the verb –to7 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.
The first two verbs in (5.21) have two glosses. -xàp 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 -xàp 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 -xàp 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.
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

| -tze$^7k$ ‘darle vuelta; turn something around’ |
| -tzà ‘taparlo; cover’ |
| -tzúb ‘tumbar; knock down’ |
| -tzu$^7$ ‘apagarlo; douse’ |

**-viA** y-initial

| -yêk ‘dar vuelta; turn around’ |
| -yâ ‘taparse; get covered’ |
| -yûb ‘caer; fall’ |
| -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

| -ôj ‘molerlo; grind’ |
| -âz ‘sembrarlo; plant’ |

**viA** y-initial

| -yôj ‘molerse; get ground’ |
| -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 difference 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
-gáz ‘bañarlo; bathe (someone)’ -áz ‘bañarse; bathe’
-gâzh ‘mojarlo; cause to get wet’ -âzh ‘mojarse; get wet’
-gâl ‘crecerlo; raise (young)’ -âl ‘crecer; grow (up)’
-gâd ‘darle de mamar; suckle’ -âd ‘mamar; suck, nurse’
-gân ‘darle hambre; make hungry’ -ân ‘tener hambre; be hungry’
-gâb ‘bajarlo; lower (something)’ -âb ‘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 -kâb 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
-yâk vt(t)A ‘convertirse/lo; transform’ -âk viC1 ‘hacerse; become’
-yân vtA ‘hacerlo; do or make’ -ûn 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.

\[(5.27)\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>vt C-stem</th>
<th>vi V-stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-zándô vtA</td>
<td>-ándô viC3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘acabar; finish (something)’</td>
<td>‘acabarse; end’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-z-án vtCh</td>
<td>-āl viC1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘parir; give birth’</td>
<td>‘nacer; be born’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The verb -āl ‘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 -āl 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 ngūy but an irregular class C3 verb in SBL with the completive form ngwi\(^7\)(y).

\[(5.28)\]

-ī’y vtA ‘cocer; cook (something)’

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)  \[ \text{vA } yë\text{-initial} \]
\[-yë'd \]  \[ \text{viA } i\text{-initial} \]
\[-i'd \]  ‘venir; come back’  ‘venir; come’

(5.30)  \[ \text{vtD } -g-o\text{-initial} \]
\[-g-øyë' \] (R2 l)  \[ \text{viC2 } a\text{-initial} \]
\[--dyë' \]  ‘madurarlo; make ripe’  ‘madurarse; ripe’

(5.31)  \[ \text{vtA } xi\text{-initial} \]
\[-xistë \]  \[ \text{viC2 } a\text{-initial} \]
\[--stå viC2 \]  ‘levantarlo; lift up’  ‘levantarse; get up’

(5.32)  \[ \text{vtD } yi\text{-initial} \]
\[-y-id \] (R2 d)  \[ \text{viC } a\text{-initial} \]
\[--åd viC1 \]  ‘agujerearlo; make a hole in’  ‘agujerearse; get pierced, get a hole made in’
\[-y-ich \] (R2 d; 7 in C)  \[ \text{viC2 } a\text{-initial} \]
\[--åch \]  ‘reventar; explode (something)’  ‘reventarse; (for something to) explode’
\[-y-i'ch \] (R2 d)  \[ \text{viC1 } a\text{-initial} \]
\[--åch \]  ‘quebrarlo; break (something)’  ‘quebrarse; get broken’
\[-y-ix \] (R2 t)  \[ \text{viC1 } a\text{-initial} \]
\[--åth \]  ‘acostarlo; lay (it/him) down’  ‘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'ch \] ‘break’ is also found in the
completive form of \([-y-ich \] ‘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-
stimes 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>vtA kw-initial</th>
<th>viA b-initial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-kw’d</td>
<td>-bid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘secarlo; dry (something)’</td>
<td>‘secarse; dry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kwán</td>
<td>-bán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘lastimarlo; hurt (someone)’</td>
<td>‘enconarse; to become infected after almost healing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kwa’n</td>
<td>-bán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘despertarlo; wake (someone)’</td>
<td>‘despertarse; wake up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kwa’n</td>
<td>-ba’n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘buscar; look for’</td>
<td>‘descuidarse; be careless’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(5.34) vtA k-initial

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>vtA k-initial</th>
<th>viA g-initial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-kúx</td>
<td>-gúx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘regañarlo; scold’</td>
<td>‘regañarse; get scolded’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kán</td>
<td>-gán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘recogerlo; pick up’</td>
<td>‘recogerse; get picked up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ká</td>
<td>-gá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘quitarlo; remove’</td>
<td>‘quitarse; be removed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kòn</td>
<td>-gòn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘esconderlo; hide (something)’</td>
<td>‘esconderse; vanish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ka’ch</td>
<td>-ga’ch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘enterrarlo; bury’</td>
<td>‘enterrarse; be buried’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ka’d</td>
<td>-gá’d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘machucarlo; smash’</td>
<td>‘mallugarse; get bruised’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kôch</td>
<td>-gôch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘revolverlo; mix’</td>
<td>‘revolverse; get mixed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ka’b</td>
<td>-ga’b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘encargarlo; oblige’</td>
<td>‘encargarse; be bruised’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ku’d</td>
<td>-gu’d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘enblendarlo; make soft’</td>
<td>‘enblandarse; soften’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ku’</td>
<td>-gu’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘peinarlo; comb’</td>
<td>‘peinarse; get combed’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(5.35) vtA k-initial

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>vtA k-initial</th>
<th>viA y-initial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ke’y</td>
<td>-ye’y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘pintarlo; paint’</td>
<td>‘pintarse; be painted’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ke’y’</td>
<td>-ye’y’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘añadirlo; add’</td>
<td>‘añadirse; join, be added’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ki’b</td>
<td>-yi’b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘costurear; sew’</td>
<td>‘costurearse; get sewn’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kit</td>
<td>-yi’t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘doblarlo; fold’</td>
<td>‘doblarse; get folded’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ki’x</td>
<td>-yi’x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘tostarlo; toast’</td>
<td>‘tostarse; get toasted’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ki’</td>
<td>-yi’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘asarlo; roast’</td>
<td>‘asar; get roasted’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kê’</td>
<td>-ye’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘enderezarlo; make straight’</td>
<td>‘enderezarse; straighten’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(5.36) vtA tz-initial

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>vtA tz-initial</th>
<th>viB z-initial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-tza’b</td>
<td>-za’b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘tirarlo; throw’</td>
<td>‘brincar; jump’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tzi’d</td>
<td>-zid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘sonar; make something sound’</td>
<td>‘sonar; for something to sound’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tzu’y</td>
<td>-zi’y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘hacerle cosquillas; tickle’</td>
<td>‘darle cosquillas; be tickled’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(5.37) vtB tz-initial

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>vtB tz-initial</th>
<th>viB z-initial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-tza’</td>
<td>-za’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘romperlo; break (something)’</td>
<td>‘romperse; get broken’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(5.38) vtA tz-initial

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>vtA tz-initial</th>
<th>viA z-initial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-tzê’</td>
<td>-zê’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘repartirlo; divide up’</td>
<td>‘repartirse; spread out’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tzê’</td>
<td>-zê’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘acarrearlo; transport’</td>
<td>‘acarrear; be transported’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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).

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 -xîk ‘aguantar; put up with.’
\( te^7p \) itself has palatalized potential and habitual forms, but this palatalization is absent elsewhere in the \(-te^7p\) paradigm while it is present throughout the \(-tye^7p\) (except in the infinitive).

\[(5.43) \quad -te^7p\ vtB \text{ `trompezarlo; trip (someone)` } \quad -tye^7p\ viA \text{ `trompezarse; trip`}\]

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.

\[(5.44) \quad -tzétëˆl\ vtA \text{ `enchuecarlo; make crooked’ } \quad -tyëˆl\ `enchuecarse; become crooked’\]

The palatalization seen in this group of intransitive verbs is perhaps related to the \( y\) prefix already 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 –tzeyle’l is based. The adjective wte’l though seems based on the verb on the left. Both verbs are probably related to the verb –al ‘grow.’

(5.45) -kwin ‘moverlo; move (something)’ -win ‘moverse; move’
-kwa’l ‘poner encima; put (something) on top’ -wa’l ‘encimarse; get on top’

(5.46) -tye’l ‘engruesarse, engordarse; get fat’ -yel’l ‘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, \textit{uu} “be” and \textit{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).

\textbf{(5.47)} \textit{Mē byī ndē7 māch nāk.} \\
\textit{3hr varón este feo S-hacerse} \\
\textit{3hr male this ugly S-become} \\
Este hombre es malo. \\
This man is bad.

\textbf{(5.48)} \textit{Mē gōtz ndē7 nāk chē7l nā.} \\
\textit{3hd hembra este S-hacerse esposo/a 1s} \\
\textit{3hd female this S-become spouse 1s} \\
Esta mujer es mi esposa. \\
This woman is my wife.

\textbf{(5.49)} \textit{Sāk chīlya7-mˈ per tēl nā nāk mē fāmil.} \\
\textit{FUT-poderse SUB-casarse=3hr pero si NEG S-hacerse 3hr familia} \\
\textit{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).

\textbf{(5.50)} \textit{Z-ēéd men n-bib men gway.} \\
\textit{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 \textit{–b-é}, followed by the infinitive rather than the stative, as in (5.51).

\textbf{(5.51)} \textit{Nzhā bé yūth mē ngēˈg.} \\
\textit{H-irse M-AUX INF-matar 3hr mosca} \\
\textit{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 
‘red’ and n-gùd ‘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 -gātz means
‘ponerse negro; become black’ while the word ‘negro; black’ is n-gātz.

When n- is added to a y-initial base the result is n as in the nā ‘closed’ (see line 41 of
Appendix B2) form of the verb -yā ‘cover,’ and nāl ‘open’ from the verb -yl ‘open.’

Other adjectives containing the stative marker include nāx ‘acostado; lying down,’ the
suppletive stative form of –āth ‘acostarse; lie down.’ The stative adjective no l ‘largo; long’ is
related to the words –tōgl ‘enlargarse; become long,’ –g-ōgo l ‘enlargarlo; make long,’ ko l
‘largo; long,’ and probably also to the words –dl ‘crecer; grow’ and mbgo l ‘ancient, elder.’

The copula –āk ‘be, become’ more often occurs in the stative form ndāk than the habitual form
ndāk, 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 –āy. In SBL this verb takes an irregular completive form ngwi l which has the irregular stem
–i(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.
Compleitive forms of verbs in CLZ are often used like stative adjectives and translated into
Spanish as such. For example, mā ngāth 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 mbx ‘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 -yāx
‘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) Ábaʔ kaʔ ndāʔ nwiʔ yēʔ th.
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 nōb ‘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 Lachixio, 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

\(^5\) 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.
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.

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 \( yè'l\).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(5.50) Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Participle</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(-o'\n) viA</td>
<td>‘llorar; cry’</td>
<td>( yè'l) ( wi) ( n)</td>
<td>‘llorón; crybaby’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(-a) vtD</td>
<td>‘comer; eat’</td>
<td>( ár) ( wá) ( xe') ( n)</td>
<td>‘comelón; glutton’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(-úth) vtA</td>
<td>‘matar; kill’</td>
<td>( ár) ( with) ( mén)</td>
<td>‘asesino; murderer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(-b-a'y) vtD</td>
<td>(‘robar; steal’(^6))</td>
<td>( wa'n)</td>
<td>‘ladrón; thief’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(-tye') viA</td>
<td>‘engordarse; get fat’</td>
<td>( wte'l)</td>
<td>‘gordo; fat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(-lyá) viA</td>
<td>‘amargarse; turn sour’</td>
<td>( wlá)</td>
<td>‘amargo; sour’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(-la'y) vtA</td>
<td>‘piscar mazorca; harvest corn’</td>
<td>( wla'p)</td>
<td>‘pisca de mazorca; corn harvest’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(-lé') vtA</td>
<td>‘desocuparlo; empty, make free’</td>
<td>( wlé') ( th)</td>
<td>‘tiempo; time’(^7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(-lyàt) viA</td>
<td>‘endelgazarse; lose weight’</td>
<td>( wlà) ( tz)</td>
<td>‘delgadoc; thin’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(-lyé') viA</td>
<td>‘aflojarse; loosen up’</td>
<td>( wlé')</td>
<td>‘fajo; loose’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(-tyí) viA</td>
<td>‘ponerse dulce; become sweet’</td>
<td>( wti)</td>
<td>‘dulce; sweet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(-tyo') viA</td>
<td>‘resbalarse; slip’</td>
<td>( wto')</td>
<td>‘resbaloso; slippery’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(-tzé't) vtA</td>
<td>‘engruesarlo; cause to thicken’</td>
<td>( wte'l)</td>
<td>‘grueso; thick’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(-yá) viA</td>
<td>‘ponerse angosto; become narrow’</td>
<td>( wyá)</td>
<td>‘angosto, apretado; narrow, tight’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(-yáp) viA</td>
<td>‘subir de precio; go up in price’</td>
<td>( wyáp)</td>
<td>‘caro; expensive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(-yén) viA</td>
<td>‘negarse; refuse’</td>
<td>( wyén)</td>
<td>‘negativo, negón; negative, person who refuses all the time’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^6\) This form no longer exists in CLZ. Instead the verb \( –ùn\) ‘do’ is used along with the participle to mean ‘do thievery.’ \(-b-a'y\) 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 \( wle'\) \( th\) are people talking about ‘having’ time to do things.
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 –tza7n ‘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-ôn 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

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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.
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.

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 –aẑ 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.
### 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.
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 –yē’ ‘enderezarse; to become straight.’ The intransitive class A verb –kē’, which only differs from the transitive verb –kē’ 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) -nêd viB ‘adelantarse; go ahead’ nêd ‘adelante; ahead’
-chu{k} viA ‘escupir; spit’ chûk ‘saliva’
-lê’ vtA ‘tener antojo; crave’ lê’ ‘antojo; craving’

The word to{l has two meanings, ‘caracol; snail’ and ‘babas; drool.’ It is related to a verb root with palatalization –tyo{l ‘resbalarse; slip.’ The verb is palatalized in all inflectional forms except the infinitive. The participle wto{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 -ki\(\overline{b}\) ‘costurear; sew’ and -yi\(\overline{b}\) ‘costurearse; get sewn’ have lenis and fortis versions of what must have been the R1 prefix \(*k- (> g > y)\). The noun \(dib\) ‘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 -lë\(\overline{7}\)th vtA ‘desocuparlo, vaciarlo; make free, empty’ is related to the tonally different verb –lë\(\overline{r}\)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 aggressor’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 lát\(\overline{y}\). Most often such compounds contained verbs also used in isolation. However, in the cases shown in (5.54) lát\(\overline{y}\) 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 
\( \text{wàt} ' \text{hondo; deep.' As with } –\text{yàw} \text{ and } –\text{yo} 'n, -\text{ya} 'z \text{ is not found in isolation.}

\[ \text{(5.54)} \quad -\text{àw viD (R2 }-\text{d-)} ' \text{dolerse; hurt'} \quad -\text{yàw látyo} ' \text{viA 'odiarlo; } \text{hate'} \]
\[ -\text{o} 'n \text{viA 'llorar; cry'} \quad -\text{yo} 'n \text{látyo} ' \text{viA 'ponerse triste; become sad'} \]
\[ -\text{a} 'z \text{vC3 'picarse; penetrate'} \quad -\text{ya} 'z \text{ wàt viA 'hundirse; be submerged'} \]

The verbs \(-\text{gàzh} \text{ vtA 'mojarlo; get (something) wet'} \text{ and } –\text{gàz vtA 'bañarlo; bathe (someone)'} \) 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 pée. 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+u7kku7 which would have yielded surface *kwe7kku7, the ancestor of modern Zapotec forms like be7ko7, mbak" 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 –ôtz 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 bitz 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 |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bé</td>
<td>peine</td>
<td>comb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bèch</td>
<td>rajad(ur)a</td>
<td>crack</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bèx</td>
<td>penca de plátano</td>
<td>banana stalk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bêz</td>
<td>cuaconito, guajolote tierno</td>
<td>baby turkey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bêth</td>
<td>epazote</td>
<td>epazote (an herb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bémne</td>
<td>Santa María Colotepec</td>
<td>(a town)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bèx</td>
<td>hoguera de perico, nido de perico</td>
<td>parakeet’s nest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biyì</td>
<td>tiempo de lluvia, tiempo de agua</td>
<td>rainy season(^9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bích</td>
<td>vapor</td>
<td>steam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bích</td>
<td>gato</td>
<td>cat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bín tüzh (CN)</td>
<td>cuaconitos</td>
<td>baby turkey(^10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bit té Yé’l</td>
<td>Agua del Rayo (un pozo de agua pegado a un peñasco en el lindero de SCL y SMigC)</td>
<td>“Lightning’s Water” (a well near a gorge on the border between SCL and SMigC)(^11)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^9\) ‘Rain’ is yi so here bi means ‘season’ and may be related to the word for ‘moon, month’ mbe.\(^7\)

\(^10\) Tüzh means ‘little.’

\(^11\) ‘Thunder’s Water’ is a translation of the Spanish, not the Zapotec toponym. In the Zapotec name, the morpheme Bit is unrecognizeable to me. It seems like an old-fashioned root not used anymore except in
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bitz</td>
<td>pena, imaginación</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bix</td>
<td>bixe, orina de nene chiquito</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bix7</td>
<td>ring of bark that is cut out of a tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bitz</td>
<td>anillo que redondean al tronco del palo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bid</td>
<td>semilla; ovario</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bix</td>
<td>granito</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bix</td>
<td>tomate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bixo</td>
<td>semilla de algodón</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yè Nkè Bìzh</td>
<td>Cerro León</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yè Bèw</td>
<td>Cerro Javalín</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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*.

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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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 bulé. 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 *Yèbètká “Bétká Hill.”*

Where it has survived, in CLZ this prefix is realized as *b*- 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, *biē*l ‘chueco; crooked’ is obviously related to –tyē*l 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 –chi7 n viA ‘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 $bőtz$ 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 unanalyzable morpheme that has to do with spinning yarn. However, in SMaC the form of the word is more revealing: $yəbgőtz$. 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 $bō$ to SMaC $bgō$). We can analyze $bgőtz$ into a prefix $b$- and a root $gôtz$ which means ‘female’.

Spinning is traditionally women’s work. What is unclear is whether $bgőtz$ 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.

16 Perhaps also related to $gôtz$ is the SMigC term for (maternal) grandfather $xùz xòtz$. 
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(5.56)</th>
<th>CLZ</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bchán</td>
<td>idolo (SMaC); tarado, zonzo, lento, pasmado, paciente (SBL)</td>
<td>idol (SMaC); mentally retarded, slow, low-key, patient, easy-going (SBL)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bchi’n</td>
<td>arrugado; espuma</td>
<td>wrinkled; foam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bdì</td>
<td>fino, delgado (como pelo de conejo, vela de novia)</td>
<td>fine (like rabbit fur, down feathers, or a bridal veil)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bdo7</td>
<td>plátano</td>
<td>banana</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bgó (SMaC), bó (SBL)</td>
<td>nudo</td>
<td>knot</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bkèn (SMaC)</td>
<td>pronto</td>
<td>soon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bko7 (SMaC)</td>
<td>altar</td>
<td>altar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bku7 (SBL), bkwî7 (SMaC)</td>
<td>brasas de lumbre</td>
<td>embers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bléy (SMaC), blê2 (SBL)</td>
<td>almáçigo</td>
<td>plant nursery</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blô</td>
<td>hueco</td>
<td>hollow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blê2</td>
<td>cuñado de hombre</td>
<td>man’s brother-in-law</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brèl</td>
<td>redondo</td>
<td>round</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bte2</td>
<td>grueso</td>
<td>thick</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>btîth</td>
<td>un codo, cuarta</td>
<td>unit of measurement that extends from the tip of the middle finger to the elbow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bto7</td>
<td>tronco, mocho</td>
<td>trunk, stump</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bto7 tz (SMaC)</td>
<td>canal donde echan agua en la construcción de una casa</td>
<td>trench for water to run through while building</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>btzî2yi</td>
<td>tamales de elote con frijoles</td>
<td>fresh corn tamales with beans</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>btzîn</td>
<td>incensor, candilero</td>
<td>incense or candle holder</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>btzî</td>
<td>pared</td>
<td>wall</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>btzya7</td>
<td>carne cuil</td>
<td>type of guaje (tree with edible seed pods)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>btzya2n</td>
<td>sereno</td>
<td>frost</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>btzy Hubbard</td>
<td>corriente de agua</td>
<td>water current</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>btzê7</td>
<td>soplador</td>
<td>fan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>btzê2l</td>
<td>checo</td>
<td>crooked</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bxid</td>
<td>un enredo; enredado</td>
<td>a tangle; tangled</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bxîl</td>
<td>chispa</td>
<td>spark(s)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bxîtz</td>
<td>prima (SBL) o concuña (CN) de mujer</td>
<td>woman’s female cousin (SBL) or sister-in-law (CN)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bxî2zh</td>
<td>piña</td>
<td>pineapple</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bxûb</td>
<td>corto</td>
<td>short, undersized</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bxê2ch</td>
<td>ralo</td>
<td>thin, sparse</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>byôn</td>
<td>yerba buena</td>
<td>peppermint</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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’ tîth.
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 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

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20 Lòd means ‘carrizo; reed.’
21 This word appears to be derived from the verb –zë 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 nzá 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
prefix marked on vowel-initial roots. Some of these are verby similar semantically\textsuperscript{23} to words shown in (5.55-6), e.g. ‘frost’ and the unit of measurement called \textit{jemen} in Spanish.

\begin{tabular}{|l|l|l|}
\hline
(5.57) & CLZ & Spanish & English \\
\hline
gò & vergüenza & shame (a disease) \\
gòx & loma & hill \\
gò d & jemen & unit of measurement from tip of thumb to tip of index finger when outstretched \\
gò & camote & tuber \\
gòp & sereno & frost \\
gòtz & hembra & female \\
gùzh zo'b & yerno de planta & matrilocal son-in-law \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

In CLZ today, most names of animals and (super)natural forces (e.g. \textit{mbè} ‘fog’ and \textit{ngwzi7} ‘thunder’), and some words for young people, (e.g. \textit{mbē}‘baby’ and \textit{mbzhē}‘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\textsuperscript{24}, as pointed out by Smith-Stark. For example, ‘fish’ QZ \textit{mēl} (Black, 2004) \textasciitilde CLZ \textit{mbēl} and ‘large feline’ SJMZ \textit{me} /\textit{e} dz (Nelson, 2004 ‘tiger’) \textasciitilde SAMZ \textit{mbē}s.

\textsuperscript{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, unasalized, 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.

\textsuperscript{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 măn CVZ máni, mane. In SZ the word for ‘person’ is similar, e.g. CLZ mên whereas other languages do not have m in this word, e.g. CVZ pêni, bèni. In CLZ there are two pronouns based on these words, mẽ ‘3hr’ and má ‘3a.’ The same shortened forms used as pronouns are also used as classifiers, e.g. mẽ 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 ̄ 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 ̄ ‘Rayo; Lightning,’ there are a few possibilities. Some words could have had the same thing happen with the mẽ classifier. It is also possible that the concept of “animal” extended to certain nouns that
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 \( ma \) classifier. If a few words that took the \( me \) classifier, perhaps a word like \( ngwle \) ‘sacerdote; priest,’ underwent the same process, this would have created the semantic opacity or “pivot” necessary for the prefix to be further extended. Since \( me \) and \( ma \) 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 \( pichina \) ‘venado’ (deer) (Córdova, 1578), and YZ \( bejni \) ‘alacrán’ (scorpion) (ILV, 2000). In CLZ these words have two layers of prefixation, \( m- \) and \( (bi)-\), as in \( mbzin \) ‘ratón; mouse,’ \( mbzhin \) ‘venado; deer,’ and \( mbewnè \) ‘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. \( mxižh \) ‘tejón; coati mundi,’ SMaC \( mzhin \) ‘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. \( ngd \) ‘gallina; hen’ (< PZ \( *kiti(k) \) ‘grouse’ according to Kaufman, 2003), \( ndez \) ‘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. ngòn ‘livestock’ or might instead be marked with mb-, or just m- in SMaC as in mgò ‘tecolote; 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-.

Since g is a very weak consonant, often leniting to w and y and Φ 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. mwzi7 ‘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 mè 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 /ŋyw/, 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 ngwzi7 while in

25 A few l-initial verb roots may take gw- to mark the compleitive 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-sucker26,’ 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)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(m)b-</th>
<th><em>mbzhîn</em></th>
<th>‘venado; deer’</th>
<th><em>mbzin</em></th>
<th>‘ratón; mouse’</th>
<th><em>mxiţh</em></th>
<th>‘tejón; coati-mundi’</th>
<th><em>mbļţh</em></th>
<th>‘chuchupaxtle; (type of) garden snake’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(ng)w-</td>
<td><em>ngwzhîl</em></td>
<td>‘avispa petate; (type of) wasp’</td>
<td><em>ngwzi</em>7</td>
<td>‘rayo; lightning’</td>
<td><em>nhwxî</em></td>
<td>‘chinchatla; black widow spider’</td>
<td><em>ngwlâ</em></td>
<td>‘gusano ahuatudo, ixcátón; type of spiny caterpillar’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

\[
\text{(5.59)}
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{w/o } m- & \text{w/ } m- \\
\text{bêx} & \text{‘oguera de perico; perikeet’s nest’} \\
\text{mbêx} & \text{‘arador, comején; wood-boring insects that produce the sawdust perikeets use to make nests.’} \\
\text{bêl} & \text{‘llama; flame’} \\
\text{mbêl} & \text{‘estrella; star’} \\
\text{bi} & \text{‘pena, alma; disembodied soul’} \\
\text{mbi} & \text{‘viento; wind’} \\
\text{bê`z} & \text{‘billote; young blossom of a coconut or banana tree’} \\
\text{mbê`z} & \text{‘nene; baby’} \\
\end{array}
\]

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 \( mè \) 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 \( yèzh \) ‘pueblo; town,’ \( yè \) ‘cerro; hill,’ \( yì \) ‘piedra; rock,’ \( làt \) ‘llano, valle; plain, valley,’ and \( na’t \) ‘arroyo; creek.’ \( Yà do’ch \) 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 \( Yèzh Yè Do’ch \) 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

\(^{26}\) 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 \( \text{chupamirto} \) or \( \text{chuparrosa} \) ‘flower-sucker’ because it is classified as \( mà yêch \) ‘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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(5.60)</th>
<th>Common nouns</th>
<th>Toponyms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mbi'zh</td>
<td>‘león; puma’</td>
<td>Yè Nké Bi'zh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbdón</td>
<td>‘remolino; tornado’</td>
<td>Yè Bdón</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbé wnè</td>
<td>‘alacrán; scorpion’</td>
<td>Bé Wnè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mxí'zh</td>
<td>‘tejón; coati mundi’</td>
<td>Yè Lxi'zh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 licenced 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, mà ‘animal’ and mè ‘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) mà and mè 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 \textit{m-} prefix is semantically broadened, it is still more semantically narrow than the \textit{b(i)-} prefix. The \textit{b(i)-} prefix also marks animacy but includes both nouns which are marked with \textit{m-} also and many other nouns which are not high enough on the animacy hierarchy to take the \textit{m-} marker. These include many plant names. Plants are alive but are not as animate as animals. Other types of nouns marked with \textit{b(i)-} but not with \textit{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 \textit{bë*} and the stars. The \textit{m-} prefix reflects a higher degree of animacy than \textit{b(j)i-}.

5.4 Inalienable possession: \textit{x-} and \textit{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 \textit{NP}_{POSSESSED} \textit{NP}_{POSSESSOR}. The alienably possessed noun phrase has the same order but separates the two \textit{NP’s} by the preposition \textit{tē}. Most of what there is to say about...

\footnote{\textit{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.}

\footnote{This word was not included in the list in (5.55) because it is \textit{bē}-initial rather than \textit{bi-} or \textit{be-}initial, but it quite possibly is also marked with \textit{b-}. The development of the \textit{ē} vowel in CLZ seems to have come about when a tonic \textit{e} preceded a post-tonic \textit{a} and so this word would have once been something like \textit{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 tê, 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 mbê.
    POS-huevo AN-tortuga
    Huevo de la tortuga.
    The turtle’s egg.
(b) Ngû tê-m.
    huevo 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 tê mbê. In this case though the prefix may not be used, i.e. *xngû tê mbê 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 possessed while l-initial làd ‘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 xkwâ ‘cloud,’ xlêy ‘silver maple,’ xnèw ‘soursop’, xmbi ‘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:
This sentence was offered by a CLZ speaker from SBL. In SMaC the word ‘up’ is \( \text{gâp} \). The cognate in SBL has a different tone, \( \text{gâp} \). 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 \( \text{gâp} \) 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 \( \text{gâp} \) 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, \( \text{gâp} \) (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 \( \text{gâp} \) which is followed by \( \text{látyo} \) meaning ‘heart’ or ‘emotional center.’ There is no verb \( \text{gâp} \) used on its own in SBL as far as I am aware. The compound with \( \text{látyo} \) 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.

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 \( \text{xgâp} \). The verb \( \text{–yêk} \) viA ‘dar vuelta, enrollarse, enredarse; turn around’ has derivational forms with \( b \) and \( x \). \( \text{Yà byêk} \) is a twisted or gnarly tree. \( \text{Xyêk} \) is a curve. The verb \( \text{–y-ìl} \) means ‘echar pedos; fart.’
The \textit{x}-initial form \textit{xyil} is a noun meaning ‘pedo; fart.’ Perhaps \textit{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 \textit{la}- prefix related to possession. The word \textit{yê`th} means ‘tortilla’ but the suppletive form, \textit{la}^7, also meaning ‘tortilla,’ is only used when the tortilla is possessed. While the noun \textit{yê`th} can be possessed, it is possessed alienably. It refers to any old tortilla that anyone could acquire. In contrast, \textit{la}^7 is inalienably possessed. It \textit{belongs} to someone. Reminiscent of this is a possessed form of the word ‘pueblo; town.’ The regular word for a town is \textit{yêzh} and this word can be alienably possessed. A phonologically similar word to this is \textit{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 \textit{gûlâzh} which means ‘native’ as shown in the following examples.

(5.64) \textit{Nâk Brij mëxt gûlâzh.}
\textbf{S-ser} Brígida maestra criollo
\textbf{S-be} Bridget teacher \textbf{native}
Brigida es maestra criollo del pueblo.
Bridget is the (town's own) home-grown teacher.

(5.65) \textit{Yî'n gûlâzh.}
\textbf{chile} criollo
\textbf{chile} native
Chile del pueblo.
The town's native chile.

(5.66) \textit{Më gûlâzh.}
\textbf{3hr} criollo
\textbf{3hr} native
Gente del pueblo.
Native residents of the town since birth.

In the \textit{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 \textit{yê`th/la}^7 are phonologically dissimilar, the pair \textit{yêzh/lâzh} share segmental and tonal similarities, leading me to
believe that at an earlier time there could have been a \textit{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’ \textit{xgàm} (Nahuatl \textit{xicama}) and ‘dinero’ \textit{tmí} (Spanish \textit{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 \textit{xta7} which is shortened from \textit{xé \textit{ta7} ‘what thing?’} There are a few words beginning in \textit{tC} clusters which may be instances of a \textit{t-} prefix (e.g. \textit{tlà ‘centro; middle’} and \textit{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 \textit{B-}

Above in 5.3 I described a \textit{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 \textit{b-} prefix which seems clearly unrelated to animacy and I have reserved it for discussion here. A bound \textit{b} morpheme is found in certain complex numbers:
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 $lwē$ ‘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 *mē lēzh* 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 *lēzh* has the rising tone. I have not found another word with *xēzh* to suggest another etymology. The only other similar word that would be a possibility is the word for the coatimundi *mxi7zh*, 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 *Yēzh Xīzh*. Yēzh 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 *lith* in SMaC. A narrative text like the one in Appendix B1 may end with the phrase *lith ngwā ndō kwēnt,* ‘an end came to the story.’ *Lith* appears to be related to the verbs –
ūth ‘kill’ and –āth ‘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 tīth means ‘hueso; bone’ and I suspect it could be related to the verb –ūth ‘matar; kill’ in the same way that līth might be.

Another ti-initial word, tītz ‘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 –ōtz, 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, inadvertently 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)bitz means ‘alma, pena; spirit’ and it its fuller form appears to be zero derived from the completive of –ōtz. 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 mbītz 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 tītz is semantically similar to mbītz 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) *Swít 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. *Wít mbál* without *s-* would mean ‘(the speaker’s) compadre’s brother.’ The speaker and the person addressed as *swít mbál* are brothers of the men in the *compadrazgo* relationship. Since there is no plural marking in CLZ *wit 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 *sā*, 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 yích ‘pelo; hair’ and yèk ‘cabeza; head.’

While many reduced compounds are composed of recognizable 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\(^7\)ti\(^7\)tawo\(^7\) ‘centro de emociones; emotional center + grande; big’

(Kaufman, 2003) are older compounds that have become at least partially opaque.

(6.1) (Partially) unanalyzable compounds:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>látyo(^7)</th>
<th>belê(^7)</th>
<th>gátlña(^7)</th>
<th>ngírsi(^7)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>corazón</td>
<td>mismo</td>
<td>la mitad</td>
<td>vivelula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heart</td>
<td>same, -self</td>
<td>half</td>
<td>dragonfly</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-ácha\(^7\) -ádêtz -ágàl -ákwí -ákwa\(^7\) -âyë\(^7\)

hacerse dormirse fermentar acedarse adornar madurarse

become sleep ferment become sour decorate ripen

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

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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 bé\(^7\)yí 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 yibëy.

2 The yí in these two placenames may be from yí ‘piedra; rock.’ So Sta. Catarina Cuixtla would be ‘Piedra de Águila; Eagle Rock.’ I do not know another meaning for ké\(^7\) but it does occur in the Zapotec name of CLZ, di\(^7\)zh ké\(^7\) ‘palabra de San Pablo Coatlán; word of San Pablo Coatlán.’
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.

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 –xìbò ‘amarrar; tie’ which is
literally ‘peinarse; comb’ + ‘nudo; knot.’ Some nouns, especially body parts, are used
prepositionally in CLZ, with a common one being ya₇ ‘mano; hand’ which is seen in the
compound verbs –chéya₇ ‘entregarlo; hand (something) over’ and –chìlya₇ ‘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 –yòbi
‘(a)botarse; get thrown). More rarely a second verb root is incorporated as in –bìxla₇b ‘hervir;
boil’ (-la₇b also means ‘boil’), or –lànzhá ‘llegar; arrive’ where the second root is frozen into the
compound with an inflectional marker. This verb may be a reduced sequence of là ‘bajarse; get
down’ and nzhá ‘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, *nitz 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 *nitzdo*. *Nîtz* is the word for ‘agua; water’ and so is a common word with an obvious semantic relationship to the compound. *Do* 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* 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 $mbî$ ‘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. $–lyë’d mbi$ ‘ventilarse, soplar; get blown (on), get ventilated’ and $–yô mbi$ ‘columpiar; swing.’

Zapotec languages commonly have verbal constructions which include the noun $låtyo^7$ ‘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) $Mbyë^7åtyo^7$-y.
$C$-[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) $Ntyo^7åtyo^7$-n$^*$ $wîn$ ná.
$H$-[salir corazón: querer]$=1s P$-moverse 1s$
$H$-[go. out heart: want]$=1s P$-move 1s$
Quiere mi corazón que me mueva.
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 $låtyo^7$ as subjects, $låtyo^7$ 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) \textit{Ndyo}^7\textit{n látyo}^7-n\(^*\).
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\hline
H-X.llorar corazón=1s & H-X.cry heart=1s \\
Estoy triste. & I’m sad. \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

(6.5) \textit{Lyē}^7lātyo\(^7\)-n\(^*\).
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\hline
P.X-corazón=1s & P.X-heart=1s \\
Me voy a rajar. & I’m going to chicken out. \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

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. Látyo7 may be the primary subject of the verb but its possessor may be a more indirect subject. The possessor of látyo7 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 –yó ‘haber, estar; for there to be’ (the habitual form seen below is the irregular nzhó) is an auxiliary verb that has been grammaticalized from a similar verb –yó 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 látyo7 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) Nzhó xín ár bá kárã?
    H-haber hijo 3hf DET X
    H-AUX offspring 3hf DET X³
    ¿Está embarazada esa?
    Is she/those 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).

3 I am not sure how to gloss kárã 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) \(-\text{i}n\ \text{t}\text{'n} \text{`ocupar; use’}\)

Ba\text{`} ny\text{`} l\text{`}d nd\text{`}n\text{`} t\text{`}n M\text{`} G\text{`}x M\text{`}x.
asi H-verse tela H-hacer trabajo 3hr viejo Tom\text{`}s
like.this H-look cloth H-do job 3hr old Thomas
Asi se ve la ropa que usa Don Tom\text{`}s.
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
\text{t}\text{`}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) \(\text{G\text{`}n nh\text{`} \text{t}\text{`}n \text{`}st\text{`} l\text{`}s dy\text{`}s.}\)
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 example, 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 a compound 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 –zádi7zh shown in (6.9) and –za7 di7zh shown in (6.10). –Zádi7zh is a reduced compound with object incorporation in which the verb root –zá is a tonally reduced form of the verb –za7 seen in the idiom –za7 di7zh.

(6.9)  -zádi7zh ‘platicar; talk’

(a) Béli ndé zádi7zh 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 nzádi7zh 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) Nzádi7zh mě di7zh ke7.
H-[dar-palabra: platicar] 3hr palabra Coatlán
H-[give-word: talk] 3hr word Coatlán
Ella platica zapoteco.
She speaks Zapotec.
(d) Yë’l mkwi7n yë’l wza7 di7zh tê-l tá wê ngwdîn xa7 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.
-za\textsuperscript{7} \text{ di} \textsuperscript{7} \text{ zh} \; \text{ `dar permiso, dejar; give permission, let (something happen)'}

(a) S\text{a}\textsuperscript{7}-m\text{` di} \textsuperscript{7} \text{ zh } \text{ g\c{a}b\ m\c{e} nd\`o \text{ y\c{u}}.}
\text{F-dar=3hr palabra P-caer.P 3hr cara tierra}
\text{F-give=3hr word P-fall.P 3hr face earth}
\text{Él se va a dejar caerse en el suelo.}
\text{He's going to let himself fall on the ground.}

(b) \text{ G\'a\n t\`e-l n\`a wza\textsuperscript{7} \text{ di} \textsuperscript{7} \text{ zh ch\'i\text{ lya} \textsuperscript{7} \text{ xin l\`o n\`a mbzha\textsuperscript{7} w\`e}.}
\text{difunto POS=2s NEG P-dar palabra P-casarse hijo 2s con muchacha DET}
\text{dead POS=2s NEG P-give word P-get.married offspring 2s with girl DET}
\text{Tus difuntos no dan permiso para que se case tu hijo con esa muchacha.}
\text{Your ancestors won't give permission for your son to marry that girl.}

(c) \text{ Bza\textsuperscript{7} \text{ di} \textsuperscript{7} \text{ zh } \text{ lya\textsuperscript{7} b t\`e\textsuperscript{-y}.
\text{IMP-dar palabra P-hervir todav\'ıa}
\text{IMP-give word P-boil still}
\text{¡Deja que se hierve de una vez!}
\text{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 –z\text{\'a}d\text{\`i} \text{\`e}zh and the idiom –za\textsuperscript{7} \text{ di} \textsuperscript{7} \text{ zh} are more than the sum of –za\textsuperscript{7} and di\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{7} in the idiom as seen in (6.10a) but the subject follows di\textsuperscript{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 –xo⁷b which means ‘poner, tapar; put, cover.’

(6.11) \(Nxo⁷b\) *mbè ngùz ndó.*

*H-poner neblina [fruta cara: ojo]*

*H-put fog [fruit face: eye]*

Se pone nublado el ojo.

The eye gets foggy/slimy.

(6.12) \(Të⁷l nàt mxo⁷b 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 lexical 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) -ún yḗl ndḗz  ‘mentir; lie’

Ndūn mḗ yḗl ndḗz.
H-hacer 3hr NOM AN-tlacuache
H-do 3hr NOM AN-possum
Hace ella sus mentiras.
She tells lies.

(6.14) -yḗk látyo7  ‘tener sed; be thirsty’

Ndḗk lūzh látyo7-ni.
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 lūzh can be inserted into the middle of it. Látyo7 is a necessary part of the idiom and cannot be left out. However, the verb root yḗk does pose a problem since it does not occur in isolation. This would suggest that it should be treated like a compound with látyo7 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).

\[(6.15) \quad \begin{array}{llll}
\text{Nî.} & \text{Yîchêk.} & \text{Mbi.} & \text{Kônêj.} \\
\text{casa} & \text{pelo-cabeza} & \text{AN-aire} & \text{conejo} \\
\text{house} & \text{hair-head} & \text{AN-air} & \text{rabbit} \\
\text{Casa.} & \text{Cabello.} & \text{Viento.} & \text{Conejo.} \\
\text{House.} & \text{Head hair.} & \text{Wind.} & \text{Rabbit.}
\end{array} \]

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.

\[(6.2.2) \quad \begin{array}{llll}
\text{Máx.} & \text{Mbiűzh.} & \text{Là.} & \text{Xỳ.} \\
\text{Tomás} & \text{león} & \text{Oaxaca} & \text{[X-cerro: tianguis]} \\
\text{Thomas} & \text{puma} & \text{Oaxaca} & \text{[X-hill: market]} \\
\text{Tomás.} & \text{Leo(ncio).} & \text{Oaxaca de Juárez.} & \text{Miahuatlán de Porfirio Díaz.} \\
\text{Thomas.} & \text{Leo(n).} & \text{Oaxaca City.} & \text{Miahuatlán.}
\end{array} \]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Naṭ Yî N-gûd.} & \quad \text{Yêzh Sántlín.} \\
\text{arroyo piedra blanca} & \quad \text{pueblo santa-Catarina} \\
\text{creek rock white} & \quad \text{town saint-Catherine} \\
\text{Arroyo Agua Blanca.} & \quad \text{Santa Catarina Loxicha.} \\
\text{White Rock Creek.} & \quad \text{Santa Catarina Loxicha.}
\end{align*}
\]

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 \(mè\) ‘persona; person,’ \(má\) ‘animal,’ \(yù\) ‘palo; tree,’ \(là\) ‘hoja; leaf,’ \(lùt\) ‘bejuco; vine,’ \(yêzh\) ‘pueblo; town,’ \(yè\) ‘cerro; hill,’ \(yì\) ‘piedra; rock,’ \(yi7\) ‘flor; flower,’ \(yêx\) ‘zacate; grass’ and \(yû\) ‘tierra; land.’
The classifiers \textit{mē} and \textit{mā} are identical to the pronouns which are reduced forms of the full nouns ‘person’ and ‘animal.’ The pronoun \textit{xaʔ} 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 \textit{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) \begin{tabular}{llllll}
\textit{Yà bdoʔ}, & \textit{Yà bástónh}, & \textit{Yà yîn}, & \textit{Mē góʔz}, & \textit{Yēzh Xi\text{"o}zh}.
\textit{palo plántano}, & \textit{palo bastón}, & \textit{palo palma}, & 3hr hembra, & pueblo SBL.
\textit{tree banana}, & \textit{tree cane}, & \textit{tree palm}, & 3hr female, & town SBL.
\textit{Platanar.}, & \textit{Bastón; muleta.}, & \textit{Palmar.}, & Mujer. & San Baltazar Loxicha.
\textit{Banana tree.} & \textit{Cane; crutch.}, & \textit{Palm tree.}, & \textit{Woman.}, & San Baltazar Loxicha.
\end{tabular}

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 \(ya\) 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)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(6.18)} & & \text{Lèn chôn mbe}^7. & \quad \text{Wâtz bku}^7. & \quad \text{Ni té-n}.
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{barriga tres luna} & & \text{cerca lumbre} & & \text{casa POS=1s} \\
\text{belly three moon} & & \text{near fire} & & \text{house POS=1s} \\
\text{Dentro de tres meses.} & & \text{Cerca de la lumbre.} & & \text{Mi casa.} \\
\text{Within three months.} & & \text{Near the fire.} & & \text{My house.}
\end{align*}
\]

Many body part words can be combined with a word \(gål\) to form something like a compound preposition. One possible derivation for this word is the word \(ga\) ‘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 \(gålèn\) ‘por dentro; inside,’ \(gålndåtz\) ‘al pie; at the foot of,’ \(gålndô\) ‘en frente de; in front of,’ \(gålzo\) ‘después, atrás; after, behind,’ and \(gålxàn\) ‘abajo de; below.’ Examples are shown in (6.19).
(6.19) Ná mchílyá7 gáltzo7 ndô-m’.
1s C-[X-manó: casarse] X-espalda cara=3hr
1s C-[X-hand: marry] X-back face=3hr
Yo me casé despues que él/ella.
I got married after her/him.

Gálndô ni.
X-cara casa
X-face house
En frente de la casa.
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 ár⁴ 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 xa⁷ and mé. Mé is used to refer to people who are older or who are

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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.
deserving of one’s respect. *Xaʔ* 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.

\[(6.20) \quad Bzéʔ \ mē \ līzh \ nā \ xaʔ \ lālān.\]

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, *mē* is usually given in Zapotec, while *xaʔ* is used to translate a plural Spanish pronoun. The difference between *mē* and *xaʔ* 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.

\[(6.21) \quad Tōp \ mē \ wē \ nzhō \ Ėstādōs Únídōs. \ Ndźin \ mē \ tīʔn.\]

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.

\[(6.2.2) \quad Dūb \ xaʔ \ gūn \ tīʔn \ nā.\]

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 *xaʔ* pronoun as referring to ‘just anybody’, as opposed to the more respectful pronoun. It may be that *xaʔ* 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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SBL</th>
<th>SMigC</th>
<th>SMaC possessive/subject</th>
<th>object (when different)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>nâ</td>
<td>nâ</td>
<td>nâ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1i</td>
<td>nhó</td>
<td>ñé</td>
<td>nhá</td>
<td>ná</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1e</td>
<td>sâ</td>
<td>sâ</td>
<td>sâ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f</td>
<td>lô</td>
<td>lô</td>
<td>lâ</td>
<td>lô</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2r</td>
<td>gó</td>
<td>gó</td>
<td>gó</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3hr</td>
<td>mê</td>
<td>mê</td>
<td>mê</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3hf</td>
<td>är</td>
<td>är</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3hd</td>
<td>xa7</td>
<td>xa7</td>
<td>xa7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a</td>
<td>mà</td>
<td>mà</td>
<td>mà</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3i</td>
<td>ta7</td>
<td>ta7</td>
<td>ta7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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, ta7n is used the least since the pronoun ta7 is used more often. However, although the pronouns mê and mà are used quite often, the generic nouns mên and màn are still used frequently. The remaining forms which I consider generic nouns all refer to younger humans. The form mbëz can refer to a baby or an older child, up to the early teenage years. Once a minor looks and behaves

---

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.
like a grown up (typically around 15 but it could be as young as 12) they are referred to with the adolescent pronouns \textit{mbzha}, \textit{mbyô}, and \textit{mbzhë} / \textit{mbzhâ}.

\textbf{Figure 49: Generic nouns}

\begin{tabular}{|l|l|}
\hline
‘thing’ & \textit{ta^n} \\
‘animal’ & \textit{män} \\
‘person’ & \textit{mën} \\
‘child’ & \textit{mbëz} \\
‘young woman’ & \textit{mbzha} \\
‘young man’ & \textit{mbyô} \\
‘young people’ & \textit{SBL: mbzhë} \textit{SMaC: mbzhâ} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

Much as with the true pronouns, with these last three generic nouns there is a partial number distinction. The noun which is \textit{mbzhë} in SBL and \textit{mbzhâ} in SMaC can only have plural reference. The female noun \textit{mbzha} and the male noun \textit{mbyô} typically have singular reference, in complementary distribution with \textit{mbzhë}, however these can be used with quantifiers to indicate more than one female or male adolescent, as in (6.23).

(6.23) \textit{Nàxna-n chën mbzha}.
\hspace{1cm} S-[acostarse-X: tener]=1s tres AN-AN-muchacha
\hspace{1cm} S-[lie.down-X7: 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

\footnote{The only free \textit{nâx} 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.}
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.

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).
Some inalienably possessed noun phrases are lexicalized as compounds, as in (6.26).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spanish Phrase</th>
<th>English Equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cáscara de palo</td>
<td>Tree’s bark.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuestra mamá</td>
<td>Our mother.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La mano de Pedro</td>
<td>Peter’s hand(s).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tu ojo.</td>
<td>Your eye(s).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. wit yix ná ‘mi hermano del monte; my illegitimate half-brother’ shows no tonal change. 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 wit ‘brother’ would show a tonal change if used alone and not in the compound, in wit ná ‘my brother.’ Yix 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.
6.3.1.2 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:

\[(6.27)\]

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
Xùz nà. & Xùz xìt² nà. & (SMigC) \\
papá.1s 1s & papá tío.1s 1s & fruta cara.1s=1s \\
father.1s 1s & father uncle.1s 1s & fruit face.1s=1s \\
Mi papá. & Mi tío. & Mi ojo.
\end{array}
\]

Compared to 2s-possessed:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
Xùz lô. & Xùz xìt lô & (SMigC) \\
Ngùz ndô-n'.
\end{array}
\]

\[
(6.28) \quad Ndàb ár ndô yû. \\
H-caer 3hf cara tierra \\
Se cayó al suelo. \\
S/he fell to the ground.
\]

\[
(6.29) \quad Ngòb ná yèk nì. \\
C-caer 1s cabeza casa \\
Me caí del techo. \\
I fell from the roof.
\]

\[
(6.30) \quad Ndi7b yìx tô nêz. \\
H-haber monte boca camino \\
Hay montes en la orilla del camino. \\
There are plants alongside the road.
\]

\[
(6.31) \quad Ndê yìx tzo⁷ nì. \\
H-AUX basura espalda casa \\
H-AUX trash back house \\
Hay basura atrás de la casa. \\
There is trash behind the house.
\]

\[\text{In SBL ‘uncle’ is simply } xìt, \text{ but in CN (where the SMigC variety is spoken) } xìt \text{ occurs in a compound with the ‘father’ root to render the same meaning. This example was given by a CN speaker. In SBL the same example would mean ‘my uncle’s father’ which would probably be an overly-roundabout way of saying ‘my grandfather’ and therefore would not be used in SBL.}\]
Some native words used in the same way do not have any nominal meanings synchronically, such as the words wâtz ‘next to’ and tê ‘possession of’ in (6.32). The preposition tê 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 tê undergoes a tonal alternation with the first person singular just as do nouns inalienably possessed by the first person singular.

(6.32)  *Nî bâ nzôb wâtz nî tê-n*.  
   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 tê 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

\[ Xna7 \text{ nhá} \]

**POS-madre 1i.nom**

**POS-mother 1i.nom**

Nuestra mamá.

Our mother.

(6.34) Direct object

\[ Lá \text{ nkë} lëdyo7 \text{ xa7 ná}. \]

**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”

\[ Mkë7 \text{ mé tê nhá} \]

**C-pegar 3hr POS 1i.nom**

**C-hit 3hr POS**

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

---

10 This is not a loan preposition although it looks it. It is cognate with the morpheme that is će in Yatzachi (see Butler, 1976, her examples of the “reflexive of possession”).
possessed alienably in CLZ. While with inalienably possession the possessor follows the possesee, with alienably possession what follows the possessed noun is a phrase headed by tê, an emergent preposition roughly meaning ‘possession of’ which itself is inalienably possessed by the noun that is the alienable possessor of the noun preceding tê. As mentioned in the last section, tê changes its tone to high té when followed by the first person singular, and in SMaC the pronoun that follows tê 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 chë7l ‘spouse (of either sex)’ is inalienably possessed, the noun phrase më gôtz ‘woman’ shown below may be possessed alienably, perhaps reflecting the fact that a wife is acquired.

(6.36)  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Më gôtz tê-m.} & \quad \text{Mbëk tê xûn nà.} & \quad \text{Bây tê-m} \\
3\text{hr hembra POS=3hr} & \quad AN-AN\text{-perro POS papá 1s} & \quad \text{pañuelo POS=3hr} \\
3\text{hr female POS=3hr} & \quad \text{AN-AN\text{-dog POS father 1s}} & \quad \text{kerchief POS=3hr} \\
(Su) \text{ mujer de él.} & \quad \text{(Sus) perro(s) de mi papá.} & \quad \text{Su pañuelo.} \\
\text{His woman.} & \quad \text{My father’s dog(s).} & \quad \text{His kerchief.}
\end{align*}
\]

When the second person respectful pronoun is the alienable possessor it may optionally be omitted and tê alone is understood as representing possession by the respected second person, as seen in (6.37).

(6.37)  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ni tê.} & \quad \text{Mbëk tê.} & \quad \text{Mbë’l tê.} \\
\text{casa POS} & \quad \text{AN-AN\text{-perro POS}} & \quad \text{AN-AN\text{-pescado POS}} \\
\text{house POS} & \quad \text{AN-AN\text{-dog POS}} & \quad \text{AN-AN\text{-fish POS}} \\
\text{Su casa de Ud.} & \quad \text{Su perro de Ud.} & \quad \text{Su pescado de Ud.} \\
\text{Your house.} & \quad \text{Your dog.} & \quad \text{Your fish.}
\end{align*}
\]

Nominalized verb phrases are typically alienably possessed, as shown in (6.38).
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 té. The phrase headed by té 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) \( Yé'l\ ñydén té-l. \quad Yé'l\ chilya' té-m. \)

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{NOM H-oír POS=2s} & \quad \text{NOM P-[unir-mano: casarse] POS=3hr} \\
\text{NOM H-hear POS=2s} & \quad \text{NOM P-[join-hand: marry] POS=3hr}
\end{align*} \]

Tu pensamiento. \quad Su casamiento de ellos.

Your thinking. \quad Their wedding.

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 ni or by the inalienably possessed noun lidi. 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) Ngúth Béd.
C-mort Pedro
Pedro se murió.
Peter died.
(b) Ngúth mě.
C-mort 3hr
Él se murió.
He died.

(6.41) Following the subject as object
(a) Mbìth xa7 mbzhîn.
C-matar 3hd venado
Él mató el venado.
S/he killed the deer.
(b) Mbìth xa7 má.
C-matar 3hd 3a
Él mató el animal.
S/he killed it.

(6.42) As a fronted subject
(a) Mâx wá.
Tomás P-comer
Tomás va a comer.
(b) Lò wá.
2f P-comer
Tú vas a comer.
You are going to eat.

(6.43) As a possessor following a noun
(a) Xin Láx.
hiyo Lázaro
El hijo de Lázaro.
(b) Xin gó.
hiyo 2r
El hijo de Ud.
Your son.

(6.44) Following a preposition
(a) Ni tê Láx.
casa POS Nicolás
La casa de Nicolás.
(b) Ni tê ár.
casa POS 3hf
La casa de él.
His house.
(6.45) Following a quantifier
(a) Tōp gān.
dos difunto
two dead.person
Dos difuntos.
Two dead people.
(b) Tōp nhō.
dos lí
two lí
Nosotros dos.
The two of us.

(6.46) In isolation
(a) Ngwlèy, wyë´ ka7 gōx më.
sacerdote cierto sí viejo 3hr
priest true yes old 3hr
El padre, sí cierto que está viejo.
The priest, yes it’s true that he’s old.
(b) Lō, sí wyë´ ka7 bchán lô.
2f sí cierto FOC pasmado 2f
Tú, sí cierto eres pasmado.
You, it’s true, you are slow.

(6.47) Following a copula
(a) Nāk Bríj mēxt.
COP Brígida maestro
COP Bridget teacher
Brígida es maestra.
Bridget is a teacher.
(b) Nāk nā mēxt.
COP 1s maestro
COP 1s teacher
Soy maestra.
I’m a teacher.

(6.48) Preceding a copula
(a) Béd nāk ngwlèy.
Pedro COP sacerdote
Peter COP priest
Pedro es sacerdote.
Peter is a priest.
(b) Mē nāk ngwlèy.
3hr COP sacerdote
3hr COP teacher
Él es sacerdote.
He is a priest.

(6.49) Following an adj. w/o a copula
(a) Gōx ngwlèy.
viejo sacerdote
old sacerdote
Es viejo el padre.
The priest is old.
(b) Gōx mē.
viejo 3hr
old 3hr
Él es viejo.
He’s old.

(6.50) Following a question word
(a) Mà Bríj?
adōnde Brígida
where Bridget
¿Adónde está Brígida?
Where is Bridget?
(b) Mà ár?
adōnde 3hf
where 3hf
¿Adónde está ella?
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 zi7l.  
  palo grande  
  tree big  
  Palo grande.  
  Big tree.

(b) Lô bchân.  
  2f pasmado  
  2f slow  
  Tû eres pasmado.  
  You’re easy-going.

(6.52) Following a noun w/o a copula
(a) Mëxt Bridj!  
  maestro Brígida  
  teacher Bridget  
  Maestra Brígida!  
  Miss Bridget!

(b) Mëxt më.  
  maestro 3hr  
  teacher 3hr  
  Es maestro él.  
  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)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generic noun</th>
<th>→</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mèn ‘person’</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>mè, SMaC mé 3hr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mán ‘animal’</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>má 3a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta7n ‘thing’</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>ta7 3i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Following consonants</th>
<th>Following vowels (when different)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>nā</td>
<td>-ñ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1i</td>
<td>nhō</td>
<td>-nh̺</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1e</td>
<td>sā</td>
<td>-s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f</td>
<td>lō</td>
<td>-l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2r</td>
<td>gō ~ -ā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3hr</td>
<td>mē (&lt;mēn ‘person’)</td>
<td>-m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3hf</td>
<td>ár</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3hd</td>
<td>xa7</td>
<td>-x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a</td>
<td>mā (&lt;mān ‘animal’)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3i</td>
<td>ta7 (&lt;ta7n ‘thing’)</td>
<td>- ē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ý</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I deal with –ā, -é, and -ŷ in section 6.3.2.4. Of the remaining pronouns, I have only seen two bound forms used in the Coatlan varieties of CLZ. In San Miguel Coatlán the same bound first person inclusive pronoun, -nh̺, 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, occurring 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 -ā.

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-l.  

Tu cabeza.  
Your head.

cabeza 2f  cara=2f
head 2f  face=2f

(6.55)  
(a) Xâl ndáxlâ lô-ý?  
(b) Xâl ndáxlâ -lˆ-é?  

¿Que lo hueles tú?  
Do you smell it?

INTE H-oler 2s=3i
INTE H-smell 2s=3i

INTE H-oler=2s=3i
INTE H-smell=2s=3i

¿Que lo hueles tú?11
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 gôk lânzhá-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

\[ Xn\acute{a} \text{-} n\acute{i}. \]
\[ \text{POS-madre=1s} \]
\[ \text{POS-mother=1s} \]
Mi mamá.
My mother.

(6.58) Following a preposition

\[ Nd\acute{o}\text{-}n\acute{w}n\acute{i} \text{ di} \acute{z}h \text{ ke}. \]
\[ \text{cara=1s IMP-hablar palabra Coatlán} \]
\[ \text{face=1s IMP-speak word Coatlán} \]
A mí ¡háblame idioma!
To me, speak Coatlán-Loxicha Zapotec!

(6.59) Following a question word

\[ T\ddot{\text{o}} \text{-} l? \]
\[ \text{quién=2f} \]
\[ \text{who=2f} \]
¿Quién eres?
Who are you?

(6.60) Following an adjective

\[ Y\acute{a}p\acute{a} \text{-} w\acute{t}i-l\acute{ }\acute{\text{r}}. \]
\[ \text{mucho dulce=2s} \]
\[ \text{a.lot sweet=2s} \]
Estás muy dulce.
You’re very sweet.

(6.61) Following a quantifier

\[ Ye\ddot{e} \text{-} s. \]
\[ \text{nueve=1e} \]
\[ \text{nine=1e} \]
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

\[ Nd\acute{a}l \text{ látyo\acute{a}r\acute{a}} \text{-} n\acute{l}\acute{o}. \]
\[ \text{H-nacer corazón=1s 2f} \]
\[ \text{H-be.born heart=1s 2f} \]
Te amo.
I love you.

(6.63) Bound subject with an incorporated object

\[ Mx\ddot{o} \text{ blë} \text{-} n\acute{i} \text{ yà yi}. \]
\[ \text{C-poner almácigo=1s palo chile} \]
\[ \text{C-put plant.shed=1s tree chile} \]
Puse el almácigo de chilar.
I made a greenhouse 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) Sxål nzhá yáth lá lô?
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 mbyêj lâ lô tzâ-f.
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 kâ lô.
H-saber siempre 2f
H-know always 2f
Ya sabes.
Now you know.

(b) Xâl sâ kâ lô kârâ?
INTE F.ir siempre 2f X
INTE F-go always 2f X
¿Que vas a ir siempre?
Are you still going?

(c) Ndâ kâ ná go7z mbzhîn.
H-ir.1s siempre 1s pesca AN-AN-venado
H-go.1s always 1s hunt AN-AN-deer
Siempre voy a campear venado./Si (de por sí) voy a campear venado
I always go to hunt deer.

(6.66) Ta7
Ngôyôxàn ná wâ ta7 mê yê’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\textsuperscript{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. \textit{Nà} and \textit{bélë7}, which mean ‘also’ and ‘same’ respectively, could perhaps be analyzed as nouns or have a historical noun status if not a synchronic one. \textit{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. \textit{Bélë7} usually has an emphatic meaning as in ‘I did that \textit{myself}.’ It may also be related to the focus marker \textit{lë7},\textsuperscript{13} the cognate of which in turn has been analyzed as a noun by Lee (1997a). Alternatively \textit{bélë7} and \textit{nà} may be some of the adjectives Marlett (1985) described as being able to host to a bound pronoun.

\begin{minipage}{\textwidth}
\begin{flushleft}
(6.67) \textit{Nà} \textit{Nà-\textit{nìngwàl}}.
\textit{también=1s C-venir}
\textit{also=1s C-come}
Yo también vine.
I also came.
\end{flushleft}
\end{minipage}

\begin{minipage}{\textwidth}
\begin{flushleft}
(6.68) \textit{Bélë7} \textit{Bélë7-\textit{nì\textit{ka7}b nà nà}}.
\textit{mismo=1s P.sobar 1s 1s}
\textit{same=1s P.massage 1s 1s}
Yo mismo me voy a sobar.
I’m going to massage myself, myself.
\end{flushleft}
\end{minipage}

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, \textit{\textit{ka7}}, follows words that are in focus. The other marker, \textit{\textit{lë7}}, 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 \textit{\textit{lë7}} in other Zapotec languages can serve as a base to which clitic

\textsuperscript{12} The word \textit{\textit{ka7}} can modify the verb, adverbs, or other words also, but the cases we are concerned are the ones where \textit{\textit{ka7}} modifies pronouns.

\textsuperscript{13} In fact, \textit{bélë7} reduces to \textit{lë7} in San Miguel Coatlán.
pronouns attach according to Lee (1997b), Jones and Church (1985), Marlett (1993) and Piper (1994). In CLZ, bound pronouns can attach to lë7 as in other Zapotec languages, while they cannot attach to ka7, if for no other reason than that these pronouns attach to preceding words and not to following ones. As for the origin of ka7 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 lë7 “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 më and without a focus marker. Also, post-posing ka7 after më would give the same meaning. All three variations would be translated the same.

(6.69) Independent pronoun with ka7
Më ka7 ndâp kê.
3hr FOC H-tener culpa
3hr FOC H-have fault
El tiene la culpa.
He is at fault.

(6.70) Bound pronoun with lë7
Lë7-m` nk`e` zë` kwa7n nà.
FOC=3hr H-andar SUB.buscar 1s
FOC=3hr H-walk SUB.seek 1s
El 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.
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-ní bi.
también=3hr se.va
also=3hr go.away
Él también se va.
He’s also going.

(6.73) Unreduced classifier

Nà mé bi nà mé götz.
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.
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 NP₁ NP₂ and the translation into Spanish or English will be NP₁ copula NP₂. Alternatively a copular verb may be used. If a copular verb is used the regular VS order may be used with copula NP₁ NP₂ order. Alternatively the subject may be fronted to preverbal position, as with other verbs, for the order NP₁ copula NP₂. 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-l 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-n! 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 mbi7d, it is grammatical with the relative pronoun nà, in tò xa7 nà mbi7d, 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 tô because it does not directly form a constituent with tô.

In (6.76) it is not the case that tô acts predicatively. There tô 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) tô 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).
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 ná yîch nê ‘I have red hair’ or yîchēk ná yîch nê ‘my hair (is) red hair’ or yîch nê nàx ná-n ‘red hair I have (lays on me)’ but that you cannot say *yîch nê ná nor *yîch nê-nê-nê.

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) \textit{Wā-m yēʾth.} \hspace{1cm} (b) \textit{Wā Māx yēʾth.}  
\textcolor{red}{P=Comer=3hr tortilla} \hspace{1cm} \textcolor{red}{P=Comer Tomás tortilla}  
\textcolor{red}{Va a comer tortilla.} \hspace{1cm} \textcolor{red}{Tomás va a comer tortilla.}  
S/he’s going to eat a tortilla. \hspace{1cm} Thomas is going to eat a tortilla.

(6.80) (a) \textit{Látyo7-nī.} \hspace{1cm} (b) \textit{Látyo7.}  
\textcolor{red}{corazón=1s} \hspace{1cm} \textcolor{red}{corazón}  
\textcolor{red}{Mi corazón.} \hspace{1cm} \textcolor{red}{Corazón.}  
My heart. \hspace{1cm} 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 …recognizable members of a word class.” This is true of CLZ bound =C pronouns, but in comparison 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 mé → -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, \textit{gó}, has an optional bound form, \textit{–á}. It can follow both vowels and consonants, as illustrated in the following examples:

\begin{enumerate}
\item[(6.81)] \textit{Nà wte}\textsuperscript{-á} \textit{xmbál-á pàrà kë cho\textit{n-á} yá go7z.}
\textit{IMP-invitar=2r POS-compadre=2r para COMP tres=2r P-ir pesca}
\textit{and IMP-invite=2r POS-compadre=2r for COMP three=2r P-go hunt}
\textit{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.
\item[(6.82)] \textit{Ndàb më “sxál ná ní-á pà mbzhêb-á?”}
\textit{H-decir 3hr INTE NEG H-saber=2r donde C-espantarse=2r}
\textit{H-say 3hr INTE NEG H-know=2r where C-be.frightened=2r}
\textit{Dijo él “¿que no sabe Ud. adonde se espantó?”}
He said, “Don’t you know where you were frightened?”
\end{enumerate}

\textit{–á} does not have the phonological restrictions of the bound \textit{=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 \textit{gó} may be easily substituted.

\begin{enumerate}
\item[(6.83)] \textit{Ga}	extsuperscript{14} \textit{wchân ná gó.}
\textit{P.1s.ir P-dejar 1s 2r}
\textit{P.1s.go.P P-put.down 1s 2r}
\textit{Yo lo voy a ir a dejar a Ud.}
\textit{I am going to go and drop you off.}
\end{enumerate}

The SMaC dialect of CLZ has two clitic forms of the first person singular pronoun \textit{nà}. These have already been described in 2.2.5. Wherever the clitic \textit{–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 -\textit{a} is added following the glottal stop rather than nasalizing the root vowel. See 2.2.5 for examples.

\footnote{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 \textit{‘ir} is normally \textit{yá} but with a first person singular subject it is \textit{gá}.}
The inanimate pronoun *taʔ* 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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dialect</th>
<th>After vowels</th>
<th>After consonants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>San Baltazar Loxicha</td>
<td>-ý</td>
<td>-é</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Miguel Coatlán</td>
<td>-ý</td>
<td>-á</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santa María Coatlán</td>
<td>-yá</td>
<td>-á</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The clitic forms of the 3i pronoun can occur in any of the places that the second person respectful 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) *Nzhoʔb-é, ndyōj-é.*  
**H-desgranarse=3i H-molerse=3i**  
**H-be.threshed=3i H-be.ground=3i**  
Se desgranó, se muele.  
It is threshed, it is ground.

(b) *Ngwdà-ý mba yaʔ-ñ.*  
**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:  

*Mbyę’ 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) \(Ná \ yú-tē-l ñdō-ý.\)
Neg meterse\(^{15}\) cara=3i
NEG meddle=2f face=3i
¡Tú no te metas en el asunto!
Don’t you meddle in it.

(b) \(Ná \ zhēl \ mā \ tāp \ tē-ý.\)
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: \(Ná \ zhēl \ mā-ý.\)
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 \(Nā \ lē7-ý \ lēn \ ênkântō \ wē \ chā.\)
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 \(lēn\) was absent. The consultant wanted to add it to the written version of the text.
(6.89) Following a quantifier:  

Gày-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 sá.  
San Miguel Coatlán  
2r=3i H-parecer 1e  
2r=3i H-seem 1e  
Ud. es me parece.  
It seems to me that it’s you.

(6.91) Object following a verb  

Wda-ý!  
IMP-comer=3i  
¡Cómelo!  
Eat it!

(6.92) Object following a full noun  

Mkë7 Béd-é.  
C-pegar Pedro=3i  
C-hit Pedro=3i  
Lo pegó Pedro.  
Pedro hit it.

(6.93) Object following a free pronoun  

Sún ná-ý.  
FUT-hacer 1s=3i  
FUT-do 1s=3i  
Lo hago.  
I will do it.

(6.94) Object following a clitic  

(a) Wla-ţi-nh-é.  
P-dejar=1i=3i  
P-put.down=1i=3i  
Lo vamos a dejar.  
We’re going to put it down.
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 ya7 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 ñá tâ7 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 zith ná ndlu7 te7-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) Nhwtza7 xa7 lâd.
    C-romper 3hd ropa
    C-break 3hd clothing
    Rompió la ropa.
    S/he tore the clothing.
    (b) Nhwtza7 xe7é.
    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 tâ7. Much like the =C clitic pronouns, -é is much preferred when it is permissible, and perhaps even required over tâ7. The clitic forms of the third person inanimate pronoun occur in all the contexts listed above. The free pronoun tâ7 occurs when fronted to pre-verbal position without a host (e.g. lê7), 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 pronouns17, or if it is otherwise the head of a larger noun phrase (as in some relative clauses). In normal connected speech tâ7 varies freely with tâ. Both forms appear in the examples below.

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) *Mè gòtz tè-l nza7 tâ7 nà ndà xmbâl 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) *Wti7x tâ7 nza7b lo^!*
IMP-pagar 3i H-deber 2f
IMP-pay 3i H-owe 2f
¡Paga lo que debes!
Pay what you owe!

(6.100) *Gàn wè tâ7 nkézë` yo7n tê7l 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 ngwzi7 tá wê nzôb ár tzô7 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) *Tà wè nàk tî7n tê-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) *Wà-n7 ta7 gu7d.*
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) *Nà vlâ-y.*
1s P-dejar.1s=3i
1s P-put.down.1s=3i
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 mē. For example, speakers will avoid saying ngū-m´-é ‘he drank it’ since it would sound too close to ngū mē ‘drunk is he’ and will instead say ngu´ mē-y  ‘he drank it.’

As can be gleaned from the examples given so far, the semantics of the third person 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 gāk xín 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”

Wē ndàb réy,
   entonces H-decir rey
   then H-say kind
entonces le dijo el rey
then the king says
sní-y’ ndáb réy.
FUT-poder-3i H-decir rey
FUT-can-3i H-say king
se puede dijo el rey.
that is possible” says the king.

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 nák ná mé ná [nza’ bë’l ndá xmbál nā].
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 mën ná nzá lē’d ná bë’l nā.
NEG one cara gente NEG H-dar.1s X 1s carne 1s
A ni una gente no regalo la carne.
Not to anyone do I give my meat.

Télë’ më götz ndûn-ē, wni’-ā ndô-n’ tò-s ndûn-ē!
sí 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 $te^7$-$ê$.

Zwicky (1977) classically identifies three types of clitics which he calls simple 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, -kế ‘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) \textit{Nkë chikwit tzo}^{-m}.
\begin{align*}
\text{H-cargar canasta espalda}=3\text{hr} \\
\text{H-carry basket back}=3\text{hr}
\end{align*}
Esta cargando canasta en su espalda
S/he's carrying a basket on her/his back.

(6.109) \textit{Nkë tzo}^{-n} \text{mbëz}.
\begin{align*}
\text{H-cargar espalda}=1\text{s AN-AN-nene} \\
\text{H-carry back}=1\text{s AN-AN-baby}
\end{align*}
Estoy cargando criatura en la espalda.
I'm carrying a baby on my back.

(6.110) \textit{Wkë xìk më dà}.
\begin{align*}
\text{P-cargar brazo } 3\text{hr petate} \\
\text{P-carry arm } 3\text{hr mat}
\end{align*}
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)\textit{Me mkit tzo}^{-}.
\begin{align*}
3\text{hr C-doblar espalda} \\
3\text{hr C-bend back}
\end{align*}
Él dobló su espalda/se agachó
He bent over.

(b) \textit{Mkit më tzo}^{-m}.
\begin{align*}
\text{C-doblar } 3\text{hr espalda}=3\text{hr} \\
\text{C-bend } 3\text{hr back}=3\text{hr}
\end{align*}

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.
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 me ndà-m’.  (b) Mè nàx ndà.  (c) Mè 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 mè ndà
(e)*Nàx ndà-m’.

(6.114) ‘Él va caminando y comiendo tortilla; S/he is walking and eating tortillas.’

(a) Nzy`,m’ ndà-m’ yê`th.
H-H.caminar=3hr H-comer=3hr tortilla
H-H.walk=3hr H-eat=3hr tortilla

(b) Mè nzy`, ndà-m’ yê`th
3hr H-H.caminar H-comer=3hr tortilla
3hr H-H.walk H-eat=3hr tortilla

(c) Mè nzy`, ndà yê`th.
3hr H-H.caminar H-comer tortilla
3hr H-H.walk H-eat tortilla

(d) *Nzy`, ndà-m’ yê`th  (e) *Nzy`,m’ ndà yê`th  (f) *Mè nzy`,m’ ndà yê`th

(g) *Nzy`,m’ mè ndà yê`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 tê’ chê{l ár mà.
    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 tê’ tzá-m’ mà.
    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 tê’ bê{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 tê’ 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) Mbë’d top xdo7-m’ ti’=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) Mbi7d nà-m’ top xdo7-m’ ndô ti7 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) Mbi7d top xìn me ti7 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) Mbi7d chon xìn me ti7 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 differncia de la que se habla en los Valles de Guaxaca, que es muy pulida: algunos hablan la mejicana, avñque 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 perhaps 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) \textit{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 \textit{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 \textit{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.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|l|l|}
\hline
\textbf{Zapotec} & \textbf{Relación} & \textbf{Gloss given} & \textbf{Comments} \\
\hline
Quetila & Amatlán, 1580 & ‘papel blanco’ (white paper) & The gloss given describes the Nahuatl toponym, not the Zapotec one \\
\hline
Quechetao & Miahuatlán, 1580 & ‘flor de mayz’ (maize flower) & The gloss given describes the Nahuatl toponym, not the Zapotec one \\
\hline
Lachixi & Ozolotepec, 1609 & ‘Valle de Otatis’ (Valley of Bamboo, the site of Ozolotepec) & \textit{Lachi} does mean ‘valley’ in CVZ. Similar toponyms are given in Brandomin (1992): \textit{Lachixio} in Sola is said to mean either ‘bruise given by or home of brujos’ or ‘plain of chamizo (type of plant).’ \textit{Lachixia} in Yautepc supposedly means ‘plain of cotton’ though it seems like this gloss goes \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Words with only voiceless obstruents in Espíndola (1580) and Gutiérrez (1609)}
\end{figure}
better with *Lachixila*, whereas this one lacks the lateral of that morpheme.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Quiatila</strong></td>
<td>Amatlán, 1609</td>
<td>‘Tierra de peleas o disension’</td>
<td><em>Quelatilla</em> means ‘battle’ in CVZ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Colaça</strong></td>
<td>Amatlán, 1580</td>
<td>‘cosa lexos’ (far thing), a cacique of Amatlan</td>
<td>The <em>cola</em> morpheme resembles the modern SZ morpheme <em>gōl</em> ‘elder’ and the CVZ antecedent <em>penicōlā</em> ‘anciano hōbre de edad.’ The final syllable could be the ‘Zapotec’ morpheme or the 1e pronoun as in CLZ <em>sā</em>, for a possible ‘our elder’ or ‘Zapotec elder’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cosiosolachi</strong></td>
<td>Miahuatlán, 1580</td>
<td></td>
<td>The morpheme <em>cosio</em> surely means ‘Lightning.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cozichacoze</strong></td>
<td>Ozolotepec, 1580</td>
<td>‘Dios de las guerras’ (God of War), described as a lesser god who was a go-between (<em>abogado</em>) for Bezelao</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Petela</strong></td>
<td>Ozolotepec, 1580</td>
<td>‘perro’</td>
<td><em>pe-</em> is the animacy prefix which occurs on animals, but <em>tela</em> is not the morpheme for ‘dog,’ unless it is a more archaic one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pitio</strong></td>
<td>Miahuatlán, 1609</td>
<td>Rebel leader. “their father (leader?) was the devil with five horns” (my translation)</td>
<td><em>pi-</em> is probably this same animacy prefix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>cuyapi</strong></td>
<td>Coatlán, 1580</td>
<td>In Nahuatl ‘amacamotlī’, in Spanish ‘rayz blanca’ (white root)</td>
<td>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 <em>yapi</em> morpheme resembles the CLZ <em>yāp</em> ‘chayote’ but that is not a root.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>coci</strong></td>
<td>Amatlán, 1609</td>
<td>‘sobra’ (left-overs) or ‘añidura’ (additional, extra)</td>
<td>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 <em>cocii</em> by Córdova.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Zapotoc</th>
<th>Relación</th>
<th>Gloss given</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Quiegoqui</td>
<td>Coatlán,</td>
<td>‘sierra de culebras’ (mountain range of</td>
<td>More likely ‘rock of the lords’ (see 1.2). The gloss given correctly refers to the Nahuatl name, though.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1580</td>
<td>snakes)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quiebeche</td>
<td>Ozolotepec,</td>
<td>‘tierra espantoza’ (frightening land)</td>
<td>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’zh ‘puma’ and could possibly also refer to other large cats.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1580</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quiauechi</td>
<td>Ozolotepec,</td>
<td>‘monte de tigres’</td>
<td>29 years later and a different writer, There are some minor phonetic or spelling changes and a more specific gloss.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1609</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guecheto</td>
<td>Miahuatlán,</td>
<td>‘cordel de mahueí’ (rope made of maguey fiber)</td>
<td>The gloss given is an interesting mistake based on syntactic (and possibly tonal) confusion, and homophony. In CLZ ‘Miahuatlán’ is Yêzhdo’, which means ‘big or holy town.’ (Maguey) fiber or ‘ixtle’ yêzh has a different tone than ‘town’ yêzh. However in SAMZ, a Miahuatec language, the two words are homophonous. The CLZ bound morpheme -do’ meaning ‘big or holy’ is homophonous with the free morpheme do’ ‘rope.’ However, in SAMZ these two morphemes are tonally different (dó’o ‘rope’ vs. Yisdó’o ‘Miahuatlán’). If this toponym had the meaning reported by Gutiérrez the order would also be reversed, as in CLZ do’ yêzh ‘maguey fiber rope.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1609</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huihuogui</td>
<td>Coatlán,</td>
<td>‘rio de los Señores’ (river of the lords)</td>
<td>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.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1609</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gueguegogi</td>
<td>Amatlán,</td>
<td>‘rio de cañas’ (cane river), known as Coquitlán</td>
<td>Note the similarity between the coqui of the Nahuatl name and the gogui 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.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1609</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1580</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benelaba</td>
<td>Coatlán,</td>
<td>‘siete consejos’ (seven pieces of</td>
<td>bene probably means ‘human,’ not ‘7’ (see discussion of meneyadela below).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1580</td>
<td>bene</td>
<td></td>
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<td>---------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bezelao or Besalao</td>
<td>Ozolotepec, 1580</td>
<td>‘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.</td>
<td>Whitecotton (1977) writes that the Ozolotepec patron god Cozichacoze was associated with the sun god Copichja who was “a refraction of Pitao Cozanna ‘the begetter’” who was associated with Pezalao.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pichina Vedella</td>
<td>Ozolotepec, 1609</td>
<td>Founder of Miahuatlán, father of founder of Ozolotepec</td>
<td>Note second part of name’s similarity to Petela. First name is similar to ‘deer’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cosichaguela</td>
<td>Amatlán, 1609</td>
<td>‘el que pelea de noche’ (he who fights at night)</td>
<td>Córdova gives guèela and guèela as variants of ‘noche’ (night).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yagualachi</td>
<td>Amatlán, 1609</td>
<td>In Nahuatl ‘elgua’. “El hombre que se pone devajo del, se incha todo, y la leche del causa el mismo efecto” (it causes swelling)</td>
<td>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.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bigaña</td>
<td>Miahuatlán, Ozolotepec, 1580</td>
<td>priest in charge of performing sacrifices</td>
<td>The bi resembles the Zapotec animacy prefix.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pietl</td>
<td>Miahuatlán, 1580</td>
<td>‘beleño’</td>
<td>Here the “Spanish” gloss given resembles a Zapotec word phonologically (though perhaps it isn’t) and the “Zapotec” word appears to be Nahuatl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>golave, golaue</td>
<td>Miahuatlán, Ozolotepec, 1609</td>
<td>‘mandones’ (Those designated to collect the tribute in each neighborhood, and then hand it over to the cacique who</td>
<td>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</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>govates</td>
<td>Miahuatlán, 1609</td>
<td>In Nahuatl <em>tlapisques</em>, described as mine workers (or perhaps this detail is incidental).</td>
<td>The <em>go</em> resembles a Zapotec animacy prefix. As to the meaning of the Nahuatl gloss, Santamaría (1992) describes <em>tlapisqueras</em> as sheds where tools and seeds are kept. Kartunnen (1983) gives the entry <em>tlapixcal-li</em> ‘something harvested.’ Perhaps ‘peasant’ would be a good gloss here.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>agi</em></td>
<td>Amatlán, 1609</td>
<td>“Para el flujo 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)</td>
<td>The V-initial shape of this word is not at all typical of Zapotec</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>beneguía</em></td>
<td>Amatlán, 1609</td>
<td>“para las calenturas vsan de vna raiz pequeña” (to treat fevers they use this small root)</td>
<td>It may be that <em>be-</em> is the prefix here but it is also possible that <em>bene</em> ‘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 <em>bene</em> and in CLZ <em>mēn</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>yagagacho</em></td>
<td>Amatlán, 1609</td>
<td>‘arbol de siete ojas’ (tree of seven leaves), “para las hinchacones vsan de leche de vn arbol... la cual 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)</td>
<td><em>yaga</em> is ‘tree’ in other and older Zapotec languages, cf. CLZ <em>yà</em> and SAMZ <em>yàg</em>. <em>Gacho</em> though does not look like it means ‘(7) leaves’. ‘leaf’ is <em>là</em> in CLZ, <em>làg</em> in SAMZ, and ‘7’ is <em>gâd</em> in CLZ, <em>gâs</em> in SAMZ.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 beneficiary (Castellanos, 2003) but in SZ languages it is $m$-initial $\text{m}ên$. 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 $\text{mene}$, possibly used as a preposed classifier, and demonstrates that the nasalization of $\text{bene} \rightarrow \text{mene}$ (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 $\text{quantos pelos podia tener un venado}$ ‘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 Zapotecos 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 *laTTYI by Kaufman (2003). In CLZ *tty did not become an affricate as it did in most other Zapotec languages. Instead this word is *lat 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, 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 tê Ngwzi’ ‘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 occurred, 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.

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 Yê Ke7 ceased to speak its namesake language much earlier than other di7zh ke7-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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Municipio</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>San Sebastián Coatlán</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Pablo Coatlán (includes SMaC)</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Jerónimo Coatlán</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Miguel Coatlán</td>
<td>330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santa Catarina Loxicha</td>
<td>456</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Baltazar Loxicha</td>
<td>670</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>SSC/Total</th>
<th>SPabC/Total</th>
<th>SJC/Total</th>
<th>SMigC/Total</th>
<th>SCL/Total</th>
<th>SBL/Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>36/2047</td>
<td>52/3451</td>
<td>72/4355</td>
<td>395/2593</td>
<td>487/3740</td>
<td>670/2474</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-9 years</td>
<td>2/308</td>
<td>2/628</td>
<td>1/853</td>
<td>9/525</td>
<td>5/786</td>
<td>11/423</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-14</td>
<td>1/342</td>
<td>2/551</td>
<td>3/769</td>
<td>13/463</td>
<td>13/707</td>
<td>19/420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>1/283</td>
<td>1/420</td>
<td>2/552</td>
<td>16/347</td>
<td>6/392</td>
<td>26/334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>0/213</td>
<td>0/298</td>
<td>0/437</td>
<td>11/228</td>
<td>14/285</td>
<td>36/237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>3/125</td>
<td>1/242</td>
<td>1/350</td>
<td>22/181</td>
<td>10/217</td>
<td>33/159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>0/98</td>
<td>4/223</td>
<td>4/279</td>
<td>17/128</td>
<td>23/263</td>
<td>61/164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-39</td>
<td>0/136</td>
<td>3/193</td>
<td>1/246</td>
<td>20/134</td>
<td>29/214</td>
<td>68/151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-44</td>
<td>1/119</td>
<td>1/165</td>
<td>5/197</td>
<td>40/124</td>
<td>46/210</td>
<td>70/120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-49</td>
<td>2/85</td>
<td>0/160</td>
<td>4/152</td>
<td>57/125</td>
<td>53/192</td>
<td>101/137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50+</td>
<td>26/338</td>
<td>38/571</td>
<td>51/520</td>
<td>190/338</td>
<td>288/474</td>
<td>245/329</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Monolingualism</th>
<th>Percentage speakers</th>
<th>Number of speakers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>52.3%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>48.8%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>60.8%</td>
<td>56.3%</td>
<td>500,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>57.9%</td>
<td>54.8%</td>
<td>600,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>36.4%</td>
<td>48.3%</td>
<td>600,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>43.5%</td>
<td>46.8%</td>
<td>700,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>30.5%</td>
<td>40.1%</td>
<td>700,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>25.3%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>900,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>18.9%</td>
<td>39.1%</td>
<td>1,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>19.6%</td>
<td>37.1%</td>
<td>1,100,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>San Sebastián Coatlán</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Pablo Coatlán (includes SMaC)</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Jerónimo Coatlán</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Miguel Coatlán</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santa Catarina Loxicha</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Baltazar Loxicha</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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’lē*. 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 *mē* (the 3hr pronoun, here used like ‘Mr.’ or ‘Mrs.’), *mē göx* (‘old person’ a respectful way to address someone as well), and *mbgōl* (‘elder’), if the person is older or deserving of respect, or *gān* 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 *mē göx Māx* ‘Don Tomás; Mr. Terry or Mr. Thom,’ and *Gān Jūl* ‘la finada Julia; the late Mrs. Julia.’ The respect term *mbgōl* ‘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 Mbi̱zh 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 Mári ‘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 [s] 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 [s] 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 Mbgoł 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 derogatory, 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 impressionistically 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: ['ombre, 'ombra, 'ombro, 'ombrə, 'ombr].

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** |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dearrea</td>
<td>diarrea</td>
<td>‘diarrhea’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>antonces</td>
<td>entonces</td>
<td>‘then’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chichalaca</td>
<td>chachalaca</td>
<td>(type of bird)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chiflido</td>
<td>chiflado</td>
<td>‘whistle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>carcajeada</td>
<td>carcajada</td>
<td>cackle, shout, hurrah</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
Coatlán-Loxicha Spanish   "Standard” Spanish”   English gloss

grilla  higuerilla  ‘castor nut’
ñoñidirse/lo5  añadirse  ‘to add in a row’
maca chiquita  hamaca chiquita  ‘small hammock’
cedía  acedia, 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.
Eso será porque, ¿porque el rayo come gente? o---

That would be because, because Lightning eats people or---?

Mmm, creo porque... sea la culebra ¿verdad?

Mmm, I think because... that would be the snake, right?

mm-hmm

Porque la culebra pues, huele la culebra la persona que está---

Because the snake, well, smells the snake the person that is---

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.

Sí, sí, 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 donde 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) ¿Qué 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 Pochute. 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.
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 interpreted 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 Santamaria (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 *tlacomitli*. 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 [ş] 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 Santamaria 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

---

8 Refers to two things: yē2 z go7z ̃a bē ‘chicalmata para pescar de día’ (daytime shrimp trap) and yē2 z go7z tē2l ‘chicalmata para pescar de noche’ (night time crawdad trap). The shrimp trap is thicker than the crawdad trap.

9 In Zapotec kwi, or *miselōt* or *mbi7zh bōx*. 
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 pronunciations 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 /s/ 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 [sitla], with the latter being more conservative.

### 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.

---

10 Two flowers: $yί7\tilde{ko}7b$ ‘flor de muerto’ (flower of the dead, marigold), and $yί7\ \tilde{ze}7\tilde{ch}$ ‘flor de semana santa’ (Holy week flower, plumeria).
Viruxe is a stunted marigold which doesn’t grow very big. In CLZ it is yǐ ndūx, 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 mwīx.

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 loɿl. 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 loɿl is curiously lacking this prefix but it is present in the SAMZ cognate mblōɿl. 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 *bìx* ‘baby’s urine’ is *bixe* in Spanish.

The ranch called *Làbcho7n* 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 Chu7t* is known in Spanish as *Latixute*.

A type of grasshopper, *mbíchi7x*, 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 *di7zhke7*, 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

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Zapotec</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-à</td>
<td>comer</td>
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<tr>
<td>-à chít</td>
<td>besar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-à mbdò</td>
<td>comulgar; confesar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-à mbi láz</td>
<td>agarrar aire en el cuerpo, tener un dolor en el cuerpo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-à tèn</td>
<td>desayunar, almorzar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-à tò</td>
<td>besar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-à xù p</td>
<td>chupar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-àb</td>
<td>caerse; gotear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-àb</td>
<td>decir, hablar, contar, platicar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-àb</td>
<td>poderirse; vomitar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ábà</td>
<td>de por sí, siempre</td>
</tr>
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<td>Ábel</td>
<td>Abel</td>
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<td>Avelino</td>
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<td>sólo, a puro</td>
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<td>puro/a</td>
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<td>aguja</td>
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<td>quebrarse</td>
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<td>-àch yû</td>
<td>ensuciarse, envolverse de tierra</td>
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<td>fermentar, desasonar</td>
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<td>ser</td>
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<td>curarse</td>
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<td>doler el corazón o estómago</td>
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<td>brincar los cueros del ojo</td>
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<td>dormirse (p.e. la pierna)</td>
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<td>aguja diaria (para costurear costal)</td>
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<td>-à⁷z</td>
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<td>picar; ojear; picarse, clavarse</td>
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<td>ir; andar</td>
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<td>sonido del dolor que sufre uno cuando se corta</td>
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<td>-à gú yà</td>
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<td>ponerse viejo, envejecer</td>
<td>leñar, traer leña</td>
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<td>-à kwë⁸</td>
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<td>jalar el tufo, jalar el oler</td>
<td>doler</td>
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<td>oler(lo)</td>
<td>visitar; ir a ver</td>
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<td>cien</td>
<td>ir al baño</td>
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<td>áyo⁷</td>
<td>-à wi⁷</td>
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<td>madurarse</td>
<td>divertirse; ir a ver</td>
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<td>-â (w)lên</td>
<td>-ân</td>
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<td></td>
<td>tener hambre</td>
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despertarse

**Bán**
Urbano

**-bān**
enconarse

**-bān**
revivir(se)

**Bárrtöl**
Bartolo

**bās**
vaso

**bās tē nītz lēy**
vaso de agua bendita (que tira el cura)

**Bāsīl**
Bacilio

**-b-āw**
picarlo para afilarlo

**Bāx**
Gerbacio

**bāy**
pañuelo

**bāy lēn**
ceñidor

**bāy no7l**
ceñidor

**ba7**
así

**ba7 tza7**
así no más

**-ba7n**
descuidarse

**-ba7w**
picarse

**bā**
es; allí

**bā xa7**
más allá

**bbll**
sonido de pedo de gente
delgada

**bbll7**
sonido de pedo de niño

**bbll^**
sonido de pedo de gente

gordo

**bchân**
ídolo

**bchân**
tarado, zonzo, lento,
pasmado, paciente

**bchî7n**
arrugado; espuma

**bdī**
delgado

**bdī**
fino, delgado

**bdo7**
plátano

**bdo7 bíx**
plátano chiquito, plátano
manzano

**bdo7 nī**
plátano de guineo

**bdo7 nîz**
pláatanos de Castilla,
plátanos de villaco,
plátano macho

**bdo7 pērōnh**
plátano perón

**bdo7 xīl**
plátano de la Índia

**bē**
peine

**Bē Wnè**
Santa María Colotepec

**bèch**
rajada, rajadura

**bèch xī7n**
la zanja de la nalga

**Bēd**
Pedro

**-b-èk**
ponerlo, guardarlo

**-b-èk cha7**
acomodarlo

**-b-èk ndâtz**
iniciar

**Bēl**
Isabel

**bélítza7**
todavía

**bélë7**
mismo

**bèn**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tierno</th>
<th>nudo</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bén ti'7tz</td>
<td>Bi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hojas tiernitas, las plantas más tiernitas</td>
<td>Sofía</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bénámít</td>
<td>-bí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>carrizo para llamar a la venada</td>
<td>descojerse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Béníg</td>
<td>bi lá tyo7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benigno</td>
<td>olvidarse/lo (el corazón)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bénít</td>
<td>bi nzhâ (tza7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benito</td>
<td>por todo, a como va</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>béntán nxo7n</td>
<td>-bí té látyo7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ventana corredisa</td>
<td>arrepentirse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bés</td>
<td>bí yi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vez</td>
<td>tiempo de lluvia, tiempo de agua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bét</td>
<td>-b-í yò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alberto, Beto, Norberto, Gilberto, Roberto</td>
<td>pelear(se)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bét</td>
<td>-b-ib</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pedro</td>
<td>picarlo; sacudir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bèx</td>
<td>-b-ib wâz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>penca de plátano</td>
<td>cuernear(lo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bêz</td>
<td>-b-ib yà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cuaconito, guajolote tierno</td>
<td>picar palo, picar con el palo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-b-èzh</td>
<td>-bíbo7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>llamar; gritar</td>
<td>descogerse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-b-èzh lèn</td>
<td>bich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tronar el estómago</td>
<td>vapor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-b-èzh lò</td>
<td>bich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bramar</td>
<td>ventado</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-b-èzh ngwzi7</td>
<td>bich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tronar rayo</td>
<td>gato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-b-èzh nzha7r</td>
<td>bich gôx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rechinar (los dientes)</td>
<td>su mamá del gatito</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biχch tǔzh</td>
<td>pequeño</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gatito</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biχch yìx</td>
<td>pequeño; pequeñez; chamacos chiquitos; mediano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gato montés</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bid</td>
<td>seco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-bid</td>
<td>secarse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-bid yò</td>
<td>resecarse por dentro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bik</td>
<td>Victoria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-bìl</td>
<td>quitar la cáscara, rebanarse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bìn tǔzh</td>
<td>cuaconitos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bít Tè Yë´l</td>
<td>Agua del Rayo, un pozo de agua pegado a un peñasco en el linder de Sta. Catarina y San Miguel Coatlán.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-bìtê</td>
<td>regresar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bitz</td>
<td>pena, imaginación</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bit7</td>
<td>secada, seco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-bìx</td>
<td>medir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-bìx</td>
<td>voltearse, brincar, ocultarse [el sol, la luna]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bìx</td>
<td>semilla; ovario</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bìd té yà ngíz</td>
<td>fruta de huanacaztle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bìd té yì7</td>
<td>semilla de flor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-bìl</td>
<td>abrirse, descuartizarse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bìt</td>
<td>granito</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bìt bdo7</td>
<td>viruela, viruela loca; varicela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bìt bê7</td>
<td>granito de calor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bìt nd-yën tô</td>
<td>juego de la boca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bìt nd-yën xàn lǔzh</td>
<td>juego de la lengua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bìt té mbêx</td>
<td>granito de arador</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bìt té mbyêt</td>
<td>granito de sancudo; granito de paludismo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bìt wdí xò</td>
<td>granito de caliente, varro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bìt xe7n</td>
<td>granito de frío</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bìt xîl</td>
<td>granito de frío</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bìt yûx</td>
<td>sarampión</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bìt (tê) mbêx yìn7</td>
<td>granito de abono de arriera; granito de arador</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
de picante

bîx
tomate

bîx kâl
fiscal, jefe de la elección y de los topilillos

bîx lîd
miltomate

bîx lît (CAN)
miltomate

bîx tê mzin
tomatillo de ratón

bîx ye
tomatillo de flor, tomatillo de ratón

bîx yi
tomatillo de ratón

bîxkâl
fiscal, jefe de la elección y de los topilillos

bîzh
semlia de algodón

bkên
pronto

bko
altar

bku
lumbre, brasa

bkwi
brasas de lumbre; soplador

bléy
almácigo

Blîb
Felipe

bîlô
hueco

blê
dobe; almácigo

blê
almacigo, vivero

blê
cuñado de hombre

blê yûzh
su marido de la cuñada de uno (la hermana de la señora de uno), concuño

-b-ôdê
pedir maldición

bîl
bola; puño; cosa redonda; cosa voluda

bîl ndày lên yû
pollo que se cuece adentro de la tierra

bîl yèn kwêrr
pollo pescuezo encuerado

-b-o
sacar

-b-o bîd tê
cstrar, capar

-b-o blô
ehuecarlo

-b-o chu'k
escupir

-b-o dî'n
sacar al revés; vomitar

-b-o kê
apartarlo

-b-o léch
ordeñar

-b-o le`y
ofrecer rosario; rezar

-b-o mbi yèn
eructarse

-b-o mbîtz
tronar (huesos)

-b-o ngûz kwê
cpar (local), castrar (standard)

-b-o xâb
desvestirse, desnudarse

bô
nudo
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bô chànhk</th>
<th>bwén</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nudo que no corre; nudo macizo</td>
<td>bueno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bô ndyê⁷</td>
<td>bwén lô</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nudo suelto</td>
<td>muy bueno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bô ntzi⁷</td>
<td>bxi tûzh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nudo suelto, nudo facil</td>
<td>piño chiquito</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bô nxo⁷n</td>
<td>bxi zi⁷l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nudo corrido</td>
<td>piño grande</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bô wîlê⁷</td>
<td>bxid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nudo aflojo</td>
<td>un enredo; enredado</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brêl</td>
<td>bxil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>redondo</td>
<td>chispa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brûj</td>
<td>bxitz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brujo</td>
<td>topilillo de la iglesia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brum brum brum</td>
<td>bxiṣzh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brum sonido del huracán Paulina</td>
<td>piña</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brût</td>
<td>bxiṣzh nê bê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muy; potente, hermosa, maciza, grande</td>
<td>piñuela, piña de ratón</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bte⁷l</td>
<td>bxîzh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grueso</td>
<td>piñuela de ratón</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>btîth</td>
<td>bxîzh te mîzin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cuarta</td>
<td>piñuela de ratón</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>btîth</td>
<td>bxûb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>un codo</td>
<td>corto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bto⁷</td>
<td>bxêch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tronco; mocho</td>
<td>ralo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bto⁷ tz</td>
<td>byêrr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>canal donde echan agua</td>
<td>viernes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(como albañil construyendo casa)</td>
<td>byôn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>btzi⁷ yi</td>
<td>byôn te mbê’z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tamales de elote con frijol</td>
<td>monte costoche</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>btzîn</td>
<td>bwén</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>incensor, incienso, candilero</td>
<td>bwén lô</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>btzo⁷</td>
<td>bxi tûzh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pared</td>
<td>piño chiquito</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>btzya⁷</td>
<td>bxi zi⁷l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>carne cuiil, guajen cuiil</td>
<td>piño grande</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>btzya⁷ n</td>
<td>bxid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sereno</td>
<td>chispa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>btzyûb</td>
<td>bxitz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>corriente de agua</td>
<td>topilillo de la iglesia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>btzê⁷ bi</td>
<td>bxiṣzh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soplador (para soplar la lumbré, o para soplar cara)</td>
<td>piña</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>btê^l</td>
<td>bxîzh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chueco</td>
<td>piñuela de ratón</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bûch</td>
<td>bxîzh te mîzin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>botón de flor</td>
<td>piñuela de ratón</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bûr mách</td>
<td>bxûb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burro macho</td>
<td>corto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bûrr</td>
<td>bxêch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burro</td>
<td>ralo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bûrr gôtz</td>
<td>byêrr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burra hembra</td>
<td>viernes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bûrr ze⁷</td>
<td>byôn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burro macho</td>
<td>yerba buena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bûtz</td>
<td>byôn te mbê’z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cagada voluda</td>
<td>monte costoche</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
byòn xtíl
yerbabuena de Castilla

byòn yà
pityona

byë´zh
pichanche (dicen viejos),
colador (dicen jóvenes)

bzàn
primo del otro sexo;
hermano del otro sexo

bzàn gòx
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, medio-
hermano/a, todos estos del
otro sexo

bzàn tûzh
hermana/a menor

bzàn wna7
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

bzhòl
flauta de carrizo

bzhë^ caliente

bzè7 colindancia, lindero

bzè7 lèn xò yèk
colindancia de lo que tiene
dentro de la cabeza

bzè7 yù
colindancia de tierras,
lindero

bzè7 yù
lindero

bě
sol, calor; seca; tiempo de
seca, temporada seca

bě l
hermana de mujer

bě l gòx
hermana mayor (f, f)

bě l tûzh
hermana menor (f, f)

bě l wyäk
hermana mayor (f,f)

bě l yìx
hermana del monte (f, f)

bě`z
billote

-bě`z
esperarlo/se

-bě`z
quitarse la hemorragia,
calmarse la hemorragia,
sanarse de la hemorragia

bě`z tè yà bdo7
billote de plátanar

bě`z tè yà ga7
billote de la flor de coquito

bě7
espacio, cielo

bě7 l
carne

bě7 bid
costa, callo; tasajo

bě7 l go7 zh
carne podrida

bě7 l kûch
carne de cuché

bě7 l yid kwê
verija

bě^l
llama, antorcha, lumbre

bě^l viendo para arriba con los
ojos abiertos

chaj
sonido de rajar leña entera

cháj
recio

chánís
chamiza

Chán
Luciano; Feliciano

chánhk
apretado, macizo, recio
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>español</th>
<th>español</th>
<th>español</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chánt</td>
<td>chikérr tē kūch</td>
<td>chiquero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chapulín</td>
<td>chiklūn</td>
<td>chicluna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chârrk</td>
<td>chikri</td>
<td>chicharra, chiquirí, siquirí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>charco</td>
<td>chikri</td>
<td>sonido de chicharra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chas</td>
<td>chikwít</td>
<td>canasta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>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)</td>
<td>chikwít kóstí</td>
<td>canasta de las costillas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chây</td>
<td>chikwít tē tráng tē</td>
<td>canasto trampa de camarón</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cesario</td>
<td>mı́yē’tz</td>
<td>chikwít wa’n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cháy</td>
<td>chikwít wa’n</td>
<td>cesto/canasto de asa (para cargar pan, etc.), canastito</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isaías</td>
<td>-chîlya’</td>
<td>casarse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cháyí</td>
<td>chin chin chin chin</td>
<td>chino chino</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isaías</td>
<td>chin chin chin chin</td>
<td>sonido de cascabel que le ponen a los nenes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cha7</td>
<td>Chînt</td>
<td>Jacinto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>despacio</td>
<td>San Francisco Coatlán</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cha7 ga7 cha7 ga7</td>
<td>Chîn</td>
<td>San Francisco Coatlán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>despacito (despacito)</td>
<td>-chîn</td>
<td>arrugarse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-cha7n</td>
<td>-chîzh</td>
<td>alisar, cepillar, aplanar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dejarlo</td>
<td>chîk</td>
<td>Francisco</td>
</tr>
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<td>chîch</td>
<td>chkb te mbiz</td>
<td>espantajo de zanate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pecio, cabra</td>
<td>chkb</td>
<td>espantapájaro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pecho</td>
<td>chkb</td>
<td>asustarlo</td>
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<td>chîk</td>
<td>Chích</td>
<td>San Francisco Coatlán</td>
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<tr>
<td>Esteban</td>
<td>chich</td>
<td>chivo, cabra</td>
</tr>
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<td>chîk</td>
<td>chkb</td>
<td>cestito/canasto de asa (para cargar pan, etc.), canastito</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chîk</td>
<td>chkb</td>
<td>espantapájaro</td>
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<tr>
<td>chîk</td>
<td>chkb</td>
<td>chiquero</td>
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<tr>
<td>chîk</td>
<td>chkb</td>
<td>chicharra, chiquirí, siquirí</td>
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<tr>
<td>chîk</td>
<td>chkb</td>
<td>arrugarse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chîk</td>
<td>chkb</td>
<td>alisar, cepillar, aplanar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chîk</td>
<td>chkb</td>
<td>chiquero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chîk</td>
<td>chkb</td>
<td>chicharra, chiquirí, siquirí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chîk</td>
<td>chkb</td>
<td>arrugarse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chîk</td>
<td>chkb</td>
<td>alisar, cepillar, aplanar</td>
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</table>
chk chk
sonido de cascabel de la culebra

Chóf
Crisóforo

Chój
Crisob

Chôl
Soledad

Chôn
Concepción(a)

chôn
tres

chôn áyo⁷
tres cientos

Chôn nh
Asuncionana

-chôn
batirlo

-chù
quemarlo

chú
bonito, guapo

chúf né ko⁷l
nagua larga

chúf né là yi⁷
nagua floreada

chúfné
nagua (local), enaguas (standard)

chúk
saliva

-chúko⁷
escupir

chûr
cuero largo en la cabeza del guajolote macho

chu⁷d
la gente que último nace, cheluizle (slang when applied to people)

-chu⁷k
escupir

-chu⁷n
exprimirlo, escurrirlo, arrugarlo

-chs⁷
despacio

ch⁷ch⁷ch⁷ sonido de víbora de cascabél

ch⁷ch⁷k
sonido de hojas secas

-ch⁷k ch⁷k tz ch⁷k ch⁷k
sonido de sonaja

chë⁷
cazuela grande

-chë⁷
burlarse (de...)

-chë⁷
cambiarlo

-chë⁷ lá tyo⁷
soñar

-chë⁷ látyo⁷
cambiando el corazon; cambiar novios

chë⁷l
esposo/a

-chë⁷l
juntarlo, pegarlo, unirlo

-chë⁷^
calentarlo, chupar para curar (como hacen los curanderos)

dà
petate

dâ bè
tela de araña

dâ bid
costal o bolsa hecho de petate donde guardaban los ancianos su maíz, costureado c/ aguja diaria y mecate

dà gô yîn
capote para agua

dâ kwârtí
petatillo

dânt
elefante

dâp
cuatro

dâp ya⁷ nêz (tê) ndô
mbi
los cuatro puntos cardinales del aire

dâp yè
Los Cuatro Cerros

Dèl
Fidel

de⁷
empedido

-d-ë wyâx
haber bastante, estar harto
-d-ê xkwâ
estar nublado, haber nube

dîb
señas de cortada; cicatriz; callo

-díxô
raspar, arañar

dî⁷n
al revés

dî⁷zh
palabra

dî⁷zh ga⁷l
palabra fija, palabra recto, palabra directa, palabra derecho, palabra legal, palabra firme

dî⁷zh ka⁷n
palabra al revés

dî⁷zh ke⁷
idioma, zapoteco (de Coatlán y Loxicha)

dî⁷zh mâch
palabra fea

dî⁷zh tô xa⁷ gôx
palabra de los ancianos; palabra de los antepasados

dî⁷zh wtî
palabra dulce

dî⁷zh xîl
castilla, castellano, español

dî⁷zh yê´l ndyên
palabra de pensamiento

dî⁷zh yê´l wyith
palabra de chistes

dî⁷zh yê´l xîd
palabra de risa

dî
ceniza

dî
música, tocada de música

dî bêz
polvo que sale de maíz podrido

dî nzhôp
polvo de maíz

dî rémêd
polvo de medicina, polvo de remedio

dî tô yà
aserrín, polvo de madera

dî yà xîl ndyôt ta⁷n
polvo de jabón que se lavan trastes

dîpa⁷
apuro

-dô
venderlo, despacharlo

dôb
maguey

dôb bxi⁷zh
maguey de piña

dôb la⁷
maguey voludo

dôb ndêz
maguey de tlacuache (BAL), palo de tlacuache (CAN)

dôb tô bxi⁷zh né bè
maguey de piñuela (de ratón)

dôb tô nûp
maguey de mezcal

dôb tô pûlk
maguey del pulque

dôb tô til
magueyito

dôb tô tûn
maguey de tuna, órgano

dôb tô yà
piñas del árbol

dôb yêzh
maguey sacar ixtle

dôb yîx
maguey del monte

dôb yî
maguey de lumbre

dôd
resina

dôlôr tô mbê´z
dolores del parto

dômînh
domingo

Dôn
Celedonio; Celedonia

Dônh
Abdon

dôt
resina
<p>| dòt⁷ | prementina | dò tè yîx yi | espiga de zacate |
| dòt⁷ | resina | dính | sonido del teléfono |
| dò⁷ | hilo; mecate | dǔb gâx | todo |
| dò⁷ bê | tela de araña | dǔb yêzh lû | todo el mundo |
| dò⁷ kâñút | hilo de cañuto | Dul | Obdulia |
| dò⁷ kwê⁷ | mecapal | -dûn | reunjutar |
| dò⁷ wañ⁷ | mecapal | dúp tza⁷ | alrededor |
| dò⁷ yêzh | la cumbre de un cerro | dúp tza⁷ | todo |
| Dò⁷ Yè Yi⁷ | Cerro Flores | dû⁷ b | pluma |
| dò⁷ yêzh | mecate de ixtle | dû⁷ b bûn | pluma delgada, la más delgada que hay |
| dò⁷ yêzh | mecate torcido de ixtle | dú⁷ b làn | pluma delgada |
| dò⁷ | trementina | dû⁷ b tê yîx yî | pluma |
| dò⁷ | trementina | dûb | uno |
| dò | espiga (de la milpa) | dûb górr | una hora |
| dò tê go'b | espiga de zacate, espiga de popote | dûb là làd | pliegue de ropa |
| dò tê ña⁷ | espiga | dûb là yit | |
| dûb lád | aparte | dûb nêz ngôn | un par de yuntas |
| dûb pês | un peso | dûb sên | una docena |
| drính | sonido del teléfono | dûpa⁷ | apuro |
| du &amp; b gâx | todo el mundo | -dyî | rendir |
| du &amp; b yêzh lû | todo el mundo | -dyô | venderse |
| du &amp; b yêzh | todo el mundo | -dyò látyo⁷ | tener vergu&quot;enza |
| dûb nêz ngôn | un par de yuntas | -dyûd | enrollarse |
| dûb pês | un peso | -dyô látyo⁷ | tener vergu&quot;enza |
| dûb sên | una docena | -dyûd | enrollarse |
| dûb lád | aparte | dûb sên | una docena |
| dûb nêz ngôn | un par de yuntas | dûb sên | una docena |
| dûb pês | un peso | dûb sên | una docena |
| dûb lád | aparte | dûb sên | una docena |
| dûb nêz ngôn | un par de yuntas | dûb sên | una docena |
| dûb pês | un peso | dûb sên | una docena |
| dûb lád | aparte | dûb sên | una docena |
| dûb nêz ngôn | un par de yuntas | dûb sên | una docena |
| dûb pês | un peso | dûb sên | una docena |
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| dûb pês | un peso | dûb sên | una docena |
| dûb lád | aparte | dûb sên | una docena |
| dûb nêz ngôn | un par de yuntas | dûb sên | una docena |
| dûb pês | un peso | dûb sên | una docena |
| dûb lád | aparte | dûb sên | una docena |
| dûb nêz ngôn | un par de yuntas | dûb sên | una docena |
| dûb pês | un peso | dûb sên | una docena |
| dûb lád | aparte | dûb sên | una docena |
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| dûb pês | un peso | dûb sên | una docena |
| dûb lád | aparte | dûb sên | una docena |
| dûb nêz ngôn | un par de yuntas | dûb sên | una docena |
| dûb pês | un peso | dûb sên | una docena |
| dûb lád | aparte | dûb sên | una docena |
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| dûb pês | un peso | dûb sên | una docena |
| dûb là lád | pliegue de ropa | dûb là yit | |
| dûb lë bûn | apuro | | |
| dûb nêz ngôn | un par de yuntas | dûb sên | una docena |
| dûb pês | un peso | dûb sên | una docena |
| dûb là lád | pliegue de ropa | dûb là yit | |
| dûb lë bûn | apuro | | |
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| dûb pês | un peso | dûb sên | una docena |
| dûb là lád | pliegue de ropa | dûb là yit | |
| dûb lë bûn | apuro | | |
| dûb nêz ngôn | un par de yuntas | dûb sên | una docena |
| dûb pês | un peso | dûb sên | una docena |
| dûb là lád | pliegue de ropa | dûb là yit | |
| dûb lë bûn | apuro | | |
| dûb nêz ngôn | un par de yuntas | dûb sên | una docena |
| dûb pês | un peso | dûb sên | una docena |
| dûb là lád | pliegue de ropa | dûb là yit | |
| dûb lë bûn | apuro | | |
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| dûb pês | un peso | dûb sên | una docena |
| dûb là lád | pliegue de ropa | dûb là yit | |
| dûb lë bûn | apuro | | |
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| dûb lë bûn | apuro | | |
| dûb nêz ngôn | un par de yuntas | dûb sên | una docena |
| dûb pês | un peso | dûb sên | una docena |
| dûb là lád | pliegue de ropa | dûb là yit | |
| dûb lë bûn | apuro | | |
| dûb nêz ngôn | un par de yuntas | dûb sên | una docena |
| dûb pês | un peso | dûb sên | una docena |
| dûb là lád | pliegue de ropa | dûb là yit | |
| dûb lë bûn | apuro | | |
| dûb nêz ngôn | un par de yuntas | dûb sên | una docena |
| dûb pês | un peso | dûb sên | una docena |
| dûb là lád | pliegue de ropa | dûb là yit | |
| dûb lë bûn | apuro | | |
| dûb nêz ngôn | un par de yuntas | dûb sên | una docena |
| dûb pês | un peso | dûb sên | una docena |
| dûb là lád | pliegue de ropa | dûb là yit | |
| dûb lë bûn | apuro | | |
| dûb nêz ngôn | un par de yuntas | dûb sên | una docena |
| dûb pês | un peso | dûb sên | una docena |
| dûb là lád | pliegue de ropa | dûb là yit | |
| dûb lë bûn | apuro | | |
| dûb nêz ngôn | un par de yuntas | dûb sên | una docena |
| dûb pês | un peso | dûb sên | una docena |
| dûb là lád | pliegue de ropa | dûb là yit | |
| dûb lë bûn | apuro | | |
| dûb nêz ngôn | un par de yuntas | dûb sên | una docena |
| dûb pês | un peso | dûb sên | una docena |
| dûb là lád | pliegue de ropa | dûb là yit | |
| dûb lë bûn | apuro | | |
| dûb nêz ngôn | un par de yuntas | dûb sên | una docena |
| dûb pês | un peso | dûb sên | una docena |
| dûb là lád | pliegue de ropa | dûb là yit | |
| dûb lë bûn | apuro | | |
| dûb nêz ngôn | un par de yuntas | dûb sên | una docena |
| dûb pês | un peso | dûb sên | una docena |
| dûb là lád | pliegue de ropa | dûb là yit | |
| dûb lë bûn | apuro | | |</p>
<table>
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<th>Word</th>
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<td>Enrique</td>
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<td>escalera</td>
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<td>éskópét yèzh</td>
<td>escopeta de ixtle y casquillo</td>
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<td>oye!, oiga!</td>
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<td>êd yîd</td>
<td>huarache</td>
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<td>fámíl</td>
<td>raza, familia</td>
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<tr>
<td>fff</td>
<td>sonido de una culebra</td>
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<td>fjér</td>
<td>feo</td>
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<td>Flóréntz</td>
<td>Florencia</td>
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<td>Flórr</td>
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<td>fuerza</td>
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<td>fyést tê byêr dâp</td>
<td>la fiesta de cuarto viernes (de la cuaresma)</td>
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<td>fyést tê pâs</td>
<td>fiesta de pascua</td>
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<td>fyést tê yèzh</td>
<td>fiesta del pueblo</td>
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<table>
<thead>
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<th>Word</th>
<th>Translation</th>
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<td>fyést tê yidâlgó</td>
<td>fiesta septembreras, fiesta de Hidalgo, 15 de septiembre</td>
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<td>gá lën</td>
<td>por dentro</td>
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<td>gá tla⁷</td>
<td>pedazo, medio, mitad</td>
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<td>-gâb</td>
<td>bajarlo, pizcar, tumbarlo</td>
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<td>gáj</td>
<td>ajo</td>
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<tr>
<td>-gâl</td>
<td>tentarlo, sostentarlo</td>
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<td>gál lên</td>
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<tr>
<td>gál ndâtz</td>
<td>por el pie, al pie</td>
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<td>gál ndô</td>
<td>en frente de</td>
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<td>gál tê ndô</td>
<td>boca abajo</td>
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<td>gál tô di⁷n</td>
<td>al revés</td>
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<tr>
<td>-gâl tzâ</td>
<td>perjudicar, molestar, tentar</td>
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<tr>
<td>gál tzo⁷</td>
<td>después, atrás</td>
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<td>gál xàn</td>
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<td>venadito tierno</td>
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<td>gân</td>
<td>finado, muerto, cadaver, difunto</td>
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<td>Gânhj</td>
<td>Ángel</td>
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<td>Gânhk</td>
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<td>gânstâ⁷</td>
<td>antes</td>
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<td>garabato, gancho</td>
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<td>garza</td>
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<td>-gâtz</td>
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<td>gâw ze⁷n</td>
<td>de vez en cuando, cada vez en cuando</td>
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<td>gay⁷</td>
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<td>bañarlo</td>
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<td>gàzh</td>
<td>mojarlo, regar</td>
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<td>-gà'b</td>
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<tr>
<td>-gà'b</td>
<td>encargarse</td>
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<td>-g-a'b</td>
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<td>-gà'd</td>
<td>apretarse, aplastarse</td>
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<tr>
<td>-gà'd (yî)</td>
<td>mallugarse; machucar</td>
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<td>directo, derecho</td>
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<td>-gà'l</td>
<td>crecerlo (a un niño)</td>
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<td>gà'lpà</td>
<td>serio</td>
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<td>gàd</td>
<td>siete</td>
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<td>-gàd</td>
<td>darle de mamar</td>
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<p>| gàl | veinte |
| gàl lèn yû btzo | adentro (de la tierra) del muro de la casa |
| -gà'n | darle hambre; |
| -gà'n | recogerse; rejuntarse |
| gàp | arriba, alto, altura |
| -gàp látyo | dar asco, tener asco |
| gàx | cerca, cerquita |
| -gàx | de una vez |
| get ngax | pinabete |
| gid zhoj | perdís |
| gïd zin | murciélagos |
| gmp | sonido de agua o comida bajando en el pescuezo |
| gò | vergüenza (enfermedad) |
| -g-ò | poner; echar |
| gò | Ud., Uds. |
| -g-ò bì | tirar, botar |
| -g-ò bìch | envaporarlo |
| -g-ò bì'z yà | anillar el palo |
| -g-ò dê | pedir maldición, maldecir |
| -g-ò dê | maldecir |
| -g-ò do | Lazar |
| -g-ò go'l | enlargar |
| -g-ò kwë'l | bonar |
| -g-ò lò | rodear, encerrar |
| -g-ò ned | adelantar |
| -g-ò tê | meter |
| -g-ò wâch | enfilar |
| -g-ò xik | abrazar, meter dentro los brazos |
| -g-ò xlë | proponer, ofrecer |
| -g-ò yà xtîl | enjabonar |
| -g-ò yi'b | marcar |</p>
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<th>gó zhèn</th>
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<td>gòx</td>
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<td>gòx á yèl</td>
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<td>-g-òx nòb</td>
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<td>gòx sánh jwànhy</td>
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<td>mezclarse, revolverse, amasar, desolver</td>
<td>La Ubicación San Juan</td>
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<td>g-òcha</td>
<td>gòx yà yèl</td>
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<td>loma donde hay palo de copal</td>
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<td>-g-òyè^</td>
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<td>madurarlo</td>
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<td>gôr</td>
<td>go^7b</td>
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<td>hora; cuando (rel.)</td>
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<td>gôtz</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filogonio</td>
<td>hembra</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>gôn yèl</td>
<td>grr´</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la limpia (de la milpa)</td>
<td>sonido de las tripas cuando tienen hambre</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gôch</td>
<td>gûch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guch</td>
<td>guch mbèw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gułazh</td>
<td>nativo del pueblo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-gún</td>
<td>re unjustarlo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gůxt</td>
<td>Agustín</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gůzh zōb</td>
<td>yerno de planta, yerno sentado</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-gu⁷</td>
<td>peinarse</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gu⁷d</td>
<td>blando, blandito</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-gu⁷d</td>
<td>enlandarse</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-gu⁷d lá tyo⁷</td>
<td>humillarse; rendirse</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gu⁷zh</td>
<td>pus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gu⁷zh n-gūd</td>
<td>pus blanco</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>gu⁷zh tèn</td>
<td>pus de sangre</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gūd</td>
<td>díle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-gúx</td>
<td>regañarse</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gę^</td>
<td>bulle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>sonido de sorprenderse</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hái hą^</td>
<td>sonido del suspiro</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hay hay hay</td>
<td>sonido de una persona enferma; sonido de cocoxtle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hn</td>
<td>sonido de marrano caminando; sonido de rechazo (cuando comió cebolla uno y el otro no lo quiere besar)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hrr⁷</td>
<td>grito de un pájaro que se llama <code>rojó o </code>picolargó</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hrr</td>
<td>sonido de arrastrar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hũ⁷</td>
<td>sonido de un hombre que se ría de una mujer (con coraje)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h⁷</td>
<td>sonido del hipo</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>ính</td>
<td>sonido de sancudo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-i⁷b</td>
<td>haber</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-i⁷d</td>
<td>venir</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>sonido de jalar el corazón</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jábyërr</td>
<td>Javier</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jajajáy</td>
<td>sonido de las mujeres que se rían de un hombre con quién tuvieron relaciones y luego se dejaron, con coraje</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ján</td>
<td>Alejandra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jáví</td>
<td>Javier</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jér</td>
<td>chapeo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jín</td>
<td>Regina</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jín</td>
<td>Virginia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jj</td>
<td>sonido de una persona roncando</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jjj</td>
<td>sonido del gato enojado</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jjjj</td>
<td>sonido de un pajaro volando</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jjjjj</td>
<td>sonido de un gato roncando</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jorr jorr jorr jorr jorr</td>
<td>sonido de vaciar refresco en un vaso</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>jorr</td>
<td>sonido de llenar ánfora con agua</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ju ju ju</td>
<td>sonido de una llama que está quemando un monte</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Júj</td>
<td>Refugia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jūl</td>
<td>Julia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
-ká ya⁷ tóp ya⁷
apreciarlo; recibir con las dos manos

káá
grito de la chacara grande

-káb
tragarlo

káfeyix
café montés, café criollo

káj
caja

káj té gán
ataúd

káj té nzhôp
caja de maíz

káj té sérí
caja de cerillos de fósforos

káj té mî
caja de dinero

káj té yi⁷b
la madera del rifle

káj yà
caja de madera

kájét
cajete

-kâl
sombrear

káládór
calador (para calar costales de cafe)

kâlsónh
calzón

kám
cama

kám do⁷ yèzh
cama de mecate delgado

kâmí
antrio

kâmin sânh jwânh
camino que va del Rancho Campo Nuevo para San Miguel Coatlán

kâmyónh yo⁷
carro de carga

Kân
Cándida

Kán
Cávida

kândíl
candil

kánik
canícula, canica, 22/8-22/9

káñónh té yi⁷b
cañón

kâñút té do⁷ aúj
cañuto de hilo

kâpíy té mbdo⁷
capilla del santo

kâporál
caporal

kâpôt
chotacabra (book), capote río, pájaro

Kâr
Carlos
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kär</th>
<th>Carmen</th>
<th>mallugarlo (con piedra)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kárã</td>
<td>verás</td>
<td>ka^n de lado, chueco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kãrr</td>
<td>Carolina</td>
<td>-ka^n estar de lado, ponerse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kârré</td>
<td>apúrate!</td>
<td>chueco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kát</td>
<td>Catarina</td>
<td>ka^n -zë’ caminar chueco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kàtkàtkàtkárét</td>
<td>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</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kãy</td>
<td>Caitano</td>
<td>-ka^n pegarse, colgar, guardar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka^n</td>
<td>patrícula enfática</td>
<td>-këcha^7 colgarse/lo, pegarse, guardar, enderezarse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka^n</td>
<td>reculón, reculador (tipo de camarón)</td>
<td>-këcha^7 pegarse, colgar, guardar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ka^n</td>
<td>encargarlo</td>
<td>-këdî creer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ka^n</td>
<td>estar de lado, ponerse chueco</td>
<td>-këdî engañar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kå</td>
<td>negarlo</td>
<td>-kën apurarse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kå</td>
<td>quitarlo</td>
<td>-këndô animarse, arregarse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kåb tô</td>
<td>rezongar</td>
<td>-kén-gâ colgar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kâm lâ yi^7</td>
<td>cama que tiene dibujos</td>
<td>-këni^7 apuntarlo, escribirlo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kâm</td>
<td>recogerlo, juntarlo</td>
<td>-ke^7 Coateco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ké</td>
<td>sí</td>
<td>-ke^7 pintarlo, escribirlo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ké lôk</td>
<td>loquearse, empezar a pelear</td>
<td>-ke^7 yi^7b puñalarlo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ké ndi^7n</td>
<td>estar recargado</td>
<td>ke^7ke^7ke^7ke^7kérét 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</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ké ni^7 ndô líst</td>
<td>alistarse, apuntarse, anotarse</td>
<td>-kél añidirlo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ké n0’</td>
<td>cuidarlo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kél</td>
<td>añidirlo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
-ke\(^7\)n
engrirlo; acostumbrarlo

-kê
deuda

-kê
picar

-kêb
costurear, remendar

-kêb dê^c
costurear a mano, echar hilo

-kêbdêc
costurear, remendar

-kid
ombliigo

-kidi
engañar, vacilar

-kikê
acabar; falsificar

-kikírîkî
sonido del gallo (onomatopeya)

-kil
kilo

-kîndô
animarse; arrengarse, prometerse, entrarle

-kisyo tô ni
quicio de la puerta de la casa

-kit
doblarlo

-kix
pagar (dinero)

-ki^ch ya^7 ndô
cachetada

-ki^7x
tostarlo

-ki^7x lê^n zê^c
freirlo

-ki
asarlo

-klo^7k klo^7k
Grito de la gallina culeca cuando está calentando sus huevitos.

-kôch
revolverlo, mezclarlo

-kogô
cogollo

-køj
cojo, renco

-kômid
cómida

Kônch
Alfonso; Consuela

Kônch
Alfonso

-kôndê
verás, Ud. crea, pensó, creyó

-kônêj
conejo

Kôp
Noberto

Kôp
Procopio

Kôrôô
correa

côrtîn tô sâwân
cortina de enfrente del sahuán

-kôst
costeño; costa

-kôstî
costilla

-kôtôr
cotorra

-kôtôrr mbê'y yêd
cotorra (de ocote)

-ko^7xla^7n
esconderse/lo

-kô^7lê'y
rezador

-kô^7b
masa, COA atole

-kô^7b kê^c
masa cruda

-kô^7b ndô mên
masa de pozole

-kô^7b tê nil yâch
masa de pozole reventado

-kô^7b tê nzê^c bên
masa de elote tierno

-kô^7b yîd xê
masa de la nariz

-kô^7l
largo

-kô^7l ko^7l ko^7l ko^7l
Sonido de grito del guajolote macho
-kòn  esconderlo

kri⁷  kri⁷  kri⁷  sonido del palo que ya está quebrando para caerse

kros  kros  kros  sonido de zapato que tiene agua por dentro

kúb  nuevo

kúch  puerco, marrano, porcino, cerdo, cuche

kúch bít  marrano que tiene grano, marrano picado

kúch mbèw  javalí

kúch nda⁷l  cuche gordo

kúchárr bix  cuchara chiquita

kúchárr tè nîl  cuchara para sacar nixtamal

kúchárr yà  cuchara de madera

kúchí  cuchillo

kúlántr  cilandro

kúlántr yîch  cilandro de espina

Kún  Facundo

kúñád  cuñado

-ku⁷  peinarlo

-kúd  enblandarlo

-kúd lá tyo⁷  dominarlo

ku~  grito del buho/el tecolute más grande (mko⁷)

-kúx  regañarlo, gritarle

kwá  oscuro

-kwâ  estar oscuro, entrar la noche, ponerse oscuro, oscurecer

kwâ ngwxin  oscuridad; noche oscura

kwâch  gemelos

kwâch iwál ŭâ  gemelos que se ven iguales

kwâch xa⁷k ŭâ  gemelos que se ven cambiados

kwâk kwâk kwâk  sonido del pato; grito de la guajolota hembra

kwâl  frío

kwâl ndyê⁷-y’  está simple, desabrido

-kwân  lastimarlo

-kwás ndô  embrocarse

kwâzh  mojado

kwa⁷  llano, parejo

kwa⁷  tupido

-kwa⁷  poner encima; dobletear

kwa⁷d  varios, bastante

kwa⁷d bés  varias veces

-kwa⁷n  buscar(lo) querer; conseguirlo

-kwa⁷n  despertarlo

kwân  espeso

-kwân  ponerse espeso

-kwân tên  ponerse espesa la sangre

kwê  sordo

kwê  silencio, cálmate!
-kwê
calmarse

kwêr
encuerado, desnudo

kwe⁷th
mucho guerra, quita tiempo, una cosa que cuesta trabajo para solucionar

kwêⁿ kwêⁿ kwêⁿ
sonido cuando patean al perro

kwi
agrio

kwi
grito del gavilán

kwí
marto, leoncito, micelote

kwí
agridulce

kwíj
cuija, limpiacasa

kwiz
firme, en frente, serio, viendo para en frente, derecho

kwí
apestoso

kwí³
estítico

-kwí³
secarlo

kwí³ kwí³ kwí³
grito del cuche

kwí³n
mentiroso, mentira

-kwí³n
fallar

kwí³rs
sonido de tronar los dedos

kwí³z
gancho

-kwín
mecearlo, menearlo, moverlo

kwrás kwrás kwrás
sonido que hace la burra hembra cuando el burro macho está encima

kwrás
sonido de dedo en la boca

kwris
sonido de un chasquido

kwë
pesado

kwë¹
abono

kwë²
mecapal

kwë²d
pegajoso

-kwë²z
calmarlo

kwë³
enfermo

-kwë³
hay que

-kwë³ lá tyo⁷
acordarse; hacer ruido, amenazar, regañar

-kë
está

-kë´
derejarlo

-kë´
hacer el amor

-kë´
estar destinado

-kë´ gôb ni
sembrar maíz

-kë´ lá tyo⁷
acariciar; estimarlo; querer; tenerle lastima

-kë´ lá tyo⁷
agonizar, acabarse de morir

-kë´ nà
cuidar

-kë´ nêz
veredear, hacer vereda

-kë´ do⁷
amarrarlo

-kë³
cargar

-kë³
pegar

-kë³ bô
poner nudo

-kë³ lá tyo⁷
acordarse

-kë³ ngwe³y
hacer ruido, amenazar, regañar
-kë^7 sër k 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

Là
Oaxaca de Juárez

lá
ya

là bdo^7 bî^7b
hoja de platanillo para tamal

là bdo^7 mzya^7
hoja rota de platanar

là bdo^7 spâd
hoja de platanar de espada

là bdo^7 spâd
hoja de platanar espada

là bdo^7 yê^7z
hoja de platanar de cigarro

Là be^7
La Reforma (una agencia de Sta. Catarina que antes pertenecía a San Baltazar)

là bîzh
platanillo

là bîx xkë mbëk
hierba mora, tomatillo

là bîx xkë mbëk
hoja de tomatillo (toda la planta)

là brêtây
bretaña

là byôl
traguntín

là gô
hierba de vergüenza

là gô kwi
hoja de camote de cedilla

là gû xtil
gilla

là gû
gilla

là gû
hoja de gilla

là kûchî
flor de cuchilla

là kë^ hoja verde

là mëntzànî
manzanillo

là ndà go^7
hoja de camarón

là nnyûd
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 bôl
hoja de aguacate voludo

là nîx nd à mën
hoja de aguacate que coma la gente

là nîz
tatomoxtle, totomoxtle

là rômëd
hoja de manzana

là sántá märî
hoja de Santa María

là tá xta^7n
hierba de muina, hoja de vergüenza

là tâ^7 xîë'
hoja de calentura

là tâ^7 xta^7n
hierba de muina, hierba de coraje

là té lîmônh
hoja de te limón

là tê yî^7 karrktûch
flor cartuco

là tê yë^1 yo^7b yà
hoja de escoba de egalán, hoja de escoba de vara

là tô
hoja de San Pablo

là wà bë^7l
yerba santilla

là xlêy
malamujer
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>là xléy</td>
<td>malamujer, mano de tigre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>là yà wâ bê l</td>
<td>yerba santilla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>là ya’ t</td>
<td>hoja de platanillo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>là yich nî t</td>
<td>chacalota</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>là yiz yi</td>
<td>chamiza</td>
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<tr>
<td>là yi7</td>
<td>dibujo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>là yi7 bî d</td>
<td>hoja de albahaca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>là yi7 bî d xô l</td>
<td>hoja de albahaca con ahuate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>là yi7 ga7 ch</td>
<td>quintonil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>là yi7 nár dô</td>
<td>nardo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>là yî n</td>
<td>soyate, faja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>là yû</td>
<td>petatillo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>là yê l xô l</td>
<td>hoja de milpa aguatuda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>là yê’tz</td>
<td>sauz</td>
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<tr>
<td>là yê’ z ábitz</td>
<td>cuachepil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>là yê’ z méd</td>
<td>chepil de media</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>là yê’ z méd</td>
<td>hoja de chepil en medio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>là yê’ z ñà</td>
<td>quelite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>là yê’ z tôn</td>
<td>chepil de leche, quelite de leche</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>là yê’ z (kwâ l) tê gân</td>
<td>chepil fresco de los difuntos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>là yê’ z là</td>
<td>hoja de tabaco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>là zàn</td>
<td>hoja de vergúenza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>là zhê b</td>
<td>hoja para espanta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Làbcho7n</td>
<td>Bix Wane</td>
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<tr>
<td>-lâbi</td>
<td>soplar</td>
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<td>Lâch</td>
<td>Lázaro</td>
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<td>lâch gô</td>
<td>Rancho Locote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lâdri</td>
<td>ladrillo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lâdyo7</td>
<td>corazón, estómago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lâk</td>
<td>parejo, igual, (igual) a como...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lâk</td>
<td>Hilario</td>
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<td>-lâkô</td>
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<tr>
<td>pizotearlo; patear</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>-lâkë’</td>
<td>rebajarse, cobardarse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-lâkë7</td>
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<td>Lâl</td>
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<td>làn</td>
<td>liso; cueste, polvoso</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lânch</td>
<td>Esperanza</td>
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<td>Lânch (COA, CAN)</td>
<td>Esperanza</td>
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<tr>
<td>-lânzhá</td>
<td>llegar</td>
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<td>làt</td>
<td>llano, valle, plano</td>
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<td>Lât Byôl</td>
<td>Rancho Campo Nuevo</td>
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<td>Lât Chî l</td>
<td>Cerro Cuapinole</td>
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<td>làt chu7 t</td>
<td>Latixute</td>
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<td>làt ndyô léch</td>
<td>pichel de leche</td>
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<tr>
<td>làt sántûrrs</td>
<td>Llano Santa Ursula</td>
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<tr>
<td>làt ta7 nî x</td>
<td>Llano Aguacate, Arroyo Aguacate, El Aguacate</td>
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<tr>
<td>làt të zî7 n</td>
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</table>
La crucera; El manzanol (carretera que va para San Miguel o desviación a San Miguel)

Làt Tzo⁷
Ocotlán

Làt yèzh do⁷
Miahuatlán

Làt Yô
Llano Grande

-làtê
despegarlo; quitarlo

-làtê
despegarse, quitarse

-làtê kólór
despintarlo

-làtê kólór
despintarse

làth yèzh
mandado

làthyo⁷
corazón; estómago

làtz
la yacua (cáscara) de platanar

làw
mucha gente, comunidad, común

Làx (CAN)
Lázaro, Nicolás, Erasto

Lày
Hilaria

Lày
Ladislau

-làzô
atrasarse

la⁷
empachar (empacho in dicc.)

la⁷	ortilla de alguien

la⁷
ya

-la⁷
aborrecer

-la⁷
escaparse, desafarse, soltarse

-la⁷
soltarlo, abandonarlo, dejarlo

-la⁷ tzâ
separarse

-la⁷ tzôb
abandonar a su pareja

-la⁷b
contarlo

-la⁷b
hervirse, chillar la panza

-la⁷b yèn
roncar

la⁷n
una bolita de carne dura

la⁷n
donde sale pelo en el pecho de guajolote macho

-la⁷n
darse cuenta, adivinar

la⁷n mbé zôn
escama de chacal

-la⁷p
pizcar mazorca

la⁷z
nido

lâ
bajo; abajo

-lâ
bajarlo

-lâ
bajarse, llegar

-lâ
llegar

-lâ
sanarse, curarse, quitar

là li⁷n
más menor; menor de edad; menos años

-là tê⁷l
oscurecer

-lâ yì
llover

-lâ yo⁷
descargarlo

-lâ yo⁷
descargarse
-lâ yë´l zí
enpobrecerlo

lâd
ropa, tela

lâd go&x
ropa usada; ropa vieja

lâd ka7n
pañal

lâd ka7n
pañal(es)

lâd nxo7p zénâ ndà
dêtz me&n
sábana

ropa que tiene alforza

lâd tzo7 yèn

Alejandra/o

Le&l

lâd wni7

Aurelia

toalla

lèn

lâd yìch
lâd yìch káxke&m

lâd ndâtz

lât

sarape

barriga; adentro; mientras

Lén
Helena

Lén
Helena

ropa, tela, trapo

Lén
Magdalena

lât lèn
fondo

lèn btzo7
adentro de la pared

lâd ndyô ndâtz me&n

lât yìch

calcetín

cobija

lâd ndyô yèn xa7

-lâtz látyo7

corbata; pañuelo (local
paynuelo)

dar lastima

lâd ni7

le&j

cuello (de camisa--RGB)

combinacion, fondo de
mujeres

colcha, ropa de cama

léch te& xa7 gôtz
leche de mujer

cobija

lâd ndô yìn

pueblo (pos.)

lâd nzô ti7ch

lâd lèn

calcetines

lâzh

lèn mbì
barriga de aire

lèn nî ya7
debajo de la muñeca

lâx

toalla

raíz de grano; raíz de
clavillo

lèn nîtz

lâd nkë´ cha7 yë`th ndô

lâz

servilleta

lèn pós nzhâ

cuerpo

adentro del pozo del oído

lâd nkë7 cha7 wâtz
béntán

lâz btzo7

lèn xìk

afuera del muro

sobaco

lâz me&n

lèn xîb
abajo/adentro de la rodilla

brasier

ser humano, cuerpo de la
gente

lâd nxo7b me& yèk me&

lâz ya7

cabecera, almada (local for
almohada); rebozo

al lado de la mano

adentro de agua

cortina de trapo

lâd ntzà chi&ch

lèn xò
adentro de pierna

lèn yêtz


dentro de la olla

-\text{lên yîzh}
enfermarse

\text{Lënc\textsc{h}}
Lorenzo

\text{Leóntz}
Leoncio

\text{Lëw}
Leocadia

\text{Lëw}
Leodegario

\text{Lëx}
Andrés

\text{Lëx}
Teresa

\text{Lëx}
Teléspero

\text{lëy}
rosario, novena

\text{lëy tê gân}
novena(s) de difunto

\text{lëy tê mbdo}\textsuperscript{7}
rosarios de santos

\text{lëy tê nóché bwên}
rosarios de nochebuena

-\text{le7ch}
cuidarse de luto, tener dieta

-\text{lên}
nacer [plantas, granitos]

-\text{lên}
pesarlo, levantarlo

-\text{lên tî}
reaccionar

-\text{lêy}
paciáusarse, tener paz con su amigo

\text{Lî}
María

\text{li}
así

\text{li ka}\textsuperscript{7}
sí

\text{li tyi7b}
cárcel

\text{li yîn}
soyate

\text{Lîb}
Olivia

\text{lib to}\textsuperscript{7}
iglesia

\text{libró nkê nûmêrò tê}
teléfono tê tê\textsuperscript{7} lâzh
nhô
directorio (el libro adonde está notado todos los números de teléfonos de nuestros pueblos)

\text{Lîch}
Felícitas

\text{lid}
casa

\text{lid gân}
sepultura; casa de difunto

\text{lid mbdo}\textsuperscript{7}
la casa del santo; fiesta

\text{Lîk}
Federico

\text{liksensyado}
licensed

\text{lîm}
línea de castilla

\text{lîm lîmôn\textsc{h}}
línea limón

\text{lîmâtôn\textsc{h}}
límatón

\text{lîmûn}
límon

\text{Lîn}
Catalina; Marcelina

\text{Lîn}
Aquilina; Avelino

\text{Lîp}
Felipa

\text{Lîp}
Felipe

\text{Lîs}
Felícitas; Alicia

\text{lit}
casa

\text{lit yî7b tê ngû}
cárcel de borrachos

\text{lîtha}\textsuperscript{7}
así

\text{Lît}\textsuperscript{7}
Margarita

\text{lî7n}
edad; año
liʔn kúb
año nuevo

liʔn nzhâ zê` laʔ
años antiguos

lò
troja, cerca

lô
muy

lò yîʔ
cercado de flores

lòd
carrizo

lòd xkwézh
gañote, tragadero; el hueco
tragadero; la tripa
tragadera

lòd yîch
otate

Lój
Eulogio

lòk
varios, muchos

Lôl
Lola, Aurora

Lôr
Lorenzo

lör
loro

lóx
liebre

lóx
urraca

lóx láz mbèy
urraca espalda de gusano

lòx mbétzeʔ
el pelo que trae el
guajolote macho en el
pecho

lòx mbèy
urraca con gusano

-loʔb
barrerlo, asear

loʔl
bilol(o)

loʔl yuʔ
bilole del río

lô
higado

lô
raíz

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

lûb toʔ (CAN)
iglesia

-lûd
terminarse

lûd
personas que no tienen
hijos

lúlt
último

lùntz
lunes

Lûp
Guadalupe

Lûpá
Guadalupe

lût
bejuco

Lût
Eleuterio

lût bèw
bejuco de javalí

lût bîx
bejuco de tomate

lût bîx nê
palo de tomate rojo

lût bîx yîʔ
tomatillo de ratón

lût bóy
bejuco de pollo

lût gránád
bejuco de granada

lût laʔ
bejuco de eje

lût là nzâ kwârênt
frijolar cuarenteño

lût ngîn
bejuco seringuina
lùt ngîn
bejuco de cera negra

lùt ni
bejuco de la casa

lùt nzâ bèn
bejuco de ejotes

lùt tê bîd pyûl
bejuco de piul, santito

lùt tê lùt tzêth
bejuco de guía de calabaza

lùt tê mût gû
bejuco de santito

lùt tê métônh
bejuco de melón

lùt tê ngûz xlë^\nbejuco de fruta fresca

lùt tê pépîn
bejuco de pepino

lùt tê sândí
bejuco de sandía

lùt tê strápáj
bejuco de estropajo

lùt tlâ
frijolar

lùt tlâ nêtz káfê
frijolar de netz kafè

lùt tlâ nzâ yêl
frijolar enredador

lùt tlâ nzâ yî
frijolar piñero

lùt tlâ (nzâ) bay7
frijolar tabayo

lùt tzêth
bejuco de guía de (cualquier) calabaza

lùt tzêth tzin
bejuco de comachiche

lùt tzêth tzin
comachiche, bejuco de calabaza de ratón

lùt wàch
bejuco de iguana

lùt wàch ngîd
bejuco de gallina

lùt wák
guaco

lùt xgàm
bejuco de jícama

lùt xôl
bejuco de aguate

lùt yà
bejuco de palo

lùt ya7tz
bejuco negro

lùt yáp
bejuco de chayote

lùt yáp xu7b
chayote pelón

lùt yáp yîch
chayote de espina

lùt yèth chi7n
bejuco de calabaza chompo

lùt yèth gô
bejuco de calabaza támala

lùt yèth lân
bejuco de chilcayote

lùt yèth na7
bejuco de calabaza de lachicayuma

lùt yèth yîch
bejuco de calabaza huiche

lùt yèth yîch
guía de calabaza huiche

lùt yîx
bejuco montês

lùt ye7 z na7
bejuco de chicayuma

lùt (tê) yî7 nzâ
bejuco de vainilla

lùt7
bejuco

lûzh
lengua

lûzh
muy

lûzh mbi7zh
lengua de león

lûzh nké n-gâ wâtz tîn
uvula, lengüita

lûzh yîd kwê
la lengua de la verija

- lu7
enseñar(se), mostrar; guiarlo

- lu7 ndô
resultar

- lu7 ndô yû
aclarar
<table>
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<th>-lu⁷  xe⁷</th>
<th>lumbrar</th>
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<td>mucho</td>
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<td>Lwis</td>
<td>Luisa</td>
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<td>-lyá</td>
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<td>endelgazarse</td>
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<td>-lya⁷b</td>
<td>hervirse</td>
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<td>-lyáw</td>
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<td>-lyu⁷</td>
<td>relinchar</td>
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<td>-lyë`th</td>
<td>desocuparse, vaciarse</td>
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<td>-lyë⁷</td>
<td>aflojarse</td>
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<td>-lyë⁷ látyo⁷</td>
<td>desmayarse, cobardar el corazón, dominar el corazón</td>
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<td>lzàn</td>
<td>consuegro/a</td>
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<tr>
<td>lzàn</td>
<td>consuegro/a</td>
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<td>quebrarse, rajarse; quebrarlo, rajarlo</td>
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<td>lë’d</td>
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<td>lë’d ngùz ga⁷</td>
<td>coquito, coyul duro, almendra</td>
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<td>corazón de palma</td>
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<td>lë’th</td>
<td>adentro; entre medio de</td>
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<td>-lë’th</td>
<td>quitar, librar, defender, salvar</td>
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<td>lë th pól nàt</td>
<td>hace poco</td>
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<td>-lë⁷</td>
<td>tener antojo</td>
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<tr>
<td>-lë⁷ látyo⁷</td>
<td>rajarse, humillarse</td>
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<td>-lë⁷ ch</td>
<td>reconocer; oír, escuchar</td>
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<tr>
<td>-lë⁷ ch</td>
<td>vigilar, cuidar, guardar, espiar; oír</td>
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<td>-lë⁷ th</td>
<td>desocuparlo, vaciarlo</td>
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<tr>
<td>lë⁷ tha⁷</td>
<td>mismo, mero, igual</td>
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<td>lë^</td>
<td>antojo, tolin, pinto</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>lë^ byúx</td>
<td>tolin de viuse (carnitas)</td>
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<tr>
<td>lë^ gò</td>
<td>tolin de camote</td>
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<td>lë^ mbgu⁷t</td>
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<td>cáscara de palo grueso</td>
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<td>lé^tha³</td>
<td>má (ná) ndà bê⁷l</td>
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<td>animal que come carne</td>
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<td>mà</td>
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<td>mǎ</td>
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<td>mamacita, mi hija</td>
<td>el animal</td>
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<td>cría, animal tierno</td>
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<tr>
<td>má du⁷b</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>má lwê</td>
<td>má lwê</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>má máchór</td>
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<tr>
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<td>animal que no cría</td>
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<tr>
<td>má ni</td>
<td>má ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>animal de la casa, mascota</td>
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<tr>
<td>ma wyi⁷</td>
<td>ma wyi⁷</td>
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<tr>
<td>animal bravo</td>
<td>animal bravo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>má xò</td>
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<tr>
<td>má yîx</td>
<td>má yîx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>animal del campo</td>
<td>salvaje; animal del monte</td>
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<td>má (ná) ndà bê⁷l</td>
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<tr>
<td>animal del campo</td>
<td>salvaje; animal del monte</td>
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<td>má (ná) ndà bê⁷l</td>
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<td>animal que come carne</td>
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Marta

máfi
Matías

mátil
Matilde

Máx
Tomás

Máx (CAN)
Tomás

máyor té mbzhë xyà
mayor de vara

máyórsín
mayor de cocina

mbåd
ancho y parejo

mbåd
plano del pie, palma de la mano

mbåd ndåtz
la planta del pie, el plano del pie

mbåd ndåtz xo p ngåtz
pie de seis dedos

mbåd ya
palma de la mano

mbál
compadre (BAL); compadre, comadre (CAN)

mbál góx
compadre viejo; padre del compadre

mbáy
bueno, bien, sí

mbåd
ancho

mbåd th
piojillo de gallina

mbådón
remolino

mbådo
santo, imagen; hostia

mbådyûd
enrollado

mbè
neblina; mojo

mbè
tortuga

mbè
cangrejo

mbè chín
donchuda

mbè chín
garrapata

mbè lò
canareja de pelo

mbè tèn
chinche

mbè tèn yìx
chinche del monte

mbè wnè
alacrán

mbè wnè
estrella alacrán

mbè wnè ngù
alacrán hembra de huevecillo

mbè xíz
canareja

mbè yè
tortuga del cerro

mbè yù làn
tortuga de lodo

mbè yù làn
tortuga del lodo, tortuga del cerro

mbè zèd
cangrejo de sal

mbè zòn
chacal

mbèd
guajolote

mbèd
tecolotilla

mbèd
tecolute

mbèd bey

tecolute de elotes, enfermedad de elote, (Cuítlacoche, Huitlacoche)

mbèd làn
tecolutito, tecolute chiquito

mbèd päj
tecolutilo

mbèd wáb
faisán

mbèk
perro

mbèk be
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<td>gusano de (llagas de) burro</td>
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**mbgätz**
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<th>mbît</th>
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<th>mbyin ndyê\textsuperscript{^}xúp tô no\textsuperscript{7}l</th>
<th>mbyin ndyê\textsuperscript{^}xúp tô no\textsuperscript{7}l</th>
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<tr>
<td>pájaro verde pico largo</td>
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<tr>
<td>Martín pescador</td>
<td>Martín pescador</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
<td>mal de orina</td>
<td>mal de orina con sangre</td>
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<table>
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<th>mbyî\textsuperscript{7}k têên</th>
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<td>mal de orina con sangre</td>
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<td>mbyô</td>
<td>muchacho, joven</td>
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<tr>
<td>mbyôl</td>
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<td>jijén</td>
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<td>mbyûz</td>
<td>pájaro nocturno, anuncio de muerto</td>
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<td>víbora de cáscabel</td>
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<td>mbyốzh</td>
<td>pichanche, colador</td>
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<td>mbyốzh</td>
<td>siete, siete cabrillas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbyốzh</td>
<td>chicatana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbzhàzh</td>
<td>lechuza</td>
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<tr>
<td>mbzhìn do⁷</td>
<td>miel de enjambre</td>
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<td>venado</td>
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<tr>
<td>mbzhè⁸</td>
<td>muchachos</td>
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<td>mbé’</td>
<td>tlacomixtle (local), cacomixtle (book)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbé’l yè</td>
<td>conejo</td>
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<tr>
<td>mbé’l lách</td>
<td>sanguijuela</td>
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<tr>
<td>mbé’l lách</td>
<td>culebra floreada, chuchupaxtle</td>
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<tr>
<td>mbé’l lód</td>
<td>lombriz de la tierra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbé’l lût</td>
<td>culebra bejuquía</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbé’l mbla⁷zh</td>
<td>chuchupaxtle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbé’l no⁷ mtzòn</td>
<td>víbora de cascabel</td>
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<tr>
<td>mbé’l nzhò lídyo⁷-m’</td>
<td>lombriz de la gente</td>
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<tr>
<td>mbé’l wzhíb</td>
<td>víbora de cascabel</td>
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<tr>
<td>mbé’l yà</td>
<td>culebra bejuquía</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbé’l yà</td>
<td>culebra del palo</td>
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</table>
mbë^n y zë^ estrella, lucero
mbë^n pescado, pez
mbë^n aúj pescado aguja
mbë^n dà pescado petate
mbë^n flój lucero flojo
mbë^n gât luciera siete
mbë^n kwátêt pescado cuatete
mbë^n mbyë´zh lucero siete
mbë^n mzhìn pescado cinco
mbë^n ójótónh pescado ojotón
mbë^n pérmér nyó^ pescado que sale primero
mbë^n truch trucha
mbë^n xó pescadito
mbë^n xó pescadito charal
mbë^n xo^ p pescado seis
mbë^n zche^ soplador
mbë^n zha^b estrella floja
mbë^n zi^l flojo
mbë^n zi^l pescado grande
mchín penolilla; conchuda, garrapata
mchính chupamiel
mchu^k abejón de saliva
mè 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.
mè byî marido
mè byî ngùth chë^l viudo
mè chìn penolillo; monchuda; sabandija; garrapata
mè chìn dî penolillo chiquitillo
mè chìn lázánh penolillo alazán, pinolillo
mè chìn tê ngwzi^ penolillo de rayo
mè chìn xò garrapata, conchuda
mè gôx señor grande, señora grande
mè gôx abuelito/a; gente grande
mè gôtz señora; mujer; esposa
mè gôtz gôx mujer vieja
mè gôtz go^zh mujer podrida
mè gôtz nà ndò gîd làz prostituta
mè gôtz ngùth mè byî tê viuda
mè gû chayote montes, toloache
mè làt gente del valle
mè làch sandijuela (loc)
mè lôx chaltazareño, chareño, gente de San Baltazar Loxicha
mè nz^ di^zh dî^zh xtîl gente que platica la castilla
mè xa^k gente desconocida
mè xu7
demonio; diablo

mè yi7
florifundio, San Nicolás

mè yîx
chismoso

mè zìn
gente tonta

mèch
trenza

méd
dinero

mèk
sucio

mél zë^
memela de elote

mélkyåd
Melquiades

mën
gente

mën lèn tè
panzón

mën n-gåtz
persona de herencia africana

mën wèr
gente gu"era

mènch
Furmencio

mènúd
menudo

Mèr
Ermelinda

mèrrtha7
apenas

mèxt
maestro

mèxt té mbzhë^ skwél
maestro de escuela

mèxt té nî
maestro de obras

me7
poco

me7 ga7 me7 ga7
poco a poco

mgô
tecolote

mgû7t
panal

mgû7t zhë n
panal de humo

mïl
Ermilo

Mïl
Emilia

Mính
Benjamín

Mính
Jamin

mïnh
Domingo

mïnîh
Benjamín

misélôt
leoncillo

mka7l
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

mko7
teculutón, tecolote

mko7 làn
teculutón, tecolote chiquito

mko7 yîx
vivelula

mkwë7d
caracol

mkê7 go7d
gusano medidor

mlî (COA)
corredor

mlût7
golondrina

mlûx
vilûs

mlyât
sancudo
m’m’m’m’m’m’m’m
sonido de un carro cargado
mó nè
alacrán
mò nè
alacrán
Móch
Modesto
mód
modo, estilo
mół
moco
mól nè
mole rojo
mól n-gätze
mole negro
mólin ya
molinito de mano
mónyî
estatua, ídolo, monumento
mós
chalán, mozo
mó
Timoteo
móyéj tê ngît
molleja de gallina
mtézí
hormiga roja
mtézí mtyê
hormiga de carnisuelo
mtézí mtyên
hormiga de bajo el metate
mtê
hormiga roja
mtí bî
hormiga barrandera, arriera barrandera
mtí bî yî
barrandera de lluvia, barrandera de agua
mtí yîx
chicatana chiquita
mtí yîx
mariposita
mtîx ch
távano
mtôp
segundo
mtýê yà
hormiga de palo
mtýëtz ka
camarón reculón
mtye' n
vivelula
mtýê
hormiga de carnisuelo
mtýê tê yîch wâz
chicatana
mtýên
chinche que chupa sangre
mtýên
hormiguita roja, hormiga de carnisuelo, hormiga chiquitín
mtýîx ch
távano, mosca grande
mtýê’tz
camarón
mtýê	piojo
mtýê tê ngît
piojo de gallina
mtyê’ ch
regado
mtyê
piojo, liendre
mtyê dî
liendre, piojillo, ladilla
mtyê lâd
piojo de ropa
mtyê n chinchete de la casa
mtzé nîk
culebra corolilla
mtzî l
pájaro que da la hora de la comida
mtzî l tûzh
chigón
mtzî l xàb
pájaro del burro
mtzî gavilán
mtzî bîx
gavilancillo
mtzî blîb
gavilancillo
mtzî do águila
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<td>myin lóx</td>
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<td>cortado</td>
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<td>mzhin</td>
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<td>sonido del grito del gato</td>
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<td>(onomatopeya)</td>
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mzó gâx
próximo; se acercó

mzôn
chacal

mê⁷
sonido de borrego

nà
con

nà
también, y

nà
señora grande

nà
virgen

ná
despierto

ná
no

ná zhâl
quien sabe; no se encuentra

nà zê⁷ látyo⁷
no se acuerda

-nàb
pedir

-nàb dîzh
saludar; preguntar

-nàb xê
olerlo

Nâch
Tanacia

nách
Ignacio, Nacho

nâl
esta hora, este día

nâl zdâp wîzh
hoy en cuatro días

nâl zgâl wîzh
hoy en veinte días

Nâńch
Venancia

nâránhj
naranja

nâránhj kâlt
naranja de caldo

nât
hoy

Nâtál
Natalia

nàx
estar acostado, estar puesto

-nàx
estar acostado

nàx kwâz ndô
acostado embrocado, acostado boca abajo

náx nàx
virgen

nàx nzê⁸
acostado boca arriba

nàx wa⁷tz
acostado de lado

nǝy
mamá

nâylâ
nailo

nâ⁷
estar con, estar junto a

-nâ⁷
lavarlo, lavarse

nâ⁷ tê'
ânche anoche, ayer noche

nâ⁷ wê
ayer

nâ⁷ j
mira!

nâ⁷ t
arroyo

Na⁷ t Àndávíst
Arroyo Anda Vista

na⁷ nzhô gu'd
Arroyo Podrido, Río Podrido

na⁷ t tá wâ
Arroyo Yerba Santa

Na⁷ t Wlè
Rancho Arroyo Ciego

na⁷ yà lôd
Arroyo Carrizo

na⁷ yà mành
Arroyo Mango

Na⁷ Yà Mành
Rancho Arroyo Mangal

na⁷ yà wêd
Arroyo Magueyito

na⁷ yà xì
Arroyo Jícara

na⁷ yà yêl
Arroyo Mamey

Naʔt Yà Yìt
Arroyo Macahuite

naʔ t yàgay7
Arroyo (Palo) Cinco

naʔ t yì bíl wàź
Arroyo Cacho

naʔ t yì lid yî
Arroyo Piedra

naʔ t yìl bë`w
Arroyo Río Guacamaya

naʔ t yì7 mbë` z
Arroyo Flor del Niño

naʔ t yì bî
Arroyo Mosquito

naʔ t yì n-gũd
Arroyo Agua Blanca

naʔ t yuʔ nzhò mkoʔ7
Arroyo Tecolute

naʔ t yë`l bë
Arroyo Mulato

nà
REL

nà
yo

-nà
ver

-nà
verse

nàx nàx
virgen

nbàn

vivo

nbix nà-m’ tzà-m’
andar con su compañero, ser amantes

nbo7 zhèb
saca espanto

ndá xít ziʔ1
cebolla grande

ndá xít
cebolla

ndá xít bîx
cebollín

ndá xít yiʔ7
cebollín

ndá yẽ
guaje morado

ndâl lè^
feito, cumpleaños, onomástico

ndân
tizne

ndánh ndánh ndánh
sonido de las campanas

ndâti
guaje

ndâw tîth
dolor de hueso

ndâw yèk
dolor de cabeza

ndâw yẽ^
adolorido, resfriado, cuando le va a pegar la gripe con calentura etc.

ndâw yẽ^

resfriado; dolor de cuerpo

ndày
paño

ndaʔl
gordo

ndaʔ z mbë` z’
medio-cocido y medio-crudo

ndâ
guaje

ndâ tì yì xìl
guaje de San Bartolo

ndâb
huarache

ndâtz
pie

ndâw
zapote

ndâz
tlacuache

ndînh ndînh
sonido de las campanas

ndîʔz
ardilla

ndõch
amole

ndoy7
mispero

ndõ l tò
canción; canto; canta

ndó
cara; punta; a(l)

ndô
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<td><strong>ndó bku</strong>&lt;sup&gt;7&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>infierno</td>
</tr>
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<td>Cerro Pityona</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ndó bé</strong>&lt;sup&gt;7&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>arriba, el aire, el cielo, el espacio</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>ndó kid</strong></td>
<td>ombligo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ndó lè</strong></td>
<td>patio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ndó lùt tzèth</strong></td>
<td>la punta de la guía de calabaza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ndó ngùtz ya</strong>&lt;sup&gt;7&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>la punta del dedo</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>ndó tè́</strong></td>
<td>total</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>ndó xla</strong>&lt;sup&gt;7&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>buche de ave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ndó xla</strong>&lt;sup&gt;7&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>buche, tragadera donde almacena comida aparte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ndó xyè</strong></td>
<td>plaza; mercado, tianguis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ndó yà új</strong></td>
<td>la punta de la aguja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ndrính</strong></td>
<td>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.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>fierro.</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ndún ti</strong>&lt;sup&gt;7&lt;/sup&gt;n</td>
<td>uso; lo usa, lo ocupa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ndyàw lá tyo</strong>&lt;sup&gt;7&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>coraje; le duele el corazón</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ndyíth nítz do</strong>&lt;sup&gt;7&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>ola del mar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ndyè^</strong></td>
<td>verde</td>
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<td><strong>ndyè^ là</strong></td>
<td>verde bajo</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>ndyè^ch</strong></td>
<td>susto</td>
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<td><strong>ndè́y</strong></td>
<td>diente</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ndè́y bxè&lt;sup&gt;7&lt;/sup&gt;ch</strong></td>
<td>dientes desapartados, dientes saltiados, dientes desparejos</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>ndè́y kwa</strong>&lt;sup&gt;7&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>diente cuatrapeado, diente encimado</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>ndè́y wzàn</strong></td>
<td>diente principal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ndè́y xë&lt;sup&gt;7&lt;/sup&gt;</strong></td>
<td>diente de enfrente</td>
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<td><strong>ndè́y ỳich</strong></td>
<td>muela, diente molar</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>ndè́y zi</strong>&lt;sup&gt;7&lt;/sup&gt; ña&lt;sup&gt;7&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>raíz de fuerza de la milpa, raíz principal de la milpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ndè7</strong></td>
<td>este, así</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ndè&lt;sup&gt;7&lt;/sup&gt;l</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>feito</strong></td>
<td>bastante, mucho, harto</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>ndè&lt;sup&gt;7&lt;/sup&gt;pa</strong>&lt;sup&gt;7&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>ndè&lt;sup&gt;7&lt;/sup&gt;</strong></td>
<td>aquí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Néch</strong></td>
<td>Nestor; Ernesto; Inez</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>-nèd</strong></td>
<td>adelantarse</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>nèd</strong></td>
<td>adelante; primero</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Nèl</strong></td>
<td>Cornelio</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>némè&lt;sup&gt;7&lt;/sup&gt;</strong></td>
<td>de una vez</td>
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<td><strong>nètz</strong></td>
<td>tía</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Nèw</strong></td>
<td>Irineo</td>
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<td><strong>Nèx</strong></td>
<td>Inés</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>nè</strong></td>
<td>rojo</td>
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<td><strong>nètz</strong></td>
<td>vez</td>
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<td><strong>nètz</strong></td>
<td>descansar</td>
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<td><strong>nètz</strong></td>
<td>orina</td>
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<td><strong>nèz</strong></td>
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nêz
par

nêz
par; pareja

nêz bîx
vereda; camino chiquito

nêz kwa⁷
camino tendido, camino parejo

nêz làt
el Valle de Oaxaca

nêz làd
muda de ropa

nêz ntyid trênh
vía

nêz nzyá xàñ yè
camino para el rancho "Confradía"

nêz nzyèn nzyá pâr
sântá márrt
el camino que se va para Santa Marta

nêz nzyèn nzyá pâr yè
wîx
la entrada del camino que va para Cerro Sabroso

ngã
cacalote

ngâch
(bebida)

ngârrs
sonido de morder

n-gâtz
negro

nga⁷x
chichalaca (local), chachalaca (standard)

n-gâch
reflejante

ngêzh
lombriz

ngêzh
lombriz del estómago

ngêzh té kûč
lombriz de marrano

ngêzh té ngîd
lombriz de gallina

ngêzh yû làn
lombriz de lodo, lombriz de tierra

ngî
recto

ngî zîn
murciélago

ngîch
me ngîch (P), patas de cabello (L)

ngîd
ave hembra; gallina

ngîd gâx
gallina pata corta

ngîd n-gô
gallina ponedora

ngîd wîch
guabina

ngîd wa⁷̀n
escritano, secretaria,
gallina ciega, gallina robón, resortera

ngîd xoj
faisán

ngîd yîx
gallina montés

ngîd yîx
gallinea, gallina montés; chichalaca

ngîd zân
gallina

ngîd ze⁷
gallo

ngîn
cera

ngîn ngûz ndô
chingin

ngîn nzhâ
cera del oído

ngîr si⁷
piojillo; vivelula; caballito de diablo (book)

ngî⁷ch
patas de cabello, araña pelos de sobaco

ngî⁷ch lên nîtz
luna del río

ngîd
camaleón

ngôch
quebrado

ngôl
zopilote (cabeza negra)
ngòl yèk nè
zopilote cabeza roja,
zopilote cabeça colorada

ngòl yèk n-gàtz
sopilote cabeza negra

ngòl yu⁷
zopilote del río, zopilote cabeza roja

ngôn
toro, vaca, novillo, buey,
ganado

ngôn nzhî
toros uncidos, yunta uncida

ngo⁷zh
podrido

ngûtz tzéy
chiflido de lechuza (local),
chiflado de lechuza (standard?)

ngù
borracho

ngú gàl
deshazón

ngú yê⁸
maduro

n-gûd
blanco

ngûp
gente boca cerrada; mudo;
callado

ngûtz
dedos

ngûtz tlâ
dedos de en medio

ngûtz tûzh
dedo chiquito, dedo
menique

ngûtz zi⁷l
dedo grande, pulgar

ngûz
fruta

ngûz ga⁷
coyul, coquito

ngûz ga⁷ kwîb
cquito apestoso, coyul
apestoso

ngûz ga⁷ wtî
lo dulce del coquito

ngûz kwê
pene

ngûz kwê nzôb ga⁷l
pene parado

ngûz kwê nzôb yà
pene parado

ngûz kwê xa⁷ byî
huevo del hombre; pene

ngûz ndô
ojo

ngûz ndô bîch
ojo biche, ojo brillante

ngûz ndô bîdryô
ojos de vidrío, ojos biches

ngûz ndô chá
ojo malo, ojo bizco

ngûz ndô chá
ojos viscós

ngûz ndô ka⁷n
ojos chuecos

ngûz ndô lê
ojo ahumado o manchado,
ciego

ngûz ndô ndyê⁸
ojos verdes

ngûz ndô n-gàtz
ojo negro

ngûz ndô ngwîlê
ciego

ngûz ndô nžîn
ciego

ngûz ndô nžîn
ojo visco

ngûz ndô nžîn
ojo visco

ngûz ndyên mblâ ndô
kid mên
hernia

ngûz tê là nél
fruta de la hoja de canela

ngûz tê là yi⁷ ga⁷ ch
fruta de quintiníl

ngûz tê yà gûch
fruta de magueyito

ngûz tê yà gû
higuerilla, ’grillá (local)

ngûz tê yà tîzh
fruta de palo (e)gareche

ngûz tê yî⁷b ndâch
cartucho de rifle que
quema

ngûz xîê⁸
fruta fresca

ngûz xlë^ kwàl
fruta fresca

ngûz yà ngîz
fruta de huanacascle

ngû^d
podrido, vómito, asco

ngû^y
cocido

ngû
huevo

ngû
huevo

ngû kwì7
huevos descompuestos

ngû té mbêy yu7 p
blanquillo de hongo

ngû zê^ huevo frito

ngwa7ch
guabina

ngwa7z kûchî
punálada

ngwâ bzhîn
plaga

ngwê7y
ruido, ruidoso

ngwi7
cocido

ngwlàb
ulabo

ngwla7p
paloma de ala blanca

ngwlà
gusano ahuatudo

ngwlà
ixcatón

ngwlà dôd
gusano de resina

ngwlà nkê7 go7 d
gusano medidor

ngwlà tê7l
entró la noche

ngwlà xi7l
ixcatón de algodón

ngwlà yî7 ze7ch
gusano de Cemposúchitl

ngwîy
sacerdote

ngwîy
sacerdote

ngwîr
rajada; rajadura; se quebró

ngwîr
granos del ojo

ngwzan
consuegro

ngwzan
poder del río, dueño del río

ngwzha7n
cuidanene

ngwzhûl
avispa petate?

ngwzî7r
rayo

ngwzo yî
temazcal

ngê
mosca

ngê yich
mosca grande

ngê yî7b
moscó

ngê g
mosca grande, moscó

ngê g ndyê^ moscó verde

nhô
nosotros

nhwchînh
chupamiel

nhwtezh
grito

nhwtidá yê^ pasado (de maduro)

nhwxi
chinchatlao, viuda negra, tutatlama

nhwxi
nuera

ni
casa

nî
cuidado!

-nî
servirse

-nî
sirve; se puede
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ní</th>
<th>terminarse</th>
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<tr>
<td>ní be⁷</td>
<td>mandar, disponer, ordenar</td>
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<tr>
<td>ní dúb-é</td>
<td>ninguno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ní kósín</td>
<td>cocina (otra casa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ní làw</td>
<td>municipio, casa comunal</td>
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<tr>
<td>ní lád</td>
<td>casa de campaña</td>
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<tr>
<td>ní n-gócha⁷-s taⁿ</td>
<td>bodega</td>
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<tr>
<td>ní nzho⁷b ga⁷p</td>
<td>la casa que está arriba</td>
</tr>
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<td>ní té mbgól xò</td>
<td>casa de máscaras; casa de disfrazre, donde se visten los hombres en días de fiesta</td>
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<td>ní té ngïd</td>
<td>gallinero</td>
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<td>ní té ngù</td>
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<td>ní té zhúl</td>
<td>casa de pollito</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ní wzàn</td>
<td>casa donde se reúna la gente, casa real, casa grande</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ní yá tnix</td>
<td>casa de vara</td>
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<td>ní yîch</td>
<td>cocina</td>
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<td>casa de zacate</td>
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<td>Nicasio/a</td>
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<td>collar, gargantilla</td>
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<td>Leonilo</td>
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<td>Nîl</td>
<td>Nilo</td>
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<td>nigua</td>
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<td>-nî⁷</td>
<td>hablar; decir</td>
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<td>-nî⁷ be⁷y</td>
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<td>-nî⁷ kwê⁸</td>
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<td>-nî⁷ lá tyo⁷</td>
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<td>canilla, donde unen los huesos, coyuntura</td>
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<td>la muñeca</td>
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<td>canilla</td>
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<td>nî ya⁷</td>
<td>puño; muñeca</td>
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<td>collar de fruta de palo de pipa</td>
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<td>nîl ko⁷b</td>
<td>nixtamal de pozole</td>
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<tr>
<td>nîl ti⁷ch</td>
<td>maiz reventado</td>
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<td>nîth</td>
<td>caña</td>
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<td>-nîth</td>
<td>perderlo, echar a perder</td>
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-nîth
perderse, desaparecerse

nîth n-gûd
caña blanca

nîth xtîl
caña de Castilla

nîtz
agua

nîtz bêth
el Paraiso

nîtz bê 7
sudor

nîtz do 7
mar, agua del mar

nîtz ko 7 b
atole

nîtz ko 7 b nzê ndê
chilatole

nîtz ko 7 b nzê ^
atole de elote

nîtz ko 7 b pânèl
atole de panela

nîtz kwâl
refresco; agua fría, agua fresca; jugo

nîtz kwân
agua sucia; turbia

nîtz kwi
cedilla; úlcera? (líquido agrio)

nîtz lâl
caldo de Ulalía, puro caldo sin verduras

nîtz lêy
agua bendita

nîtz ndê chârk
agua estancada

nîtz ndê ché yê l nêz
agua estancada del camino

nîtz ngâch
chocolate

nîtz n-gâtz
cerveza

nîtz n-gûd
Agua Blanca

nîtz ngûz kwê
espermatozoide

nîtz ngûz ndô
lágrimas

nîtz nzôb lên
agua que está naciendo, manantial

nîtz rrêmêd
aguas medicinales

nîtz tê mbêy
tepache

nîtz tê mê gu
mezcal

nîtz tê yà ga 7
el pulque del palma de coquito

nîtz to 7 l
agua babosa; babas

nîtz wîfg
agua caliente

nîtz wîf
agua dulce

nîtz wîx
agua salada

nîtz wzhê ^
agua tibia

nîtz xi 7 n xa 7 gôtz
toloache

nîtz xyê
agua clara

nîtz ya 7
brazo de río

nîtz yi
aguas de lluvia

nîtz yi 7 n
chilatole, salsa de chile

nîtz yi 7 n bîx
salsa de tomate

nîtz yi 7 n bîx lid
salsa de miltomate

nîtz yi 7 n bîx n-gôch ngû
salsa de tomate que se revuelve con huevo

nîtz yîd kwê xa 7 gôtz
toloache

nîtz yîx nî
agua del nacimiento de la criatura

nîtz yê ^
agua clara, agua fría

nîw
nihua
nîx
aguacate

nîx bî
aguacate chiquitillo

nîx bôl
aguacate voludo

nîx ndyê^©
aguacate verde

nîx zùd
aguacate mantecoso

nîz
mazorca

nîz btîth
mazorca de maíz hueso

nîz máyzónh pint n-gâtz
mazorca pinta negra

nîz mtyûb
mazorca deshojada

nîz nê
mazorca roja

nîz nzhôp ngâch
mazorca de maíz coyuche

nîz nzhôp n-gâtz
mazorca de maíz negro

nka^7 n
vez

nóbí
novillo

nônh
Senón

no^7 l
largo

ntel yath
tronchadura, torcedura

nte^7 k
agachado

nto^7 chô-y´
despachado

nto^7 lê^©
bautizo

ntu^7 b
cenzontle

ntyd xê^7
trasparente

ntzi^7
anillo del palo

ntê^1
torzón

ntê^1 tê mbê z
torzon de la criatura

nûf
Ranulfo

nûzh
grillo

nûp
mezcal

nwîx
antojo

nyê bê`
de día

nzâ
frijol

nzâ bay^7
frijol tabayo

nzâ dî
frijol molido; color de frijol molido

nzâ kwárênt
frijol cuarentero, frijol cuarenteño

nzâ kê^©
ejote verde

nzâ n-gûd
frijol blanco (piñero)

nzâ piñér n-gâtz
frijol piñero negro

nzâ yê`l
frijol enredador (pinto)

nzérînh
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.

nzhâch
nanche

nzhâl nîtz yu^7 sánt tûrrs
la juntura del río Sta. Ursula

nzhâ
oído; oreja

nzhâ zê` la^7
yá tiene (mucho) tiempo, tiempo de antes

nzhâd
cirhuela
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>maíz para sembrar</th>
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<td>cirhuela seca</td>
<td>nzâd bîx</td>
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<td>cirhuela de iguana</td>
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<td>nzâh</td>
<td>muestranene</td>
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<td>nzherr^7 nzherr^7</td>
<td>sonido de ratón comiendo maíz</td>
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<td>nzhe^7n</td>
<td>una comida sencilla, rústica, campesina</td>
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<td>amarillo</td>
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<td>nzhir nzhîr nzhir</td>
<td>sonido de abrir una puerta que le falta grasa</td>
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<td>nzhis nzhis nzhis nzhis</td>
<td>sonido de comer tostadas</td>
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<td>sonido de una silla rechinando</td>
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<td>luna menguante</td>
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<td>maíz</td>
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<td>la(s) vuelta(s) del camino nuevo</td>
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<tr>
<td>nzô kë^</td>
<td>subida</td>
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<td>nzô kë^ yî zo^7</td>
<td>la subida del mirador, el mirador</td>
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<tr>
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<td>bajada</td>
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<td>elote</td>
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<td>nzë^ bên</td>
<td>elote tierno</td>
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<td>ñá yi</td>
<td>rastrojo</td>
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<td>ñá yi tô nîz</td>
<td>cañuela de mazorca; rastrojo de mazorca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñà^7</td>
<td>milpa</td>
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<td>ñà^7 tô là nzë^</td>
<td>milpa de hoja de elote</td>
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<tr>
<td>ñà^7 tô nzë^</td>
<td>milpa de elote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñà^7</td>
<td>no hay, no está, no, nothing</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
ña'n ndô
sin punta

ña'n xé ta
nada de eso

ñël
Daniel

ñó
a ver

-ò
tomar

-òj
molerlo

-òj
taparse, vestirse

Ók
Oscar

-òl yu
chiflar

-on
saberlo

ópé
Qué me estás esuchando?; oye!

ós nxên yîx
el oso para cortar zacate

-òtz
abrir la boca; bostezar, dormitar; regañar, gritar, subir la voz

ówizh ta
mediodía

oy oy
grito del cuche (onomatopeya)

-pálôm tô gó
paloma azul

-pánh yê th
pan serrano

-pánswél
servilleta

-pápáy
papaya

-pás áyít
Paso Macahuite, Paso Ancho, Río Grande

-pás zi l
Paso Ancho, Río Grande, Paso Macahuite

-pástí ndye lád
pastilla que se pinta la ropa

-pät
pato

-pát (yá) ndâtz yîd
pato pata de cuero

Pāw
Paula

Pāw
Paulina

-páyás
payaso

-péj
Epigmenio

-pélivvé
pelibuey

-pênch
huérfano
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<td>pé pé pé chakk chakk</td>
<td>sonido que hace la guajolota hembra cuando llama a su cria</td>
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<tr>
<td>píntur ndye7 tzo7 xò ngútz ya7 mèn</td>
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<td>píntz pár xèn álambré</td>
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<td>píntz pár yi7 b yich kwe7</td>
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<td>cuánto es?; cuantos no más</td>
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<td>pl7</td>
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<td>pl7 pl7 pl7 pl7</td>
<td>sonido de la boca cuando está comiendo</td>
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<td>pòj</td>
<td>sonido del globo reventándose, sonido de rajar leña con hueco adentro</td>
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<tr>
<td>pôle</td>
<td>Polo; Apolinar; Policarpo; Hipólito</td>
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<td>Pól</td>
<td>Pólithe</td>
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<tr>
<td>pól</td>
<td>cuándo?</td>
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<td>pòst tè xè7</td>
<td>poste de luz electrica</td>
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<tr>
<td>po7j</td>
<td>sonido al tocar una puerta gruesa; sonido de caminar con tacón</td>
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| sonido de retrocarga (refle grueso) | purrs  
sonido de tomate |
|---------------------------|------------------|
| popo popo  
sonido del tambor | pus  
sonido de picar navaja a persona o animal |
| pp  
sonido de un burro o caballo soplando cuando está comiendo | pwént  
puente |
| ppl  
sonido cuando le sale aire de la bestia antes de cagar | pwént yà  
puente de madera |
| pras  
el sonido cuando cae cagado de pájaro | pw  
sonido de beso de boca limpia |
| prás  
sonido de un pescado azotando su ala en el agua; sonido de una cosa que se cae en el agua | px  
sonido de rifles largos |
| prás pras  
sonido de chapotear, botear agua en una pared | ránch Póbrés  
Rancho Pobreza |
| pras pras pras  
sonido de la gente gorda cuando camina; sonido de ropa mojada (puesta cuando camina) | rást té mbâd ndâtz  
huella |
| pras  
sonido de resbalar | ráy té mbâd ya  
las rayas de la mano |
| prás prás  
sonido cuando azota la ola | rébés (COA)  
izquierda, a la izquierda |
| prrs  
sonido de diarrea | réjidór  
regidor |
| pûlk  
pulque | réjidór tè édûkâsyónh  
regidor de educación |
| pûlmônhs  
pulmón | réjidór tè óbrás  
regidor de obras |
| Rëy  
Reynaldo | réjidór tè pólisí  
regidor de policía |
| Rëy  
Reynaldo; Reymundo | rënhk  
cojo, rengo |
| réy  
los Santos Reyes | Rôs  
Rosa |
| rîñóns  
riñón | rôj  
rojo (pajaro) |
| rójwá  
nagua | rójwá bxûb  
nagua corta |
| rójwá ko  
nagua larga | Rôs  
Rosa, Rosalinda |
| Rôs  
Rosalino | Rôsâr  
rosaria |
| rr  
sonido de agua hirviendo; sonido de abrir una llave de agua | rrá rrác rrâ  
sonido de un pájaro que se llama rojó o picolargó |
| rr  
sonido de arrancar una moto |
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<td>ráf</td>
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<td>Rufino; Rufina</td>
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<td>sã</td>
<td>Isaias</td>
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<td>sáb</td>
<td>sábado</td>
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<td>sándi bix té mzin</td>
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<td>sáp</td>
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<td>sâ</td>
<td>nosotros (exclusivo)</td>
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<td>sche⁷</td>
<td>cena</td>
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<td>sé</td>
<td>José</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sêb</td>
<td>Severino/a; Eusebio</td>
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<td>sén</td>
<td>docena</td>
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<td>sén</td>
<td>Rosendo</td>
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<td>sérr tè mbêz</td>
<td>cera de abeja de enjambre</td>
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<td>situación</td>
<td>sérrúch</td>
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<td>serrucha, serrote</td>
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<td>séy</td>
<td>seña, señal</td>
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<td>šid</td>
<td>Isidro</td>
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<td>Sík</td>
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<td>símpl</td>
<td>sin sal; a tiempo</td>
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<td>skě</td>
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<td>skîn</td>
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<td>skîn ni</td>
<td>en la esquina de la casa; al fondo de la casa</td>
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<td>skîn tô</td>
<td>esquina de la boca</td>
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<td>smán</td>
<td>semana</td>
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<td>SNDîp tza⁷</td>
<td>más al rato, al rato, ahorita</td>
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<tr>
<td>só mbál</td>
<td>Buenos días, compadre.</td>
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<tr>
<td>sóg</td>
<td>sogo</td>
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<td>Sôl</td>
<td>Soledad</td>
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</table>
sóbrer dà
don sombrero de petate (de palma)

sóbrer n-gätz
sombrero panza de burro, sombrero negro

sóbrer yích
sombrero de lana; sombrero panza de burro

sóbrer n-gätz yîn
sombrero de palma

sóbrer yích yîd lèn bûrr
sombrero panza de burro

sóbrer yích yîn
sombrero de palma

sóplét xë7
soplete eléctrico

sólstoý
sonido de tortolita

spéj
espejo

Stéb
Esteban

stî7 n wizh
de aquí a 15 días

strópa
estropajo

stúb
otro

stúb lád
allá; al otro lado

stúb nî
otra casa

stúb zê
otra parte

stu7 cha7 górr
otro ratito, otro poquito de tiempo

stu7 ké
otro poquito

stu7 x ta7
más al ratito

stzî7l
comida

stzî7l
la comida

sûl
Soledad

súplént
suplente

sústén móórâ
asucena morada

swít mbâl
hermano del compadre del hermano de uno (m m)

syán
Garaciano

s7
sonido de tener frío

Tách
Anastacia

taj taj taj taj
sonido de tocar la puerta

ták
Eustaquio; Plutarco

tak tak tak tak
sonido de un pollo/gallina recojendo maíz en el suelo

tak tak tak tak
don sombrero de gente que va corriendo

ták tâk tâk tâk tâk
sonido de una persona caminar con tacones

tâm
tambo

tâm tê mzhîn
tambo de miel, tambo para cocer la miel

tamâl btzé yî
tamales de elote tierno con frijol

tamâl ko7b
tamal de masa

tamâl kûch
tamales de puerco

tamâl là yê7 z ñà
tamales de hoja de quelite

tamâl mbêd
tamales de guajolote

tamâl ngîd
tamales de gallina

tamâl nzâ
tamal de frijol

tamâl nzhô bê7l
tamales de carne

tamâl yà wtó
tamales de tecolmeca

tâmâl yà zi7x
tamales de chepil

brés tê mzhîn
támēl yàz
tamales de ejotes tiernos;
tamal con polvo de maíz podrido

támēl yèth
tamales de calabaza

támēl yè^th bàd
tamales de elote tierno solo

támbór yîd
tambor de cuero

tanh
sonido de caer algo pesado

tánh tánh tánh tánh
tánk
sonido de campana sonando

tàrr
Tarcicio

tàrūg
tarugo

tas tas tas tas tas
tamal de flor de guía de calabaza

táx
pasmado

Táy
Santiago

tà
3i

tà brèl
cosa redonda
tà kē^
cosa verde
tà māch
suciedad

tà mbya^n
el resto, desperdicio

tà nà ñí
cosa usada (que ya no sirve)
tà nà nbo7 kwént xa7 zîl
calculadora; computadora

tà ndûth ngē^g
matamoscas

tà ndyât ndē`y mën
cepillo dental

tà ndyô
mercancía

tà n-gócha^n` dî të
yè^z
cenicero

tà nôch
surtido, cosa revuelta

tà ntxà bê
sombrilla

tà nzu^hû7 tô mè
rastrillo

tà nzyën nà yêl wzá
dî`zh ndô grábâdôr
cinta, caset

tà nzyê` ndô mbi
avión; helicóptero

tà rrémed
medicina

tà wxin
aire malo, aire maligno, brujo

tà wzhê^7
amuleto

tà wzhê^7
lunar

tà xkê
porquería

tà xyê^7
plantas

tà j
sonido de lo que se cae en el suelo

tâ
ahorita

tâ ta7
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
| **tân** | 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 |
| **tê** | cántaro |
| **tê** | de |
| **-tê lyâth** | torcerse |
| **-têbêk** | repetirlo; devolverlo; regresar lo |
| **Têch** | Teresa |
| **téj yû** | teja de barro |
| **téjámânîl** | tejabanil (con tabla) |
| **-têk zôb** | trenchar |
| **-têkô** | meterlo |
| **têl** | si |
| **têlê** | si |
| **Têm** | Artemia |
| **tên** | sangre |
| **tên** | quedito, bonito |
| **tên nyo^7 xê** | sangre que sale de la nariz |
| **tên te ngôn n-gâtz** | sangre de toro negro |
| **Têntz** | Hortensia |
| **tényént** | teniente |
| **tepraka tepraka tepraka tepraka** | sonido de un caballo corriendo |
| **têtérêt** | sonido de gallina (onomatopeya) |
| **Têy** | Luteria |
| **-te^7** | invitarlo |
| **-te^7p** | trompezarlo |
| **te^7(-y´)** | de una vez |
| **tê** | encuerado |
| **-tê** | apartarlo, repartirlo |
| **têch** | roñoso, desquebrado |
| **-têl yô** | enredarse |
| **tî** | tono |
| **-tí** | descogerlo |
| **-tí bo^7** | descogerlo |
| **-tí di^7zh** | aviar |
| **tí xi^7n** | cadera |
| **Tîch** | Patricio |
| **tid** | chorro, diarrea |
| **tid** | diarrea (local for diarrea) |
| **-tid** | pasar |
| **-tid kwâ látyo^7** | borrarse la mente |
| **-tid lên** | purgarse, vaciarse, limpiarse; sufrir la enfermedad de diarrea |
| **-tid mbê´z** | abortar |
| **tid tên** | disentería, sentería de sangre |
| **tid tên gu^7zh** | sentería de pujo |
-tìd të7l látíyo7
borrarse el sentido

-tìd të7l látíyo7
perder el sentido

-tìd xìn
malparir, abortar

tìd xìn
el pujo, disentería, disintería, sentería

-tìd ya7 (yà)
derramar, podar

-tìd yàn
malpasarse de comida

tíj
movimiento del pulso

tík
Eutiquio, Otiquio

-tíkò
meterlo

tíl
goma

tíl
Otilio

-tíl
pelar, rebanar(lo)

Tìl
Matilde; Domitilo

-tíl vàth
torcerse, doblarse, troncharse, desviarse el hueso

tíl yìx
huesos donde doblan
goma montés

Tìn
Cristina

Tìn
Celestino

Tình
Agustín

tính tình tình telân

telânh tình telân

sonido de repicar la campana

sonido de cuerda tensada

tír
tiro

tíh
hueso; flaco

tíh lá týo7
el hueso de la boca del estómago

tíh lâz tzo7
hueso pegado a la espalda

tíh lèn
hueso de la barriga

tíh màl yâth
hueso torcido; hueso doblado

tíh ndâtz
hueso del pie

tíh ngôch
hueso roto

tíh ngûtz ya7
huesos de la mano

tíh nî

tíh nî mbâd ya7
wrist bone

tíh nî ngûtz ya7
hueso de los dedos de la mano

tíh nî xàn lèn
hueso unido debajo de la barriga

tíh nî xàn lèn
hueso unido debajo de la barriga

tíh nî xàn ndâtz
hueso unido debajo del pie

tíh nî xàn xò
hueso unido de la pierna

tíh nî xìb
hueso unido de la rodilla

tíh nî ya7
el hueso del codo del mano

tíh tê gân
hueso del muerto; craneo del difunto

tíh tì lá tzo7
hueso de en medio de la espalda

tíh tì lá tzo7
espalda; hueso de la espalda

tíh tì lá tzo7
hueso debajo de la barriga

tíh xàn lèn
hueso de la nalgas

tíh xì7n
hueso de rodilla

\textit{tîth ya\textsuperscript{7}}
hueso de la mano

\textit{tîth yèk mënh}
calavera, cráneo

\textit{tîth yèn ndô}
hueso del pescuezo adelante

\textit{tîth yèn wzàn}
el hueso mayor del pescuezo

Tîx
Beatríz

tîz
caspa (de la cabeza)

tî\textsuperscript{7}
apenas

tî\textsuperscript{7}
diez

tî\textsuperscript{7} áyo\textsuperscript{7}
mil

tî\textsuperscript{7} btyôp
doce

tî\textsuperscript{7} dâ
catorce

tî\textsuperscript{7} ndâk
hace poco

-tî\textsuperscript{7} b
ponerlo

-tî\textsuperscript{7} b
zarandear, colar

tî\textsuperscript{7} bdyûb
once

tî\textsuperscript{7} ch
olán; alforza

-tî\textsuperscript{7} ch
arrugarse

tî\textsuperscript{7} n
quince

tî\textsuperscript{7} n
trabajo

tî\textsuperscript{7} n bchôn
diez y ocho

tî\textsuperscript{7} n bdyûb
diez y seis

tî\textsuperscript{7} n btyôp
diez y siete

tî\textsuperscript{7} n gôn
trabajo de jornal; jornalero

tî\textsuperscript{7} n láw
trabajo comunal

tî\textsuperscript{7} tz
latida de corazón

-tî\textsuperscript{7} x
medirlo

-tî\textsuperscript{7} x bêk
voltear

-tî\textsuperscript{7} x kô
envolverlo, enrollarlo

-tî\textsuperscript{7} x tê
voltearlo

tîl
comal

tîn
paladar blandito

tîn
trece

\textit{tîn}
uvula (RGBA)

\textit{tîz}
casca

\textit{tktktktk}\textsuperscript{7}
sonido de una lata que tiene piedritas.

\textit{tkkt\textsuperscript{7}}
sonido del R-15

\textit{tłâ}
centro, en medio

\textit{tłâ mbåd ndåtz}
la del pie, en medio del pie, palma del pie

\textit{tłâ tha\textsuperscript{7}}
en medio; la mitad

\textit{tłâ tha\textsuperscript{7} gêzh}
centro del pueblo

\textit{tłâw}
entre, en medio, entre medio

\textit{tmî}
moneda

\textit{tmî gô}
dinero viejo; moneda vieja

\textit{tnix}
fajilla

\textit{tò}
quién?, cuál?

\textit{tòb}
tenate

\textit{tòb}
-tõb
ecar, tirar

-tõb nîtz
ecar agua, botar agua, tirar agua

tõb yöx
torpe, terco

-tõgo'ì
enlargarse

 tônh
Platón; Melitón

Tônh
Platón

tônó ga'ìp
tono alto

tônó lâ
tono bajo

tônó ndáp
tono ascendente

tônó ndlâ
tono descendente

tõp
ser dos

tõp gâl
cuarenta

tõp gâl nti'ì bgay'ì
cincuenta y cinco

tõp nãk
dos de ellos; no es tan seguro

tõx lît
conejo del campo (el más grande)

tôy
Antonio

to'
bagazo (de panela)

to'
trozo, pedazo

-to'
salir

-to' bxìd
desenredarse

-to' chô
vaciarse, descargarse

-to' go'ì
alargarse (de tiempo)

-to' kê'
apartarse

-to' látyo'
gustar con ganas; querer

-to' nza'ìb
salir volteandose, caer volteandose

-to' xka'ìl
desvelarse

-to' xo'ìb
salir para arriba, flotar

-to' zë'
salir de viaje

tõk to'k to'k to'k to'k
sonido de caminar en el piso con tacón; sonido de tocar en puerta gruesa

tõ'
babas

tô'
caracol

tô'ì ngwi'
clara del hueso

tô
boca; orilla

tô
gripe; tos

tô à tîzh
la orilla del Arroyo Egarechal

tô bêntán
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'ì
cintura

tô la'ì mbë`ì
cintura de gusano

tô lë'
bautizo

tô mbyìb
boca remendada, boca costureada, boca operada

tô mzya'
boca rota, boca rompida

tô ndáp
tos ferina
tô ngwîlê
tô ngwzâ
tô ngwzô yî
tô nî
tô pântálônh
tô pôs yû wi'î
tô wxên
tô xàw
tô yî tî
tô yî tî yî'î
tô yîd xi'î
tô yu
tô yû
tô xám
trâmp
tranh
tras tras tras tras

tô ngwâ
boca rajada
boca rota
boca hinchada
entrada, orilla de la casa
brayeta de pantalón, manera de pantalón
la orilla del pozo de barro
boca ancha
hablador
orilla del fugón, orilla del brazero
la orilla del anafre
cuerpo del culo
la orilla del río
trampa
sonido de una persona corriendo dentro del agua
sonido de zapatos caminando en charcos o en un camino mojado; sonido cuando cae la cagada de una bestia
Toribio
sonido del teléfono cuando marca
sonido de molino eléctrico
sonido de la cuja
correear
chile, tusta, picante
tulipán rojo, sardete
tulipán amarillo
tulipán nzhich
tulipán nzhich
tulipán amarillo
tulipán nzhich
tulipán nzhich
Panunicio
seso, tuétano
chiquito
pequeño, chiquito
mandar, enviar
correear; alcanzarlo
un ratito; un segundo; poco
poquito a poquito
deshojarlo
sonido cuando baila el guajolote
pelón
toalla
sonido cuando cae lo crudo a lo caliente por ejemplo huevo estrallado en un sartén con aceite caliente
dormirse la carne
tiempo de antes
tiempo de antes
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tiempo de miel, mes que hay miel</td>
<td>-tyúb deshojarse</td>
<td>hermano/a, compañero/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tyémp xàp tiempos antes, tiempos antepasados</td>
<td>-tyê^ch vaciarse</td>
<td>tzá dyáb amante, querido/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tyêpunk tener risa</td>
<td>-tyê^l enchuecarse, ponerse chueco</td>
<td>tzá wyó compañero pleitisto, enemigo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tyê^l engruesarse, engordarse</td>
<td>-tzâ taparlo, cerrarlo</td>
<td>tzá xmál hermano/a de la comadre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tyê trompezarse</td>
<td>-tzà bèk cercar, tapar, tajar</td>
<td>-tzé CAUS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tyê^p repartirse</td>
<td>-tzâ lò cercar, tapar, tajar</td>
<td>-tzé gù nûp emborracharlo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tyêcalentarse</td>
<td>-tzàk aguantar</td>
<td>-tzé kèn apurarlo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tyê^g calentarse</td>
<td>-tzàk yôn entender</td>
<td>-tzé kèn exigir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tyê^ch arrugarse</td>
<td>-tzé yàk curar</td>
<td>-tzé yàk yê´l yîzh curar la enfermedad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tyê^l abririse (una flor)</td>
<td>-tzé yê´l enfriarlo</td>
<td>-tzé yê´l lá tyo^7 vencerse, calmarse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tyê ponerse dulce, estar dulce</td>
<td>-tzé zí castigarlo</td>
<td>-tzé zí castigarlo</td>
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<tr>
<td>tyós</td>
<td>-tzékë^7 persogarlo</td>
<td>-tzéy pegarlo, blanquear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tyô^l resbalarse</td>
<td>-tzèn extraviarlo, perderlo</td>
<td>-tzèn pegarlo, blanquear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tyô^nh desfilarse</td>
<td>-tzàl perderlo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tyô^b persegui, ventear</td>
<td>-tzàn ponerse en dieta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tyô^zh resbalarse</td>
<td>-tzéy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
fumar
-tze⁷k
girarlo
-tze⁷k
glevarlo, darle vuelta; doblarlo
tze⁷w
verdolaga
-tzid
aprender
tzi⁷
intestino, tripa
-tzi⁷
exprimir [ropa], tirarlo (agua)
tzi⁷ kid
cordón del ombligo
tzi⁷ wlàtz
intestino delgado, tripa delgada
tzi⁷ wlàtz lèn mèn
intestino delgado de la barriga
tzi⁷ wzàn
intestino grueso, tripa mayor
-tzi⁷ dz
sonar; tocar
-tzi⁷ dz ya⁷
aplaudir
tzi⁷l
temprano
-tzò mbì
tlimpiar, asearlo
-tzòl (COA)
-tzòn
destruirlo, descomponerlo, desbaratarlo
tzo⁷
espalda; atrás, detrás de; COA encima de
tzo⁷ ni
afuera; atrás de la casa; baño
-tzo⁷ te⁷k
espalda doblado
tzo⁷ tìth xè
atrás del hueso de la nariz
tzo⁷ tìth ya⁷
atrás de los huesos de la mano
tzo⁷ wày
su espalda de la bestia
tzo⁷ xìk
atrás del brazo; atrás del hombro
tzo⁷ ya⁷
atrás de la mano
tzo⁷ ya⁷
dorso de la mano
tzo⁷ yèn
nuca, atrás del pescuezo
tzo⁷ yìch
Agua Blanca
-tzo⁷ yìch ngùz ndô
ceja
-tzo⁷ yìd ngùz ndô
el cuero del ojo
-tzo⁷ yìd ngùz ndô
párpado
tzô
tamaño
tzòn
cascabel (de la víbora)
-tzûy
hacerle cosquilla
-tzu⁷
apagarlo
-tzûb
tumbar
-tzûb yè
rodarlo
-tzyì
exprimirse [ropa]; tirarse [agua]
-tzĕ
repartir, resembararlo, dividirlo
-tzĕ
tzembar; repartir
-tzĕ’ tìx
ensalarlo
-tzĕ’ tê^l
enchuecarlo
-tzê
acarrear(lo), manejarlo;
traspasar?
-ţe7 ké
redondearlo; dar vuelta

-ţe7 kűd
embarrar de blanco, pintar de blanco

-ţe7 la tyo7
recordarlo, acordarse; extrañarlo

-ţe7 k
darle vuelta

-ţe7 l
despedirse antes de la muerte

-ţe
escasearse, acabarse

tē'
todos

tē’ tzé
todo

tē’tza7
todo

tē’tza7 li7n
todos los años

tē’-x
todos

-ţe’ y
acabarse

-ţe7
acabarlo

-ţe7 ch
regar

tē7 l
noche

tē7’l kwā
noche oscura

tē’ tz
pájaro carpintero

tē7’ tz bix
pájaro carpintero pinto chiquito

tē7’ tz n-gātz
pájaro carpintero negro

tē7’ tz n-gâch
pájaro carpintero chiquito, pájaro carpintero pinto

tē7’ tz tik
pájaro carpintero negro

tē^ch
vacio

tē^g
cazueñita (más grande que la chilmolera), cazuela hecha en barro

tē^g
candilero, borcelana

tē^g ndyô bku7
candilero, incensario

tē^l
cagada más amplia que normal (por ej. cuando está enfermo uno)

-ţe^l
hacer

-ţe^y
tomar

ú wizh ta7
mediodía

-ú zha7 dī7 zh
faltar respecto, insultar

-ú zha7 dī7 zh
insultarlo, ofenderlo; amenazarlo; faltar respeto

úbrá té ngôn
úversa de vaca

-úcha7
hacerlo

-úkwa7
adornar

úl
hule; charpe; tirapiedra

-úl ndâtız
bajar

-ùn
durar

-ùn
hacer

-ùn ánîmár tzâ
animar a su compañero

-ùn áyúd
ayudarlo, apoyarlo

-ùn be7y
pensar, desear

-ùn bitz
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 tìñ
trabajar, usar, ocupar

-ùn túzh
hacerlo chiquito, enchiquecerlo

-ùn yë́l kwí́n
mentir, hacer mentira

-ùn yë́l ndéz
hacer mentira, mentir

-ùn yë́l wyá kò
encelarlo

-ùn zin
hacerlo bolas, hacerlo tonto, engañarlo

-ùn zí́n
engrandecerse

-ùná
hacerlo

-ùth
matar

-ùxkwa⁷
hacer(lo), construirlo, arreglarlo

-ùxkwa⁷ bếl
hacerlo llama

-ùxkwa⁷ do⁷ yèzh
torcer el ixtle, hacer mecate

-ùxkwa⁷ xàn
formar

-úzha⁷
desperdiciar, manuciar

wàb
faisán, guajolote montes

wàch
iguana

wàch lagartija

wàch mbîl
lagartija de rayo

wàch ndâw
camaleón

wàch sérêt
lagartija sereta

wàch té ngwzì⁷
iguana de rayo

wàch yèx
iguana-escorpión

wàch yo⁷
escorpión

wàch yë́l
iguana (verde)

wàn
abejón bruja, muestramuerte

wàná
guanábana

wàr
Eduardo

wàt
hondo

wàth lûzh
profundo?

wàth yû
bondadoso, humilde

wày
caballo, bestia

wày nte⁷ yo⁷
bestia de carga

wày té mè xu⁷
caballo del diablo

wâz
cuerno, cacho

-wâ⁷encimarse

wà⁷n
macizo, forzada

wà⁷n
ratero, robón, ladrón

wà⁷n té yêtz
gasa de olla; gasa de jarra

wàtz
junto

wàtz
junto a, cerca, alrededor

wàw wôw wàw wôw
sonido de perro ladrando

wdâp
cuarto

wdí xò
mujeriego

wdich gi⁷ib
quebrapierro
<p>| wdyē^tz xe^n | dormilón |
| wêch | inflamación del pescuezo, anginas (una bola hinchado en el pescuezo) |
| wêd yî | pegapiedra |
| wén | bueno; bien |
| wêr | güero |
| wêy | huella |
| wê | allá; aquél |
| wê lá | hasta ahora, hasta entonces |
| wê la(^7) | hasta ahora, hasta entonces |
| wêtha(^7) | allí mero |
| wgân | trabajoso |
| wga(^7) y | quinto |
| wgâd | séptimo |
| wgâl | |
| wgâp | asqueroso |
| wgo(^7) p | |
| húmedo | |
| wín kè | dañero |
| wisách | huizache |
| wit | hermano de hombre |
| wit göx | hermano mayor (m, m) |
| wit mbál | hermano (m) del compadre (m) |
| wit tüßh | hermano menor (m, m) |
| wit yix | hermano del monte (m, m) |
| with mën | asesino |
| wiz | víbora corta |
| wíz | grito del chehuizo |
| wíz | pájaro cherihuizo, chehuvido, chehuizo |
| wizhz | sol, día |
| wizhz là mbdo(^7) | día del santo de uno; cumpleaños |
| wi(^7) | diversión |
| -wi(^7) | lastimarse, quedarse |
| herido | |
| 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 |
| wlâch | arisco, brioso (animales que patean) |
| wlàtz | delgado |
| wla(^7) p | pisca de mazorca |
| wlâ | ixcatón, xcatón |
| wlân | olor a xuquía (huevos crudos) |
| wîzxn ndya(^7) | xuquía |
| wlè | ciego; tuerto |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>wle\textsuperscript{y}</th>
<th>sacerdote, cura, padre</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wlu\textsuperscript{t}</td>
<td>vivo, liviano, ágil, rápido</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wle\textsuperscript{t}h</td>
<td>tiempo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wle\textsuperscript{z}tha\textsuperscript{7}</td>
<td>espérate!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wle\textsuperscript{7}</td>
<td>cobarde, atrasado</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wle\textsuperscript{7}</td>
<td>flojo (no apretado)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wle\textsuperscript{^}</td>
<td>descarado, desobediente</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wte\textsuperscript{l}n</td>
<td>bonito, chulo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wte\textsuperscript{7}l</td>
<td>grueso, gordo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wfi</td>
<td>calor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wfi\textsuperscript{g}</td>
<td>calor, caliente; hace calor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wti\textsuperscript{7}</td>
<td>décimo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wti\textsuperscript{7}ch</td>
<td>arrugada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wtë\textsuperscript{x}</td>
<td>dulce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wtë\textsuperscript{x}fix</td>
<td>salado</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wto\textsuperscript{7}b</td>
<td>arto, grande</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wto\textsuperscript{7}b xg\textsuperscript{âl}</td>
<td>mucha sombra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wto\textsuperscript{7}l</td>
<td>resbaloso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wtu\textsuperscript{7}zh</td>
<td>resbaloso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wtza\textsuperscript{7}n</td>
<td>dieta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wtžn</td>
<td>bonito; chulo, bella</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wtzi\textsuperscript{7}</td>
<td>coyuntura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wtz\textsuperscript{on}</td>
<td>grande</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wtë\textsuperscript{^}tz</td>
<td>grosero, valiente, pleitisto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wxë\textsuperscript{x}</td>
<td>liviano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wxë\textsuperscript{7}</td>
<td>sabroso, oloroso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wxën</td>
<td>ancho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wxi</td>
<td>poco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wxi\textsuperscript{x}n</td>
<td>espíritu maligno, espíritu nocturno, brujo</td>
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<tr>
<td>wxë\textsuperscript{mbyin}</td>
<td>partida de pájaros</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wy\textsuperscript{ê}</td>
<td>caro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wy\textsuperscript{a}</td>
<td>angosto; apretado</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wy\textsuperscript{ax}</td>
<td>arto; bastante, suficiente, mucho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wy\textsuperscript{ax}</td>
<td>mucho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wy\textsuperscript{ax}</td>
<td>suficiente</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wy\textsuperscript{ax} mbyin</td>
<td>partida de pájaros</td>
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<tr>
<td>wy\textsuperscript{ên}</td>
<td>negón, persona negativa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wy\textsuperscript{ê}lêd</td>
<td>violento; apurativo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wy\textsuperscript{ê}</td>
<td>fuerte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wy\textsuperscript{i}\textsuperscript{7}</td>
<td>bravo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wy\textsuperscript{i}\textsuperscript{7}x nzhâ</td>
<td>inteligente</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wyî</td>
<td>trabajoso; duro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wyò</td>
<td>pleito, pelea, guerra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wyu7x</td>
<td>tostado</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wyë</td>
<td>derecho</td>
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<td>wyë´</td>
<td>cierto</td>
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<td>wyë7</td>
<td>noveno</td>
</tr>
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<td>wyë7zh</td>
<td>delicado, quejoso</td>
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<tr>
<td>wyë^</td>
<td>frondoso, verde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wyë^l</td>
<td>duro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wyë^l</td>
<td>maciso; duro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wzàn</td>
<td>el más grande, padruno, padrote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wze7th</td>
<td>comezón</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wzhà7n</td>
<td>chamaca cuidanene</td>
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<tr>
<td>wzhib</td>
<td>chuchupaxtle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wzhib</td>
<td>vibora de cascabel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wzhî</td>
<td>la tarde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wzhîzh</td>
<td>liso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wzhë7</td>
<td>tono, tonante, tonal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wzi7</td>
<td>rayo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wzyá</td>
<td>Ejutla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wzya7b</td>
<td>huérfano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wzë’</td>
<td>viaje</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-zë’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wë’</td>
<td>derrumbe, ladera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wëg</td>
<td>cocalote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wë7 wë7 wë7</td>
<td>sonido del grito del chivo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>sonido de aguacero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xá žîl</td>
<td>rápido, un ratito</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xål</td>
<td>presumido, fachoso, chalán</td>
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<tr>
<td>xàn</td>
<td>abajo</td>
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<tr>
<td>xàn</td>
<td>mata; abajo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xàn</td>
<td>rincón</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xàn là tê yi7 mbëz</td>
<td>mata de hoja de flor de</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyño</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xàn lô ndë’y</td>
<td>raíz del diente</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xàn ndë’y</td>
<td>encias (RGBA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xàn nîth nè</td>
<td>mata de caña roja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xàn nîth n-gûd</td>
<td>la mata de caña blanca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xàn nîth xtîl</td>
<td>caña de castilla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xàn rrûd</td>
<td>ruda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xàn súsén mórád</td>
<td>asucena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xàn tô</td>
<td>mentón; quijada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xàn tô</td>
<td>quijada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xàn xò ya7 ŋá n-gûd</td>
<td>debajo de la uña se ve blanco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xàn yà</td>
<td>mocho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xàn yè</td>
<td>Viralonga, Confradía (un rancho)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xàn yè bla7zh</td>
<td>Chucupaxtle (un lugarcito en S. Balta.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xàn yètz</td>
<td>abajo de la olla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xàn yètz</td>
<td>abajo de la olla</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
xàn yi⁷ gládyól
mata de flor de gladiola

xàn yi⁷ kártúch
mata de flor de cartucho

xàn yi⁷ márgárít
mata de flor de margarita

xàn yi⁷ núbé
mata de flor de nube

xàp
antes, tiene mucho tiempo

-xàp
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

xa⁷
él, ella, ellos

xa⁷ byî
gente hombre

xa⁷ byî
hombre(s)

xa⁷ chátín
gente Chatino

xa⁷ gôx
abuelo/a; gente grande

xa⁷ gôtz
mujer

xa⁷ gôtz gôx
abuelita, anciana, mujer vieja

xa⁷ gôtz nà ndâ zê nà ndâl mbê z
partera

xa⁷ gú lîd
casero, jefe

xa⁷ lât
extranjero; gente del valle

xa⁷ lâw
comunero

xa⁷ mórên
gente morena

xa⁷ nâk tî⁷ n
autoridad, gente que presta servicio o justicia

xa⁷ nôbô⁷ lêy tê gân
rezador

xa⁷ nôbô⁷ mên lît yî⁷ b
gente que saca a los presos de la carcel, alcaide

xa⁷ nôbô⁷ tô bârrêt
herrero

xa⁷ ndà xu⁷ p
chupador

xa⁷ ndâk
estudiante; escribano; gente sabia

xa⁷ ndî⁷ b gâx wâtz nî tê-n^ vecino

xa⁷ ndô
comerciante, gente que vende, vendedor

xa⁷ ndô làz
prostituta

xa⁷ ndô yû
gente de la tierra

xa⁷ ndûn tî⁷ n
trabajador

xa⁷ ndûth mân
carnicero

xa⁷ ndûx kwa⁷ nî nà
mâtéryál
albañil

xa⁷ ndûx kwa⁷ sómbrér
sombrerero

xa⁷ ndûx kwa⁷ yà
carpintero

xa⁷ ndûx kwa⁷ yêtz
ollerio, alfarero

xa⁷ ndûy nà nzhôp
gente que juega el maíz, saurín

xa⁷ n-gâl mê gôtz tê
stûb mên
adulterio

xa⁷ n-gâtz
gente negra

xa⁷ n-gâ' b
sobadora

xa⁷ n-gâ' l mân
gente que crece/cría animales

xa⁷ n-gôcha⁷ nzhôp tê lên yê^ gente que guarda maíz dentro del bule, gente saurín
xa7 n-gòcha7 tmî
tesorero

xa7 nkí dì
gente creyente

xa7 nkìb lád
sastre, gente que costura la ropa

xa7 nkë lít yi7b
preso; gente encarcelada

xa7 nkë’ tìth
huesero

xa7 ntzí yì mën
curandero; médico

xa7 ntzë7 bòls tè kórreo
cartero, gente transporta el correo

xa7 nyí7 pá ntyo7 prés lìt yi7b
abogado

xa7 nzyô nèd
cabo, jefe, dirigente; guía, gente que va adelante

xa7 nzyô tò nì
portero, policía; gente que se para en la puerta de la casa

xa7 párr là
gente de la costa

xa7 pínt
gente pinto

xa7 ti’n gòn
jornalero

xa7 wén
buena gente

xa7 wná-y’
testigo

xa7 wyänd
gente grande, mayor de edad

xa7 wzàn
jefe

xa7 wžitz lá tyo7
gente encarcelada

xa7 yà do7
gente impaciente

xa7 yà do7
gente de la sierra

xa7 yà do7
gente de la sierra; gente de tierra fría

xa7 yèzh lû
espíritu sobrenatural, espíritu del mundo, aire malo, espíritu maligno

xa7 yìzh
gente enferma

xa7 yìzh lû
nagual

xa7 yù wzhë^7
gente de la tierra caliente

xa7 zì l
castrón; gente grande; gente rica; gente poderosa; gente importante

xa7 (nà) ndyë gân
cirujano

xa7 k
otro/a

-xa7’l
destruir; derritir

-xa7’l tò
declarar; abrir la boca

xàb
ropa; cáscara; escama

xàb mbë^7 l
escama (~esquema) de pescado

xàb n-gûd yà
sárgo del tronco

xàb yà
cáscara del palo

xàl
que...?

xàl mbèw
qué javalín!

xârr xàrr xàrr xàrr
sonido de rascar uñas

xbì
voz, alma, pena

xbì
Miahuatlán

xdo7
amante, querido

xè
nariz

xè
quetito

xè
Qué?

xè
Qué (cosa/hora etc.)

xé gòr
cuándo?; a qué hora?
| xé mód | Cómo?      |  |  | xíl | silla, montura de caballo |
| xě na⁷ | por qué?   |  |  | xím | Simón |
| xé xo⁷ l tza⁷ | por qué?   |  |  | xin | hijo/a |
| xěb | José      |  |  | -xin | negarlo |
| -xèn | ancharse   |  |  | xin bə́l | sobrino |
| xěn ba⁷ | por qué?   |  |  | xin bən | sobrino |
| xětza⁷ | como      |  |  | xin ga⁷ n | hijo legítimo |
| xěx | oculto, escondido |  |  | xin mbá́l | ahijado |
| xěn⁷ | molleja    |  |  | xin mbga⁷ l | entenado/a |
| xën | parte blandita del pecho del guajolote macho |  |  | xin na⁷ xa⁷ | hijo del monte |
| xěn⁷ | sapo       |  |  | xin tlá | hijo de en medio |
| -xèn | cortar     |  |  | xin tǔzh | hijo menor |
| -xèn yì | arder     |  |  | xin tzá | sobrino |
| -xèn yì | arder     |  |  | xin wit | sobrino |
| xgā́l | sombra     |  |  | xin wyāk | hijo mayor |
| xgā́m | jícama     |  |  | xin xdo⁷ | hijo del querido |
| xgā́n | lunar       |  |  |  |  |
| xgā́t zë ngùz ndō | lo negro del ojo |  |  |  |  |
| xgā́p | asco, vómito |  |  |  |  |
| xgā́p bid | asco (no sale, solo agua salada) |  |  |  |  |
| xgū́ ch | punzoña |  |  |  |  |
| xī | jícara     |  |  |  |  |
| -xī | peinarse, trenzarse |  |  |  |  |
| -xī do⁷ | amarrar |  |  |  |  |
| -xī lá tyo⁷ | tener muina, odiar |  |  |  |  |
| xí zèd ndá́tz | tacón del pie, debajo del pie |  |  |  |  |
| -xībó | amarrar |  |  |  |  |
| xīd | piña de ocote |  |  |  |  |
| xik | brazo        |  |  |  |  |
| -xīk | aguantarlo |  |  |  |  |
| xik mo⁷ ch | brazo mocho |  |  |  |  |
| Xin xi7x | Xitz bèw | Xkwàn |  |
|-----------|----------|-------|  |
| nuera     | tincuatl | cansancio |  |
| Xin xíx   | -xíz     | Xkwézh |  |
| nuera     | temblar  | tragadero |  |
| Xin xmál  | Xiz nzhôp | Xkwe7 tè mbèw |  |
| hijo de la comadre | basura blanca del maíz | tufo de javalín; lunar de javalín |  |
| Xin xmbál | -xi?     |  |  |
| hijo del compadre | comprarse |  |  |
| Xin xòtz  | Xi7l     | Xla7 |  |
| nieto/a   | algodón  | olor |  |
| Xin xòtz  | Xi7n     | Xla7I |  |
| nieto; bisnieto | nalga; culo | un ratito |  |
| Xin xùz mbál | -xì    | Xla7n |  |
| hijo/a del padrino | ladrar; aullar | humo |  |
| Xin yìx   | Xi7b     | Xléy |  |
| hijo del monte | rodilla | malamujer |  |
| Xin yìx chë7l | -xìch  | Xlön |  |
| hijo del monte del esposo de uno | retoñar | cuñado/a (m con f) |  |
| Xin yûzh  | Xíd      | Xlé |  |
| yerno     | chiche   | calentura; vapor |  |
| -xìstê    | Xîd      | Xlé lûzh |  |
| levantarlo | Xiteco, persona de Santa Cruz Xitla; Santa Cruz Xitla | calentura que yá no sale hasta la muerte |  |
| Xin yìx   | -xîd     | Xlé ndày ndé'y |  |
| tío       | burlarse; reirse | calentura de dolor de muela o diente |  |
| Xin yìx   | Xîl      | Xlé ndày nzhâ |  |
| pájaro carpintero | sereno | calentura de oído |  |
| Xin xît   | Xka7l    | Xlé tè tô |  |
| Xît       | sueño    | calentura de tos |  |
| Xin xît   | Xkê      | Xlé tè tô |  |
| Xît       | mierda, caca | calentura de donde se corta |  |
| -xîtz     | Xkwâ    |  |  |
| espantar  | nube     |  |  |
xlë’ xîl
calentura de escalofrío; calentura de paludismo

xlë’ zhêb
calentura de espanto

xlë’ th ndê’y
entremedio del diente

xlë’ th ngûtz ya’
entremedio de los dedos

xlë’ th yich ngûz ndô
entremedio de las pestañas

xlë’^ fruta fresca

xmbâd
huarache (forma posesiva)

xmbî
pura clara

xnà gracias; provecho

xná téñ almuerzo, desayuno

xnà wna’ madrastra

xna’ gól abuela

xna’ gól góx bisabuela

xna’ mbál madrina

xna’ mbál góx madrina vieja, madre del padrino, madre de la

madrina

xna’ xît tía

xna’ xôtz abuela

xna’ yî’ suegra de mujer

xna’ yî’n suegra

xna’ zha’p suegra de un hombre

xnè cola

xnè wén anona del bueno

xnètz tía

xnèw anona

xnèw anona(l)

xnèw yix tê ndî’z anona del monte de ardilla

xnèz partidura

xnèz mán vereda de animal

xnètz orina

xngè’ moco; caracol

xnû anona

xnû la’ gracias

xnûb rastro (de animal salvaje), huella

xon máscara; cáscara, concha; plástico duro; duro; casco, uña

xon pierna (=muslo--RGBA)

xon cocoxtle

xon tajacamino (local), correcamino, cocoxtle

xon pescadito

xon bzhû’t concha de caracol; concha del mar

xon mbgûp cáscara de armadillo

xon mtyê’tz cascarón de camarón

xon ngû cascarón de huevo

xon tê ngûz ga’ la cáscara de la almendra dentro del coquito; la cáscara de afuera del coquito

xon tê nîtz botella de agua
xò tè nîtz kwàl
envase desechable de refresco

xò tè rrétrókárgá
cascarón de cartucho de arma

xó wlá
guel

xò yèk
craneo

xò yè^ máscara

xò (ngútz) ya7
uñas de los dedos de la mano

-xo7 empeorarse

-xo7 b poner, tapar

-xo7 b ble7 poner en almácigo

-xo7 b cha7 acomodar

-xo7 b di7zh criticarlo, afamarlo

-xo7 b dól confesar; acolmulgar

-xo7 b mbè estar nublado, ponerse nublado

-xo7 b nîtz nadar

-xo7 b nîtz nadar

xo7 l tza7 tanto, que tanto

xo7 n ocho

-xo7 n correr

-xo7 n mbì soplar el viento

xo7 p seis

xòl tè là nîth ahuate de caña

xòl tè xlèy ahuate de mala mujer

xôz orqueta

xôz rama

xôz yà lechuza, buho

xôz yë^ l tarántula

xta7 qué cosa?

xta7 n muina

xte7 cuánto; por qué; cómo

Xfn
Cristina

xtûzh frente

-xûb dól colmulgar; confesar

xuk xuk xuk sonido de arrugar papel

xúp tò myin pico de pájaro

xûr sonido de serrucho cortando tablas

xûz padre; papá

xûz gól abuelo

xûz gól göx bisabuelo

xûz mbál padrino

xûz mbál göx padrino viejo; padre del padrino

xûz mbál wit su padrino del hermano

xûz mbál xlòn su padrino de la mujer del cuñado/a

xûz mbál yál chílya7 padrino de casamiento

xûz xit tío

xûz xòtz
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>abuelo</th>
<th>abuelo paterno</th>
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<tr>
<td>xúz xúz</td>
<td>presidente</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xúz yézh</td>
<td>xúz yìx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xúz yìzh</td>
<td>papá del monte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xúz yi7</td>
<td>suegro de mujer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xúz yi7n na7</td>
<td>suegro de hombre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xúz zha7p</td>
<td>suegro</td>
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<tr>
<td>xu7b</td>
<td>liso</td>
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<td>xu7n</td>
<td>ruedete</td>
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<tr>
<td>xu7p</td>
<td>sonido de zanates y otros pájaros</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-xu7t</td>
<td>estudiar</td>
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<tr>
<td>xúp</td>
<td>leche de palo; leche de sapo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xúp tê yà</td>
<td>leche de palo, estístico de palo</td>
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<td>dueño</td>
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<td>xwàn</td>
<td>dueño; amo</td>
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<td>Xwán</td>
<td>Juana</td>
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<td>xwàn yè</td>
<td>el dueño del cerro</td>
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<td>xwe7z</td>
<td>Latihueche (un rancho)</td>
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<tr>
<td>xxx’xxx’</td>
<td>sonido de cohete que amarra en mecate</td>
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<tr>
<td>xyà</td>
<td>topil de vara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xyà wsín</td>
<td>topil de cocina</td>
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<tr>
<td>xyè</td>
<td>Miahuatlán; la plaza, el mercado, tianguis</td>
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<td>xyèk</td>
<td>curva</td>
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<td>xyêl</td>
<td>pedo</td>
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<tr>
<td>xyê</td>
<td>claro</td>
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<tr>
<td>xyê tê ngû</td>
<td>claro del hueso</td>
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<td>xyê’</td>
<td>magulladura (dic.)</td>
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<td>xyê la7</td>
<td>bule de tortilla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xêth</td>
<td>jicalpextle; bute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xêth</td>
<td>pájaro jicalpextle (local), azulejo copetón (standard)</td>
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<td>xêth la7</td>
<td>bule de tortilla</td>
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<tr>
<td>yà</td>
<td>palo, arbol, madera, leña</td>
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<tr>
<td>yâ</td>
<td>hueso quemado; polvo que sale del hueso; color blanco como hueso quemado</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-yà</td>
<td>taparse, cerrarse</td>
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<tr>
<td>yà</td>
<td>harto, bastante, mucho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yà bámbú</td>
<td>palo de bambu</td>
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<td>yà bástónh</td>
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</table>
muleta, bastón

yà bdo⁷
platanar

yà bdo⁷ bìx
platanar tierno

yà bdo⁷ chàpàrrító
platanar chaparro

yà bdo⁷ mánsán
platanar de plátano manzano

yà bdo⁷ nì
platanar de guineo

yà bdo⁷ nîz
platanar de plátanos machos, platanar veyaco

yà bdo⁷ perõnh
platanar perón

yà bdo⁷ rrétángó
platanar de retango

yà bdo⁷ xtíl
platanar de Castilla, platanar de la Índia

yà bdo⁷ yèzh
palo de plátano de izle

yà bdo⁷ ye⁷ l
platanar de castilla

yà bèn
palo tierno; planta tierna

yà bey⁷
palo que usan para medir a los difuntos para escarbar las sepulturas

yà be⁷ y
palo que ocupan los policías para medir a los muertos

yà bgötz
malacate

yà big
palo cuadrado, palo labrado

yà bìtz
palo cuachipil

yà bìx lìt
palo de miltomate

yà bìzh
lengua de vaca (planta)

yà blà
tepezquillo

yà bli⁷
tapanco, tapezco

yà bli⁷
tapezco

yà blô
palo hueco

yà bòtz
malacate

yà bòtz
malacate (la flor)

yà bo⁷
tizón

yà bòtz
malacate

yà bto⁷
mocho chiquito, estaca, palo mocho

yà btzìngì
palo de macuil

yà btzya⁷
palo de carnecuil

yà btzya⁷ bìx
palo de carnecuil chiquito

yà btzya⁷ xûl
palo de carnecuil aguatudo

yà btzya⁷ yìx
carnecuil del monte

yà byèk
torcido

yà do⁷
sierra

yà do⁷ nì
travesaño de la casa, travesaño de en media, viga

yà do⁷ ch
palo de pipa

yà fâjì tê nì
fajilla de casa

yà fréznó
fresno

yà gâl
cienpie

yà gâl
cienpie

yà gay⁷
palo cinco

yà ga⁷
palma de coyul, palma de coquito
yà ga⁷
palo de coquito dulce, coyul

yà ga⁷
palo de coquito, palo de coyul

yà ga⁷ gô
palo de (coquito de) corozo, palma real

yà gâ
bastón, bordón

yà gâ
muletas; estaca para sembrar

yà göx lúzh
palo muy viejo (no se corta nunca, como en Sta. Ma. Tule)

yà gránád
palo de granada

yà gúch
mezcal del monte (local), (book agave asperrím

yà gúch të yê⁷z bí
quiota de viga

yà gu⁷d
palo blando, palo podrido

yà gú
palo de grillo

yà káfê
palo del café/cafetal

yà kísyó
durmiente (standard); quisio (local)

yà kláb
palo de clavo

-yà kô
encerlarlo/se; tener celos

yà kók
palo de coco

yà krús
palo de cruz

yà kúzh
vara

yà kwî⁷z
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 dâb
PPPyacal de tora, LDpalo de yacua resbalosa

yà làtz xîl yë⁷ g
tetiquillo, palo de yacua de tetique amarillo

yà làtz xi⁷l ye⁷ g
palo de yaco de toro

yà làzh
tatíl

yà làzh n-gûd
palo de tatíl blanco

yà làzh
palo de sanijuela

yà làtz xîl yë⁷ g
palo de yacua amarilla

yà lim
limar

yà lim chîch
palo de lima de chiche

yà limá limónh
el palo de lima limón

yà limún
palo de limón

yà lò ngôn
corral de ganado

yà lò tê kúch
chiquero

yà lòd
carrizo, el mero carrizo

yà lût
palo de bejuco

yà lyo⁷b
escoba

yà làd	ronco de corazón, palo macizo

yà mándím
palo de mandimo

yà mánh
mangal

yà mánh kôrryént
palo de mango corriente

yà mánh kryóy
palo de mango criollo

yà mánh máníl
palo de mango manila

yà mánh pêtkóñh
palo de mango petacón
yà mántzán
palo de manzana

yà mántzán bìx
palo de tejocote

yà mbîl
palo pelado

yà mbîzh yà
palo de piñón

yà mblûk
maluca

yà nânch
palo de nanche

yà nárânjh
naranjal

yà nárânjh kâlt
palo de naranja de caldo

yà n à nzho⁷ b ta⁷ n nà
dyò ndô
mostrador, aparador

yà ndân
palo de humo

yà ndâ
palo de guaje

yà ndâ tí xôl yìx
palo de guaje ahuatudo del monte

yà ndâ tí
guajal

yà ndâ tí yìx
guaje del monte

yà ndâ yê
guaje del valle

yà ndâtz btê⁷l
pata chueca

yà ndâtz kôj
pie impedido, manco

yà ndâtz móch
pata mocho

yà ndâtz ngîze⁷
pata de gallo (un palo que se ocupa para la casa)

yà ndâtz yà xô
pie de cabo de hacha

yà ndâw
palo de zapote

yà ndîzh
palo piñón

yà ndôch
amól

yà ndô⁷ y
palo de míispero

yà ndyûd
palo rollizo

yà nd0⁷ w
palo de zapote

yà ngîch
pasador; varita, palillo

yà ngîch
varaña, palillo

yà ngîch kôn ta⁷ n
ndê⁷ y
palillo para sacar cosas del diente

yà ngîch là xnêz
malvarista

yà ngîch tê mbêy
varaña de gusano

yà ngîz
cuanacasle

yà ngîz
palo huanacazle

yà ngôl
palo de tetique

yà ngôl nê
palo de tetique rojo

yà ngôl n-gûd
tetique blanco

yà ngûz
palo de fruta

yà ngûz ágû
golla (local), higuerilla (standard?)

yà ngûz ágû nê
golla colorada/roja

yà ngûz ágû n-gûd
golla blanca

yà ngûz xîlê⁷
palo de fruta fresca, árboles frutales

yà ngûz yê
zapotal

yà ngûz yî
(una especie de palo)

yà níx
palo de aguacate

yà níx bìx
palo de aguacatillo
| yà nîx bôl | palo de aguacate voludo, palo de aguacate verde |
| yà nîx bôl | palo de aguacate voludo |
| yà nîx wâw | palo de concluida |
| yà nîx zûd | palo de aguacate mantecoso |
| yà nîx zûd | aguacate mantecoso |
| yà nzhâc'h | palo de nanche |
| yà nzhâc'h nê | nanche rojo |
| yà nzhâc'h nzhich | nanche amarillo |
| yà nzhâ nî | palo de esquinero (de la casa) |
| yà nzhâd | palo de ciruela |
| yà nzhâd nê | palo de ciruela de iguana |
| yà nzhâd nê | palo de ciruela colorada, palo de ciruela roja |
| yà nzhâd nê | palo de ciruela roja |
| yà nzhâd tê mzin | palo de ciruela de ratón |
| yà nzhâd tê wâch | palo de ciruela de iguana |
| yà nzhâd wên | palo de ciruela buena |
| yà nzhât ndyê^ | ciruelar verde |
| yà nzhât nê | ciruelar rojo |
| yà nzhât nzhich | ciruelar amarillo |
| yà nzhôg | palo de cuapinole |
| yà nzhuy^ | guayabal |
| yà nzhu^ | palo de guayaba |
| yà nzhû | palo cuapinol |
| yà nzôy | palo de cacao |
| yà nzôy | cacao |
| yà pâpây | palo de papaya |
| yà pâ tê^7l | muy noche |
| yà pâ^7 zhên | mucho humo |
| yà sídr | palo de sidra |
| yà skâyn | asiento de escaño |
| yà táblôn | palo tablón |
| yà tê bândêrr | estandarte |
| yà tê gûl | orqueta de charpe |
| yà tê mblûk | palo de maluca |
| yà tê më gû | palo de toloache |
| yà tê nárânhj | palo de naranja |
| yà tê ndâ tî | palo de guaje (general) |
| yà tê ndâ yê | palo de guaje colorado del valle |
| yà tê ndâw | palo de zapote |
| yà tê pâpây | palo de papaya |
| yà tê pâpây nê | papaya roja |
| yà tê pâpây nzhich | papaya amarilla |
| yà tê wânâb | palo de guanabana |
| yà tê yál yo^7b | palo de escoba de vara |
| yà téjér tê ni | tijera de la casa |
| yà tëzh | palo yereche (=egareche) |
yà tê	palo de tetiquillo rojo

yà tê
tetiquillo

yà tìzh
etegareche (pal de)
yà tìzh gu7	palo de egareche ancho

yà tnix
fajilla, palo de varilla, vara

yà tòróñhj
torónja

yà tô ba7
cruz

yà tô ni
toro travesaño de la casa

yà tzèd	palo de sal

yà tzèdá	palo de gaseta

yà tzo7
horcón

yà tzò
horcón

yà tzò do7 ni
horcón (de en medio de la casa)

yà wânááb
palo de guanábana

yà wây
camí

yà wâ
yerba santa

yà wâz
flecha

yà wèd
maguey(ito) (local), (book izole, palmita)

yà wísách
palo de huizache

yà wîlá tí7ch
tecolmeca comestible

yà wtô bwén
tecolmeca de tlacuache

yà wtô ndêz
tecolmeca

yà wyû
encino de tierra, palo de gayú

yà wyê^l
madera dura

yà wzách
palo de huisache

yà wë’d
árbol izote

yà xèn
palo de ceiba

yà xè
caçahuanano

yà xgâl
palo de sombra

yà xil
carrizo

yà xîl	palo de carrizo

yà xîl yîch
otate

yà xîtzá
palo coquito

yà xîl
palo de algodón

yà xnèw
palo de anona

yà xo
cabo de hacha; palo duro

yà xo mo7ch
pata mocho; cabo de hacha quebrado

yà xo ngû
palo hueco

yà xo tí7l
pierna ancha, pierna abierta

yà xož
gancho, palo orqueta

yà xož
palo con nudo

yà xož
palo gancho

yà xtîl
jabón

yà xtîl dî fáb
jabón polvo de fab

yà xtîl ndyàt lâd
jabón que se lava la ropa
yà xtïl wxê
jabón de olor

yà xtïl wxîz
jabón de olor

yà xû
palo de cocharillo

yà xû yê7z
palo encino de ejote

yà xûp
palo de leche

yà xyà
palo de topíl, topíl de vara, vara de topíl

yà xyê\^ 
árboles frutales

yà xyê\^ 
frutal

yà yàj
mameyito, palo de algodón

yà yàj
palo de algodón; mameyito

yà ya7\^l 
palo de copal, copalar

yà ya7\^l bê
palo copalar blanco

yà yêd
palo de pino de ocote

yà yêl
palo de mamey

yà yêl yêzh
palo de sanzapote

yà yêt
palo de ocote

yà yêt bêxî nîz
piño grano

yà yêt bêxî tûzh
ocote piño chiquito

yà yêtz
eucalipto

yà ye7ân
palo de santo

yà ye7bno7
palo pajarrobla

yà ye7môrài
palo de flor morada

yà yi
palo de lluvia

yà yí tî
tizón

yà yí yî
tapezco

yà yí tî
flor de Santa Catarina

yà yìt
palo de hule, macahuite

yà yî\b
árboles florales

yà yî7 bân n-gûd
palo de Cempozúchitl blanco

yà yî7 ko7\b 
palo de flor de muerto; flor de manzana

yà yî7 là btzyàk 
palo de flor de Cacahuatán

yà yî7 mbîl 
palo de flor de bugambilia

yà yî7 mbîl môrài 
bugambilia morada

yà yî7 mbîl n-gûd 
bugambilia blanca

palo garroble, palo de espina de garroble

yà yîch zà
palo de espina de carrisuela

yà yîch zhêb 
palo de espina de espanta

yà yin 
cama

yà yin bê7 
tapanco

yà yin n-yî7x bê7l mân 
tapezco para asar carne

yà yin yû 
cama de tierra (para hacer tapezcos de fugón)

yà yit
palo de hule, macahuite

yà yî7 
árboles florales

yà yî7 bân n-gûd
palo de Cempozúchitl blanco

yà yî7 ko7\b 
palo de flor de muerto; flor de manzana

yà yî7 là btzyàk 
palo de flor de Cacahuatán

yà yî7 mbîl 
palo de flor de bugambilia

yà yî7 mbîl môrài 
bugambilia morada

yà yî7 mbîl n-gûd 
bugambilia blanca
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ñay yì⁷ mbìl nzhìch</th>
<th>ñay yì⁷ n nga⁷ x</th>
<th>ñay yì⁷ l</th>
<th>yá j nopal, nopal montés</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bugambilia amarilla</td>
<td>palo de chigole</td>
<td>macuill</td>
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<td>yá yì⁷ ndüx</td>
<td>yá yì⁷ n túch</td>
<td>yá yì⁷ z zá bitz</td>
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<td>Cemposúchitl chica</td>
<td>chilar de tusta</td>
<td>palo de cuachipil</td>
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<td>(hembra)</td>
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<td>palo de tetequillo</td>
<td>palo de chile de</td>
<td>palo de</td>
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<td>rojo</td>
<td>palo de chile de</td>
<td>encino</td>
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<td>yá yì⁷ n yí xil</td>
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<td>palo de flor de San</td>
<td>chilar</td>
<td>palo de</td>
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<td>Nicolás, florifundo</td>
<td>Bartaleño, palo</td>
<td>encino</td>
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<td></td>
<td>de chile de San</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Bartolo</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>yá yì⁷ túlípánh</td>
<td>yá yín</td>
<td>yá zhój</td>
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<td>palo de tulipán,</td>
<td>palma</td>
<td>palo perdis</td>
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<td>sardete</td>
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<td>yá yì⁷ way</td>
<td>yá yín ga⁷</td>
<td>yá zì⁷</td>
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<tr>
<td>palo de flor de</td>
<td>palma de coquito</td>
<td>(palo,</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cristo</td>
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<td>semejanto</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>al mandimo</td>
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<tr>
<td>yá yì⁷ ze⁷ ch</td>
<td>yá yín lyò⁷ b</td>
<td>yá zì⁷ x</td>
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<tr>
<td>palo de Cemposúchitl</td>
<td>palo de escoba</td>
<td>chepil</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>yá yì⁷ ze⁷ ch nê</td>
<td>yá yín yà kók</td>
<td>yá zì⁷ x wze⁷</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cemposúchitl rojo</td>
<td>palo de palma de</td>
<td>chepil macho</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>coco</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>yá yì⁷ ze⁷ ch nhìc</td>
<td>yá yìt</td>
<td>yá zo⁷ b</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cemposúchitl amarillo</td>
<td>palo malcahuite</td>
<td>tlamalote</td>
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<td>yá yì⁷ n</td>
<td>yá yë’l yèzh</td>
<td>yá zón</td>
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<tr>
<td>palo de chile, chilar</td>
<td>salzapote</td>
<td>guarumbo</td>
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<td>yá yì⁷ n chìlít</td>
<td>yá yë’lá</td>
<td>yá zyî</td>
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<td>palo de chilito</td>
<td>palo de águila</td>
<td>palo chamiz</td>
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<td>yá yì⁷ n gú làzh</td>
<td>yá yë’lá</td>
<td>yá (ngùz) mánh</td>
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<tr>
<td>chilar de chile</td>
<td>palo de mamey</td>
<td>palo de</td>
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<tr>
<td>poblano</td>
<td></td>
<td>(fruta) de</td>
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<td>yá yì⁷ n kànáryó</td>
<td>yá yë tz</td>
<td>mango</td>
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<td>palo de chile canario</td>
<td>eucalipto; palo</td>
<td>yáb llave</td>
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<td></td>
<td>de sauce</td>
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<tr>
<td>yá yì⁷ n ké’ lát</td>
<td>yá yë’ z</td>
<td>-yàg</td>
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<tr>
<td>palo de chile de</td>
<td>tepehuaje</td>
<td>estar tieso; ponerse tieso</td>
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<tr>
<td>agua</td>
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<td></td>
<td>yáj</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nopal, nopal montés</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ya
&
j

Camaleón

yàj ndàz

nopalito de Castilla

yàj té pítay

órgano de pitahaya

yàj té tun

nopal de tuna, órgano

yàj xôl

nopalito con ahuate

yàj yix

órgano

yàj yix

órgano, nopalito de monte

-yàk

convertirse/lo

yàk

Ciriaco/a

-yàk bchi7n

arrugarse

-yàk bôl

hacerse pelotas, hacerse voludo

-yàk bxid

enredarse

-yàk bxê7 ch

enralecerse

-yàk dê

ponerse ceniza

-yàk gôx

envejecer

-yàk gôx

envejecerse

-yàk iwále

igualarse

-yàk kwân

ponerse tupido, espeso, o carnado

-yàk nê

enrojecer

-yàk nzhûzh

enredarse; enrollarse

-yàk tîth

enflaquecerse

-yàk yà

ponerse tieso

-yàk yâl yîzh

sanarse

-yàk yâl zî

enpobrecerse

yàl chî lya7

matrimonio

yàl gûl ndâtz

baile

-yàl lâtyo7

vencerse

yàl xë7

chistoso

yàl zî

pobre; desgraciado

yàlâ

puerta

yàlô

corral

-Yân

Sinforiana

yándâtz

pie

Yânô

Adrián

Yânô

Adrián (CAN)

-yàp

subir (de precio); llenarse

-yàp nzhê` lâtyo7

enbotijarse

yápa7

mucho

-yàt

lavarse

-yàth xê7 lâtyo7

revivirse, reaccionarse

-yàw lâtyo7

odiarlo; dolerse el corazón

-yàx

ponerse viejo, envejecer

-yàz

cambiarse de pluma

ya7

ya7

rama, mano

ya7

rama; mano (de los dedos hasta el codo); brazo del ríos

-ya7
olerse

-ya⁷'ga⁷'l mano derecha

-ya⁷'iskyérdá mano izquierda

-ya⁷'ka⁷ magalla de camarón reculador

-ya⁷'móch mano mocho

-ya⁷'n'gýa' lód magalla (de chacal)

-ya⁷'sábi lá penca de sábila

-ya⁷'wlàtz yà màñh ramita de mango

-ya⁷'yà yèd n-gàtz rama de ocote negro

-ya⁷'b sobarse

-ya⁷'b yèn hervir el pescuezo

-ya⁷'j camaleon

-ya⁷'l copal

-ya⁷'l abirirse

-ya⁷'l té mbi copal del aire

-ya⁷'n olote

-ya⁷'n Cerro Javalí

-Cerro Javalí

-yè bżóy Cerro Escalero

-yè dǎn Cerro Estribo

-yè gó Cerro Camote

-yè kwà Rancho Altemira

-yè ltyi⁷'b Cerro Estribo

-yè lxi⁷'zh Cerro Tejón

-yè mzhîn Cerro Venado

-yè ndǎn Cerro Tizne

-yè ndó ngwzàn Bocapiedra

-yè ndy0' Rancho La Sierra

-yè ngùtz kwi⁷ Cerro Mordoña

-yè nké bi⁷'zh Cerro Leon

-yè nké mbì⁷'zh Cerro León

-Yè no⁷'l loma larga

-yè skópéét Cerro Escopeta

-yè stríb Cerro Estribo
yè té ngwzi⁷
Cerro Rayo

yè tézh
Cerro Grito

yè tîtth
Cerro de Huesos

Yè Tzï
Santa Catarina Cuixtla

yè wíx
Cerro Sabroso

yè xìl
Cerro Otate

yè xìl
San Bartolomé Loxicha

yè yi7b yà
Cerro Hacha

yè yŌj
Cerro Nopal

yè zi7l
Cerro Grande

Yèbètkâ
Cerro Betecá

Yèbko⁷
Cerro Betecó

Yèch
Félix

yèd
ocote

yèd n-gúd
ocote blanco

yèd yèd
queremos comer

yèg
sereno, helado, hielo, nevada, nieve

-yèj
sentirlo; quejarse

yèk
cabeza

-yèk lá tyo⁷
dar sed

-yèk lá tyo⁷
tener sed

yèk mbyàx
greñudo, mechudo

yèk tê
calvo, pelón

yèk tûzh
calvo, cabeza pelón

yèk yèn tzô
Cerro Horcón

Yël
Gabriel; Israel

yèn
pescuezo, cuello

yèn
plato

-yèn
acostumbrarse

-y-ën
escarbarlo

-yèn
negarse

yèn be⁷x
molcajete, chilmolera,
plato borcelana

-yèn lá tyo⁷
apurarse

yèn yètž
pescuezo de la olla

Yènch
Gabudencio

Yèrr
Guillermo

yèt yè
peñasco

yèth
calabaza

yèth chi⁷n
calabaza chompa

yèth gô
calabaza támala

yèth lân
chilcayote, calabaza chilcayota

yèth na⁷
calabaza de la chicayuma

yèth tê lût têz na⁷
calabaza de bejuco de chicayuma

yèth xo
calabaza de cáscara, calabaza támala

yèth yîch
calabaza huiche

yèth yè⁷z zbí
viga

Yètko⁷
Cerro Betecó
<p>| yé7 | ye7 wa7z | olla  |
| ocote | polea |
| yéw | ye7 xíl | flor de algodón |
| yegua | flor de algodón blanco |
| Yèx | ye7 xi7l n-gūd | olla de algodón blanco |
| Floresta, Oresta | |
| yèzh | ye7d | hueco, agujero |
| ixtle | desatarse, soltarse |
| -ye7 | -ye7d | llegar; venir |
| pintarse | |
| ye7 byê^ | -ye7d | llegar; venir |
| pinabeta | -ye7d | llegar; venir |
| ye7 gù xtíl | -ye7d | llegar; venir |
| flor de algodía | -ye7d | llegar; venir |
| ye7 kúchí | -ye7d | llegar; venir |
| flor de cuchilla | -ye7d | llegar; venir |
| ye7 márábí | -ye7d | llegar; venir |
| maravilla | -ye7d | llegar; venir |
| ye7 mómbil | -ye7d | llegar; venir |
| bugambilia | -ye7d | llegar; venir |
| ye7 mómil | -ye7d | llegar; venir |
| bugambilia | -ye7d | llegar; venir |
| ye7 páráys | -ye7d | llegar; venir |
| flor de paraiso | -ye7d | llegar; venir |
| ye7 té tò | -ye7d | llegar; venir |
| ye7 té yà wî | -ye7d | llegar; venir |
| flor de grillal | -ye7d | llegar; venir |
| ye7 té yîx yî kólór dé rôs | -ye7d | llegar; venir |
| zacate color de rosa | -ye7d | llegar; venir |
| ye7 | olla |
| -ye7 | dormir |
| yètz | yètz káfê | olla de café |
| káfê | olla de café |
| yèzh | yètz nil | olla de nixtamal |
| Bónè (CAN) | yètz nzyôb ndô yà xôz | olla que ponen en palos de orqueta, olla para agua |
| Santa María Colotepec | yètz wa7n | olla con asa |
| Ejutla | yètz xwa7n | olla con argollas, jarro con gasa |
| yètz yirbyêd | greviera |
| yètz yî | humador |
| yètz yû | olla de barro |
| yèzh | olla de barro |
| pueblo |
| Yèzh Bónè (CAN) | Yèzh Bónè (CAN) |
| Santa María Colotepec | Ejutla |
| Yèzh Bzyá (CAN) | | |
| Yèzh Láláná | | |
| San Antonio Lalana | | |
| Yèzh Lósích (CAN) | San Agustín Loxicha | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yêzh lû</td>
<td>mundo; cielo</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yêzh Ndâw (CAN)</td>
<td>El Zapote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yêzh Sábránsisk (CAN)</td>
<td>San Francisco Coatlán</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yêzh Sán Pédr</td>
<td>San Pedro Coatlán</td>
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<td>Yêzh Sán Sébástyán</td>
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<td>Yêzh Sánt Lín</td>
<td>Santa Catarina Loxicha</td>
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<td>Yêzh Sántá Mári (CAN)</td>
<td>Santa María Coatlán</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yêzh Sántó Dómíñh</td>
<td>Santo Domingo Coatlán</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yêzh Xîzh</td>
<td>San Baltazar Loxicha</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yêzh Xît (CAN)</td>
<td>Santa Cruz Xitla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yêzh Yè Do7ch (CAN)</td>
<td>Santo Tomás Tamazulapan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yêzh Yè Ke7 (CAN)</td>
<td>San Pablo Coatlán</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yêzh Yè Mtzi7 (CAN)</td>
<td>Cerro Gavilán</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yêzh Ye7 Bàn (CAN)</td>
<td>San Miguel Yogovana</td>
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<td>Yêzhdo7</td>
<td>Mixhuatlán</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chinese Characters</th>
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<td>yi</td>
<td>mierda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yî</td>
<td>cal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yí bey7</td>
<td>siete pelo, una enfermedad en que se pone rojo la pierna y la rodilla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yí bòn</td>
<td>pala, tarecua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yí Ke7</td>
<td>San Pablo Coatlán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yî lô</td>
<td>aguacero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yî lûzh</td>
<td>aguacero, diluvio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yí tô nzô ña7l</td>
<td>boquiabierto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yí tzî</td>
<td>Cuixtla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yí xôl</td>
<td>lluvizna</td>
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<tr>
<td>yí yèk bxd</td>
<td>cabeza enredado, pelo chino; cabeza cachambrosa (se olvida mucho)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yí yèk xî</td>
<td>cabeza de jícara, calvo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yî yê</td>
<td>granizo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yî yî</td>
<td>granizo</td>
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<tr>
<td>yib</td>
<td>vena; cuerda</td>
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<tr>
<td>-y-ib</td>
<td>arrancarlo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-yîb</td>
<td>costurearse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yib btzo7 ni blê7</td>
<td>casa pared de adobe</td>
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<tr>
<td>yib btzo7 ni yû</td>
<td>pared de casa de barro/tierra</td>
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<tr>
<td>-yib bê7l</td>
<td>costurearse la carne</td>
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<td>yib ndâtz</td>
<td>vena del pie</td>
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<tr>
<td>yib xàn lèn</td>
<td>la vena debajo de la barriga</td>
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<td>yib ya7</td>
<td>vena de la mano</td>
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<tr>
<td>yibtzo7</td>
<td>pared, muro, barda</td>
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<td>yich</td>
<td>alfórza</td>
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<tr>
<td>yich</td>
<td>pelo</td>
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<tr>
<td>-y-ich</td>
<td>reventar</td>
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<tr>
<td>yîch</td>
<td>metate</td>
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<tr>
<td>yîch bdi</td>
<td>pelo muy fino (como conejo)</td>
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<tr>
<td>esp.</td>
<td>trad.</td>
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<td>------</td>
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<tr>
<td>yìch bórrèg</td>
<td>lana</td>
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<tr>
<td>yìch bòtz</td>
<td>espina de malacate</td>
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<tr>
<td>yìch byák</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>yìch dûn</td>
<td>espina dormilona</td>
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<tr>
<td>-y-ich kê</td>
<td>reventarlo, explotarlo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-y-ich kê-m´ yèth</td>
<td>tronar el agua con su brazo de uno</td>
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<tr>
<td>yìch kwe7</td>
<td>canas</td>
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<tr>
<td>yìch lá tyo7</td>
<td>vellos del pecho o estómago</td>
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<tr>
<td>yìch lèn xik</td>
<td>pelo del sobaco</td>
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<tr>
<td>yìch lêd mbéze7</td>
<td>el pelo del pecho del guajolote macho, escobilla</td>
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<tr>
<td>yìch mân</td>
<td>pelo de animal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yìch ndâtz</td>
<td>vellos de los pies</td>
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<tr>
<td>yìch ndô kid</td>
<td>pelo del ombligo, bajo del ombligo</td>
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<tr>
<td>yìch ndô xtûzh</td>
<td>pelo de la frente</td>
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<tr>
<td>yìch ndô yà gâl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yìch tzo7 yèn wáy</td>
<td>pelo de atrás del pescuezo del caballo</td>
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<tr>
<td>yìch wâz</td>
<td>carnisuelo, espina de carnesuelo</td>
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<td>yìch wâtz nzhâ</td>
<td>patillas</td>
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<td>yìch yà</td>
<td>espina de palo</td>
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<tr>
<td>-y-ich ya7</td>
<td>aplaudir</td>
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<tr>
<td>yìch yèk</td>
<td>cabello</td>
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<td>yìch yèl té nîz</td>
<td>cabello de mazorca</td>
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<tr>
<td>yìch yî</td>
<td>1. paxle, el heno; 2. araña manos de cabello</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yìch yî7b</td>
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<tr>
<td>Spanish Word</td>
<td>English Translation</td>
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<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>yich yíd kwê</td>
<td>pelo del cuerpo de la mujer</td>
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<tr>
<td>yich yíd ndô</td>
<td>patillas</td>
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<tr>
<td>yich yôx</td>
<td>cabello suelto</td>
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<tr>
<td>yich yë^l</td>
<td>cabello de elote (animal)</td>
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<td>yich yë^l tê nîz</td>
<td>cabello de la mazorca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yich yë^l tê nzë^</td>
<td>cabello de elote (tierno)</td>
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<td>yîch zâ</td>
<td>huisache, carnisuelo (local),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yîch zi^l</td>
<td>espina grande</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yîch (yîd) tô</td>
<td>bigote, barba</td>
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<tr>
<td>yîchèk</td>
<td>cabello</td>
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<tr>
<td>yîchèk mbyë^d</td>
<td>cabello despeinado; cabello suelto</td>
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<tr>
<td>-y-îd</td>
<td>agujerearlo</td>
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<tr>
<td>yîd yî</td>
<td>peñasco, pedregal</td>
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<tr>
<td>-y-il</td>
<td>echar pedos, pedorrear</td>
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<tr>
<td>yîn</td>
<td>baúl (para guardar cera o ropa); cama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-y-în</td>
<td>pegar</td>
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<tr>
<td>-y-în yà</td>
<td>porrearr (p.ej. frijol)</td>
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<tr>
<td>-y-în yî</td>
<td>azotar la ropa</td>
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<tr>
<td>-yînî</td>
<td>azotarse</td>
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<td>papel</td>
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<td>doblarse</td>
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<td>yît yà</td>
<td>Tierra Blanca</td>
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<td>-y-ith</td>
<td>chanclear; jugar</td>
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<td>-y-ith</td>
<td>fallar</td>
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<td>-y-ith nà</td>
<td>jugarlo</td>
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<td>fugón</td>
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<td>fugón de comal</td>
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<td>yîtó</td>
<td>boca</td>
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<tr>
<td>yîx</td>
<td>monte</td>
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<tr>
<td>-y-ix</td>
<td>acostarlo; pagar; reventar</td>
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<tr>
<td>-y-ix getz</td>
<td>poner a dormir, dormirlo</td>
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<tr>
<td>yîx kwân</td>
<td>montañita, monte cerrado</td>
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<td>yîx là wlá</td>
<td>hoja amarga</td>
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<td>yîx là xnêz</td>
<td>malbarizco</td>
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<td>yîx là xnêz</td>
<td>malvarisco</td>
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<td>yîx làx nêz</td>
<td>monte de malvarisco</td>
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<td>yîx lâtz</td>
<td>huamal, monte tierno</td>
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<tr>
<td>yîx ngú gàl</td>
<td>montaña</td>
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<tr>
<td>yîx to^7 tûzh</td>
<td>cuna chiquita; hamaca chiquita (local maca chiquita)</td>
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<tr>
<td>yîx xîl</td>
<td>monte aguatudo</td>
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<tr>
<td>yîx ye^7 yê^z</td>
<td>monte ejote</td>
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<td>-y-îx yëtz</td>
<td>ponerlo a dormir, acostarlo a dormir, dejarlo a dormir</td>
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<tr>
<td>-y-îxcha^7</td>
<td>acostarlo; acomodarlo</td>
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<td>yîz ni^7z</td>
<td>quintonil</td>
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<tr>
<td>yi^7</td>
<td>flor</td>
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<tr>
<td>-yi^7</td>
<td>estar enojado</td>
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</table>
yi7 jérányó
flor geránio

yi7 kárútxh
flor de cartucho

yi7 ko7b
flor de Cemposúchitl
(local), Cempasúchitl
(libro), flor de muerto, flor
de manzana (la más
grande)

yi7 là btzyàk
flor (blanca y olorosa) de
un palo que desconocemos
el nombre

yi7 mbíl
flor de bugambilia

yi7 mbë z
flor del niño,
huele denoteche

yi7 ndùx
viruxe (flor),
Cemposúchitl chiquito

yi7 nzâ
vainilla

yi7 sán nikólás
florifundo, flor de San
Nicolás

yi7 tê lût tzèth
flor de guía de calabaza

yi7 tê mbë7l
flor de alcacía

yi7 tê yàj
flor de nopal

yi7 túlípánh
tulipán (flor)

yi7 wlá ti7ch
flor amarga

yi7 yí bàn
Cemposúchitl blanco

yi7 yí nìtz
flor de río (blanca y
olorosa)

yi7 yí yí7
flor de Santa Catarina

yi7 yë7 z yà bìtz
flor de cuachipil

yi7 ze7ch
Cemposúchitl (local),
Cacalosúchitl (libro)

yi7b fíerro; arma; instrumento;
carro

-yi7b
arrancarse

yi7b ndâch
arma de fuego

yi7b nza7 górr (nà)
nzhò-nh´
aparato que da la hora a
que estamos, reloj

yi7b nzyë
carro

yi7b yà
hacha

yi7b yà áméríkán
hacha americana

yi7b yà skóp
hacha de escopla

-y-i7ch
quebrarlo

-y-i7d
abrazar

yi7i7i7i7i7
sonido de caballo cuando
relincha

yi7n
chile, tusta

yi7n
hincharón

yi7n bid
chile seco

yi7n chígöl
chile chigole

yi7n chílit
chile chilito

yi7n chilyánch
chile ancho

yi7n kë7
chile verde

yi7n kë7 làt
chile de agua

yi7n nga7x
chile chigole, chigole,
chile chichalaca

yi7n yà
chile costeño

yi7n yà làt
chile de agua

yi7n yí xil
chile bartoleño

-yi7x
tostarse

yì
hinchazón debajo de la muela

yi piedra

-yi sanar

-yi tostarse, asarse

yi bêy una clase de infección de la piel, que se pinta la piel color rojo o morado (BAL); hinchazón (CAN)

yi be7y piedra de fortuna

yi be7y piedra de venado, piedra de fortuna, besuara

yi böl piedra voluda

yi bôn pala

yi bzhîl Piedra de Juego

yi lág Piedra Oaxaca

yi lid mbi7zh Piedra León

yi lid ngôl Casa de Piedra de Sopilote

yi lid ngwzi7 Piedra Rayo

yi nbix nît cascada, chorro donde salta el agua

yi ndib yêtz Piedras Finas

yi ndyât lâd lavadero, piedra de lavar ropa

yi n-gâtz Piedras Negras

yi ngî zân Piedra Gallina

yi ngwlâb Piedra Olavo

yi ngwlë grava, piedra quebrada

yi tô fugón

yi tô yi7b anafre

yi wzhîzh piedra lisa

yi wzhê piedra de fortuna, besuara

yi xkê mbë^l piedra de metate que viene de la fábrica

yi yâ x josefa

yi yî piedra de cal

yi yîch piedra de metate que viene de la fábrica

yi yî lût zacate de bejuco

yi zàb

metlapil

yd cuero

yd gôx cuero viejo

yd kwê verija

yd kwê xa7 gôtz cuero verija de la mujer

yd láz cuero del cuerpo

yd lèn barriga, panza

yd lèn tè barrigón, panzón

yd mbâd ndâtz cuero del pie

yd mbâd ya7 palma de la mano

yd mbdûd xa7 persona tarada

yd mbî globo; vejiga

yd na7t arroyo

yd ndô bchi7n cara arrugada

yd ndô chá bizco

yd ndô mbya7t cara arrugada

yd ndô nžîn ojo cerrado
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<tr>
<th>Nyîd ndô yîd</th>
<th>Chicharrón</th>
<th>Zacate de gordura de javalín, zacate gordo</th>
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<tr>
<td>Cara arrugada</td>
<td>yîd yî</td>
<td>yîx ngîd</td>
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<tr>
<td>Zapato</td>
<td>yîd (ndô) xtûzh</td>
<td>Red chica para uso de paseo</td>
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<td>yîd ndyô yaⁿ</td>
<td>Arruga de la frente; cuero de la frente</td>
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<tr>
<td>Guante</td>
<td>yîn</td>
<td>Zacate de tempranero</td>
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<tr>
<td>Los dientes de perros</td>
<td>-yîn</td>
<td>yîx ni</td>
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<tr>
<td>yîd ngûz kwê xaⁿ byî</td>
<td>Palma bendita</td>
<td>Placenta</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cuero del pene del hombre</td>
<td>-yîn yî</td>
<td>yîx nîz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yîd ndë`y mbèk</td>
<td>Azotar(se), golpearse</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Los dientes de perros</td>
<td>yîx</td>
<td>Red de mazorca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yîd ngûz ndô</td>
<td>Bagazo, red</td>
<td>Bagazo de panela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuero de los ojos, párpado</td>
<td>yîx</td>
<td>yîx pánèl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yîd ntoⁿ bdiⁿ mbèlⁿ</td>
<td>Zacate</td>
<td>Zacate pará</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuero que se muda la culebra</td>
<td>yîx</td>
<td>yîx sákâtóñh</td>
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<tr>
<td>yîd nzhâ</td>
<td>Zacate sacatón</td>
<td>Zacate grande de monte</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oreja, oído</td>
<td>yîx</td>
<td>Aserrín</td>
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<tr>
<td>yîd pár là tê ngûz ndô</td>
<td>Zacate</td>
<td>Red de mazorca</td>
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<td>El cuero de abajo del ojo</td>
<td>yîx</td>
<td>Redecita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yîd tîth</td>
<td>Zacatillo, zacate de jardín, zacate petate, zacate conejo</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Flaco</td>
<td>yîx dà</td>
<td>yîx yî</td>
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<tr>
<td>yîd tô</td>
<td>Zacate</td>
<td>Zacate grande de monte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labio, cuero de la boca</td>
<td>yîx</td>
<td>Zacate popote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yîd tô xè</td>
<td>Zacate petate</td>
<td>yîx yì</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuero de la orilla de la nariz</td>
<td>yîx</td>
<td>Zacate de casa</td>
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<tr>
<td>yîd xkê mzhîn</td>
<td>Zacate</td>
<td>Zacate grande de monte</td>
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<td>La bolsa de caca de venado</td>
<td>yîx</td>
<td>Zacate grande de monte</td>
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<td>yîd xnêtz</td>
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<td>Bejiga orinaria</td>
<td>yîx guᵗ</td>
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<td>Cresta del pollo</td>
<td>yîx là yèl</td>
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<td>yîd yîⁿ</td>
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<td>Zacate grande de monte</td>
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<td>yîx yi yë^1</td>
<td>yîzh zha'îb</td>
<td>entrar</td>
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<td>zacate cortadora</td>
<td>enfermedad de flojera</td>
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<td>yîx yi zë^</td>
<td>yîzh zin</td>
<td>-yòtz</td>
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<tr>
<td>zacate manteca</td>
<td>rábia; tontera</td>
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<tr>
<td>yîx yî du'b</td>
<td>-yò</td>
<td>ancharse</td>
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<td>yîx yî nîtz</td>
<td>-yó xàn</td>
<td>yîzh bë7 yíl yìt</td>
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<td>zacatillo para enflaquerse</td>
<td>empezar</td>
<td>Rancho el Macahuite</td>
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<tr>
<td>yîx yë^1</td>
<td>yîzh mbe7</td>
<td>yo7</td>
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<td>zacate cortador</td>
<td>hemorragia</td>
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<tr>
<td>yîzh</td>
<td>yîzh ngùz ndô</td>
<td>carga</td>
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<td>enfermo</td>
<td>chingin</td>
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<tr>
<td>yîzh be'î yil yît</td>
<td>yîzh yèk</td>
<td>yo7 yà</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rancho el Macahuite</td>
<td>cerebro</td>
<td>carga de leña</td>
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<td>yîzh kóxni</td>
<td>yîzh yèk</td>
<td>yo7 zîl</td>
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<tr>
<td>sentimiento, tristeza; luto,</td>
<td>el seso principal de la</td>
<td>Rio Grande</td>
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<td>duelo; enfermedad de</td>
<td>cabeza</td>
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<td>tristeza</td>
<td>yîzh nxo'î n lèn</td>
<td>-yo7b</td>
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<td>yîzh mbe7</td>
<td>diarrea</td>
<td>arrastrarse, jalarse</td>
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<td>hemorragia</td>
<td>yîzh ngùz ndô</td>
<td>yo7</td>
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<td>mal de ojo</td>
<td>se chupa la cara, se</td>
<td>yà</td>
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<td>yîzh tè tèn</td>
<td>debilita la cara, se</td>
<td>carga de leña</td>
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<tr>
<td>disentería</td>
<td>derrite</td>
<td>yo7 7</td>
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<tr>
<td>yîzh tith</td>
<td>la cara, se pone pálido</td>
<td>-yo7</td>
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<tr>
<td>flaqueza</td>
<td>(como que está enfermo)</td>
<td>arrastrarse, jalarse</td>
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<td>yîzh zàn</td>
<td>-yo7b nîtz</td>
<td>-yo7b</td>
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<td>dieta del parto, (los veinte</td>
<td>jalarse el agua</td>
<td>se chupa la cara, se</td>
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<tr>
<td>días que se cuide después),</td>
<td>-yo7n látyo</td>
<td>debilita la cara, se</td>
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<td>enfermedad de cría</td>
<td>ponerse triste, estar triste,</td>
<td>derrite</td>
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<td>yîzh zàn</td>
<td>llorar el corazón</td>
<td>la cara, se pone pálido</td>
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<td>dieta del parto, (los veinte</td>
<td>(como que está enfermo)</td>
<td>(como que está enfermo)</td>
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<td>días que se cuide después),</td>
<td>yo7</td>
<td>-yo7b</td>
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<td>-yô</td>
<td>arrastrarse, jalarse</td>
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<td>yôp</td>
<td>Simión</td>
<td>-yô</td>
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<td>ciénega, lodo</td>
<td>-yôtë</td>
<td>habér</td>
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<td>-yôtë</td>
<td>-yô</td>
<td>haber; estar</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-yô</td>
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<td>Verbo</td>
<td>Significado</td>
<td>Verbo</td>
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<td>ponerse</td>
<td>-yô</td>
<td>-yûn n-gâtz</td>
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<td>vivir</td>
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<td>-yûn tûzh</td>
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<td>estar contento</td>
<td>-yô bwên látyo</td>
<td>-yûn wîlá</td>
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<td>bonarse</td>
<td>-yô kwê’l</td>
<td>-yûn wîfí</td>
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<td>columpiar</td>
<td>-yô mbi</td>
<td>-yûn wîlíl</td>
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<td>adelantarse</td>
<td>-yô nèd</td>
<td>-yûn zîn</td>
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<td>encerrarse</td>
<td>-yô ŋî</td>
<td>yûnh</td>
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<td>estar alegre; ponerse alegre</td>
<td>-yô xé lê’d</td>
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<td>importarse, interesarse, juzgarse</td>
<td>-yô xî lê’d</td>
<td>-yu</td>
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<td>importarle; juzgarlo</td>
<td>-yô xîn</td>
<td>-yu</td>
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<td>embarazarse</td>
<td>-yûn brêl</td>
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<td>estar embarazada</td>
<td>-yûn bê^l</td>
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<td>tener sueño</td>
<td>-yûn cha</td>
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<td>tener calentura</td>
<td>-yûn ko^b</td>
<td>yû</td>
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<td>guardarse?</td>
<td>-yûn krûs</td>
<td>yû</td>
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<td>molerse</td>
<td>-yûn mbi’ch</td>
<td>-yû</td>
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<td>quemarse</td>
<td>-yôl</td>
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<td>-yôx</td>
<td>yû</td>
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<td>enredar/lo?</td>
<td>-yôx</td>
<td>yû</td>
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<td>ayudante al teniente</td>
<td>yûdânt</td>
<td>-yû</td>
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<td>San Pablo Coatlán</td>
<td>Yûké</td>
<td>yû</td>
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<td>baile</td>
<td>-yûl ndâtz</td>
<td>yû</td>
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<td>arrugarlo</td>
<td>-yûn bchí’n</td>
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<td>enternecer (local), enternecer</td>
<td>-yûn bën</td>
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<td>-yûn brêl</td>
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<td>hacer rueda</td>
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<td>-yûn bë^l</td>
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<td>hacerlo llama</td>
<td>-yûn bë^l</td>
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<td>re repararlo; componerlo, arreglarlo</td>
<td>-yûn cha</td>
<td>yû</td>
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<td>amasarlo</td>
<td>-yûn krûs</td>
<td>yû</td>
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<td>cruzar</td>
<td>-yûn mbi’ch</td>
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<td>hacerlo chino</td>
<td>-yûn mbi’ch</td>
<td>yû</td>
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yù ble7
Adobe

yù blë7
tierra de adobe

Yù Ke7
San Pablo Coatlán

yù kôl
tierra de polvo

yù kúb
terreno virgen

yù kwàl
tierra fría

yù kwë`l
tierra abonada

yù làn
lodo

yù làw
tierra comunal

yù ná ndàk lá ti7n
terreno no trabajado

yù ngwi7
tierra cocida, barro cocido

yù ngwlë
terremoto; terreno quebrado

yù wi7d
barro

yù wzhë^ tierra caliente

yù wë`
tierra derrumbada; barranco

yù xkê mbë^l
tierra arenosa brillante

yù yûx
tierra arenosa, tierra de nuda, tierra desierto, tierra esteril

Yù yûx
San Pedro Juchatengo

yù zô
sarro

-yûb
cae

yûx
arena

yûx xkê mbë^l
arena de pescado

y0`j
nopal
y0j tûzh
nopalito chiquito

y0`j zî`l
nopal grande

y0`j
renacuajo

-yë`
derritir, deshacer

-yë`
dererezarse

-yë` tzo7
estirarse

ye`l
hondura

ye`l
milpa

ye`l
mamey

ye`l
nominalizador

ye`l
porque

ye`l bê
palo mulato

ye`l brûj
brujería

ye`l chí lya7
boda, casamiento

ye`l gu
borrachera

ye`l gûl ndâtz
baile

ye`l gûl ndâtz tê bxi7zh
baile de la piña

ye`l gûl ndâtz tê mbál
el baile del compadre

ye`l gûl ndâtz tê mbèd
el baile del guajolote

ye`l gûl ndâtz tê ngû
baile del borracho

ye`l gûth
muerte, mortandaed

Yë`l Kwâ
Hondura Oscura

yë`l kwî`n
mentira, mentiroso, engañoso

yê’l nbân
vida

yê’l ndyên
pensamiento

yê’l wàw
convivio, comida

yê’l wî7
diversión

yê’l wî7n
llorón

yê’l wi7 n
enojado

yê’l wîy7
pleito, pelea, guerra

yê’l wzá lê’ d
maldad

yê’l wza7 di7zh
plática; palabra

yê’l xàl
chalán; presumido

yê’l xîd
risa

yê’l xîd nà yê’l wyith
chistes; risas y juego, alegría

yê’l yèzh
mamey zapote, sanzapotec

yê’l yi7 d
presa, hondura donde se almacene agua para sanjos o riegos

yê’l yîd
pobreza, desgracia, atrasos

yê’l yîd kórré
huarache de correa

yê’l yîzh
enfermedad

yê’l yîzh gôx
viejez (local), vejez (standard)

yê’l yîzh mbi
enfermedad de aire/tonto

yê’l yîzh ngûz ndô
mal de ojo

yê’l yîzh tê lá tyo7
mal de corazón

yê’l yîzh zin
rabia

yê’l yo7b
escoba

yê’l yo7b plástikó
escoba de plástico

yê’l yo7b xnè mbèk
escobilla de popote

yê’l yo7b yà
escoba de vara

yê’l yo7b yîn
escoba de palma, palma de escoba

yê’l zà di7zh
plática; palabra

yê’l zha7b
flojera

yê’l zî
pobreza, desgracia, atrasos

yê’l th

yê’l th bdád
tamales de elote

yê’l th bdád
tamales de elote blanco (simple)

yê’l th bid
tortilla seca

yê’l th gi7x
tortilla tostada; totopo

yê’l th go7zh
tortilla podrida

yê’l th gu7 d
tortilla blanda

yê’l th kwê’ d
tortilla tlayuda, xonga

yê’l th mbo7ch
tortilla tostada, totopo

yê’l th yi7 x
tortilla tostada, totopo

yê’l th yê’ y
hollín (de humo)

yê’
mañana

yê’
nueve

Ye’ch
Santo Domingo de Morelos, Cozoaltepec

-yê’ d
desatarse, soltarse

-yê’ 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
copal de cruz

-yë^7 l mbàd
copal de cuadro, copal
cuadrado, copal aplastado

-yë^7 l n-gàtz
copal negro

-yë^7 l n-gùd
copal blanco

-yë^7 l tè mbi
copal de aire

-yë^7 x
rendirse, abundarse

-yë^7 z
dependencia, chicalmata

-yë^7 z
ejotes

-yë^7 z yà bîtz
flor de cuachipil

-yë^7 z ya^7
pierna vieja

-yë^7 z yè
cupil, del cerro

-yë^7 z yùx
cupil de arena, copal del

-yë^7 zh
quejarse

-yë^ xì
bule

-yë^ yèk
coco para tortilla, bebe,
jicalpextle

-yë^ yë^7 zh
bule para tomar agua

-yë^ zàb
bule metlapil

-yë^ ch
ponerse tímido, entrarle el
miedo

-yë^ l
dependencia 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^ l
ataque

-yë^ l yîzh tè ngèzh
enfermedad de lombriz

-yë^ l yîzh tè xìè^ têzh
yë^
calentura de la gripa

-yë^ l yîzh wlè
enfermedad de ciego

**yë^l yîzh wzêth**
enfermedad de comezón

**yë^l yîzh zin**
rabia

**yë^tz**
brazada

**yë^tz**
zanja

**yë^z**
cigarro

**yë^z là**
tabaco

**zâ**
todo(s)

**-zá di^zh xêx**
hablar escondido; susurrar

**zâb**
cagada larga

**-zâdi^zh**
platicar

**-zâk**
valer; costar

**-zâk**
aparecerse, parecerse

**-z-âk**
sufrir una enfermedad

**-z-âk kwâl**
tener frío

**zân**
parir, dar a luz

**-zândô**
acabar, terminar

**-zât**
lavarlo

**-za^7**
dar

**-za^7**
romperse

**-za^7 di^zh**
dar permiso, dejar

**-za^7 di^zh tô kâ**
tartamudear; hablar el tartamudo

**-za^7 lë^d dô**
regalar

**-za^7 prêst**
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 yê^l yîzh**
contagiar

**-žâ**
cumplirse; completarse

**žê**
sitio, solar

**-žé kê**
quejarse

**žé nâ**
adonde

**žé nâ ndyìth mên**
pista de juegos

**-žé xô**
rasparse

**žèd**
sal

**-ž-èn**
agarrar

**-žèn go**
agarrar la enfermedad de vergüenza

**-ž-èn kê**
pegarse

**-žèn mbi láz**
pegarle un dolor, agarrar aire en el cuerpo

**-žèn mbi yêk**
agarrar aire en la cabeza, estar loco, tener dolor de cabeza

**-žèn mbîtz**
agarrar calambre

**-ž-èn yî**
encenderse, arder

**-žèn yê^l yîzh**
agarrar enfermedad

**žèndê^7**
aquí

**-žèth**
arder

**-žéya^7**
entregarlo
zê
lugar

zê kwàl
lugar frío

zê kwa 7
a nivel, plano, parejo

zê mbgâch gân
tumba; adonde se enterró el difunto

zê nà
adonde

zê nà ndyô yé’l gûl
ndâtz
pista de bailes

zê nà nzhò wyàx yà
kâfé
finca de cafetal

zê nà nzôb xa 7 nàk tô 7 n
puestos de autoridades

zê ncho 7 nîtz
corriente de agua

zê ndàw
herida

zê wzhë^n
lugar caliente

zê zèd
talón del pié

zê zîth
lugar lejano

-zhâl
encontrarlo

-zhâl
encontrarse, jallarse,
sucederle (and stay together a while)

zhà 7
cuando, entonces

-zhà 7

zhà 7b
flojo, perezoso, peresa, flojera, vago

-zhà 7b
cansarse; tener flojera

-zhà 7l
toparse

-zhà 7l gôp
humedecerse

-zhà 7l zí
fracasar; atrasar

-zhà 7l zô
pasar desgracia?

-zhà 7l zô
declararse

zhên
humo

zhê 7
cuando, entonces

-zhê zôb yên
estar ronco

-zhêb
asustarse, espantarse

-zhî ndô
conocer

-zhî yên
admirarse

-zhîl
atardecer

zhîn
chinche (del campo)

zhîn
cucharacha

zhî 7
leche

-zhîzh
emparejarse; alisarse

zhó wê
entonces

-zho 7
apretarse

-zh-o 7b
desboronarse

-zh-o 7b
estar

-zho 7n
batirse

zhó 7zh
chuparrosa, chupamirto,
chuparrosa chiquita

zhô 7zh
chuparrosa, chupamirto,
chuparrosa chiquita

zhô 7zh bîx
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

-zhú⁷
rasparse

-zhuⁿ
exprimirse, escurrirse

-zhê’
llenarse

zhê’
lleno

-zhêl

-zhê⁷
cambiar(se)

-zhê¹l

-zhê^ ayunar

-zhê^ calentarse

zhê^ lá wê
adenantes, hoy en la mañana

zhê^ la⁷
hace rato

zí
castigo?

-zí xô
rascar; pellizcar; arañar

-zid
sonar; tocar; tronar

zin
ignorante, loco, tonto, zafado

-z-in
batir

-z-in
cerrar los ojos

-zãi
empujar; arrimarlo

-z-i⁷
comprararlo

-zi⁷ kò
atizar

-zi⁷ látyo⁷
suspirar

zí¹
grande

zí¹ ta⁷
temprano, madrugada, tempranito

zî
flor de guía de calabaza

zîth
lejos

zó bâ
allá; otro lado; aquél lado

-zô nkê’
seguir

zó wê
allá

-zôb
montarlo, sentarlo, ponerlo

-zôb
montarse; sentarse; estar sentado; estar puesto

-zôb yà ngûz kwê
pararse el pene

-zôb yô xka¹l
cabecer

-zôbcha⁷
sentarlo

-zôbgá¹l
estar parado

-zôbtiⁿ
eligirse

-zôbtiⁿ
eligir, nombrar

-zôbyê
rodarse

-zôbye⁷
tener infección, llaga, o herida; estar lastimado

-zôbyê’z
marcarlo

-zôbyê’z
marcarse

-z-ôn
cagar

-zôxàn
empezar

-z-o³⁷b
desgranar, desboronar

-zo³¹
queamarlo

-zô
pararse; estar
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Idioma</th>
<th>Traducción</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-zô bîch</td>
<td>estar abierto; estar destapado</td>
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<tr>
<td>-zô ga^l</td>
<td>estar parado</td>
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<tr>
<td>-zô gâx</td>
<td>acercarse</td>
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<tr>
<td>-zô ké</td>
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<tr>
<td>-zô kë`</td>
<td>subida</td>
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<tr>
<td>-zô lê^</td>
<td>llamarse; nombrarse</td>
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<tr>
<td>-zô mbël</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>-zô mbî</td>
<td>limpiarse</td>
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<tr>
<td>-zô ndâtz</td>
<td>iniciar</td>
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<tr>
<td>-zô nêd</td>
<td>estar adelante, pasarse adelante</td>
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<td>-zô nêd</td>
<td>guiarlo; pasar adelante</td>
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<td>-zô nîzt</td>
<td>sudar</td>
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<td>-zô nték</td>
<td>agacharlo</td>
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<tr>
<td>-zô nték</td>
<td>engacharse, agacharse; estar parado</td>
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<td>-zô nte`k</td>
<td>estar agachado</td>
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<tr>
<td>-zô ña^l</td>
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<tr>
<td>-zô xân</td>
<td>iniciar</td>
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<tr>
<td>-zô xîb</td>
<td>arrodillarse, hincarse</td>
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<td>-zô yî</td>
<td>engordarse</td>
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<tr>
<td>-zô yî</td>
<td>estar hinchado; hincharse; inflamarse; engordarse; esponjarse</td>
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<td>-zô zîth</td>
<td>alejarse</td>
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<td>-zô zûd</td>
<td>estar borracho</td>
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<td>-zû xê^</td>
<td>aclarar; amanecer</td>
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<td>-zûd</td>
<td>emborracharse</td>
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<td>-zûd yêk</td>
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<td>-z-ûp</td>
<td>chupar</td>
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<td>-zu^</td>
<td>despedazarlo; partirlo; embuixarlo</td>
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<td>-zu^ di`zh</td>
<td>regatear</td>
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<td>-zu^</td>
<td>darle cosquillas</td>
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<td>-zyôn</td>
<td>destruirse, descomponerse</td>
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<td>-zyô</td>
<td>rasparse (con cuchillo a un elote)</td>
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<td>zê`</td>
<td>viaje</td>
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<td>-zê`</td>
<td>caminar</td>
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<td>-zê`</td>
<td>resebrarse, repartirse</td>
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<td>venier</td>
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<td>-zê` mò</td>
<td>gatear</td>
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<td>zê` ta^7</td>
<td>falta</td>
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<td>zê` ta^7</td>
<td>falta; crudo; falta se va a cocer</td>
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<td>-zê`l</td>
<td>agrutar, grutar, aurutar, erutar (eructar---RGBA)</td>
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<td>zê` ta^7</td>
<td>falta</td>
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<td>-z(y)a^7</td>
<td>romperse</td>
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<td>-zê^</td>
<td>embarrar</td>
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<td>-zê^ gël gîzh</td>
<td>contagiari</td>
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-zē⁷ ndân
 tiznar

-zē⁷ yē' l zha⁷'b
 contagiar la flojera a otro

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>zē&lt;sup&gt;^&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>manteca, grasa, cebo</th>
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<td>-₀'</td>
<td>comer</td>
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ë`j ë`j ë`j ë`j

(mbHē'z) nzón
 mapache

sonido del grito del burro
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>Zapotec</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>a nivel, plano, parejo</strong></td>
<td>zê kwa’</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>a ver</strong></td>
<td>ñó</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>abajo</strong></td>
<td>xán</td>
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<td><strong>abajo de</strong></td>
<td>gál xán</td>
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<td><strong>abajo de la olla</strong></td>
<td>xán yêtz</td>
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<td><strong>abajar a su pareja</strong></td>
<td>-la’7 tzûb</td>
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<td><strong>Abdon</strong></td>
<td>Dônh</td>
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<td><strong>abeja</strong></td>
<td>mbêz</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>abeja de castilla</strong></td>
<td>mbêz mzhìn do’7</td>
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<td><strong>abeja de miel, enjambre</strong></td>
<td>mbêz té mzhin</td>
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<td><strong>abeja traga saliva, tragasa saliva</strong></td>
<td>mbêz chu’k</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>abejoncita de saliva</strong></td>
<td>mbêz nzhu’k</td>
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<td><strong>abejón bruja, muestramuerte</strong></td>
<td>wàn</td>
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<td><strong>abejón de saliva</strong></td>
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<td><strong>abejón enjambre</strong></td>
<td>mbêz énjámbre</td>
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<td>Ábél</td>
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<td>xa’7 nyi’7 pá ntyo’7 prés lít yî’b</td>
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<td><strong>abrazarlo; meterlo dentro los brazos</strong></td>
<td>-g-ô xîk</td>
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<td><strong>abrir</strong></td>
<td>-xë’l</td>
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<td><strong>abrir la boca; bostezar, dormitar, regañar, gritar, subir la voz</strong></td>
<td>-ôtz</td>
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<td><strong>abrirse</strong></td>
<td>-ya’l</td>
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<td><strong>abrirse (como una flor)</strong></td>
<td>-bi’l</td>
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<td><strong>abrirse (una flor)</strong></td>
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<td><strong>abrirse, descuartizarse</strong></td>
<td>-bil</td>
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<td><strong>abrir; derritir</strong></td>
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<td><strong>abrir(se)</strong></td>
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<td>xna’7 gól</td>
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<td>xna’7 xûtz</td>
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<td><strong>abuelita, anciana, mujer vieja</strong></td>
<td>xa’7 go’tx gôx</td>
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<td><strong>abuelito/a; gente grande</strong></td>
<td>mé gôx</td>
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<td><strong>abuelo</strong></td>
<td>xûz gól</td>
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<td>xûz xûtz</td>
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<td><strong>abuelo paterno</strong></td>
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<td><strong>abuelo/a; gente grande</strong></td>
<td>xa’7 gôx</td>
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<td><strong>aburrirse, fastidiarse, enfadarse</strong></td>
<td>-átê látyo’7</td>
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</table>
acabar-lo
-tê7

acabarse
-álu’d

acabarse
-tê’y

acabarse, terminarse
-ándo^

acabar, terminar
-zándo^

acariciar-lo; estimarlo;
querer-lo; tener-le
lastima
-kê’ lá tyo7

acarrearse
-zê'

acarrear(lo),
manejar-lo; traspasar?
-tzê7

aceptarlo, recibir-lo
-ká ya7

acercarse
-zo^ gâx

aclarar
-lu7 ndo^ yu^x

aclarar; amanecer
-zû xê3

acomodar
- xo’b cha7

acomodar-lo
-b-èk cha7

acordarse
-kê7 lá tyo7

acostado boca arriba
nàx nzê^
adornar
-úkwa⁷

adónde mero?
pá mér

adónde?
pá

Adrián
Yánh

Adrián (CAN)
Yánh

adulterio
xa’ n-gähl mé go^ťz tě stub mën

aflojarse
-lyë⁷

afuera del muro
láz btzo⁷

afuera; atrás de la
casa; baño
tzo⁷ ni

agachado
nte⁷k

agacharlo
-zó⁷ nték

agarrar
-zên

agarrar aire en el
cuerpo, tener un dolor
en el cuerpo
-à mbi láz

agarrar aire en la
cabeza, estar loco,
tener dolor de cabeza
-zên mbi yèk

agarrar calambre
-zên mbitz

agarrar enfermedad
-zên ye¹l yîzh

agarrar la enfermedad
de vergüenza
-zên gò

agonizar, acabarse de
morir
-kë` lá tyo⁷

agradecer
-zà xnà

agriarse, acedarse,
ponerse agrio
-ákwi

agridulce
kwi wtí

agrio
kwi

agrutar, grutar,
aurutar, erutar
(erutur---RGBA)
-zë¹l

agua
nítz

agua babosa; babas
nítz to¹l

agua bendita
nítz léy

Agua Blanca
nítz n-gûd

Agua Blanca
tzo¹ yîch

agua caliente
nítz wî⁷g

agua clara
nítz xyë³

agua clara, agua fría
nítz yë³

agua de cal, lejía
nítz yî

agua de lluvia
nítz yi

agua del nacimiento de
la criatura
nítz yîx ni

Agua del Rayo, un
pozo de agua pegado a
un peñasco en el
lindero de Sta.
Catarina y San Miguel
Coatlán.
Bit Tê Yë¹l

agua dulce
nítz wtí

agua estancada
nítz ndê chàrk

agua estancada del
camino
nítz ndê ché yê¹l nêz

agua medicinal
nítz rrêmêd

agua que está
naciendo, manantial
nítz nzôb lèn

agua salada
nítz wîx

agua sucia; turbia
nítz kwàn
agua tibia
nîtz wzhë^  

aguacate
nîx  

aguacate chiquitillo
nîx bî  

aguacate mantecoso
nîx zu^d  

aguacate mantecoso
yà nîx zu^d  

aguacate verde
nîx ndyë^  

aguacate voludo
nîx bôl  

aguacero
yî lô  

aguacero, diluvio
yi lu^zh  

aguado
mbyâk nîtz-ê  

aguantar
-tzâk  

aguantarlo
-xîk  

aguja
âbúj  

aguja
aûj  

aguja diaria (para costurear costal)
aûj dyâr  

agujerarło  

-agûd

agujerearse
-âd

agujero de tuza; pozo de tuza
pôs tê mbey^  

Agustín
Gûxt  

Agustín
Tînh  

ahijado
xin mbâl  

ahogarse
-âp nîtz  

ahora
gôr nât  

ahorita	ât  

ahorita	ât ta^  

ahuate de caña
xo^l tê là nth  

ahuate de mala mujer
xo^l tê xlëy  

ahumarlo
-gô zhên  

ahumarse
-gô zhên  

aire de la boca
mbî to^  

aire malo, aire maligno, brujo
ta^ wxin  

aire malo; apariciones
mbî wxin  

aire, viento; hinchado, gordo, lleno de aire, inflamación (BAL), enfermedad de aire (CAN)
mbî  

ajo
gâj  

ajonjolí
ánhjólính  

al lado de la mano
láz ya^  

al revés
dî^  

al revés
gâl to^ dî^  

al\n
ala
lwë  

alacrán
mbé wnè  

alacrán
mó nè  

alacrán
mó nè^  

alacrán hembra de huevecillo
mbé wnè ngu^  

alargarse (de tiempo)
to^ go^  

albañil
âlbâñil  

albañil
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<tr>
<th>Spaniard</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
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<td>Alberto, Beto, Norberto, Gilberto, Roberto</td>
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<td>Bét</td>
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<td>alcanzarlo</td>
<td>-ál za’àb</td>
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<td>alcohol</td>
<td>álkol</td>
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<td>Alejandra</td>
<td>Ján</td>
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<td>Alejandra/o</td>
<td>lêj</td>
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<tr>
<td>alejarse</td>
<td>-zo^ zith</td>
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<td>Alfonso</td>
<td>Kônch</td>
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<td>Alfonso; Consuela</td>
<td>Kônch</td>
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<td>algodón</td>
<td>xi’ll</td>
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<td>alisar, cepillarlo, aplanar</td>
<td>-chîzh</td>
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<td>alisarse, apuntarse, anotarse</td>
<td>-ké ni^ ndo^ list</td>
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<tr>
<td>allá</td>
<td>zó wê</td>
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<tr>
<td>allá; al otro lado</td>
<td>stub lád</td>
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<td>alá; aquel</td>
<td>wê</td>
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<td>alí mero</td>
<td>wêthâ^</td>
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<td>allí; otro lado; aquel lado</td>
<td>zó bâ</td>
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<td>alma</td>
<td>mbi yêzh lu^</td>
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<td>almácligo, vivero</td>
<td>blê^</td>
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<td>almuerzo, desayuno</td>
<td>xná tên</td>
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<td>alquilar, dar prestado</td>
<td>-za’ prést</td>
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<td>ánhk</td>
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<td>alrededor</td>
<td>dốp tzá</td>
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<td>altar</td>
<td>bko^</td>
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<td>amaneecer</td>
<td>-àth xê^</td>
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<td>amante, querido</td>
<td>xdo^</td>
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<td>wxên</td>
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mbàd

andar con su compañero, ser amantes
nbìx nà-m’ tzà-m’

Andrés
Lèx

angostarse; derritirse
-yaṭ

angosto; apretado
wyà

anillar el palo
-g-ò bì’z yà

anillar el palo
-g-o^ bì’z yà

anillo del palo
ntzi’

anillo que redondean al tronco del palo
bì’z

animal
màn

animal bravo
ma wyì’

animal de ala
má lwè

animal de cáscara
má xò

animal de cuero
má yîd

animal de espina

má yîch

animal de la casa, mascota
má ni

animal de pelo
má yîch

animal de pluma
má du’b

animal del campo
má yîx

animal que come carne
má (nà) ndà bê’l

animal que no cría
má máchör

animar a su compañero
-ùn ánîmár tzà

animarse, arresgarse
-kéndo^

animarse; arresgarse, prometerse, entrarle
-kíndo^

anoche, ayer noche
na’ tê’l wê

anona
xnèw

anona
xnò

anona del bueno
xnè wèn

anona del monte de ardilla
xnèw yîx tè ndì’z

anona(l)

xnèw

antes
gânsta’

antes, tiene mucho tiempo
xâp

antozo
nwîx

antozo, tolín, pinto
lè’

Antonio
tóy

antrio
kámì

anunciar
-mî’ ndo’^ ápárát

añidirlo
-ke’l

añidirse (local ñidirse)
-ye’l

año nuevo
li’ n kúb

años antiguos
li’ n nzhà zè’ la’

apagarlo
-tzu’

apagarse
-yu’

aparato que da la hora a que estamos, reloj
yî’ b nza’ gorr (nà) nzhò-nh’

aparecerse, parecerse
-z-àk
apartarlo -b-o^7 kë^7
apartarlo, repartirlo -tê
apartarse -to^7 kë
aparte du^b lád
apenas mérrtha^7
apenas pênta^7
apenas ti^9
apestoso kwi^7
aplaudir -tzi^7d ya^7
aplaudir -y-ich ya^7
apreciarlo; recibir con las dos manos -ká ya^7 têp ya^7
aprender -tzid
apretado, macizo, recio chânhhk
apretarse -zho^7
apretarse, aplastarse -ga^7d
apuntarlo, escribirlo -kéni^7
apurarlo -tzê kën
apurarse -kên
apurarse -yên látyo^7
apuro dîpa^7
apuro du^pa^7
apúrate! kârrê
Aquilina; Avelino Lîn
aqui ndê^^
aqui zêndê^7
arado árád
arador de abono de arriera mbêx xkê mbyôb
arador de abono de arriera mbêx yi^în
arador de picante mbêx yi^în
arador, comején, jîjén, jején mbêx
araña mbê
araña de piedra mbê nzyè láz yê
ararla -lê^ yu^^
arco ârk
arcoiris mbyîth
arder -xên yî
arder -zeth
arder el corazón, tener acedía -álê^ látyo^7
ardilla ndî^7z
arena yu^x
arena de pescado yu^x xkê mbê^l
arete ârêt
arete mkóz
arisco, brioso (animales que patean) wlâch
arma de fuego yî^îb ndâch
armadillo mbgûp
armadillo cera negra
mgbùp ngǐn

armadillo grande
mgbùp dà

armadillo petate
mgbùp dà

Armando; Fernando
mán

arrancarlo
-y-ìb

arrancarse
-yi7b

arrastrarlo
-àth nób

arrastrarlo
-g-òb xèx

arrastrarlo
-g-òx nób

arrastrarse, jalarse
-yo7b

arrepentirse
-bí tè látyo7

arriba
ga7p

arriba, alto, altura
gâp

arriba, el aire, el cielo,
el espacio
ndo^ bë7

arriera
mbyòb

arriera roja
mbyòb xléy

arrodillarse, hincarse
-zo^ xìb

arroyo
nà’t

arroyo
yîd na’t

Arroyo Agua Blanca
na’t yi n-gūd

Arroyo Anda Vista
Na’t Àndavíst

Arroyo Cacho
na’t yi bìl wâz

Arroyo Carrizo
na’t yà lòd

Arroyo Chiquito
yu7 zhàk

Arroyo Flor del Niño
na’t yi7 mbɛ’z

Arroyo Jícara
na’t yà xi

Arroyo Macahuite
Nâ’t Yà Yit

Arroyo Magueyito
na’t yà wèd

Arroyo Mamey
na’t yà yèl

Arroyo Mango
na’t yà mêsì

Arroyo Mosquito
na’t yi bì

Arroyo Mulato
na’t yè’l bë

Arroyo Piedra

na’t yi lid yî

Arroyo Podrido, Río
Podrido
na’t nzhò gu7d

Arroyo Río
Guacamaya
na’t yîl bë’w

Arroyo Tecolute
na’t yu7 nzhò mko7

Arroyo Yerba Santa
na’t tà wâ

Arroyo (Palo) Cinco
na’t yâgay7

arruga de la frente;
cuero de la frente
yîd (ndo^) xtu‘zh

arrugada
wtî’ch

arrugado; espuma
behi’n

arrugarlo
-yûn behi’n

arrugarse
-chî’n

arrugarse
-tî’ch

arrugarse
-tyî’t ch

arrugarse
-yàk behi’n

Artemia
Têm

arto; bastante,
suficiente, mucho
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Translation</th>
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<tr>
<td>wyâx</td>
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<tr>
<td>artó, grande</td>
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<td>wto7 b</td>
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<td>asarío -kî</td>
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<td>asco (no sale, solo agua salada)</td>
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<td>xgâp bid</td>
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<td>asco, vómito</td>
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<td>aserrín yîx tê yà</td>
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<td>aserrín, polvo de madera</td>
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<td>dî tê yà</td>
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<td>asesino ar wîth mën</td>
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<td>asesino with mën</td>
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<td>asiento de escaño yà skáyn</td>
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<td>asqueroso wgâp</td>
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<td>asucena xàn súsén mórád</td>
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<td>súsén mórád</td>
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<td>Asunciona Chûnh</td>
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<td>asustarlo -chêb</td>
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<td>asustarse, espantarse -zhêb</td>
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<td>ataque yîzh ndáth yê^</td>
<td>atrás del hueso de la nariz tzo7 tîth xè</td>
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<tr>
<td>ataque yê^l yîzh ndáth yê^</td>
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<td>atardecer -zhîlyu^</td>
<td>aurelia Lël</td>
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<td>ataúd kâj tê gân</td>
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<td>atizar -zi7 kò</td>
<td>autoridad, gente que presta servicio o justicia xa’ nák tî’n</td>
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<td>atole nîtz kô7 b</td>
<td>ave hembra; gallina ngîd</td>
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<td>atole de elote nîtz kô7 b nzê^</td>
<td>Avelino Ábelín</td>
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<td>atole de panela nîtz kô7 b pánêl</td>
<td>avispa amarilla; avispa zapata amarilla mbêz nzhich</td>
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<td>atorarse (el carro) -âk zûb</td>
<td>avispa de humo mbêz mgu7 t zhên</td>
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<td>atrasarse -lâzo^</td>
<td>avispa que guarda la tierra mbêz nzhè</td>
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<td>atrás de la mano tzo7 ya7</td>
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<tr>
<td>atrás de los huesos de la mano tzo7 tîth ya7</td>
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<td>Word</td>
<td>Translation</td>
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<tr>
<td>ayer</td>
<td>naâ’ wê</td>
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<td>ayudante al teniente</td>
<td>yûdánt</td>
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<td>ayudarlo, apoyarlo</td>
<td>-ûn áyúd</td>
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<td>ayunar</td>
<td>-zhê^</td>
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<td>azotar la ropa</td>
<td>-y-in yî</td>
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<td>azotarse</td>
<td>-yîn yî</td>
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<td>-yîn yî</td>
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<td>árboles frutales</td>
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<td>bagazo de panela</td>
<td>yîx pânîl</td>
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<td>to7^</td>
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<td>-o7l ndâtz</td>
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<td>-ûl ndâtz</td>
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<td>yál gûl ndâtz</td>
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<td>baile</td>
<td>yûl ndâtz</td>
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<td>baile</td>
<td>yê’l gûl ndâtz</td>
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<td>baile de la piña</td>
<td>yê’l gûl ndâtz tê bxi’zh</td>
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<td>baile del borracho</td>
<td>yê’l gûl ndâtz tê ngû</td>
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<tr>
<td>bajada</td>
<td>nzo^ là</td>
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<td>bajarlo</td>
<td>-là</td>
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<td>bajarlo, pizcar,</td>
<td>tumbarlo -gâb</td>
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<td>bajarse, llegar</td>
<td>-là</td>
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<td>bajo de la olla</td>
<td>xàn yêtz</td>
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<td>bajo; abajo</td>
<td>là</td>
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<td>balancearse</td>
<td>-o7 mbî</td>
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<td>baltazareño, chareño, gente de San Baltazar Loxicha</td>
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<td>-gâz</td>
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<td>bañarse</td>
<td>-âz</td>
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<td>barrandera de lluvia, barrandera de agua</td>
<td>mtí bi yî</td>
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<td>barrerlo, asear</td>
<td>-lo’b</td>
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<td>-go’b</td>
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<td>barriga de aire</td>
<td>lên mbî</td>
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<td>barriga; adentro; mientras</td>
<td>lên</td>
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<td>barriga, panza</td>
<td>yîd lên</td>
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<td>barrigón, panzón</td>
<td>yîd lên të</td>
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barro
yuʷ wi⁷d

Bartolo
Bárrtöl

bastante, mucho, harto
ndë⁴ pa⁷

bastón, bordón
yà gà

basura
yix

basura blanca del maíz
xiz nzhôp

batir
-z-in

batirlo
-cho⁷n

batirse
-zho⁷n

bautizar
-á (w)lên

bautizo
ntö⁷ le⁷

bautizo
tö⁷ le⁷

baúl (para guardar
la casa o ropa); cama
yin

Beatríz
Tix

bejiga orinaria
yid xnêtz

bejico
lût'

bejico de aguante
lût xo⁶l

bejico de asartz
yà yich sàrtz

bejico de calabaza
chombo
lût yèth chi⁷n

bejico de calabaza de
lachicayuma
lût yèth na⁷

bejico de calabaza
huiche
lût yèth yîch

bejico de calabaza
támalá
lût yèth go^⁸

bejico de cera negra
lût ngîn

bejico de chayote
lût yáp

bejico de chicayuma
lût ye⁷z na⁷

bejico de chilcayote
lût yèth lân

bejico de comachiche
lût tzèth tzin

bejico de ejote
lût la⁷

bejico de ejotes
lût nzâ bèn

bejico de estropajo
lût tè strápâj

bejico de fruta fresca
lût tè ngûz xlê⁸

bejico de gallina
lût wàch ngîd

bejico de granada
lût grânâd

bejico de guía de
(calquier) calabaza
lût tzèth

bejico de guía de
iguaná
lût wàch

bejico de jivalí
lût bèw

bejico de jícama
lût xgàm

bejico de la casa
lût ni

bejico de melon
lût tè mélonh

bejico de palo
lût yà

bejico de pepino
lût tè pépîn

bejico de piul, santito
lût tè bîd pyûl

bejico de pollo
lût bóy

bejico de sandía
lût tè sândì
| bejuco de santito       | billote         | to^ wxën |
| lùt tè me^ gu^        | bè^ z           |
| bejuco de tomate       | billote de la flor de coquito | bè^ z tè yà ga^ |
| lùt bìx              |                |
| bejuco de vainilla    | billote de plátanar | bè^ z tè yà bdo^ |
| lùt (tè) yi^ nzâ      |                |
| bejuco montés         | bilole del río  | lo^l yu^ |
| lùt yìx              |                |
| bejuco negro           | bilol(o)        | lo^l |
| lùt ya^tz            |                |
| bejuco seringuina     | bisabuela       | xna^ go^l göx |
| lùt ngìn             |                |
| Benigno              | bisabuelo       | xúz gòl göx |
| Bénïg              | Bix Wane        | Lábcho^n |
| Benito               | bixe, orina de nene chiquito | bìx |
| Bénït              | bizco           | yîd ndo^ chá |
| Benjamín            | blanco          | n-gòd |
| Minh               | blando, blandito | gu^d |
| Benjamín            | blanquillo de hongo | ngu^ tè mbëy yu^p |
| minhk              | boca            | yîto^ |
| Bernabé             | boca abajo      | gàl tè ndo^ |
| Búy                | boca ancha      |                |
| besar               | boca hinchada   | to^ ngwzo^ yî |
| -à chît             | boca rajada     | to^ ngwle^ |
| besar               | boca remendada, boca costureada, boca operada | to^ mbyîb |
| -à to^              | boca rota       | to^ chá |
| bestia de carga      | boca rota       | to^ ngwza^ |
| wáy ntzë^ yô^       | boca rota, boca rompida | to^ mzya^ |
| bigote; barba        | Bocapiedra      | yè ndo^ ngwzan |
| yìch to^            | boca; orilla    | to^ |
| bigote, barba        | boda, casamiento | yë^l chí lyà^ |
| yìch (yîd) to^      | bodega          | ni n-gòcha^ -s ta^n |
| boa; puño; cosa redonda; cosa voluda | bolsa de trapo/tela/ropa | bòls làd |
| boca ancha          | bonarlo         | -g-ô kwë^l |
| -yo^ kwë^l          | bonarse         |                |
bondadoso, humilde
wàth yu^-

bonito, chulo
wtën

bonito; chulo, bella
wtžìn

bonito, guapo
chú

boquiabierto
yi to^ nzo^ ña^l

borrac
myìn lóx

borrachera
yê^l ñù

borracho
ngù

borrarse el sentido
-tìd tê*l latyo^-

borrarse el sentido,
borrarse el
pensamiento
-yu^ yê*l ndyën

borrarse la mente
-tìd kwá látyo^-

borrego
bôrrég

borrego, oveja; perro
de pelo fino
mbèk xi^l

botella
bôté

botella de agua
xò tê nîtz

boton de flor
búch

botón de flor
bu^ch tê yi^-

bramar
-b-êzh lò

brasas de lumbre;
soplador
bkwi^-

brasier
lád ntzà chîch

bravo
wyi^-

brayeta de pantalón,
manera de pantalón
to^ pántalónh

brazada
yê^tìz

brazo
xìk

brazo de río
nîtz ya^-

brazo mocho
xìk mô`ch

bretaña
là brêtày

brincar los cueros del
ojo
-âtz yid ngûz ndô^-

brincar; volar
-za^b

bruja (que chupa de
noche)

mxè^-

brujería
yê*l brûj

brujería (enfermedad
de)
yê*l brûj

brujo
brûj

buche de ave
ndo^ xla^-

buche, tragadera
donde almacena
comida aparte
ndo^ xla^-

buena gente
xa^ wên

bueno
bwên

Buenos días,
compadre.
só mbál

bueno; bien
wên

bueno, bien, sí
mbây

bugambilia
ye^ mómbil

bugambilia
ye^ mómil

bugambilia amarilla
yà yi^ mbîl nzhich

bugambilia blanca
yà yi^ mbîl n-gûd

bugambilia morada
yà yi⁷ mbíl mórád

bule
gë^

bule
yë^

bule bailarín, estrompo de bule
yë^ gòl

bule chueco
yë^ bte⁷k

bule de agua
yë^ nîtz

bule de bejuco largo
yë^ lùt

bule de cuchara
yë^ kúchárr

bule de huio
yë^ wírr

bule de jícara
yë^ xi

bule de tortilla
xë⁷th la⁷

bule largo
yë^ no⁷l

bule metlapil
yë^ zàb

bule para tomar agua
yë^ yêzh

bule sembrador
yë^ gób ni

Bulmaro
márr

burlarse (de...)
-chê⁷

burlarse; reirse
-xïd

burra hembra
bùrr go^tz

burro
bùrr

burro macho
bùrr mách

burro macho
bùrr ze⁷

buscar(lo) querer; conseguirlo
-kwa'n

caballo del diablo
wáy tê më xu⁷

caballo, bestia
wáy

cabecear
-zôb yo^ xka⁷l

cabeceara, almada
(local for almohada);
rebozo
lâd nxo'b më yëk më

cabello
yich yëk

cabello
yichèk

cabello de elote
(animal)
yich yë°l

cabello de elote (tierno)
yich yë°l tê nzê^
| cachetada | caja de dinero | mbi zuàng |
| ki'ch ya'ndo^ | káj tè tmì |
| cadera | caja de madera | mbi nzhich |
| tì xìn | káj yà |
| caer | caja de maíz | calandria de color amarillo bajo, (una abeja/avispa que come las matas de frijol) |
| -yu'b | káj tè nzhôp |
| caer en una trampa; ser alcanzado, detenido, localizado, cachado, visto, agarrado, o pescado por alguien | cajete | mbì ngâtz |
| -álà | kájét |
| caerse; gotear | cal | calandria negra |
| -âb | yî |
| café montés, café criollo | calabaza | calantia amarilla, calandria amarilla, calambria amarilla |
| káfé yìx | yèth |
| cagada larga | calabaza chompa | mbi |
| zàb | yèth chi'ìn |
| cagada más amplia que normal (por ej. cuando está enfermo uno) | calabaza de bejuco de chicayuma | calavera, cráneo |
| tèl | yèth tè lût tèz na^7 |
| cagada voluda | calabaza de cáscara, calabaza támala | tith yèk mên |
| bùtz | yèth xò |
| cagar | calabaza de la chicayuma | calculadora; computadora |
| -z-ön | yèth na^7 |
| Caitano | calabaza huiche | ta' nà nbo' kwént xa^7 zîl |
| Kày | calabaza támala | caldo de Ulalia, puro caldo sin verduras |
| káj | yèth go^ |
| caja | calador (para calar costales de cafe) | nîtz lâl |
| káj | káládór |
| caja de cerillos de fósforos | calandria huiche | calentarlo, chupar para curar (como hacen los curanderos) |
| káj tè sèri | yèth yîch |
| | calandria támala | -chè^ |
| | | calentarse |
| | | -tyî |
| | | calentarse |
| | | -tyîg |
| calentarse  | bzhë^  | camaleón | wách ndëw  |
| calentarse con temperatura de edad  | -kwë^z  | camaleón | yâj  |
| calentarse (junto a la lumbre)  | -kwë  | camarón | mtyë^tz  |
| calentura de dolor de muela o diente  | -wë^l  | camarón reculón | mtyëtz ka7  |
| calentura de donde se corta  | -wë  | camarón salado | mbil byu^  |
| calentura de escalofrío; calentura de paludismo  | -zhë  | cambiar el corazón; cambiar novios | -che^ látyo7  |
| calentura de espanto  | -zhëb  | cambiarlo | -che^  |
| calentura de gripa  | -zhë  | cambiarse de plumas | -yâz  |
| calentura de la gripa  | -zhë  | cambiar(se) | -zhë^  |
| calentura de oído  | -zhë  | caminar | -zë^  |
| calentura de tos  | -zhë  | caminar chueco | ka7 -zë^  |
| calentura que yá no sale hasta la muerte  | -zhë  | camino | nêz  |
| calentura; vapor  | -zhë  | camino para el rancho "Confradía" | nêz nzyâ xán yë  |
| caliente | -zhë  | camino que va del Rancho Campo Nuevo para San Miguel Coatlán | kámín sánh jwânh  |

camino tendido,
| **camino parejo** | mbé zêd |
| **nêz kwa’** | |
| **camí** | nî xò |
| **yà wày** | |
| **camote** | go^ |
| **go^ kwi** | |
| **camote de cedilla** | |
| **go^ kwì** | |
| **camote de palo, yuca** | go^ yà |
| **canal donde echan agua (como albañil construyendo casa)** | bto’tz |
| **canareja** | mbé xíz |
| **canareja de pelo** | mbé lò |
| **canas** | yich kwe^7 |
| **canasta** | chin kíwit |
| **canasta de las costillas** | chin kóstí |
| **canasto trampa de camarón** | chin tê trâmp tê mtyë’tz |
| **canción; canto; canta** | ndo^1 to^ |
| **candíl** | kándíl |
| **cangrejo** | mbé |
| **cangrejo de sal** | |
| **capar (local), castrar** | (standard) |
| **-b-o’ ngûz kwê** | |
| **capilla del santo** | kápiy tê mbdo^7 |
| **caporal** | káporál |
| **capote para agua** | dà gó yîn |
| **cara arrugada** | yîd ndo^ nchi’n |
| **cara arrugada** | yîd ndo^ mbya’t |
| **cara arrugada** | yîd ndo^ yîd |
| **caracol** | mkwê’d |
| **caracol** | tî^1 |
| **caracol de agua** | mbê^7 wâz tê nîtz |
| **caracól** | mbê^7 wâz |
| **cara; punta; a(l)** | ndo^ |
| **carbón** | bzhù^2 |
| **carga** | yo^7 |
| **carga de leña** | yo^7 yà |
| **cargar** | -kê^7 |

Carlos
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Español</th>
<th>Inglés</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kār</strong></td>
<td><strong>ni yīx</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Carmen</strong> Kār</td>
<td><strong>casa donde se reúna la gente, casa real, casa grande</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>carne</strong> bēʔl</td>
<td><strong>ni wzān</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>carne de cuchi</strong> bēʔl kūch</td>
<td><strong>casa pared de adobe yīb btzoʔ ni blēʔ</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>carne podrida</strong> bēʔl goʔzh</td>
<td><strong>casarse -chīlyāʔ</strong></td>
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<td><strong>carnecuil del monte</strong> yā btzyaʔ yīx</td>
<td><strong>cascabel de culebra mtzoʔn</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>carnecuil, guajenicuil btzyaʔ</strong></td>
<td><strong>cascabel (de la víbora) tzoʔn</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>carnicero</strong> xaʔ ndūth mān</td>
<td><strong>cascada, chorro donde salta el agua yī nbix nītz</strong></td>
</tr>
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<td><strong>carnisuelo, espina de carnesuelo yīch wāz</strong></td>
<td><strong>cascarón de camarón xō mtyēʔ tz</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>cascarón de cartuco de arma</strong></td>
<td><strong>cascarón de cartuco de arma xō tē rrētrōkārgā</strong></td>
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<td><strong>cascarón de huevo</strong> xō ngu^</td>
<td><strong>cascarón de huevo xō ngū^</strong></td>
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<td><strong>casero, jefe xaʔ gū līd</strong></td>
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<td><strong>caspa tīz</strong></td>
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<td><strong>carro yīʔ b nzyē’</strong></td>
<td><strong>caspa (de la cabeza) tīz</strong></td>
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<td><strong>carro de carga kāmyōnih yoʔ</strong></td>
<td><strong>castigarlo -tē zī</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>cartero, gente transporta el correo xaʔ nτzēʔ bōls tē kōrreō</strong></td>
<td><strong>castigo? zī</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>cartucho de rifle que quema ngūz tē yīʔ b ndāch</strong></td>
<td><strong>casa de zacate ni yīx</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>casa lid</strong></td>
<td><strong>casa de zacate</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>casa lit</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>casa ni</strong></td>
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<td><strong>casa de campaña ni lād</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>casa de máscaras; casa de disfraz, donde se visten los hombres en días de fiesta ni tē mbgōl xō</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Casa de Piedra de Sopilote yī līd ngōl</strong></td>
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<td><strong>casa de pollito ni tē zhūl</strong></td>
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<td><strong>casa de vara ni yā tnix</strong></td>
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<tr>
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<td><strong>carrizo yā xīl</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>carrizo para llamar a la venada bēnāmit</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>carrizo, el mero carrizo</strong></td>
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</table>
español
di’ zh xtil
castrar, capar
-b-o’ bid tê
Catalina; Marcelina
Lin
Catarina
Kát
catorce
tí’ dà
catrín
mbít go’b
catrín; gente grande;
gente rica; gente
poderosa; gente
importante
xa’ zî’l
CAUS
-tzé
cazuela grande
chë7
cazuelita (más grande
que la chilmolera),
cazuela hecha en barro
të’g
Cándida
Kàn
cántaro
tê
Cáñida
Kàn
cárcel
lí tyi’b
cárcel
ni tê ngù
cárcel de borrachos
lit yî’b tê ngù
cáscara de armadillo
xò mbgûp
cáscara de palo grueso
lê’d
cáscara del palo
xîb yà
cebolleta
ndá xît
cebolleta grande
ndá xît zî’l
cebollín
ndá xît bîx
cebollín
ndá xît yî’
Cecilia; Vacílio
Sil
cedilla; úlcera?
(líquido agrio)
nîtz kwi
ceja
tzo’ yîch ngûz ndo^ncejas
yîch tzo’ ngûz ndo^Celedonio; Celedonia
Dôn
Celestino
Tîn
celoso
wyákô
cemposúchitl blanco
yî’ yî bàn
cemposúchitl chica
(hembra)
yà yî’ ndûx
cemposúchitl (local),
Cacalosúchil (libro)
yî’ ze’ch
cemposúchitl amarillo
yà yî’ ze’ch nzhîch
cemposúchitl rojo
yà yî’ ze’ch nê
cena
sche7
cenicero
tá’ n-gôcha7-n’ dî tê yê’z
ceniza
dî
centro del pueblo
tlâ thà’ gêzh
centro, en medio
tlâ
cenzontle
tnu’b
ceñidor
báy lên
ceñidor
báy no’l
cepillo dental
ta’ ndyât ndê’y mên
cera
ngên
cera de abeja de
| enjambre         | yè bzóy               | Cerro Pityona          | ndo^n byo^n         |
| cerro del oído  | yè skópét             | Cerro Estropio         | yè tè ngwzi^7      |
| cercado de flores | yè dùn                | Cerro Remolino         | yè bdôn              |
| cercar, tapar, tajar | yè ltyi^b            | Cerro Sabroso          | yè wîx               |
| cercar, tapar, tajar | yè strib             | Cerro Tejón            | yè ndân              |
| cerca, cerquita | yè zi^l               | Cerro Tizne            | yè mzhîn              |
| cerrado         | yè têzh               | Cerveza               | nîtz n-gâtz           |
| cerrar los ojos | yè yèb yèk            | Cesario               | Chây                   |
| cerro           | yè yèb yèk            | cerro/canasto de asa  | (para cargar pan, etc.), canastito |
| Cerro Betecá   | Yèbètkâ                | Cerro Rayo             | yè tè ngwzi^7      |
| Cerro Betecó    | Yèbko^7                | Cerro Remolino         | yè bdôn              |
| Cerro Betecó    | Yètko^7                | Cerro Sabroso          | yè wîx               |
| Cerro Camote    | yè go^v                | Cerro Tejón            | yè ndân              |
| Cerro Cuapinole | Lát Chi^7              | Cerro Tizne            | yè mzhîn              |
| Cerro Hacha     | yè yèb yèk            | Cerveza               | nîtz n-gâtz           |
| Cerro Horcón    | yè yèn tzo^v           | Cesario               | Chây                   |
| Cerro Javalín   | yè bèw                 | cerro/canasto de asa  | (para cargar pan, etc.), canastito |
| Cerro Leon      | yè nkè bî'zh           | Cerro Tejón            | yè ndân              |
| Cerro León      | yè nkè mbi^7 zh        | Cerro Tizne            | yè mzhîn              |
| Cerro Mordoña   | yè ngütz kwi^7         | Cerveza               | nîtz n-gâtz           |
| Cerro Nopal     | yè yOj                 | Cesario               | Chây                   |
| Cerro Otate     | yè xîl                 | cerro/canasto de asa  | (para cargar pan, etc.), canastito |
| Cerro Escalero  |                      | Cerro Tejón            | yè ndân              |
chamaca cuidanene
wzha’n

chamaco del costoche,
hielo del sancho, hijo
del monte
mbë’z të mbë’ż

chamacos chiquitos
mzhë’^ bîx

chamacos músicos
mzhë’^ músk

chamiza
châmîšs

chamiza
là yîz yî

chancear; jugar
-y-ith

chapeco
jér

chapulín
chânt

chapulín
mbî chânt

chapulín bixiento
mbîchi’x

chapulín de ala
mbî ngwlôzh

chapulín de cochito
mbî yà yîch

chapulín, langosta
mbît

charco
chârrrk

chayote
yâp

chayote de espina
lût yâp yîch

chayote montes,
toloaiche
më gu’^

chayote pelón
lût yâp xu’b

chehuizle, chahuizlado
bzhin

chepil
yà zi’x

chepil de arena, chepil
del cerro
yê’ż yu’x

chepil de leche, quelite
de leche
là yê’ż tôn

chepil de media
là yê’ż méd

chepil del cerro
yê’ż yê

chepil fresco de los
difuntos
là yê’ż (kwâl) të gân

chepil macho
yà zi’x wze’ż

chepil, chicalmata
yê’ż

chicatana
mbyê’zh

chicatana
mtyê tê yîch wâz

chicatana chiquita
mtî yîx

chicatana (arriera)
mbye’żh

chichalaca (local),
chachalaca (standard)
nga’x

chicharrá
mbêz kâ

chicharrá grande,
cortapalo, muerdapalo
kâ

chicharrá, chiquirí,
siquirí
chikri

chicharrón
yîd yî’x

chiche
xîd

chicluna
chîklûn

chifflar
-õl yu’ż

chifflar
-õ’õ yu’ż

chiflido de lechuza
(local), chiflado de
lechuza (standard?)
ngo’’tz tzéy

chigón
mtzi’l tûzh

chilar Bartaleño, palo
de chile de San Bartolo
yà yi’n yî xîl
chilacayote, calabaza
chilcayota
yèth lân

chile ancho
yi7'n chílyánch

chile bartoleño
yi7'n yí xìl

chile chigole, chigole,
chile chichalaca
yi7'n nga7x

chile chilito
yi7'n chilit

chile costeño
yi7'n yà

chile de agua
yi7'n kê^ làt

chile de agua
yi7'n yà làt

chile seco
yi7'n bid

chile verde
yi7'n kê^\n
chile, tusta
yi7'n

chile, tusta, picante
túch

chilacayote, calabaza
chilcayota
yèth lân

chilcayote, calabaza
chilcayota
yèth lân

chile ancho
yi7'n chílyánch

chile bartoleño
yi7'n yí xìl

chile chigole, chigole,
chile chichalaca
yi7'n nga7x

chile chilito
yi7'n chilit

chile costeño
yi7'n yà

chile de agua
yi7'n kê^ làt

chile de agua
yi7'n yà làt

chile seco
yi7'n bid

chile verde
yi7'n kê^\n
chile, tusta
yi7'n

chile, tusta, picante
túch

chilcayote, calabaza
chilcayota
yèth lân

chile ancho
yi7'n chílyánch

chile bartoleño
yi7'n yí xìl

chile chigole, chigole,
chile chichalaca
yi7'n nga7x

chile chilito
yi7'n chilit

chile costeño
yi7'n yà

chile de agua
yi7'n kê^ làt

chile de agua
yi7'n yà làt

chile seco
yi7'n bid

chile verde
yi7'n kê^\n
chile, tusta
yi7'n

chile, tusta, picante
túch
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chucupaxtle (un 'lugarcito en S. Balta.´)</th>
<th>cienpie</th>
<th>cihuelas seca</th>
<th>cirujano</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xán yè blažh</td>
<td>yá gál</td>
<td>nzhâd bid</td>
<td>xa' (nà) ndyê gan</td>
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<tr>
<td>chueco</td>
<td>wyê'</td>
<td>ciruelas verde</td>
<td>clara del hueso</td>
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<tr>
<td>btê^l</td>
<td>cierto</td>
<td>nzhâd kê^</td>
<td>claro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chupador</td>
<td>ciénega, lodo</td>
<td>yóp</td>
<td>claro del hueso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xa' ndà xu'p</td>
<td>cigarro</td>
<td>yê^z</td>
<td>xyê’</td>
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<td>chupamiel</td>
<td>cilandro</td>
<td>kúlántr</td>
<td>Coateco</td>
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<td>mchînh</td>
<td>cilandro de espina</td>
<td>kúlántr yîch</td>
<td>cobarde, atrasado</td>
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<td>chupamiel</td>
<td>cinco</td>
<td>gay^</td>
<td>cobija</td>
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<td>nhwchînh</td>
<td>cincuenta y cinco</td>
<td>tòp gâl nti^ bgay^</td>
<td>lâd yîch</td>
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<td>chupar</td>
<td>cinta, caset</td>
<td>ta' nzyén nà yê' l wzá dî^ zh ndo^ grábádór</td>
<td>cobija</td>
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<td>-à xu'p</td>
<td>cinturón</td>
<td>to^ la^ n</td>
<td>lât yîch</td>
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<td>chupar</td>
<td>cintura</td>
<td>to^ la^ n mbê' y</td>
<td>cobrarlo</td>
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<td>-z-úp</td>
<td>cintura de gusano</td>
<td>to^ la^ n mbê' y</td>
<td>-un kóbrá</td>
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<tr>
<td>chuparrosa chiquita</td>
<td>cinta, caset</td>
<td>ta' nzyén nà yê' l wzá dî^ zh ndo^ grábádór</td>
<td>cencer (comida)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zho'zh bîx</td>
<td>cinturón</td>
<td>to^ la^ n mbê' y</td>
<td>-wi^ y</td>
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<td>chuparrosa, chupamirto</td>
<td>cintura</td>
<td>to^ la^ n mbê' y</td>
<td>cencerse</td>
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<td>nzho'zh</td>
<td>cintura</td>
<td>to^ la^ n mbê' y</td>
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<td>chuparrosa, chupamirto,</td>
<td>cinturón</td>
<td>to^ la^ n mbê' y</td>
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<tr>
<td>zho'zh</td>
<td>ciruelar amarillo</td>
<td>yà nzhât nzhich</td>
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<td>ciego</td>
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<td>yà nzhât nê</td>
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<td>ciego; tuerto</td>
<td>ciruelar rojo</td>
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<td>wîlê</td>
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<td>yà nzhât ndyê^</td>
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<td>ciruelar rojo</td>
<td>yà nzhât nê</td>
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<td>áyo^</td>
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<td>yà nzhât nê</td>
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<td>yà gâl</td>
<td>ciruelar rojo</td>
<td>yà nzhât nê</td>
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</table>
-áy
cochino, puerco, marrano, cerdo, cuche gúch

cocido
ngu'y

cocido
ngwi'

cocina
ní yích

cocina (otra casa)
ní kósín

coco para tortilla, bule, jicalpextle yè^ yèk

cocoxtle
xó

codo
ní xik

cogollo
kógó

cojo, renco kō

coko, renco rēnhk

cola
xnè

colcha, ropa de cama lâd ndo^ yin

colgar
-kén-gâ

colgar/lo, pegarse, guardar, enderezarse

-kécha'

colindancia de lo que tiene dentro de la cabeza
bzê' lèn xò yèk

colindancia de tierras, lindero
bzê' yu^'

colindancia, lindero
bzê'

collar de fruta de palo de pipa
nik tè ngûz tè yà do^ch

collar de las mujeres, gargantilla
nik

collar, gargantilla
nik

colmena de tierra, miel de tierra
mzhîn yu^'

colmulgar; confesar
-xúb dòl

columnpiar
-yò^ mbi

comachiche, bejuco de calabaza de ratón
lût tzêth tzín

comadre
mál

comadre vieja; madre del compadre o de la comadre
mál gôx

comadreja

mbèk yix gôx
comadreja
mbôx
comal
tíl

combinacion, fondo de mujeres
lâd lèn

comején que vive en la oguera de perico
mbêx tè( bêx tè) péřk
comer
-à
comer
-ô'

comerciante, gente que vende, vendedor
xa^ ndò
comenzón
wze^th
comida
kómîd
comida
stzi'l
como
xêtza'

compadre viejo; padre del compadre
mbál gôx

compadre (BAL);
compadre, comadre (CAN)
mbál

compañero pleitisto,
enemigo
tzà wyò

completo
mzá-y’

comprar lo
-z-i?

comprarse
-xi?

comulgar; confesar
-à mbdo?

comunero
xa7 làw

con
nà

Concepción(a)
Chòn

concha de caracol; concha del mar
xò bzhu’t

conchuda
mbé chîn

conejo
kónëj

conejo
mbël yè

conejo casero
mbël yè nì

conejo del campo (el más grande)
tóx lit

conejo (del campo)
mbël yè

confesar; acolmulgar
-xo’b döl

conocer
-zhi ndo^

consuegro
ngwzn

consuegro/a
lzân

contagiar
-za’b yë’l yîzh

contagiar
-zë’ gël gizh

contagiar la enfermedad, contaminar a la persona, enfermarlo
-tza’b yë’l yîzh

contagiar la flojera a otro
-zë’ yë’l zha’a’b

contarlo
-la’a’b

contar(se)
-ga’a’b

convertirse/lo
-yàk

convivio, comida
yë’l wàw

coopal de cruz
yë’l krús

copal
yà yë’l

copal blanco
yë’l n-gûd

copal de aire
yë’l ò tê mbi

copal de cuadro, copal cuadrado, copal aplastado
yë’l mbàd

copal del aire
yà’l ò tê mbi

copal negro
yë’l n-gâtz

copetón
mbwix

cquito apestoso, coyul apestoso
ngûz ga’ kwîb

cquito, coyul duro, almendra
lë’d ngûz ga’

coraje; le duele el corazón
ndyàw là tyo7

coralillo
mtzyîn

corazón de palma
lë’d të yà’ ga’

corazón de palo, corazón del tronco
lë’ò

corazón, estómago
ládyo7

corazón; estómago
látyo7
corbata: pañuelo (local paynuelo)
låd ndyo^ yèn xa^7

cordoniz
myin mbich

cordon del ombligo
tzi^7 kid

Cornelio
Nël

corral
yálò

corral de ganado
yá lò ngón

correa
kórré

corredor
mlò

corredor
mlò (COA)

correr
-xo^7n

corretear
-túblâ

corretear; alcanzarlo
-tu^b là

corrente de agua
btzyu^b

corrente de agua
zê ncho^7 nîtz

cortado
mxèn

cortar

-cên

cortina de enfrente del sahuán
körtín to^ sawân

cortina de trapo
låd nkè^7 cha^7 wåtz bëntán

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
da bid

costar, valer
-àk

costeño; costa
kóst

costilla
kóstí

costoche, zorra
mbè^z

costura, callo; tasajo
bè^7l bid

costurear a mano,
echar hilo
-kîb dé^'

costurearse
-yîb

costurearse la carne
-yîb bè^7l

costurear, remendar
-kîb

costurear, remendar
-kîbdë'

cotorra
kótôr

cotorra de ocote
mbèy yèd

cotorra (de ocote)
kótôrr mbèy yèd

coyote
mbèk be^7

coyul, coquito
ngûz ga^7

coyuntura
wtzi^7

Cómo?
xé mód

craneo
xò yèk

Crecencia
Chènch

crecer
-a^7l
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>crecerlo (a un niño)</th>
<th>plà tzè</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ga’l</td>
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<tr>
<td>creer</td>
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<tr>
<td>-kédî</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cresencio</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chénch</td>
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<tr>
<td>cresta del pollo</td>
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<tr>
<td>yîd yèk bóy</td>
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<tr>
<td>Crisob</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chój</td>
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<td>Crísóforo</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chóf</td>
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<td>Crispina</td>
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<td>Pin</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cristina</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Tîn</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cristina</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xîn</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>criticarlo, afamarlo</td>
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<td>-xo7’b di7’zh</td>
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<td>criticar, contradecir,</td>
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<tr>
<td>maldecir</td>
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<td>-nî7 kwë^</td>
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<tr>
<td>cría, animal tierno</td>
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<tr>
<td>má bèn</td>
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<tr>
<td>crudo; falta se va a cocer</td>
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<tr>
<td>zë’ ta’ gày-ê</td>
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<tr>
<td>crudo, verde</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kë^</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cruz</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>yà to^ ba7</td>
<td></td>
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<td>cruzar</td>
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<td>-yùn krús</td>
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<td>là yë’z ábitz</td>
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<td>cuaconitos</td>
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<tr>
<td>bîn tûzh</td>
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<tr>
<td>cuaconito, guajolote</td>
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<tr>
<td>tierno</td>
<td></td>
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<td>bèz</td>
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<td>cuanacasle</td>
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<td>yà ngîz</td>
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<td>cuando</td>
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<td>gör lá</td>
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<td>cuando, entonces</td>
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<tr>
<td>zha7</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>cuando, entonces</td>
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<tr>
<td>zhe7</td>
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<td>cuanto, tanto</td>
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<td>plò</td>
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<td>cuarenta</td>
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<td>tîp gâl</td>
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<td>cuarta</td>
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<td>btîth</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>cuarta, chicote</td>
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<td>mákán</td>
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<td>cuarto</td>
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<td>wdâp</td>
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<td>cuatro</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>dâp</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>cuándo?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>pôl</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>cuándo?; a qué horas?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>xé gör</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>cuánto es?; cuantos no más</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>cuero de la orilla de la</td>
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<tr>
<td>nariz</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>yîd to^ xè</td>
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<tr>
<td>cuero de los ojos,</td>
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</table>
párpado
yîd ngûz ndo^n
cuero del cuerpo
yîd láz
cuero del culo
to^ yîd xi^n
cuero del pene del hombre
yîd ngûz kwê xa^ byî
cuero del pie
yîd mbåd ndåtz
cuero largo en la cabeza del guajolote macho
chûr
cuero que se muda la culebra
yîd ntor^ bdi^n mbê^l
cuero verija de la mujer
yîd kwê xa^ go^ tz
cuero viejo
yîd gôx
cuerpo
lâz
cuerpoespín (local), puercoespín (standard)
mbê^ yà
cueva
lyô
cuidado
ni
cuidado!
ni
cuidanene
ngwzhâ’n
cuidar
-kê’ nà
cuidarlo
-kê nô`
cuidarse de luto, tener dieta
-le^ ch
cuña, limpiacasa
kwíj
Cuixtla
yî tzî
culebra
mbê^l
culebra bejuquía
mbê^l lût
culebra bejuquía
mbê^l yà
culebra corolilla
mtzê nik
culebra del palo
mbê^l yà
culebra floreada, chuchupaxtle
mbê^l là yi^7
cultivo; está preparando su terreno, surquear el terreno.
-kê^ sûrk yu^8
cumplirlo
-un kûmplîr
cumplirse; completarse
-zà
cuna chiquita; hamaca chiquita (local maca chiquita)
yîx to^7 tûzh
cuñado
kûnâd
cuñado de hombre
blê^7
cuñado/a (m con f)
xlôn
curandero; médico
xa^7 ntzi yî mên
curar
-tzê yàk
curar la enfermedad
-tzê yàk yê^ lîzh
curarse
-âk réméd
curva
xyêk
Daniel
nêl
dañarlo, hacerle daño
-un kê
dañero
wîn kê
dar
-za^7
dar asco, tener asco
-gâp látyo^7
dar cachetada, cachetear
-y-ich ya^
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Español</th>
<th>Castellano</th>
<th>Resultado</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dar lastima</td>
<td>-lätz lātyo(^7)</td>
<td>ngūțz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dar pecho, amamantar</td>
<td>-za(^7) xîd</td>
<td>dedos de en medio ngūțz tlā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dar permiso, dejar</td>
<td>-za(^7) di(^7)zh</td>
<td>dejarlo cha(^7)n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dar sed</td>
<td>-yēk lá tyo(^7)</td>
<td>delgado bdi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dar vuelta; enrollarse; enredarse</td>
<td>-yēk</td>
<td>delgado wlätz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>darle cosquillas</td>
<td>-zu(^\circ)y</td>
<td>delicado, quejoso wyē(^7)zh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>darle de mamar</td>
<td>-gâd</td>
<td>demonio; diablo mē xu(^7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>darle hambre;</td>
<td>-gân</td>
<td>derecho wyē(^\circ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>darle vuelta</td>
<td>-tzē(^7)k</td>
<td>derramar, podar -tîd yā(^7) (yà)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>darse cuenta, adivinar</td>
<td>-la(^7)n</td>
<td>derritar, deshacer -yē(^\circ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de</td>
<td>tē</td>
<td>derrumbe, ladera wē(^\circ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de aquí a 15 días</td>
<td>stī(^7)n wizh</td>
<td>desaparecerse -go(^7)n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de día</td>
<td>nyē bê</td>
<td>desatarlo -xē(^7)d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de lado, chueco</td>
<td>ka(^7)n</td>
<td>desatarse, soltarse -ye(^\circ)d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de por sí, siempre</td>
<td>ába(^\circ)</td>
<td>desatarse, soltarse -yē(^\circ)d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de repente</td>
<td>pā tha</td>
<td>desayunar, almorzar -à tên</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dedos</td>
<td></td>
<td>desboronarse -zh-o(^\circ)b</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
descansar
-né

descarado, desobediente
wlë

descargarlo
-là yo

descargarse
-là yo

descogerlo
-tí

descogerlo
-tí bo

descogerse
-bíbo

descojerse
-bí

descomponerse; manosearse
-ázhà

descuidarse
-bañ

desenredarse
-to bxìd

desfilarse
-tyo'nh

desgranar, desboronar
-z-o'

deshazón
ngú gàl

deshojarlo
-tu

deshojarse

-despertarse
-bàn

despierto
nà

despintarlo
-làtè kólór

despintarse
-làtè kólór

despues, atrás
-gàl tzo

destruirlo, descomponerlo, desbaratarlo
-tzòn

destruirse, descomponerse
-zyòn

desvelarse
-to xka'l

desvestirse, desnudarse
-b-o' xâb

deuda
kè

décimo
wtì

diarrea
yízh nxo'n lèn

dibujo
là yi

diente
ndë'y

diente cuatrapeado,
diente encimado
ndë'y kwa
diente de chicalmata
mbê tê yê7z

diente de enfrente
ndê’ y xê7

diente principal
ndê’ y wzân

dientes desapartados, dientes saltiados, dientes desparejos
ndê’ y bxê’ch

dieta
wtza7n

dieta del parto, (los veinte días que se cuide después), enfermedad de cría
yîzh zän

diez
ti7

diez y ocho
ti7n bchôn

diez y seis
ti7n bdyu^b

diez y siete
ti7n btyôp

dinero
méd

dinero viejo; moneda vieja
tmi gô

directorio (el libro adonde está notado todos los números de teléfonos de nuestros pueblos)
dormirse la carne
tya' bê'l
dormirse (p.e. la pierna)
-ázin
dorsó de la mano
tzo7 ya7
dos de ellos; no es tan seguro
tôp nák
dónde
mà
dueño
xwán
dueño; amo
xwán
dulce
wê
durar
-ûn
durmiónte (standard); quisío (local)
yà kisyó
duro
wê'êl
echar agua, botar
agua, tirar agua
-tôb nîtz
echar pedos, pedorrear
-y-il
echar, tirar
-tôb
eclipse del sol
mbyaw7 wizh
eclipse de luna
mbyaw7 mbe'
edad; año
lî'n
Edmundo
mûn
Eduardo
wârr
egareche (palo de)
yà tizh
ejote verde
nzâ kê'
ejotes
yê'êz
Ejutla
Wzyâ
Ejutla
Yêzh Bzyâ (CAN)
el animal
mà
el baile del compadre
yê'êl gûl ndâtz tê mbál
el baile del guajolote
yê'êl gûl ndâtz tê mbèd
el camino que se va para Santa Marta
nêz nzyèn nzyà pár sántá màrrt
el cogollo tierno del platanar
pît tê yà bdo7
el cuero de abajo del ojo
yîd pár là tê ngûz ndoê
el cuero del ojo
tzo7 yîd ngûz ndoê
el dueño del cerro
xwán yê
el hueso de la boca del estómago
tîth lá tyo7
el hueso del codo del mano
tîth nî ya7
el hueso mayor del pescuezo
tîth yên wzân
el más grande, padrundo, padrote wzân
el oso para cortar zacate
ós nxên yîx
el palo de lima limón
yà límá limôn'h
el Paraíso
nîtz bêth
el pelo del pecho del guajolote macho, escobilla
yich lê'd mbèze7
el pelo que trae el guajolote macho en el pecho
lôx mbèze7
el pujo, disentería, disintería, sentería
rud xîn
el pulque del palma de coquito
nîtz tê yâ ga⁷
el resto, desperdicio
ta⁷ mbyâ’n
el seso principal de la cabeza
yôb 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
éleksyônh tê bxîl to⁷
elección de los topilillos
éleksyônh tê bxîlxîlô⁷
elefante
dânt
Eleuterio
Lût
Eleuterio
lût
Elias
Élí
eligirse
-zôbti’n
eligir, nombrar
-zôbti’n
Eliseo
Chêy
elote
nzê⁸
elote tierno
nzê⁸ bèn
Elpidio
pîd
embarazar
-yô xìn
embarazar de blanco, pintar de blanco
-tzê⁷ kûd
emborrarcharlo
-tzé gû nu’y p
emborrarcharse
-zûd
embrucarse
-kwâs ndô⁸
embudo
mbûd
Emilia
Mîl
empache (empacho in dicc.)
la⁷
emparejarse; alisarse
-zhîzh
empedazarlo
-lë yî
empedido
de⁷
empeorarse
-xo⁷
empezar
-yô xàn
empezar
-zôxàn
vB
empolla
bôy
empolla; luna
mbér nîtz
empujar; arrimarlo
-zî⁷
en frente
ân-go⁷
en frente de
gâl ndô⁸
en la esquina de la casa; al fondo de la casa
skin ni
en medio; la mitad
tlâ thâ⁷
enano
ênân
enblandararlo
-ku⁷’d
enblandarse
-gu⁷’d
enbotijarse
-yàp nzhê’ látyo⁷
encargarlo
-ka⁷’b
encargarse
-gâ⁷’b
encargo
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spanish Words</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>encontrarlo</td>
<td>find it</td>
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<tr>
<td>encenderlo</td>
<td>light up</td>
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<tr>
<td>encenderse, arder</td>
<td>burn, be on fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>encercarlo/se; tener</td>
<td>encircle, have</td>
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<tr>
<td>celos</td>
<td>jealous</td>
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<tr>
<td>encerrarse</td>
<td>close up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enchiquecerse, hacerlo</td>
<td>make little, shrink</td>
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<tr>
<td>chiquito</td>
<td>little</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enchuecarlo</td>
<td>make naked</td>
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<tr>
<td>enchuecarse, ponerse</td>
<td>make fat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chueco</td>
<td>fat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>encias (–RGBA)</td>
<td>gums</td>
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<tr>
<td>encimarse</td>
<td>bow down</td>
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<tr>
<td>encino</td>
<td>willow</td>
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<tr>
<td>encino de tierra, palo</td>
<td>willow tree, palo</td>
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<tr>
<td>de gayú</td>
<td>willow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>encoger(se), marchitar(se)</td>
<td>shrink, become small, turn over</td>
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<tr>
<td>enconar(se)</td>
<td>congregate</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Enfermedades:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spanish Words</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>enfermera</td>
<td>nurse</td>
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<td>estar nublado, ponerse nublado</td>
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<td>estar oscuro, entrar la noche, ponerse oscuro, oscurecer</td>
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| estar parado  | estar parado    | as a result of
| -zöbga?l     |                |                 |
| estar parado  | estar parado    | as a result of
| -zo^ ga?l     |                |                 |
| estar recargado | estar recargado | overburden
| -ké ndi?n    |                |                 |
| estar ronco   | estar ronco     | stiff            |
| -zhê zòb yèn  |                |                 |
| estar tioso; ponerse tioso | estar tioso; ponerse tioso | stiff, to become stiff |
| -yāg          |                |                 |
| estatua, ídolo, monumento | estatua, ídolo, monumento | statue, idol, monument |
| mòn yì        |                |                 |
| está          | está          | is
| -kè?          |                |                 |
| está bien     | está bien     | is
| lè^tha?       |                |                 |
| está simple, desabrido | está simple, desabrido | simple, unadorned |
| kwâl ndyè-y?  |                |                 |
| Eutiquio, Otiquio | Eutiquio, Otiquio | Eutiquio, Otiquio |
| Eustaquio; Plutarco | Eustaquio; Plutarco | Eustaquio; Plutarco |
| Eulogio | Eulogio | Eulogio |
| Euskio | Euskio | Euskio |
| Esteban | Esteban | Esteban |
| Chèb | Chèb | Chèb |
| Esteban | Esteban | Esteban |
| Stèb | Stèb | Stèb |
| estirarse     | estirarse     | stretch
| -yè` tzo?     |                |                 |
| estítico      | estítico      | stretch
| kwi`d         |                |                 |
| estornudar, trastornudar (local) | estornudar, trastornudar (local) | sneeze, to sneeze |
| -xè`z          |                |                 |
| estrella alacrán | estrella alacrán | scorpion's
| mbè wnè      |                |                 |
| estrella floja | estrella floja | star
| mbè`l zha`b   |                |                 |
| estrella, lucero | estrella, lucero | star
| mbè`l         |                |                 |
| estropajo     | estropajo     | wrinkle
| strópãj      |                |                 |
| exprimirlo, escurrirlo, arrugarlo | exprimirlo, escurrirlo, arrugarlo | squeeze, to wrinkle |
| -chu`n       |                |                 |
| exprimirse [ropa]; tirarse [agua] | exprimirse [ropa]; tirarse [agua] | squeeze, to wrinkle |
| -tzyi?        |                |                 |
| extranjero; gente del | extranjero; gente del | foreign; people of the
|                |                |                 |
valle
xa\̃ lát
extraviarlo, perderlo
-tza\̃l
él; ella; aquél
ár
él, ella, ellos
xa\̃
el, 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 wāb
faisán
ngād xoj
faisán, guajolote
montes
wāb
fajilla
tnix
fajilla de casa
yà fájí té ni
fajilla, palo de varilla,
vara
yà tnx
fallar
-kwi\̃n
fallar
-y-íth

falta
zě\̃ ta\̃
falta
zě\̃ ta\̃
faltar respecto, insultar
-ú zha\̃ dí\̃zh
fanega
áně
Federico
Lík
Felipa
Líp
Felipe
Blíb
Felipe
Líp
Felícitas
Lích
Felícitas; Alicia
Líš
feo
fjér
feo
mách
feo
ndé\̃l
fermentar, desasonar
-ágál
festejo, cumpleaños,
onomástico
ndāl le^̃
Félix
Jwěltz
Félix
Yěch
Fidel
Děl
fierro; arma;
instrumento; carro
yí\̃b
fiesta de pascua
fyěst tě yá\̃ps
fiesta del pueblo
fyěst tě yězh
fiesta septembrinas,
fiesta de Hidalgo, 15 de septiembre
fyěst tě yídálgó
Filemón
Jwīl
fiло
wāch
Filogonio
Gón
finado, muerto,
cadaver, difunto
gān
finca de cafetal
zě nā nzhó wyāx yà kářě
fino, delgado
bdī
firme, en frente, serio,
viendo para en frente,
derecho
kwiz
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<td><strong>yiˈ yiˈ nîtz</strong></td>
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<td><strong>yiˈ jérânyô</strong></td>
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<td><strong>yiˈ là btzyâyô</strong></td>
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gente desconocida  
mè xa’k

gente enferma  
xa’ yîzh

gente flaca y alta  
ár tìth yà

gente flaca, gente huesuda  
ár tìth

gente gorda  
ár wte7l

gente grande, mayor de edad  
xa7 wyàk

gente gu’era  
mèn wér

gente hombre  
xa7 byî

gente impaciente  
xa7 wzìtz lá tyo7

gente morena  
xa7 mórén

gente negra  
xa7 n-gàtz

gente pinto  
xa7 pint

gente que crece/cría animales  
xa’ n-gàtz màn

gente que guarda maíz dentro del bule, gente saurín  
xa7 n-gòcha7 nzhòp tè lèn yê^ 

---

gente que juega el maíz, saurín  
xa7 ndyith nà nzhòp

gente que platica la castilla  
mè nzÌ dìzh dìzh xìl

gente que saca a los presos de la carcel, alcaide  
xa7 dbo7 mèn lit yìb

gente tonta  
mè zìn

Gerbacio  
Bàx

Germán  
mành

girararlo  
-tze7k

globo; vejiga  
yíd mbi

golondrina  
mìnl

goma  
til

goma montés  
til yìx

gordo  
nda7l

gordoníz chiquito  
mbìch bìx

gordoníz, cordoníz, perdís  
mbìch

gorgojo de maíz  
mbèz nìz

---
gota  
nì

gracias  
xnò la7

gracias; provecho  
xnà

grande  
wztòn

grande  
zi7l

granito  
bìt

granito de abono de arriera; granito de arador de picante  
bìt (tè) mbèx yìn7

granito de arador  
bìt tè mbèx

granito de caliente, varro  
bìt wdì xò

granito de calor  
bìt bë

granito de frío  
bìt xe7n

granito de frío  
bìt xìl

granito de sancudo; granito de paludismo  
bìt tè mbyàt

granizo  
yì yê
granizo
yi yi

granos del ojo
ngwrè

grava, piedra
quebrada
yi ngwlè'

Gregorio, Goyo
Gòy

greñudo, mechudo
yèk mbyàx

greviera
yètz yirbyèd

grifo, (muchacho que fuma marijuana)
mzhè^ yè^z là

grilla
là gu xtíl

grilla blanca
yà ngùz águ^ n-gûd

grilla colorada/roja
yà ngùz águ^ nè

grilla (local), higuerilla
(standard?)
yà ngùz águ^'

grillo
nùzh

grillo
nzøl

gripe; tos
to^
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<td>ár to^ xàw</td>
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<td>-un gôn yë´l</td>
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hermana de mujer
bēl

ermana del monte (f, f)
bēl yīx

ermana mayor (f, f)
bēl gōx

ermana mayor (f, f)
bēl wīyak

ermana menor (f, f)
bēl tūzh

ermanastro/a; medio
hermano/a (m, f)
bzn wna7

ermana/o pol*tico,
hermanastro/a, media-
hermano/a, todos estos
del otro sexo
bzn nd-yēn

ermano de hombre
wit

ermano del compadre
del hermano de uno (m, m)
swīt mbál

ermano del monte (m, m)
wit yīx

ermano mayor
bzn gōx

ermano mayor (m, m)
wit gōx

ermano menor (m, m)
wit tūzh

hermano (m) del compadre (m)
wit mbál

hermano/a de la comadre
tzā xmál

hermano/a del monte (m, f)
bzn yīx

hermano/a menor
bzn tūzh

hermano/a, compañero/a
tzā

hernia
bōl ndyēn xān měn

hernia
ngūz ndyēn mbl̄ nd̄ kid měn

hernia debajo de la cintura
bōl xān to7 la7n

herrero
xa7 nbo7 to7 bārret

hervir
-bīxla7b

hervir el pescuezo
-ya7b yēn

hervirse
-lya7b

hervirse, chillar la panza
-la7b

hierba de muina,
hierba de coraje
lā ta7 xta7n

hierba de muina, hoja
de vergüenza
lā tā xta7n

hierba de vergüenza
lā gō

hierba mora, tomatillo
lā bīx xkē mbēk

higuerrilla, ‘grillá’
(lcoal)
ngūz tē yā gu7

hija/o del padrino(/a);
hermano/a del compadre del hermano
de uno
bzn mbál

hijo de en medio
xin tīlā

hijo de la comadre
xin xmál

hijo del compadre
xin xmbál

hijo del monte
xin na7 xa7

hijo del monte
xin yīx

hijo del monte del esposo de uno
xin yīx chē7l

hijo del monte, hijo del sancho, hijo del perro
buncho
mbē z tē mbēk būnch

hijo del querido
xin xdo7

hijero de la comadre
xin xmál

hijero del compadre
xin xmbál

hijero del monte
xin yīx

hijero del monte del esposo de uno
xin yīx chē7l

hijero del monte, hijo del sancho, hijo del perro
buncho
mbē z tē mbēk būnch
### hijo legítimo
- xìn ga’n

### hijo mayor
- xìn wyâk

### hijo menor
- xìn tûzh

### hijo/a
- xìn

### hijo/a del padrino
- xìn xùz mbâl

### Hilaria
- Lây

### Hilario
- Lâk

### hilo de cañuto
- do7 kânût

### hilo; mecate
- do7

### hinchazón
- yi7'n

### hinchazón debajo de la muela
- ba7

### hinchazón debajo de la muela
- yî

### hígado
- lo^'

### hoguera de perico, nido de perico
- bêx

### hoja
- là

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<td>là yî7 bid xo^l</td>
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<td>hoja de camarón</td>
<td>là ndâ go7</td>
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<tr>
<td>hoja de camote de cedilla</td>
<td>là go^ kwi</td>
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<td>hoja de canela</td>
<td>là nêl</td>
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<td>hoja de caña aguacatuda</td>
<td>là nîth xo^l</td>
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<tr>
<td>hoja de chepil en medio</td>
<td>là yê7'z méd</td>
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<tr>
<td>hoja de escoba de egalán, hoja de escoba de vara</td>
<td>là të yê'1 yo7 b yà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hoja de grilla</td>
<td>là gu^</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### hoja de manzana
- là rómêd

### hoja de milpa aguatuda
- là yê'1 xo^l

### hoja de papel
- lê' yit

### hoja de platanar de cigarró
- là bdo7 yê7'z

### hoja de platanar de espada
- là bdo7 spâd

### hoja de platanar espada
- là bdo7 spâd

### hoja de platanillo
- là ya7'

### hoja de platanillo para tamal
- là bdo7 br7'b

### hoja de San Pablo
- là tô

### hoja de Santa María
- là sàntâ márî

### hoja de tabaco
- là yê7'z là

### hoja de te limón
- là té limónh

### hoja de tomatillo (toda la planta)
- là bîx xkê mbêk

### hoja de vergúenza
- là zân
hoja de zacate de milpa, la rama seca de la milpa
yix là yë’l

hoja enrollada (se ocupa para embudo)
là ndyu’d

hoja para espanta
là zhèb

hoja rota de platanar
là bdo7 mzya7

hoja verde
là kë^

hojas tiernitas, las plantas más tiernitas
bèn tì’7z

hollín (de humo)
yë’y

hollos de la naríz
pùs yid xè

hombre(s)
xà7 byî

hondo
wàt

hondura
yë’l

Hondura Oscura
Yë’l Kwà

hongo amarillo
mbèy yùp nzhìch

hongo amarillo oloroso
mbèy zì

hongo caca de burro
mbèy xkè bûrr

hongo cámera
mbèy kàm

hongo chino, hongo de cresta, cresta del gallo
mbèy che’x

hongo colorado
mbèy yùp në^3

hongo dañoso, hongo ilusionante (local), (book Cuacicitlal, Tzontecomananácatl)
mbèy xìn

hongo de Castilla; hongo comestible
mbèy yùp

hongo de gamusa, nanacate de gamusa
mbèy yíd yòb

hongo de leche
mbèy léch

hongo de ocote
mbèy yèd

hongo de picante dañoso, nanacate picante
mbèy yi’7nin wîn kê

hongo lengua de vaca
mbèy lûzh ngôn

hongo nanacate
mbèy

hongo picante
mbèy yi’7n

hongo venenoso
mbèy wîn kê

hongo venenoso
mbèy yùp ye7zh

hora; cuando (rel.)
gór

horcón
yà tzo7

horcón
yà tzo^7

horcón (de en medio de la casa)
yà tzo^ do7 ni

hormiga barranadera, arriera barranadera
mtí bi

hormiga de bajo el metate
mtézi mtyên

hormiga de carnisuelo
mtézi mtyê

hormiga de carnisuelo
mtyê

hormiga de palo
mbyòb xlêy

hormiga de palo
mtyê yà

hormiga roja
mtézí

hormiga roja
mté

hormiguita roja, hormiga de carnisuelo, hormiga chiquitín
mtyên

horno de cal
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<th>gor yi</th>
<th>hueco, agujero</th>
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<td>tith tlâ tzo⁷</td>
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<td>hueso quemado; polvo que sale del hueso; color blanco como hueso quemado yá</td>
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<td><strong>humedecerse</strong></td>
<td><em>-zha1 go^</em> p*</td>
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<td><em>-gu7’d lá tyo7</em></td>
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intestino, tripa
	tzí\(^7\)

invitarlo

te\(^7\)

ir al baño
	-á tzo\(^7\) ní

Iríneo
Néw

irse
-yâ

ir; andar
-â

Isabel
Bé

Isaías
Cháy

Isaías
Cháyí

Isaías
sã

Isaías
sãí

Isidro
síd

ixcatón
ngwlâ

ixcatón de algodón
ngwlâ xi\(^7\)l

ixcatón, xcatón
wlâ

ixtle
yêzh

izquierda, a la
izquierda
rëbës (COA)

ídolo
bëhàn

jabón
yà xtíl

jabón de olor
yà xtíl wxe\(^7\)

jabón de olor
yà xtíl wxîz

jabón polvo de fab
yà xtíl dî fáb

jabón que se lava la
ropa
yà xtíl ndyát lâd

Jacinto
Chínt

jalar
-b-ê

jalar
-g-ôb

jalar agua
-g-ôb nîtz

jalar el tufo, jalar el
oler
-âxla\(^7\)

jalar los mocos de la
nariz
-g-ôb xè

jalar tufo, oler tufo
-âth xla\(^7\)

jalararse el agua
-yo\(^b\) nîtz

jambado, comelón
ár wlé

Jamín
Mính

javalí
kúch mbèw

javalí
mbèw

javalín
gúch mbèw

Javier
 Jábyêrr

Javier
Jáví

jefe
xa\(^2\) wzàn

jémen
go\(^d\)

jicalpextle; bule
xë\(^c\)th

jijén
mbyûx

jijén, jején
mbyûx

jícama
xgàm

jícara
xi

jornalero
xa\(^2\) tî’n gòn

José
sé
José
xèb

joven, persona joven
ár bèn

Juael
Jwèl

Juan
Jwánh

Juana
Xwán

guego de la boca
bît nd-yên to^-

juego de la lengua
bît nd-yên xàn lûzh

jueves
jwébs

jugarlo
-y-ìth nà

Julia
Jûl

Juliana
Jûl

juntarlo, pegarlo,
unirlo
-chê’l

Junto
jûnt

junto
wâtz

junto a, cerca,
alrededor
wâtz

kilo
kil

la bolsa de caca de venado
yîd xkê mzhîn

la casa del santo; fiesta
lid mbdo7

la casa que está arriba
ni nzho’b ga’p

la cáscara de la almendra dentro del coquito; la cáscara de afuera del coquito
xò të ngûz gà7

la comida
stzi7l

La crucera; El manzana
(la carretera que va para San Miguel o desviación a San Miguel)
lât të zi7n

la cumbre de un cerro
do7 yè

la del pie, en medio del pie, palma del pie
tlà mbâd ndâtz

la entrada del camino
que va para Cerro Sabroso
nèz nzyèn nzyà pár yè wîx

la fiesta de cuarto viernes (de la cuaresma)
fyèst të byèr dàp

la gente que último nace, chehuizle (slang when applied to people)
chu’d

la juntura del río Sta.
Ursula
nzhas1 nítz yû7 sànt tûrss

la lengua de la verija
lûzh yûd kwê

la limpieza (de la milpa)
gòn yê’l

la madera del rifle
káj tè yî7b

la mata de caña blanca
xàn níth n-gûd

la mitad
gà tla7

la mitad del pueblo,
medio pueblo
gà tla7 yèzh

la muñeca
nì tè mbâd yà7

la orilla de la ventana;
por la ventana;
enfrente de la ventana
to^ bèntán

la orilla del anafre
to^ yì tì yî7b

la orilla del Arroyo Egarechal
to^ à tìzh

la orilla del pozo de barro
to^ pòs yû^ wî7’d

la orilla del río
to^ yû7
la planta del pie, el plano del pie
mbād ndātz

la punta de la aguja
ndō^ yā új

la punta de la guía de calabaza
ndō^ lūt tzēth

la punta del dedo
ndō^ ngūtz ya^7

La Reforma (una agencia de Sta. Catarina que antes pertenecía a San Baltazar)
Lā be^7

la subida del mirador, el mirador
nzo^ ké yī zo^7

la tarde
wzhî

La Ubicación San Juan
gōx sánh jwānh

la vena debajo de la barriga
yib xān lēn

la yacua (cáscara) de platanar
lātz

la zanja de la nalga
bēch xī n

labio, cuero de la boca
yīd to^8

Ladislau
Lāy

ladrar; aullar
-xî

ladrillo
ládrî

lagartija
mbīl

lagartija de rayo
wāch mbīl

lagartija resbalosa, lagartija de baba
mbīl to^7l

lagartija sereta
wāch sērēt

lamear
-ālē

lana
yīch bōrĕg

langosta, chapulín comestible
mbīt tzo^8

largo
ko^7l

largo
no^7l

las rayas de la mano
rāy tē mbād ya^7

lastimado; herida
mbwī^7

lastimarlo
-kwān

lastimarse, quedarse herido
-wi^7

lata
lāt

latida de corazón
tū^7t

Latihueche (un rancho)
xwe^7z

Latixute
lāt chu^t

lavadero, piedra de lavar ropa
yī ndyāt lād

lavarlo
-zāt

lavarlo, lavarse
-na^7

lavarse
-yāt

lazar
-g-o do^7

lágrimas
nītz ngūz ndō^8

la(s) vuelta(s) del camino nuevo
nzō nka^7n nēz kūb

Lázaro
Lāch

Lázaro; Herasto
Lāx

Lázaro, Nicolás, Erasto
Lāx (CAN)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>leche</th>
<th>leche de mujer</th>
<th>leche de palo, estético de palo</th>
<th>leche de palo; leche de sapo</th>
<th>lechuza</th>
<th>lechuza, buho</th>
<th>lejos</th>
<th>lengua</th>
<th>lengua de león</th>
<th>lengua de vaca (planta)</th>
<th>leñar, traer leña</th>
<th>Leobardo</th>
<th>Leocadia</th>
<th>Leodegario</th>
<th>leoncillo</th>
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<td>léch tè xa7 go7tz</td>
<td>xuà7p tè yà</td>
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<td>mbzhàzh</td>
<td>xo^z yà</td>
<td>zíth</td>
<td>lùzh</td>
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<td>Lèw</td>
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<td>lombriz de la tierra/loco mbêy yu^ (làn)</td>
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<td>lombriz del estómago ngêzh</td>
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<td>loquearse, empezar a pelear -kê lôk</td>
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<td>Los Cuatro Cerros dáp yê</td>
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<td>los cuatro puntos cardinales del aire dáp ya’ nêz (tê) ndô^ mbi</td>
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<td>los dientes de perros yîd ndê’y mbêk</td>
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<td>los pelos de atrás del pescuezo del burro yích tzo’ê yên bûrr</td>
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</table>
los pelos de la boca del gato
yìch to^ bìch

los pelos del ojo del cienpie
yìch ndo^ yà gàl

los Santos Reyes
réy

lucero flojo
mbë^l flój

lucero siete
mbë^l mbyë` zh

lucérnaga
mkoz

Luciano; Feliciano
Chán

luciera siete
mbë^l gât

lugar
zé

lugar adonde la gallina pone
yë^ tê ngàd

lugar caliente
zé wzhë`

lugar frío
zé kwàl

lugar lejano
zé zîth

Luisa
Lwàs

lumbrar
-lu^ xë^7

lumbre, brasa
bku^7

luna creciente; la luna está al centro
witha^7 mbe^7

luna del río
ngî ch lën nîtz

luna llena
mbe^7 yên

luna menguante
nzhób mbe^7 lën nîtz

lunar
ta^7 wzhë`^7

lunar
xgàn

luna; mes
mbe^7

lunes
lûntz

Luteria
Téy

luz de vela
xè^7 sérr

Macario
mákàrr

machete
máchtet

macizo; duro
wyë^l

macizo, forzada
wa`n

macuil
yà yë`l

madera dura
yà wyë`^l

madrastra
xnà wna^7

madrina
xnà` mbàl

madrina vieja, madre del padrino, madre de la madrina
xnà` mbàl gòx

madurarlo
-g-ôyë`^8

madurarse
-áyë`

maduro
ngû yë`^8

maestro
mèxt

maestro de escuela
mèxt tê mbzhë`^ skwél

maestro de obras
mèxt tê ni

magalla de camarón
reculador
ya^7 ka`^7

magalla (de chacal)
yà` ngYa` lòd

Magdalena
Lèn

Mago
màg

maguey
dòb
maguey de ixtle
dōb tē yēzh

maguey de lumbre
dōb yī

maguey de mezcal
dōb tē nu⁹p

maguey de piña
dōb bxi⁷zh

maguey de piñuela (de ratón)
dōb tē bxi⁷zh né bē

maguey de tlacuache (BAL), palo de tlacuache (CAN)
dōb ndēz

maguey de tuna, órgano
dōb tē tūn

maguey del monte
dōb yīx

maguey del pulque
dōb tē pūlk

maguey sacar ixtle
dōb yēzh

maguey voludo
dōb la⁷

magueyito
dōb tē til

maguey(ito) (local), (book ñzole, palmita)
yā wēd

magulladura (dic.)
mallugadura (local);

frondoso
xyē⁹

maíz reventado
nil tī⁷ch

maíz
nzhōp

maíz coyuche
nzhōp ngāch

maíz hueso
nzhōp btīth

maíz para sembrar
nzhōp bni

maíz pinto
nzhōp pint

maíz rojo
nzhōp nē

mal de corazón
yē’l yīzh tē lá tyō⁷

mal de ojo
yīzh ngūz ndo⁹

mal de orina
mbyī’k

mal de orina con sangre
mbyī’k tēn

mala hierba
mxo⁹ za yē’l

malacate
yā bgo²tz

malacate (la flor)
yā bōtž

malamujer
là xlēy

malamujer
xlēy

malamujer, mano de tigre
là xlēy

malbarizco
yīx là xnēzh

malad
yē’l wzā lē’d

maldecir
-g-ó dē

mallugarlo (con piedra)
-ka³d yī

mallugarse; machucar
-ga⁷d (yī)

malparir, abortar
-tīd xīn

malpasarse de comida
-tīd yān

malvarisco
yā mblīk

malvarista
yā ngēch là xnēzh

mamacita, mi hija
mã

mamal -âd

mamá 

nây

mamey 

yê'[l

mamey zapote, 

sanzapotec 

yê'[l ye[zh

mameyito, palo de 

algodón 

yâ yâj

mancha en la cara que 

se da por el antojo de 

comer panal 

mbgu'[t

mandado 

làth ye[zh

mandarlo 

-ng'-y'ye

mandar, disponer, 

ordernar 

-ng' be'ye

mandar, enviar 

-ng'ub

mangal 

yâ mánh

mango 

mânh

mango 

mânh

mano derecha 

ya'[ ga'[l

mano izquierda 

ya'[ iskyérdá

mano mocho 

ya'[ mách

manteca, grasa, cebo 

zê'y

manzanilla 

mántzáini

manzanillo 

là mántzáini

mañana 

ye'[y

mapache 

(mbè'[z) nzón

maravilla 

ye'[ márâbî

marca 

mârk

marcar 

-ng'-y'byî

marcarlo 

-ng'byî[ez

marcearse 

-ng'byî[ez

Marcel 

Chêl

Marcelina 

Chê

Marcelo 

Mârsêl

marchitado 

mbya'[t

Marcos 

Mârk

marco, base de 

muestra, molde 

mârk tê ye[tz

marcearse 

-zûd ye[k

Margarita 

Lit'ê

marido 

mê byî

marijuana 

mâríwân

mariposa 

mbè'[y

mariposa que se pega a 

la luz en la noche, clase 

mariposa peluda 

mâ[byî

mariposita 

mtî yîx

mariuela 

mbî n-gatz

María 

Lê

María 

Mářî

marrano que tiene 

granos, marrano picado 

kîch bit

marruvia 

márrûbyâ

Marta
Marta
martes
Martín pescador
marto
marto, leoncito, micelote
mar, agua del mar
masa cruda
masa de elote tierno
masa de la nariz
masa de pozole
masa de pozole reventado
masa, COA atole
mascar, masticar
mata de caña roja
mata de flor de cartucho
mata de flor de gladiola
mata de flor de margarita
mata de flor de nube
mata de hoja de flor de niño
matamoscas
matar
mata; abajo
Matilde
Matilde; Domitilo
Matías
matrimonio
Maximo
mayor
mayor de cocina
mayor de vara
mazorca
mazorca de maíz
coyuche
mazorca de maíz hueco
coyuche
coyuche
mazorca de maíz negro
coyuche
coyuche
mazorca deshojada
mazorca pinta negra
coyuche
coyuche
mazorca roja
coyuche
coyuche
más al ratito
más al rato, al rato, ahorita
más allá
más allá
más menor; menor de edad; menos años
máscara
<table>
<thead>
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<tr>
<td>máscara; cáscara, concha; plástico duro; duro; casco, uña xò</td>
<td>medir -bix</td>
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<td>máscara(s); disfrazados mbgöl xò</td>
<td>medirlo -tíx</td>
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<td>me ngích (P), patas de cabello (L) ngích</td>
<td>Melquiades mélkyâld</td>
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<td>mecrapal do’ kwê¹</td>
<td>memela de elote mél zê¹</td>
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<td>mecrapal doº waº n</td>
<td>mentira, mentiroso, engañoso yê¹l kwî’n</td>
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<td>mecrapal kwê⁷</td>
<td>mentiroso, mentira kwîºn</td>
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<td>mecate de ixtle doº yêzh</td>
<td>mentir, hacer mentira -ún yê¹l kwîºn</td>
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<td>mecate torcido de ixtle doº yêzh</td>
<td>mentón; quiijada xân toº</td>
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<td>medio-cocido y medio-crudo ndâº z mbêºz’</td>
<td>mes de lluvia, tiempo de lluvia mbêºº tê yi</td>
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<td>metlapil, mano de metate yê záb</td>
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<td>mezcal nîtz tê mê gû</td>
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<td>mezcal del monte (local), (book agave asperrim yà gûch</td>
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<td>mezclarse, revolverse, amasar, desolver -gôch</td>
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<td>mezquino yûnh</td>
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<td>mezquino, negón wxîn</td>
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<td>mezquino, un hongo que se nace por las manos o por los pies yûnh</td>
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<td>Miahuatlán Lât yêzh doº</td>
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<td>Miahuatlán xbi</td>
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<td>Miahuatlán Yêzhdoº</td>
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Miahuatlán; la plaza, el mercado, tianguis

miedo
wij

miedo, susto
mzhêb

miel
mzhin

miel de caña
mzhin nîth

miel de enjambre
mbzhin do7

mierda
yi

mierda, caca
xkê

miércoles
myērrk

Miguel
mbyēl

Miguel
Myēl

Miguel
Sīkēl

mil
ti7 áyo7

milpa
ña7

milpa
yēl

milpa de elote
ña7 tê nzhê

milpa de hoja de elote
ña7 tê là nzhê

miltomate
bīx lid

miltomate
bīx lit (CAN)
mira!
na7j

mismo
béle7

mismo
yu7

mismo, mero, igual
lē7tha7

misión
nŏy7

mocho
xân yă

mocho chiquito, estaca,
palo mocho
yă bto7

moco
mōk

moco; caracol
xngē7

Modesto
Mōch

modo, estilo
mód

mojarlo
kwāzh

mojarlo,regar
-gâzh

mojarse
-āzh

molcajete, chilmolera,
plato borcelana
yēn be7x

mole negro
mōl n-gātz

mole rojo
mōl nē

molerlo
-ŏj

molerse
-ỹo7j

molinito de mano
mōlín ya7

molleja
xe7n

molleja de gallina
móyēj tē ngēd

moneda
tmī

mono, chango
máchinh

montaña
yix ngū gâl

montaña, monte
cerrado
yix kwâń

montarlo, sentarlo,
ponerlo
-zōb

montarse; sentarse;
estar sentado; estar
puesto
-zōb

monte
yix

monte aguatudo
yix xo^l

monte costoche
byo^n tê mbë`z

monte de malvarisco
yix làx nêz

monte ejote
yix ye^ yê^z

morderlo
-âkê

morir
-âth

mosca
ngê

mosca grande
ngê yîch

mosca grande, moscón
ngê g

moscón
ngê yi^b

moscón verde
ngê g ndyê

mosquito
mbî

mostrador, aparador
yâ nà nzho^b tâ n nà ndyônñô

moverse, temblar
-wîn

movimiento del pulso
tíj

mucho gente,
comunidad, común
làw

mucho guerra, quita
tiempo, una cosa que
cuesta trabajo para
solucionar
kwe^th

mucho sombra
wto^b xgâl

muchacha
mbzha^7

muchachos
mbzhê

muchachos danzantes
con cabeza de pluma
mzhê^ datzánt yêk du^b

muchacho, joven
mbyo^8

muchacho; soltero
mzhê^ bên

mucho
lu^zh

mucho
wyâx

mucho
yâpa^7

mucho humo
yâ pá^ zhên

muda de ropa
nêz lâd

muela, diente molar
ndê` yîch

muerte, mortandaed
yê^l gu^th

muestramuerte
mbêz wàn

muestranene
nzhê

mugre
mbî

muina
xta^n

mujer
xa` go^tz

mujer podrida
mê go^tz go^zh

mujer vieja
mê go^tz gôx

mujeriego
wdi xô

muletas; estaca para
seemprar
yà gà

muleta, bastón
yà bástônñh

mundo; cielo
yêzh lu^x

municipio, casa
comunal
ni làw

murciélago
gôd zin

murciélago
ngi zin
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<td>bwén lŏ</td>
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<td>muy noche</td>
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<td>muy; potente, hermosa, maciza, grande</td>
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<td>música, tocada de música</td>
<td>dī</td>
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<td>nacer [plantas, granitos]</td>
<td>-lēn</td>
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<td>nada de eso</td>
<td>ŋaʔ n xē taʔ</td>
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<td>-xoʔ b nītz</td>
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<td>nagua (local), enaguas (standard)</td>
<td>chūfnē</td>
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<td>neblina; mojo</td>
<td>mbè</td>
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<td>-xīn</td>
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<td>negarse</td>
<td>-yēn</td>
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<td>negón, persona negativa</td>
<td>wyēn</td>
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<td>negro</td>
<td>n-gātz</td>
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<td>negro bajo</td>
<td>yaʔ tz</td>
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<td>nene</td>
<td>mbēʔ z</td>
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<td>nene al punto de nacer</td>
<td>mbēʔ z bèn</td>
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<td>nene chiquito de la cuna</td>
<td>mbēʔ z doʔ</td>
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<td>gūlāzh</td>
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ocote
yèd

ocote
yèt7

ocote blanco
yèd n-gùd

ocote piño chiquito
yà yèt bx tùzh

Octotlán
Làt Tzo7

octavo
wxo7n

oculto, escondido
xèx

odiarse; dolerse el corazón
-yàw látyo7

ofrecer rosario; rezar
-b-o7 lè`y

oído; oreja
nzhà

oir
-yèn

ojo
ngùz ndo^ cha

ojo ahumado o manchado, ciego
ngùz ndo^ lè

ojo biche, ojo brillante
ngùz ndo^ bích

ojo cerrado
yìd ndo^ nźìn

ojo malo, ojo bizco
ngùz ndo^ cha

ojo negro
ngùz ndo^ n-gàtz

ojo visco
ngùz ndo^ nźìn

ojos chuecos
ngùz ndo^ ka7n

ojos de vidrio, ojos biches
ngùz ndo^ bídryó

ojos verdes
ngùz ndo^ ndyë^

ojos viscos
ngùz ndo^ cha

ola del mar
ndyìth nîtz do7

olán; alforza
tì ch

olerlo
-nàb xè

olerse
-ya7

oler(lo)
-áxla7

Olivia
Lìb

olla
yètz

olla con argollas, jarro con gasa
yètz xwa7n

olla con asa
yètz wa7n

olla de barro
yètz yu7

olla de café
yètz kàfé

olla de nixtamal
yètz nil

olla que ponen en palos de orquesta, olla para agua
yètz nzyöb ndo^ yà xo^z

oller, alfarero
xa7 ndúx kwa7 yètz

olor
xla7

olor a xuquía (huevos crudos)
wlàn

olote
ya7n

olvidado
lè d kwà

olvidarse/lo (el corazón)
-bi lá tyo7

ombliego
kid

ombliego
ndo^ kid

once
tìbdyu7

ordeñar
-b-o7 lèch

oreja, oído
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palabra fea
dí‘zh mǎ́ch

palabra fija, palabra recta, palabra directa, palabra derecho, palabra legal, palabra firme
dí‘zh gǎ’l

paladar blandito
tín

pala, tarecua
yí bón

palillo de la caja
yà ndo‘l xa‘ káj

palillo para sacar cosas del diente
yà ngēch kǒn ta‘n ndé‘y

palma
yà yín

palma
yín

palma bendita
yín léy

palma de coquito
yà yín gǎ’t

palma de coyul, palma de coquito
yà gǎ’t

palma de la mano
mbǎd yà’

palma de la mano
yíd mbǎd yà’

palo blando, palo podrido
yà gu‘d

palo carnisuelo
yà yich wǎz

palo chamizo
yà zyī

palo cinco
yà gay

palo con nudo
yà xo‘z

palo copalar blanco
yà yà’l bě

palo coquito
yà xītzá

palo cuadrado, palo labrado
yà bǐg

palo cuapinol
yà nzhu‘a’t

palo de aguacate
yà nǐx

palo de aguacate mantecoso
yà nǐx zú‘d

palo de aguacate voludo, palo de aguacate verde
yà nǐx bōl

palo de aguacatillo
yà nǐx bǐx

palo de aguate voludo
yà nǐx bōl

palo de algodón
yà xī‘l

palo de algodón; mameyeyito
yà yàj

palo de anona
yà xnèw

palo de águila
yà yē‘lá

palo de bambú
yà bāmbú

palo de bejuco
yà lūt

palo de cacao
yà nzóy

palo de carnehuil
yà btzya‘t

palo de carnehuil aguatudo
yà btzya‘t xo‘l

palo de carnehuil chiquito
yà btzya‘t bǐx

palo de carrizo
yà xīl

palo de ceiba
yà xèn

palo de Cemposúchitl rojo
yà yī‘ ze‘ch

palo de Cemposúchitl blanco
yà yī‘ bǎn n-gǔd

palo de chigole
yà yī‘ nga‘x
palo de chile canario
yà yiˈn kánáryó

palo de chile de agua
yà yiˈn kë^ lát

palo de chile de agua
yà yiˈn yà lát

palo de chile de palo
yà yiˈn yà

palo de chile, chilar
yà yiˈn

palo de chilito
yà yiˈn chílít

palo de chocolatillo,
palo de hoja amarga
yà wlá ti7ch

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 né

palo de ciruela de iguana
yà nzhâd tê wäch

palo de ciruela de ratón
yà nzhâd tê mzìn

palo de ciruela roja
yà nzhâd né

palo de clavo
yà kláb

palo de cocharillo
yà xu^n

palo de coco
yà kók

palo de conchuda
yà nix wâw

palo de copal, copalar
yà yaˈl

palo de coquito dulce,
coyul
yà gaˈ

palo de coquito, palo
de coyul
yà gaˈ

palo de cruz
yà krús

palo de cuachipil
yà bitz

palo de cuachipil
yà yeˈz zâ bitz

palo de cuapinole
yà nzho^g

palo de egareche ancho
yà tizh guˈ

palo de encino
yà xu^n

palo de encino
yà zê

palo de escoba
yà yín lyo7b

palo de escoba de vara
yà tê yāl yo7b

palo de espina de
carnisuela
yà yich zâ

palo de espina de
diente de iguana
yà yich ndêˈy wâch

palo de espina de
espanta
yà yich zhêb

palo de espina grande
yà yich bôtz

palo de esquín (de la casa)
yà nzhâ ni

palo de flor de
bugambilia
yà yiˈ mbîl

palo de flor de Cacahuana
yà yiˈ là btzyâk

palo de flor de Cemposúchitl
yà yiˈ zeˈch

palo de flor de Cristo
yà yiˈ wây

palo de flor de muerto;
flor de manzana
yà yiˈ koˈb

palo de flor de San
Nicolás, florifundo
yà yiˈ sán nîkólâs

palo de flor morada
yà yeˈ mórâd

palo de fruta
yà ngûz
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<td>Paloma frijolilla</td>
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<td>Paloma gancho</td>
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<td>Paloma que usan para medir a los difuntos para escarbar las sepulturas</td>
<td>yà bey^</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paloma rollizo</td>
<td>yà ndyu^d</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paloma tablón</td>
<td>yà táblónh</td>
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<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>English</td>
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<tr>
<td>------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>palo tierno; planta tierna</strong></td>
<td>yá bèn</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>palo toronja</strong></td>
<td>yá tórónhj</td>
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<td><strong>palo travesaño de la casa</strong></td>
<td>yá tò ni</td>
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<td><strong>palo yereche</strong> (=egareche)</td>
<td>yà têzh</td>
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<td><strong>paloma</strong></td>
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<td><strong>paloma barranquera</strong></td>
<td>pálôm ngwla'y p</td>
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<td><strong>paloma de ala blanca</strong></td>
<td>ngwla'y p</td>
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<td><strong>palo, arbol, madera, leña</strong></td>
<td>yà</td>
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<td><strong>pan serrano</strong></td>
<td>pânh yê' th</td>
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<td><strong>panal de tierra</strong></td>
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<td><strong>panal de tierra</strong></td>
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<td><strong>panal (de avispa)</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Panuncio</strong></td>
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<td>ndây</td>
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<td><strong>papas</strong></td>
<td>go^' páp</td>
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<td><strong>papaya amarilla</strong></td>
<td>yà tê pápáy nzhich</td>
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<td><strong>papaya roja</strong></td>
<td>yà tê pápáy nê</td>
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<td><strong>papá del monte</strong></td>
<td>xûz yîx</td>
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<td>yît</td>
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<td>nêz</td>
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<td><strong>pararse el pene</strong></td>
<td>-zôb yà ngûz kwê</td>
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<td><strong>pararse; estar</strong></td>
<td>-zo^</td>
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<td>btzo'y</td>
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<td>yîb btzo'n yu^</td>
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<td>yîb btzo'y</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>pared, muro, barda</strong></td>
<td>yîbtzo'y</td>
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<td><strong>parejo, igual, (igual) a como...</strong></td>
<td>läk</td>
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<td><strong>parir, dar a luz</strong></td>
<td>-z-án</td>
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<td><strong>parte blandita del pecho del guajolote macho</strong></td>
<td>xe'n</td>
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<td><strong>partera</strong></td>
<td>xa^' go^'tz nà ndâ zê nà ndâl mbë'z</td>
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<td><strong>partida de pájaros</strong></td>
<td>wyâx mbïyn</td>
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<td><strong>partidura</strong></td>
<td>xnêz</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>par; pareja</strong></td>
<td>nêz</td>
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</table>
pasado mañana
wîzh

pasado (de maduro)
nhwtidá yê^b

pasador
yà yîch

pasador; varita, palillo
yà ngaîch

pasar
-tû́d

pasar desgracia?
-zha^l zî

pasmado
táx

Paso Ancho, Río Grande, Paso Macahuite
pás zî^l

Paso Macahuite, Paso Ancho, Río Grande
pás áyît

pastilla que se pinta la ropa
pástî ndye^7 làd

pata chueca
yà ndâtz bté^1

pata de gallo (un palo que se ocupa para la casa)
yà ndâtz ngîzê^7

pata mocho
yà ndâtz móch

pata mocho; cabo de hacha quebrado
yà xô mo^ch

patas de cabello, araña pelos de sobaco
ngî^ ch

patillas
yîch wâtz nzhâ

patillas
yîch yîd ndo^7

patio
ndo^7 lè

pato
pât

pato pata de cuero
pât (yà) ndâtz yîd

Patricio
Tîch

patrícula enfática
ka^7

Paula
Paw

Paulina
Paw

payasa
myîn ñê^7

payaso
pâyás

pájaro
mbyîn

pájaro carpintero
mbyîn (COA)

pájaro carpintero
tê^tz

pájaro carpintero pinto
mbyîn (standard)
xê^th

pájaro chereque
mbyîn chérêk

pájaro chismoso
nzhûb

pájaro del burro
mtzi^l xâb

pájaro jicalpextle (local), azulejo copetón (standard)
xê^th

pájaro nocturno, anuncio de muerto
mbyu^7z

pájaro que da la hora de la comida
mtzi^l

pájaro verde pico largo
mbyîn ndye^7 xûp to^ no^l

párpado
tzo^7 yîd ngûz ndo^
chich
pedazo lè³
pedazo, medio, mitad gà tla³
pedir -nàb
pedir maldición -b-ódê
pedir maldición, maldecir -g-o dê
pedo xyìl
Pedro Béd
Pedro Bét
pegajoso kwë³'d
pegapiedra wèd yì
pagar -kë³
pargar -y-ìn
pegar la tos -kë³ to³
pegarle un dolor, agarrar aire en el cuerpo -zèn mbi lâz
pegarlo, blanquear -tzèn
pegarse -z-èn kë³
pegarse, colgar, guardar -kécha³
peinarlo -ku³
peinarse -gu³
peinarse, trenzarse -xi
peine bê
pelar, rebanar(lo) -fîl
pelear -yò
pelear(se) -b-i yò
pelibuey pêlíwêy
pellizcar -ánzûn
pelo yìch
pelo atrás del oído yìch tzo³ nzhâ
pelo atrás del pescuezo yìch tzo³ yèn
pelo de animal yìch mân
pelo de atrás del pescuezo del caballo yìch tzo³ yèn wày
pelo de la espalda yìch tîth tzo³
pelo de la frente yìch ndo³ xtu³ zh
pelo del centro de la cabeza yìch tîâ do³ yèk
pelo del cuerpo de la mujer yìch yîd kwê
pelo del culo yìch xì³'n
pelo del ombligo, bajo del ombligo yìch ndo³ kid
pelo del pene yìch ngûz kwê
pelo del pozo de la nariz yìch pôs lên xè
pelo del sobaco yìch lên xìk
pelo muy fino (como conejo) yìch bdi
pelón tu³ zh
penar -ùn bìtz
pena, imaginación
bitz
penca de plátano
bêx
penca de sábila
ya7 sábilá
pene
ngùz kwê
pene parado
ngùz kwê nzôb ga7l
pene parado
ngùz kwê nzôb yâ
penolilla; conchuda,
garrapata
mchín
penolillo alazán,
pinolillo
mé chín lázánh
penolillo chiquitillo
mé chín dî
penolillo de rayo
mé chín tê ngwzî7
penolillo; monchuda;
sabandija; garrapata
mé chín
pensamiento
yêl ndyên
pensar
-nî7 lá tyo7
pensar, desear
-un be7y
peñazco
yid yî
peñazco
yid yî
pequeño
bîx
pequeño
bîx
pequeño, chiquito
tûzh
pequeño; pequeñez;
chamacos chiquitos;
mediano
bîx
perder el sentido
-tîd tê7 látyo7
perderlo
-tza7l
perderlo, echar a
perder
-nîth
perderse
-zya7l
perderse,
desaparecerse
-nîth
perdís
gid zhoj
perdís
gid zhoj
perdís
gid zhoj
perico
pérîk
perjudicar, molestar,
tentar
-gâl tzâ
peról
péról
peról
péról
perrito, (cachorro)
skê
perro
mbêk
perro cazador
mbêk go7z
perro de agua
mbêk nîtz
perro de agua
mbêk yêl
perseguir, ventear
-tyu7b
persogarlo
-tzekê7
persona de herencia
africana
mên n-gâtz
persona tarada
yid mbdu^d xa7
personas que no tienen
hijos
lûd
pesado
kwê7
pesarlo, levantarlo
-lên
pesarse
-bên
pescadito
mbê7l xó
pescadito
xó
pescadito charal
mbë^l xó

pescado aguja
mbë^l aúj

pescado cinco
mbë^l mzhìn

pescado cuatete
mbë^l kwátét

pescado grande
mbë^l zi7l

pescado ojotón
mbë^l ójótónh

pescado petate
mbë^l dà

pescado que sale primero
mbë^l pérmér nyō7

pescado seis
mbë^l xo7p

pescado, pez
mbë^l

pesca; campeado
gō7z

pescuezo de la olla
yên yêtz

pescuezo, cuello
yên

pestañas
yìch ngùz ndò^

petate
dà

petatillo
dà kwártí

petatillo

là yǔ

picar
-kè

picar palo, picar con el palo
-b-ib yà

picarlo
-lè’d

picarlo para afilarlo
-b-áw

picarlo; sacudir
-b-ib

picarse
-bâw

picarse; sacudirse, encajarse (de espina), clavarse (de espina)
-bí’b

picar; ojear; picarse, clavarse
-a7z

pichanche (dicen viejos), colador (dicen jóvenes)
byē’zh

pichanche, colador
mbỳé’zh

pichel de leche
lát ndyō~ léch

pichichi
gārs to^ lágún

pico de pájaro
xúp to^ myin

picotear, picar
-ákìb

pie
ndâtz

pie
yándâtz

pie de cabo de hacha
yà ndâtz yà xó

pie de seis dedos
mbād ndâtz xo7p ngūtż

pie impedido, manco
yà ndâtz kōj

piedra
yē

piedra
yī

Piedra Caca de Lucero
yī xkē mbë^l

piedra de cal
yī yī

piedra de fortuna
yī be7y

piedra de fortuna, besuara
yī wzhē7

Piedra de Juego
yī bzhī7l

piedra de metate que viene de la fábrica
yī yīch

piedra de metate que viene del río
yīch yī

piedra de venado, piedra de fortuna,
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>besuara</th>
<th>get ngax</th>
<th>bxi^7 zh tè mzn</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Piedra Gallina</td>
<td>pintarlo, escribirlo</td>
<td>piñuela, piña de ratón</td>
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<tr>
<td>yî ngi zàn</td>
<td>-ke^7</td>
<td>bxi^7 zh nè bè</td>
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<td>Piedra León</td>
<td>pintarse</td>
<td>piojillo de gallina</td>
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<td>yî lid mbi^7 zh</td>
<td>-ye^7</td>
<td>mbdï^7 th</td>
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<td>piedra lisa</td>
<td>pintura de uñas</td>
<td>piojillo; viveulula;</td>
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<td>yî wzhizh</td>
<td>pintûr ndye^7 tzo^7 xò ngûtz</td>
<td>caballito de diablo</td>
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<td>ya^7 mën</td>
<td>(book) ngir si^7</td>
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<td>yî låg</td>
<td>pinza</td>
<td>piojo</td>
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<td>Piedra Olavo</td>
<td>pinza cortador, pinza</td>
<td>mtyë^7</td>
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<td>yî ngwîlâb</td>
<td>para cortar alambre</td>
<td>piojo de gallina</td>
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<td>Piedra Rayo</td>
<td>pinza de punta (para</td>
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<td>yî lid ngwzi^7</td>
<td>sacar seguros como de</td>
<td>pulgilla, ladilla</td>
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<td>piedra voluda</td>
<td>una flecha)</td>
<td>mbyu^p</td>
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<td>pintz pár xën alámbrê</td>
<td>piojo de ropa</td>
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<td>Piedras Finas</td>
<td>pinza para arrancar</td>
<td>mtyë^ tè ngûd</td>
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<td>canas</td>
<td>piojo, liendre</td>
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<td>pintz pár yi^7 b yich kwe^7</td>
<td>mtyë^</td>
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<td>yî n-gûtz</td>
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<td>pisar el macho a la</td>
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<td>pierna ancha, pierna</td>
<td>bxî^ zh</td>
<td>hembra (aves)</td>
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<td>abierta</td>
<td>piña de ocote</td>
<td>-lo^</td>
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<td>xîd</td>
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<td>pierna vieja</td>
<td>piñal del árbol</td>
<td>wla^ p</td>
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<td>yê^7 z ya^7</td>
<td>pâo chiquito</td>
<td>pista de bailes</td>
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<td>bxî tûzîh</td>
<td>zê nà ndyo^ yê^7 gûl ndâtz</td>
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<td>xô</td>
<td>pâo grande</td>
<td>pista de juegos</td>
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<td>Pifaño</td>
<td>bxî zi^7 l</td>
<td>zê nà ndyîth mën</td>
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<td>pâo grano</td>
<td>pitahaya</td>
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<td>pinabeta</td>
<td>yà yêt bxî nîz</td>
<td>pityona</td>
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<td>ye^7 byê^</td>
<td>piñuela de ratón</td>
<td>byô^7 n yà</td>
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<td>pinabete</td>
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pizcar mazorca
-là’p

pisonear; apretarlo; mallugarlo; macizarlo; aplastarlo; machucarlo
-ka’7d

pizotear
-ka’d ndâtz

pizotearlo; patear
-lákò

placentas
yìx ni

plaga
ngwà bzhin

planilla
plániy

plano del pie, palma de la mano
mbãd

plantas
ta’7 xyè^h

platanar
yà bdo’7

platanar chaparro
yà bdo’7 chápárrító

platanar de castilla
yà bdo’7 ye’l

platanar de Castilla, platanar de la Índia
yà bdo’7 xtíl

platanar de guineo
yà bdo’7 nì

platanar de plátanos
machos, platanar veyaco
yà bdo’7 nìz

platanar de retango
yà bdo’7 rretángô

platanar perón
yà bdo’7 perônh

platanar tierno
yà bdo’7 ãfx

platicar
-zádi’zh

platinillo
lä bizh

plato
yèn

Platón
Tônh

Platón; Melitón
tônh

plátano(s)
plát

plaza; mercado, tianguis
ndô’xyè

pláatanos de Castilla, plátanos de villaco, plátano macho
bdo’7 nìz

plátano
bdo’7

plátano chiquito, plátano manzano
bdo’7 ãfx

plátano de guineo
bdo’7 nì

plátano de la Índia
bdo’7 xtíl

plátano perón
bdo’7 perônh

plática; palabra
yè’l wza’7 di’zh

pleito, pelea, guerra
wà’ô

pléticas; palabra
yè’l zà di’zh

pleito, pelea, guerra
yè’l wà’ô

pliego de ropa
du’b là làd

plomo
plóm

pluma
du’b

pluma
du’b té’ yìx yì

pluma delgada
du’b láñ

pluma delgada, la más delgada que hay
du’b båñ

pobreza, desgracia, atrasos
yè’l zì

pobre; desgraciado
yál zì

poco
<table>
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<th>Spanish</th>
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<td>poco a poco</td>
<td>poco a poco</td>
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<td>poder del río, dueño del río</td>
<td>poder del río, dueño del río</td>
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<td>poderse</td>
<td>poderse</td>
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<td>podrido</td>
<td>podrido</td>
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<tr>
<td>podrirse; vomitar</td>
<td>podrirse; vomitar</td>
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<td>polea</td>
<td>polea</td>
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<td>policía</td>
<td>policía</td>
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<td>pollito</td>
<td>pollito</td>
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<td>pollo pescuezo encuerado</td>
<td>pollo pescuezo encuerado</td>
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<tr>
<td>pollo que se cuece adentro de la tierra</td>
<td>pollo que se cuece adentro de la tierra</td>
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<tr>
<td>Polo; Apolinar; Policarpo; Hipolito</td>
<td>Polo; Apolinar; Policarpo; Hipolito</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| me7 | poco |
| wxx | poco |
| me7 ga7 me7 ga7 | poco a poco |
| ngwzân | poder del río, dueño del río |
| -âk | poderse |
| ngo7zh | podrido |
| -âzh | podrirse; vomitar |
| -áb | polea |
| ye7 wa7z | polea |
| mzhê^ polísí | policía |
| zhûl | pollito |
| bóy yen kwêrr | pollo pescuezo encuerado |
| bóy ndây len yu^ | pollo que se cuece adentro de la tierra |

| dî ya xtl ndyât ta7n | polvo de jabón que se lavan trastes |
| dî nzhôp | polvo de maiz |
| dî rémêd | polvo de medicina, polvo de remedio |
| dî bêz | polvo que sale de maíz podrido |
| pómad ngwênt | pomada de ungú"ento |
| yê^ tê mbêd | ponedora de guajolota |
| yê^ | ponedora, nido |
| -y-ix getz | poner a dormir, dormirlo |
| -x07b blê7 | poner en almácigo |
| -kwa7 | poner encima; dobletear |
| -kê7 bo^ | poner nudo |
| -ti7b | ponerlo |
| -y-ix yêtz | ponerlo a dormir, acostarlo a dormir, dejarlo a dormir |
| -yâk kwân | ponerlo a dormir, acostarlo a dormir, dejarlo a dormir |
| -yê^ch | ponerse tímido, entrarle el miedo |
| -yo7^n látyo7 | ponerse triste, estar triste, llorar el corazón |
| -yâk kwân | ponerse tímido, entrarle el miedo |
| -yâk yo^x | ponerse enredado |
| -kwân tên | ponerse espesa la sangre |
| -kwân | ponerse espeso |
| -gåtz | ponerse negro |
| -yâk yâ | ponerse tieso |
| -ás | ponerse tieso (un musculo) |
| -áp | ponerse tieso |
| -yê^ch | ponerse triste, estar triste, llorar el corazón |
| -yak kwân | ponerse tupido, espeso, o carnado |
ponerse viejo, envejecer
-àx

ponerse viejo, envejecer
-yàx

ponerse, estar puesto
-b-i7b

poner; echar
-g-ò

poner, tapar
-xo7b

popote
go7b

poquito a poquito
tu7cha7 tu7cha7

por dentro
gá lèn

por el pie, al pie
gál ndâtz

por qué?
xê na'

por qué?
xê xo7tza7

por qué?
xên ba7

por todo, a como va
bi nzhà (tza7)

Porfirio; Lafira
Jwîrr

porque
eké (nà)

porque
yê1

porquería
ta7 xkè

porreir (p. ej. frijol)
-yân yà

portero, policia; gente que se para en la puerta de la casa
xa7 nzyo^ to^ ni

poste de luz electrica
póst tê xê7

pozo de agua
pós tê nitz

pozo de cabo de hacha
pős tê ña xò

Pólite
Pól

PPPyacal de tora, LDPpalo de yacua resbalosa
yà látz dáb

prementina
dôt7

presa, hondura donde se almacene agua para sanjos o riegos
yè1 yìd

presidente
xùz yêzh

preso; gente encarcelada
xa7 nkè' lit yìb

presumido, fachoso, chalán
xàl

prima de mujer (BAL), concuña de mujer (CAN)
bxîtz

primavera
mbyàn

primo del otro sexo; hermano del otro sexo
bzân

privarse
-âth kwân

Procopio
Kóp

profundo?
wât lu^zh

pronto
bkèn

proponerlo; ofrecerlo
-g-ò xlê^)

prostituta
mè go^tz nà ndò gid láz

prostituta
xa7 ndò láz

próximo; se acercó
mzo^ gàx

pueblo
yêzh

pueblo (pos.)
lâzh

puente
pwént

puente de madera
pwént yà

puerco, marrano,
porcino, cerdo, cuche
kúch
 puerta
yálá
 puestos de autoridades
zé ná nzôb xa7 nâk ti7 n
 pulga
mbgâtz
 pulga
mbwâtz
 pulga
mbyûx
 pulmón
pûlmôn
 pulque
pûlk
 pulso
mbîtz ya7
 pulso; hipo; ataque; calambre
mbîtz
 punta
ndo7
 punzoña
xgu7ch
 puñalada
ngwa7z kúchí
 puñalarlo
-ke7 yîb
 puño; muñeca
nî ya7
 pura clara
xmbû
 pura clara
xyê
 purgarse, vaciarse, limpiarse; sufrir la enfermedad de diarrea
-tîd lêñ
 pulga
ábe7 ntza7
 pus
gu'zh
 pus blanco
gu7zh n-gûd
 pus de sangre
gu7zh têñ
 que
áyî
 Què (cosa/hora etc.)
xê
 quebrado
ngôch
 quebrapierro
wdîch gi7ib
 quebrarlo
-y-î'ch
 quebrarse
-âch
 quebrarse, rajarse; quebrarlo, rajarlo
-lê
 quedarse
-ya7 n
 quedo
xê
 quedito, bonito
tên
 quejarse
-yê7zh
 quejarse
-zê kê
 quején
mbyûx
 quelite
là yê7 z ŋà
 quemado
mbyo71
 quemado
mzhû
 quemarlo
-chû
 quemarlo
-zo71
 quemarse
-yo71
 quemarse
-zhû
 queremos comer
yed yed
 querer
-lê' d
 querer; gustarse
-âl látyo7'
 qué cosa?
xta7
 qué javalín!
xâl mbèw
Qué me estás eschuchando?; oye!
ópé

Qué?
xê

que...?
xâl

quicio de la puerta de la casa
kisyó to^ ni

quiebrafierro
mbêz nyîch yîb

quien sabe; no se encuentra
ná zhâl

quién?, cuál?
tò

quiñada
xàn to^

quince
tî^n

quinto
wga7y

quintonil
là yi7 ga`ch

quintonil
yîz ni^z

quiota de viga
yà gûch tê yê^z bî

quitar la cáscara, rebanarse
-bîl

quitarlo
-kâ

quitarse
-gâ

quitarse la hemorragia, calmarse la hemorragia, sanarse de la hemorragia
-bê`z

quitar, librar, defender, salvar
-lê`th

rabia
yê`l yîzh zin

Rafael
Jwây

raíz
lo^

raíz de fuerza de la milpa, raíz principal de la milpa
ndê`y zî^ ña7

raíz de grano; raíz de clavillo
lâx

raíz de palo
lo^ yà

raíz del diente
xàn lo^ ndê`y

rajada, rajadura
bêch

rajada; rajadura; se quebró
ngwlê

rajarse, humillarse
-lê` látyo7

ralo
bxê`ch

rama
xo^z

rama de ocote negro
ya` yà yê`d n-gâtz

rama, mano
ya`

rama; mano (de los dedos hasta el codo);
brazo del ríos
ya`

ramita de mango
ya` wlâtz yà márnh

rana
mbê`t

rana
mbît7

rana de lodo
mbê`t loMd

rana de tomate
mbê`t bîx

rana palo; renacuajo
mbê`t yà

rana verde
mbêt ndyê^v

rana verde
mbît` nyê^v

rancho
yêzh bê`

Rancho Locote
lâché go^
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rancho Altemira</th>
<th>Rastrillo</th>
<th>rebajarse, cobardarse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yè kwà</td>
<td>taⁿ nhù’ to^ mè</td>
<td>-lákè’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rancho Arroyo Ciego</td>
<td>Rastro (de animal salvaje), huella</td>
<td>rebusnar, gritar</td>
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<tr>
<td>Na’t Wlè</td>
<td>xñôb</td>
<td>-b-ézh yè</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rancho Arroyo</td>
<td>Rastrojo</td>
<td>rechinar (los dientes)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mangal</td>
<td>ñá yi</td>
<td>-b-ézh nhà’r</td>
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<tr>
<td>Na’t Yà Mánh</td>
<td>rasurarse</td>
<td>rechinar (los dientes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rancho Campo Nuevo</td>
<td>-go’y</td>
<td>-b-ézh nhê’r</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lát Byô’l</td>
<td>rata</td>
<td>recio</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rancho el Macahuite</td>
<td>ratero, robón, ladrón</td>
<td>cháj</td>
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<tr>
<td>yîzh bê’y yîl yît</td>
<td>wa’n</td>
<td>recogerlo, juntarlo</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rancho La Sierra</td>
<td>ratón</td>
<td>-kân</td>
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<tr>
<td>yè ndyö’</td>
<td>ratón padrino, rata</td>
<td>recogerse; rejuntarse</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rancho Pobreza</td>
<td>mzin bew^7</td>
<td>-gân</td>
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<tr>
<td>ránch Póbrés</td>
<td>Raymundo</td>
<td>reconocer; oír, escuchar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rancho San Juan</td>
<td>mũn</td>
<td>-lê’ch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yo’ Sánhv Jwánh</td>
<td>rayo</td>
<td>recordarlo, acordarse; extrañarlo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rancho Tres Cruces</td>
<td>ngwzi’y</td>
<td>-tzê’ la tyo’y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yo’ chôn krús</td>
<td>rayo</td>
<td>recto</td>
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<td>Ranulfo</td>
<td>rayo</td>
<td>ngi</td>
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<td>nûf</td>
<td>wzi’</td>
<td>reculón, reculador</td>
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<tr>
<td>rascar; pellizcar; arañar</td>
<td>raza, familia</td>
<td>(tipo de camarón)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-zi xo^</td>
<td>fâmil</td>
<td>ka’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rasparse</td>
<td>rábia; tontera</td>
<td>red chica para uso de paseo</td>
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<tr>
<td>-zé xo^</td>
<td>yîzh zin</td>
<td>yîx ngid</td>
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<tr>
<td>rasparse</td>
<td>rápido, un ratito</td>
<td>red de mazorca</td>
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<td>-zhu’</td>
<td>xà zîl</td>
<td>yîx nîz</td>
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<td>rasparse (con cuchillo a un elote)</td>
<td>reaccionar</td>
<td>redecita</td>
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<tr>
<td>-zyo’</td>
<td>-lèn ti</td>
<td>yîx wà</td>
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<tr>
<td>raspar, arañar</td>
<td>rebajarlo</td>
<td>redondearlo; dar vuelta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-dixo’</td>
<td>-lákè’</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
-tze7 ké
redondo
brél
reflejante
n-gách
refresco; agua fría,
agua fresca; jugo
nîtz kwàl
Refugia
Júj
regado
mtye7ch
regalar
-zà' lê'd
regañarlo, gritarle
-ku7x
regañarse
-gu7x
regar
-té'ch
regatear
-zu7 dí'zh
regidor
réjidór
regidor de obras
réjidór tê óbrás
regidor de policía
réjidór tê pólisi
Regina
Jîn
regla
yê'1 yîzh mbe7
regresar
-bitê
rejidor de educación
réjidór tê édûkásyôn
rejuntar
-dûn
rejuntarlo
-g-dûn
REL
nà
relampaguear
-âth bê'1
relinchar
-lyu7
remolino
mbdòn
renacuajo
yô7j
rendir
-dyî
rendirse, abundarse
-yê'x
rendirse; aumentar,
multiplicarse,
abundarse
-ya7x
repararlo; componerlo,
 arreglo
-yûn cha7
repartirse
-rep-cha7
repartir; resembrar;
resbiharse, redividir
-tzê
resfriado; dolor de
ndàw yê'
resina
dôô
resina
dôô
resultar
-lu7 ndôô
retoñar
-xîch
reventar
-y-îch

reventar la placenta
-âch yîx ni

reventar, explotar
-y-îch kê

reventarse
-âx

reventarse; tronar
(como huevo, cohete, hule); nacer de huevo;
reventar el pie;
reventar frutas, etc.
-âch

Reveriana
Yá

revivirse, reaccionarse
-yàth xê látyo7

revivir(se)
-bân

revolcarse, voltearse
-bìx tê

revolverlo, mezclarlo
-köch

Reymundo/a
Mûn

Reynaldo
Rêy

Reynaldo; Reymundo
Rêy

rezador
ko7 lê'êy

rezador
xà7 nbo7 lêy tê gân

rezongar
-kâb to^n

rincón
xân

riñón
riñónh

Rio Grande
yo7 zi7l

risa
yê'l xïd

ríó
yu7

rodar, rodar lo
-îzû'b yê

rodarse
-zôbyê

rodearlo, encerrarlo
-g-ô lô

rodilla
xîb

rojo
nê

rojo (pajaro)
rôj

romperlo
-tza7

romperse
-za7

roncar
-la7b yên

roncar; sonar la nariz
-b-êzh xè

ronco; se secó mi
pescuezo
mbid yên

roñoso, desquebrajado
têch

ropa que tiene alforza
lând nzo7 tî7ch

ropa usada; ropa vieja
lând gôx

ropa; cáscara; escama
xâb

ropa, tela
lând

ropa, tela, trapo
lât

Rosa
Rôs

Rosalino
rôs

rosaria
Rôsâr

rosarios de
nochebuena
lêy tê nóché bwén

rosarios de santos
lêy tô mbdô7

rosario, novena
lêy

Rosa, Rosalinda
rôs

Rosendo
sén
roto
yo xo
rozo
gón
ruda
rúd
ruda
xán rúd
ruedacaca, abejón
ruedacaca
mbêz xkê
ruedacaca, ruedacuita
mbêz yi
ruedete
xú’ñ
Rufino; Rufina
rúf
Rufino; Rufina
rúfín
ruido, ruidoso
ngwe’ý
Rupino
Rúpin
Rutilo
tîl
saberlo
-on
saborearlo, probarlo
-nî
sabroso, oloroso
wxe’
saca espanto
nbo’zhèb
sacar
-b-o’
sacar al revés; vomitar
-b-o’ dì’n
Sacarías
sák
sacerdote
ngwléy
sacerdote
ngwléy
sacerdote, cura, padre
wléy
sacudir
-b-i’b
sal
zéd
salado
wtîx
salir
-to’
salir de viaje
-to’ zê’
salir para arriba, flotar
-to’ xo’b
salir volteandose, caer
volteandose
-to’ nza’b
saliva
chúk
salsa de miltomate
nìtz yi’n bix li’d
salsa de tomate
nìtz yi’n bix
salsa de tomate que se revuelve con huevo
nìtz yi’n bix n-gôch ngu’
salta de noche
ká pót rrîw
saltar, brincar
-átz
saltillo
sáltíy
saludar; preguntar
-náb dì’zh
salvaje; animal del monte
má yîx
salzapote
yà yê’l yèzh
San Agustín Loxicha
Yèzh Lósich (CAN)
San Agustín Loxicha; persona de San Agustín Loxicha
xîtz
San Antonio Lalana
Yèzh Láláná
San Baltazar Loxicha
Yèzh Xîzh
San Bartolomé Loxicha
yè xîl
San Francisco Coatlán
Chi’ Kán
San Francisco Coatlán
Yèzh Sábránsísk (CAN)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nombres</th>
<th>Definiciones</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>San Miguel Coatlán</strong></td>
<td>sámbyél</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>San Miguel Yogovana</strong></td>
<td>Yêzh Ye7 Bàn (CAN)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>San Pablo Coatlán</strong></td>
<td>Yêzh Ye Ke7 (CAN)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>San Pablo Coatlán</strong></td>
<td>Yi Ke7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>San Pablo Coatlán</strong></td>
<td>Yúke7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>San Pablo Coatlán</strong></td>
<td>Yu^ Ke7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>San Pedro Coatlán</strong></td>
<td>Yêzh Sán Pédr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>San Pedro Juchatengo</strong></td>
<td>yu^ zhu7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>San Sebastián Coatlán</strong></td>
<td>Yêzh Sán Sébástyán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>San Vicente Coatlán</strong></td>
<td>chênt</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Sanar</strong></td>
<td>-yî</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Sanarse</strong></td>
<td>-yák yâl yîzh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sanarse, curarse, quitar</strong></td>
<td>-lâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sancho; perro buncho</strong></td>
<td>mbèk bunch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sancudo</strong></td>
<td>mbyâ’t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sancudo</strong></td>
<td>mlyâ’t</td>
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<td><strong>Santiago</strong></td>
<td>Táy</td>
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<td><strong>Santo Domingo coatlán</strong></td>
<td>Yêzh Sántó Dómînh</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Santo Domingo de Morelos, Cozoaltepec</strong></td>
<td>Yëch (CAN)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Santo Tomás Tamazulapan</strong></td>
<td>Yêzh Yë Do’ch (CAN)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Santa María Coatlán</strong></td>
<td>Yêzh Sánta Mári (CAN)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Santa María Colotepec</strong></td>
<td>Bé Wnè</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Santa María Colotepec</strong></td>
<td>Yêzh Bónè (CAN)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Santa Catarina Cuixtla</strong></td>
<td>Yè Tzi</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Santa Catarina Loxicha</strong></td>
<td>Sántlín</td>
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<td><strong>Santa Catarina Loxicha</strong></td>
<td>Yêzh Sánt Lín</td>
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<td><strong>Santa Cruz Xitla</strong></td>
<td>Yêzh Xît (CAN)</td>
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<td><strong>Santa María Coatlán</strong></td>
<td>Yêzh Sánta Mári (CAN)</td>
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<td><strong>Santa María Colotepec</strong></td>
<td>Bé Wnè</td>
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<td>Yêzh Bónè (CAN)</td>
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<td><strong>Sauz</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Saxach</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Sarampión</strong></td>
<td>bit yu’x</td>
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<td><strong>Sarape</strong></td>
<td>lâd yîch káxkêm</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Sarno; sarnoso</strong></td>
<td>mbîd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sarro</strong></td>
<td>yu^ zo’x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sastre, gente que costura la ropa</strong></td>
<td>xa’ nkîb lâd</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Sauz</strong></td>
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<td>término</td>
<td>significado</td>
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<td>sábana</td>
<td>sábado</td>
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<td>sámago del tronco</td>
<td>xab n-gûd yá</td>
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<tr>
<td>se chupa la cara, se debilita la cara, se derrite la cara, se pone pálido (como que está enfermo)</td>
<td>-yo'b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>secada, seco</td>
<td>bi't</td>
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<tr>
<td>secarlo</td>
<td>-kwi'd</td>
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<tr>
<td>secarse</td>
<td>-bid</td>
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<tr>
<td>seco</td>
<td>bid</td>
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<td>seguir</td>
<td>-zô nké'</td>
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<td>seguirlo</td>
<td>-à nké</td>
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<td>segundo</td>
<td>mtôp</td>
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<td>seis</td>
<td>xo'p</td>
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<td>semana</td>
<td>smán</td>
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<tr>
<td>sembrar maíz</td>
<td>-kê' gób ni</td>
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<tr>
<td>sembrarlo</td>
<td>-âz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sembrarse</td>
<td>-yâzh</td>
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<tr>
<td>semilla de algodón</td>
<td>bizh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>semilla de calabaza, pepitas</td>
<td>mbîzh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>semilla de flor</td>
<td>bid tê yi'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>semilla; ovario</td>
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<td>seyeta</td>
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sobrino
xin wit

Sofía
Bi

sogo
sóg

Soledad
Chól

Soledad
Sól

Soledad
sūl

soltarlo, abandonarlo, dejarlo
-laʔ

soltarse
-baʔ

sol, calor; seca; tiempo de seca, temporada seca
bě

sol, día
wīzh

sombra
xgāl

sombrear
-kāl

sombrerero
xaʔ ndūx kwaʔ sómbrer

sombrero de lana; sombrero panza de burro
sómbreř yich

sombrero de petate (de palma)
sómbreř yín

sombrero de palma

sonido cuando patean al perro
kwē"nhk kwē"nhk kwē"nhk

sonido de abrir una puerta que le falta grasa
nzhír nzhír nzhír

sonido de afilar machete en una piedra de afilar
zh unhkū zh unhkū zh unhkū

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

sonido de agua o comida bajando en el pescuezo
gmpʔ

sonido de aguacero
x

sonido de animales comiendo pastura
mbo^rrs mbo^rrs mbo^rrs

sonido de arrancar una moto
rt

sonido de arrastrar
hrr

sonido de arrugar papel
xuk xuk xuk
sonido de beso de boca limpias
pw^7

sonido de borrego më^7

sonido de caballo cuando relincha yí^7 yí^7

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^7k to^7k to^7k

sonido de caminar en lodo trás trás trás trás trás

sonido de campana sonando tánh tánh tánh tánh tánk

sonido de campanila nzírinth nzírinth

sonido de cascabel de la culebra 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 chicharras chïkri

sonido de cohete que amarra en mecate xxx^xxx^7

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 mbëw

sonido de gallina (onomatopeya) tétéřêt

sonido de gente que va corriendo tak tak tak tak tak

Sonido de grito del guajolote macho ko^7 ko^7 ko^7 ko^7 k

sonido de hacer el amor pl^7

sonido de hojas secas ch’ch’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 täs täs täs

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
l7
sonido de la persona
que se cae por detrás
tânh
sonido de la vaca
mụ́
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
jajajày
sonido de las tripas
cuando tienen hambre
grrr
sonido de llenar ánfora
con agua
jorr
sonido de lo que se cae
en el suelo
ta7j
sonido de morder
ngarrs
sonido de morder
pras
sonido de papel que se
rompió
x7
sonido de pedo de
gente delgada
bblń
sonido de pedo de
gente gordo
bblł
sonido de pedo de niño
bblł7
sonido de perro
ladrando
wàw wo wàw 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
xàrr xàrr xàrr xàrr
sonido de ratón
comiendo maíz
nzherr7 nzherr7 nzherr7 nzherr7
sonido de repicar la
campana
tinh tinh tinh telânh telânh
sonido de resbalar
pras
sonido de retrocarga
(refle gruesoô
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
inh
sonido de semilla seca
adentro
x7x7x7x7x7x7
sonido de serrucho
cortando tablas
xăr
sonido de sonaja
ch7k ch7k tz ch7k ch7k
sonido de sorprenderse
h
sonido de sorpresa
äj
sonido de tener frío
s7
sonido de tocar la
puerta
taj taj taj taj
sonido de tomate
purrs

sonido de tortolita
so’lsto’y

sonido de tronar los dedos
kwiri’s

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
kwiri’s

sonido de un cuchillo cortando carne y pegando a la madera abajo; sonido de la cagada de un caballo cuando va caminando
táj táj táj

sonido de un destornudo
akwisa

sonido de un gato roncando
jj jj jj jj

sonido de un hombre que se ría de una mujer (con coraje)
hu’

sonido de un nene llorando
mágà

sonido de un pájaro 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.
nzínzh

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.
nzérính

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’

sonido de una llama que está quemando un monte
ju ju ju

sonido de una persona caminar con tacones
ták ták ták ták ták

sonido de una persona corriendo dentro del agua
<p>| sonido de una persona enferma; sonido de cocoxtle | sonido del gallo (onomatopeya) kikiriki |
| sonido de una persona roncando | sonido del gato enojado jj |
| sonido de una silla rechinando nzhi'rranzhi'rra | sonido del globo reventándose, sonido de rajar leña con hueco adentro pōj |
| sonido de vaciar refresco en un vaso jorr jorr jorr jorr jorr | sonido del grito del burro ē'j ē'j ē'j ē'j |
| sonido de víbora de cascabél ch'ch'ch' | sonido del grito del chivo wē wē wē wē |
| sonido de zanates y otros pájaros xu'p | sonido del grito del gato (onomatopeya) myāw |
| sonido de zapato que tiene agua por dentro kros kros kros | sonido del hipo h'7 |
| sonido de zapatos caminando en charcos o en un camino mojado; sonido cuando cae la cagada de una bestia tra's | sonido del huracán Paulina brum brum brum brum |
| sonido del bostezo aja | sonido del palo que yá está quebrando para caerse kri kri kri kri |
| sonido del chasquido pī'j | sonido del pato; grito de la guajolota hembra kwāk kwāk kwāk |
| sonido del dolor que sufre uno cuando se corta | sonido del R-15 tktktk |
| | sonido del suspiro |</p>
<table>
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<th>Spanish</th>
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<tr>
<td>sordo</td>
<td>kwè</td>
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<tr>
<td>sordo mudo</td>
<td>múd kwè</td>
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<tr>
<td>soyate</td>
<td>lí yín</td>
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<td>soyate, faja</td>
<td>là yín</td>
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<tr>
<td>sólo, a puro</td>
<td>ábeˇn</td>
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<tr>
<td>su espalda de la bestia</td>
<td>tzoˇ wáy</td>
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<td>su mamá del gatito</td>
<td>bÌch gòx</td>
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<td>su marido de la cuñada de uno (la hermana de la señora de uno), concuño</td>
<td>xna7 yi7 n</td>
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<td>xùz mbál xlón</td>
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<td>nzoˇ ké˚</td>
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<td>-zoˇ ké˚</td>
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<tr>
<td>subir</td>
<td>-áp</td>
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<td>subir (de precio); llenarse</td>
<td>-yáp</td>
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<td>-xáp</td>
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<td>-zo^ nítz</td>
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<td>xí zèd ndátz</td>
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támá̱l yá zi7x

tamales de ejotes tiernos; tamal con polvo de maíz podrido
támá̱l yàz

tamales de elote yë`th bàd
tamales de elote blanco (simple) yë`th bàd
tamales de elote con frijól btzi7 yî
tamales de elote tierno con frijol tamá̱l btzé yî
tamales de elote tierno solo tamá̱l yë^th bàd
tamales de flor de guía de calabaza tamá̱l yî7 lüt tzèth
tamales de gallina tamá̱l ngîd
tamales de guajolote tamá̱l mbèd
tamales de hoja de quelite tamá̱l là yë^z ñà
tamales de puerco tamá̱l kûch
tamales de tecolmeca tamá̱l yà wtó
tamaño

tamá̱l yà zî7x

también, y nà
tambo tåm
tambo de miel, tambo para cocer la miel tåm tè mzhìn
tambor de cuero tåmbôr yîd
Tanacia Nàch
tanto, que tanto xo7l tza7
tapanco yà yîn bë7
tapanco, tapezco yà bli7
tapar malocidades o creencias, ahogar malocidades, ahogar a los brujos -ka7p
taparlo, cerrarlo -tzà
taparrabo zho^g
taparse, cerrarse -yà
taparse, vestirse -ôj
tapezco yà bli7
tapezco para asar carne yà yîn n-yî7x bë7l mân
tarado, zonzo, lento, pasmado, paciente bchàn
tarántula xo^z yë^l
Tarcicio tàrr
tartamudear; hablar el tartamudo -za7 di7zh to^ kâ
tartamudo to^ kâ
tarugo tårûg
tatîl yà la7zh
tatomoxtle, totomoxtle tàr
távano, mosca grande mtyi7ch
távano, mosca grande mtyi7ch
tecolmeca yà wto^
tecolmeca comestible yà wto bwén
tecolmeca de tlacuache yà wto ndèz
tecolote mkók
tecolotilla
mbēd

tecololute
mbēd

tecololute
mgo^-

tecolute de elotes,
enfermedad de elote,
(Cuitlacoche,
Huítlacoche)
mbēd bey^7

tecolutito
mbēd pāj

tecolutito, tecolute
chiquito
mbēd làn

tecolutón, tecolute
chiquito
mko^ lán

tecolutón, tecolute
mko^7

tejada de barro
tēj yu^-

tejabanil (con tabla)
tējāmānil

tejocote, manzanita
mántzān bīx

tejón
mxi^zh

tela de araña
da bē

tela de araña
do^7 bē

Telésporo

Lēx

temazcal
ngwzō yī

temazcal
yē^-

temblar
-xīz

temblor
mbwīn

temporada de agua,
tiempo de agua, mes de
agua, mes de lluvia
mbē^7 bīyī
temporada de lluvia,
temporal de agua
nzō do^7 yī
temprano
tzī^l
temprano, madrugada,
tempranito
zi^l ta^7

tenate
tōb

tenate hecho con
palma
tōb
tener
-âp

tener antojo
-lē^7

tener calentura
-yō^ xīlē

tener hambre
-ân

tener infección, llaga, o
herida; estar lastimado
-zōbye^7

tener muina, odiar
-xī lá tyo^7

tener relaciones, tener
contacto
-âp xi^7n

tener risa
-tyēn

tener sed
-yēk lá tyo^7

tener sueño
-yō^ xka^l

tener vergu"enza
-dyō látyo^7

tenerfrío
-z-āk kwāl
teniente
tēnyēnt
tentarlo, sostentarlo
-gāl
tepache
nītz tē mbēy
tepēhuaje
yā yē^z

tepexquillo
yā bāl

tercero
mbyōn

Teresa
Lēx

Teresa
Téch

**terminarse**
-lùd

**terminarse**
-ni

**terremoto; terreno**
quebrado
yu^ ngwlë

**terreno no trabajado**
yu^ ná ndâk lá tî'n

**terreno virgen**
yu^ kúb

**tesorero**
xa7 n-gòcha7 tmî

**testigo**
xa7 wnâ-y’

**tetique blanco**
yâ ngól n-gûd

**tetiquillo**
yâ tê

**tetiquillo, palo de**
yacua de tetique
amarillo
yâ làtz xîl yê g

**Tibursio**
Mbu^x

**tiempo**
wîz' th

**tiempo de antes**
tyémp nzhâ zê' la7

**tiempo de lluvia, tiempo de agua**
bí yi

**tiempo de miel, mes que hay miel**
tyémp tê mzhin

**tiempo de sol**
mbè7 bê'

**tiempo de viento, mes de viento**
mbè7 tê mbi

**tiempos antes, tiempos antepasados**
tyémp xàp

**tierno**
bên

**tierra abonada**
yu^ kwê'l

**tierra arenosa brillante**
yu^ xkê mbê'^l

**tierra arenosa, tierra de nuda, tierra desierto, tierra esteril**
yu^ yu'x

**Tierra Blanca**
yit yâ

**tierra caliente**
yu^ wzhê'

**tierra cocida, barro cocido**
yu^ ngwi7

**tierra comunal**
yu^ làw

**tierra de adobe**
yu^ ble7

**tierra de polvo**
yu^ ko^l

**tierra derrumbada; barranco**
yu^ wê'

**tierra fría**
yu^ kwâl

**tierra triste; tierra cascajo; tierra muerta de cerro con piedras que no sirve**
yu^ yu'x

**tierra, terreno, suelo**
yu^

**tieso**
mbîyâg

**tijera de la casa**
yâ têjêr tê ni

**Timoteo**
môt

**tincuatla**
xitz bèw

**tirarlo**
-g-ô bi

**tirarlo, aventarlo**
-tza'b

**tirar, botar**
-g-ô bi

**tiro**
tîr

**tiznar**
-zê' ndân

**tizne**
ndân

**tizón**
yâ bo7
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<th><strong>Tomás</strong></th>
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trasparente
tyid xe7

travesaño de la casa,
travesaño de en media,
viga
yà do7 ni
trece
tín
trementina
do7 d
trementina
do7 t
trenchar
-tèk zòb
trenza
mèch
tres
chôn
tres cientos
chôn áyo7
Trinjilina
Jyèl
tripa del desperdicio
de la gente
tzi7 xkê mèn
troja, cerca
lò
trompezarlo
-te7 p
trompezarse
-tye7 p
tronar el agua con su
brazo de uno
-y-ich kê-m` yèth
tronar el estómago
-b-èzh lèn
tronar el rayo, pegar el
rayo
-àch ngwzì7
tronar rayo
-b-èzh ngwzì7
tronar (huesos)
-b-o7 mbìtz
tronchadura,
torcedura
ntel yath
tronco de corazón, palo
macizo
yà lè d
tronco; mocho
bto7
trozo, pedazo
to7
trucha
mbè71 trúch
tufò de javalín; lunar
de javalín
xkwe7 tè mbèw
tufò feo
mbè7k
tulipán amarillo
túlpáñh nzhich
tulipán rojo, sardete
túlpáñh nè
tulipán (flor)
yì7 túlpáñh
tumbar
-tzu^b
tumba; adonde se
enterró el difunto
zè mbgàch gàn
tupido
kwa7
tuza
mbè7y
tú
lo8
Ud., Uds.
gò
ulabo
ngwlàb
Ulalia
Làl
un codo
btìth
un enredo; enredado
bxid
un par de yuntas
du7 nèz ngòn
un pedazo de vidrio
du7 lè7 bidry
un peso
du7 pès
un pliegue de papel,
una hoja de papel
du7 là yìt
un ratito
xla7l
un ratito; un segundo;
poco
una bolita de carne dura donde sale pelo en el pecho de guajolote macho
una clase de infección de la piel, que se pinta la piel color rojo o morado (BAL);
hinchazón (CAN)
una comida sencilla, rústica, campesina
una docena
una hora
una lengua pegada al estómago, como hígado pero más pequeño
único
una (comida preparada)
una uña del dedo (de la mano); casco (de caballo, etc.)
unas de los dedos de la mano
Urbano
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una clase de infección de la piel, que se pinta la piel color rojo o morado (BAL);
hinchazón (CAN)
una comida sencilla, rústica, campesina
una docena
una hora
una lengua pegada al estómago, como hígado pero más pequeño
único
una (comida preparada)
una uña del dedo (de la mano); casco (de caballo, etc.)
unas de los dedos de la mano
Urbano
Bañ
vena de la mano
yìb ya’

vena del pie
yìb ndâtz

venadero
mbè’l yo’z

venadito tierno
gámít

venado
mbzhîn

venado
mzhîn

venado tierno
mzhîn bèn

Venancia
Nánch

vena; cuerda
yìb

vencerse
-yál látyo’

vencerse, calmarse
-tzé yìl lá tyo’

venderlo, despacharlo
-dò

venderse
-dyô

vengarse; reponerlo
-g-ôl tzá

venir
-âl

venir
-î’d

venir
-zê

venirse, regresar(se)
-yè’ d

ventado
bich

ventana corredisa
béntàn nxo’né

ventear; jalar tufo
-g-ôb xla’

ventilarlo
-lè’ d mbi

ventilarse
-lè’ d mbi

ver
-nâ

ver
-nì

ver
-wi’

verás
kárà

verás, Ud. crea, pensó,
creyó
kónô

verde
ndyé’

verde bajo
ndyé’ là

verdolaga
tze’w

vereda de animal
xnèz mân

vereda; camino
chiquito
nèz bìx

veredear, hacer vereda
-kè’ nèz

vergüenza
(enfermedad)
gò

verija
bè’l yid kwê

verija
yid kwê

verse
-nâ

vez
bés

vez
nè

vez
nka’ñ

viaje
wzê’

viaje
zê’

Vicente
Chént

Victoria
Bîk

vida
yìl nbân

viejez (local), vejez
(standard)
yìl yîzh gôx
viejo
góx

viendo para arriba con los ojos abiertos
bē'î

viene aclarando, viene amaneciendo
xgūd

viernes
byèrr

viga
yèth yè'z zbí

vigilar, cuidar, guardar, espiar; oír
-lē'ch

vilús
mlu'x

violentó; apurativo
wyèn lē’î

Viralonga, Confradía (un rancho)
xán yè

virgen
nà

virgen
náx náx

virgen
náx náx

Virginia
Jín

viruela, viruela loca; varicela
bit bdo

viruxe (flor),

Cemposúchitl chiquito
yî' ndúx

visitar; ir a ver
-â nà

viuda
mē go^tz ngùth mē byî tē

viudo
mē byî ngùth chê'î

vivelula
mko'yix

vivelula
mtye'n

vivir
-yo'

vivo
nbàn

vía
nēz ntyîd trénh

víbora corta
wîz

víbora de cascabel
mbē'î no' mtzo'n

víbora de cascabel
mbē'î wzhîb

víbora de cascabel
wzhîb

víbora de cáscabel
mbyu'z

vivo, liviano, ágil, rápido
wlût

voltar
-tî'x bîk

voltarlo
-tî'x tê

voltarlo, darle vuelta; doblarlo
-tze'k

voltearse, brincar, ocultarse [el sol, la luna]
-bîx

vorlita o adorno que tiene la punta del cabello
bôrrlît

voz, alma, pena
xbî

wrist bone
tîth nî mbàd ya

x josefa
yî yà

Xiteco, persona de Santa Cruz Xitla; Santa Cruz Xitla
xîd

xuquía
wlàn ndya

ya
là

ya
la

yà tiene (mucho) tiempo, tiempo de antes
nzhâ zê' là

yegua
yèw
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<td>yerba buena</td>
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<td>cabello</td>
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<td>3i</td>
<td>ta’⁷</td>
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<tr>
<td>(bebida)</td>
<td>ngâch</td>
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<tr>
<td>(palo, semejanto al</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>mandximo)</td>
<td>yà zi’</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
(una especie de palo)
yà ngùz yì
References Cited


--------. Forthcoming. Tone and register morphology in Coatlán-Loxicha Zapotec.


--------. 2003. Cweenta x-teenn bwiinn nin gu-dahbi bween (The story of the person who was swallowed by an alligator). ms.

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.


López, Bartolomé. 1618. Untitled document purportedly from the archives of San Miguel Coatlán. Obtained from Víctor de la Cruz.


----------. 1884. Cuadro cronológico de los gobernantes que ha tenido el estado de Oaxaca, desde la mas remota antigüedad hasta fin del año de 1883.


Robinson, Dow F. 1956-58 unpublished field notes on Coatlán Zapotec housed at the archives of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in Catalina, AZ.


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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 te Mbál Mbi7zh kónh Mbál Ndèz
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

```
Kwént tě mbál mbi7zh nà kónh mbál ndèž. 1

El Cuento del Compadre León con el Compadre Tlacuache.
The Story of Compadre Puma and Compadre Possum.

Mbál ndèž wze7 --- 2
compadre AN-tlacuache macho
compadre AN-possum male

Ndàb mbál gòtz ndèž gòtz ndô mbál wze7, 3
H-decir compadre hembra AN-tlacuache hembra cara compadre macho
H-say compadre female AN-possum female face compadre male

Dice Comadre Tlacuache al Compadre Tlacuache,
Comadre Possum says to Compadre Possum,

Ndàb “nà nwix gě nwix nà. 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 nà 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.
A ver que no va a llevarte el compadre al campeado, To see whether he’ll take you hunting,

Pař wâ nhá bêl”.

Para que vamos a comer carne”.

“Mbày” ndâb mbál ndéz.

“Bueno” dice el compadre tlacuache.

Ngwâ mbál ndéz ndô mbál mbizh.

Fue el compadre tlacuache a ver al compadre león.

Ndâh, “Kompádhr á lá go7 ñâ ná?

Dice, “Compadre, ¿que no va Ud. llevar a mi?”

Yá nhá go7z. Mbál gotz nwëx”.

Vamos al campeado. La comadre tiene huixe”.

“Yá nhá” ndâb mbál mbizh.

“Vamos” dice el compadre león.

“Let’s go,” says Compadre Puma.
Entonces se van al campeado.

Then they went away to the hunt.

Se van donde está parado un ganado, una vaca.

They go where there is an ox standing, a cow.

Dice ‘xonga (vaca flaca)’.

Like they say, ‘xonga (skinny cow)’.

Dice Compadre Tlacuache al Compadre León,

Says Compadre Possum to Compadre Puma,

“Compadre, Compadre, ¿qué ésa es la carne”?

“Compadre, Compadre, is that the meat?”

“No es carne.

“It’s not meat.

Vamos más adelante”, dice Compadre León.

Let’s go further ahead,” says Compadre Puma.

---“Na7n”

---“No”, dice Compadre León,

“No,” says Compadre Puma,

“No es carne.

“IT’s not meat.

At this point JSV made what he later deemed a speech error: ngwá mé [C-IR 3hr; C-GO 3hr],

Not audible on the recording, but spoken by JSV when making the transcription from the tape.
Entonces se van más adelante.
Then they go further ahead.

Dice Compadre Tlacuache otra vez,
Once again Compadre Possum says,

“Compadre, Compadre, ¿que ésa es la carne”?
“Compadre, Compadre, is that the meat?”

As Compadre León conoce animal gordo,
As Compadre Puma knows fat animals,

El compadre león atacó una vaca gorda,
Compadre Puma attacked a fat cow,

Hasta que no ganó de matarla.
Struggling to kill it.
Mató el compadre león la vaca.
Compadre Puma killed the cow.

Entonces comieron carne.
Then they ate meat.

Compadre León sabe comer carne,
Compadre Puma knows how to eat meat,

Pero Compadre Tlacuache poquito la que come.
But Compadre Possum only eats it a little.

“Kompa‘dr, wdö` gó be‘l wdö` gó be‘l!”
“Compadre, ¡come Ud. carne! ¡come Ud. carne!”

“Aja‘,” ndāb mbāl ndēz “ndō` kā nā.”
“Si” dice el compadre tla cuache, “como yo siempre como”.

Á lē` mbāl ndēz be‘ntza7 ta7 wgu‘r7 ndō`.
El compadre tla cuache come pura carne blandita.
The compadre possum eats only soft meat.

The word be‘l was not actually spoken on the recording but was added when I transcribed this text with the narrator.
Entonces comieron carne.

Llevaron la carne.

Llegaron la carne a su casa.

Compadre Possum llega con su esposa.

Dice, “gamos la carne del campeado.

He says, “we got the meat hunting.

---

6 There was a speech error in this recording. JSV began to say ni which just means ‘casa; house’ and is alienably possessed and changed it to lit which is an inalienably possessed word meaning ‘hogar; home.’
¡Come carne ahora! Tú tienes huixe”.
Eat meat now. You have a craving for it.”

Entonces “otro jalón” dice el tlacuache---
Then “another trip” says the possum---

Le dice “ahora yo solito voy a campear.
He says “Now I’m going to hunt by myself.

No voy a avisar al compadre. Yo solo voy.”
I’m not going to let the compadre know. I’m going alone.”

“Bueno,” dice la tlacuacha.
“Fine,” says the female possum.

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 gozę which may mean ‘I’m going to take.’
Kóntë ndëz wze7
pensó tlacuache macho
believe possum male
Pensó el tlacuache
The male possum thought

Ké sùn ndëz wze7 gân gûth bák. 51
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.

Xte7 gûn ndëz gân le7 ndëz tu7zh? 52
cómo P-hacer tlacuache ganar FOC tlacuache pequeño
how P-do possum achieve FOC small
Que va a ganar el pequeño tlacuache? How would the possum be able to do it? Little possum!

Lá ndâp fwêrz. 53
NEG H-tener fuerza
NEG H-have strength
Porque no tiene fuerza,
He doesn’t have any energy.

Wi mbyo7b9 zôb10 ndëz tzo7 xwâz 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 mtza7b xnê11 bák ndëz. 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 siguiente: ¿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. 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 b, which I have retranscribed above.

10 I actually heard something like [tso/b/] on the recording when I transcribed in in 1996. It may very well have been zôb 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 [sl:] but in 2004 LDP and I agree that xnê makes more sense. I probably mistook /n/ for /L/. The word xle7 means ‘fresh,’ which wouldn’t make sense here.
Ngòk zôb ndèz ndó kách tê 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.

Wti7b xnè bák. 12
C-R2-sacudir POS-cola vaca
C-R2-shake POS-tail cow
Sacudió la vaca su cola.
The cow shook its tail.

Ngòb ndèz ndó 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.

Wi stûb wìzh, splâ wîžh, 61
DET otro sol F-cuánto sol
DET another sun F-how.many sun
Entonces otro día, otros cuantos días13,
Then another day, another so many days,

Wnûb dižh mbâl ndèz gôtz 62
C-pedir palabra compadre tlacuache hembra
C-request word compadre possum female
Preguntó Comadre Tlacuache
Comadre Possum asked

12 This sentence has been significantly altered from my original transcription of [wati:(?)b: ndé---šle: bák³]. ndé was likely a speech error, the beginning of the word ndèz. As in line 56, also altered, I heard the word [šle] 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 xnë ‘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 splâ 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 splâ means as opposed to stûb.
“A lá nhnî gó kompádhr zà ngwâ gán”
“¿No viste al compadre donde fuiste?”

“¿Que no vió Ud. al compadre donde fue Ud.?"
“Didn’t you see the compadre where you went?”

“Ñàb ndéz góřz.”

Pâ nzhâ kompádhr?”
“Where did the compadre go?”

“Kompadhr nzhâ goż.”
“The compadre went camping/hunting.

“Ñá’n lá nhnî kompadhr.”

“Ndàb mbál mbíźh.”

Ndàb nde&z gôtz.

H-decir tlacuache hembra
H-say possum female
Dice la comadre tlacuacha.
Says Comadre Possum.

H-decir NEG NEG IRR-ver compadre
H-say NEG NEG IRR-see compadre
Dice, “No vi el compadre.
(Puma) says, “I didn’t see the compadre.

¿Adónde se fue el compadre?”

“Kompadhr nzhâ goż.”
“The compadre went by himself.”

“Ña7n.”

Ndàb mbál mbíźh.

‘No’ dice el compadre león,
‘No’ says the compadre puma,

Compadre Puma,

Al compadre león,

Ndô mbál mbíźh,
cara compadre león
de compadre puma

face compadre puma

A compadre león,
Compadre Puma,
“Única dîb chakêt wî nàx ta7 yo7 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 vi. Está tirada a la orilla del río.
“I only saw a jacket. It’s lying on the edge of the river.

Pwéd lê7 chakêt tê mbál tà 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 vi.”
Maybe it’s the compadre’s jacket that I saw.’

Lîth 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.