



*Mitla Zapotec  
Grammar*

*Elinor Briggs*

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# Mitla Zapotec Grammar

by

Elinor Briggs



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# Editor's Preface

It is a great satisfaction to both cooperating institutions to publish this Zapotec grammar as an homage to our colleague Elinor Briggs, who has passed away, a truly patient and efficient field-worker.

In doing this we also realize that not nearly enough emphasis has been given to this type of information. As such publications, like many other scientific studies, are not money-makers, there is a natural hesitancy in considering a linguistic contribution. Yet, even if the books do not sell fast, they are of lasting value, and grammars are sought for centuries after publication.

Although it does not seem at the moment as if the Zapotec language would die out, the pressure of our culture on indigenous groups is increasing daily, and coming generations are showing less and less interest in their own language and culture. Considering this, we hope to be able to give this grammar a wider distribution.

Although there are other Zapotec grammars, this one is presented with a modern approach, and deals exclusively with the dialect spoken at Mitla. This is not to condemn earlier efforts, but with the advances of modern linguistics, there is a need to work with more adequate materials.

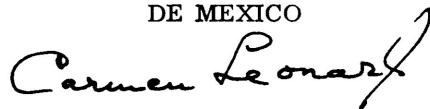
Both institutions joining their efforts here compliment the field-worker, who, frequently under adverse conditions, accomplishes the impossible in the gathering together of data useful to his fellow scholars. We hope that all factors involved will permit the joint publication of further linguistic studies of this type.

INSTITUTO LINGUISTICO DE  
VERANO



Benjamin F. Elson

CENTRO DE INVESTIGACIONES  
ANTROPOLOGICAS  
DE MEXICO



Carmen Cook de Leonard

# *Introductory Note*

This grammar was prepared by Elinor Briggs before her death, with apparently no thought of publication in its present form. Some parts of the structure were still in process of analysis, and some of the illustrations seem to have been taken from earlier stages of the work and may not have been glossed accurately. At least it was found that there were certain discrepancies between English and Spanish glosses of the same forms in some cases. Since, however, these discrepancies did not affect the analysis, and since there was some pressure for early publication of the volume, it has been deemed advisable to put it out without the delay involved in a careful check of the large body of data.

In preparing the volume for publication I have revised the phonemic, morphophonemic and syntax sections quite heavily, but the morphemic sections which comprise the major part of the book are essentially as Miss Briggs presented them. Changes which have been made are based entirely on Miss Briggs' data and are simple matters of restatement in the interests of greater clarity.

This grammar, then, should not be taken necessarily as a finished product, accurate in every detail, but rather as a good example of a detailed, painstaking study of a complex linguistic structure. It should be of special interest to those interested in comparative Zapotec grammar.

Viola G. Waterhouse  
Mexico, D. F.  
May, 1960

# Table of Contents

	Page
1. Phonemics . . . . .	1
1.1. Syllable patterns . . . . .	1
1.2. Syllable nuclei . . . . .	1
1.3. Syllable margins . . . . .	3
1.4. Juncture . . . . .	7
2. Morphophonemics . . . . .	9
2.1. Phoneme replacement . . . . .	9
2.2. Consonant loss . . . . .	9
2.3. Tone change . . . . .	9
3. Verbs . . . . .	12
3.1. Derivation of verb stems . . . . .	12
3.2. Causative, non-causative, and neutral verb stems . . . . .	14
3.3. Class 00 morphemes . . . . .	25
3.4. Verb classes . . . . .	34
3.5. Morphemes prefixed to sequences of 00 prefixes plus verb stems of any class . . . . .	57
3.6. Combinations of class 00 with class 100 - 200 morphemes . . . . .	60
3.7. Class 300 morphemes . . . . .	62
3.8. Combinations of class 300 morphemes . . . . .	64
3.9. Complex units . . . . .	65
4. Statives . . . . .	67
5. Nouns . . . . .	71
5.1. Noun stems . . . . .	71
5.2. Possession . . . . .	73
5.3. Reduplication . . . . .	74
5.4. Prefixial morphemes 500 . . . . .	74
5.5. Illustrative combinations of class 500 morphemes . . . . .	75
5.6. Suffixial morphemes 600 . . . . .	76
5.7. Illustrative combinations with class 600 morphemes . . . . .	77
5.8. The pronoun subclass . . . . .	78
6. Particles . . . . .	80
6.1. Class I: preposed to verbs . . . . .	81
6.2. Class II: preposed to nouns . . . . .	82
6.3. Class III: introduce dependent clauses . . . . .	83
6.4. Class IV: variable position . . . . .	83
6.5. Class V: connectives . . . . .	84
6.6. Class VI: sentence final . . . . .	85
7. The number system . . . . .	86

Mitla Zapotec

7.1. Cardinal numbers . . . . .	86
7.2. Ordinal numbers . . . . .	88
7.3. System of reales . . . . .	88
8. Syntax . . . . .	90
8.1. Syntacto-phonemics . . . . .	90
8.2. Intonation . . . . .	90
8.3. Syntactic units . . . . .	90
Appendix: nomenclature . . . . .	102

*Mitla Zapotec*  
*Grammar*

# 1. Phonemics

The Mitla Zapoteco<sup>1</sup> phonemic system has twenty-six consonants: fortis p, t, k, k<sup>w</sup>, s, š, M, N, L; lenis b, d, g, g<sup>w</sup>, z, ž, m, n, l; and neutral f, x, r, ř, h, ʔ, w, y; six vowels: i, e, ä, a, o, u; and two tones: high (V́), and low (unmarked). These are presented in terms of their function within the basic syllable patterns as syllable nuclei (vowels and tones) or as syllable margins (consonants). There are also two types of junctural phenomena: stem-final juncture (marked by hyphen), and word-final juncture (marked by space).

## 1.1. Syllable patterns

Syllable patterns are divided into two types: those with a single vowel as nucleus, and those with a sequence of two vowels as nucleus.

Syllables with a single vowel as nucleus may consist of the vowel alone, or the vowel preceded or followed by a single consonant, or preceded by up to four consonants and followed by up to three consonants, with the restriction that no more than five consonants are found within a single syllable. One or two tones may occur on the single vowel nucleus. Examples of specific patterns found (low dot indicates syllable division; hyphen, morpheme division): V á.zyaʔ-á I'm going now, VC ét.la-di.ni it isn't he, CV fí-ni he is going to see, CVC pét.gún-ni perhaps he is going to do it, CVCC ba.guʔt-ni he killed him, CVCCC ba.laʔts-ni he watched closely, CCVC skáʔ-ni he is going to take it, CCVCC bi.džetš.duš-ni he was angry, CCCVC ba.stšag.yaʔ-ni.ni he made him pant, CCCVCC ba.stšäʔp-ni.ni he caused him to climb, CCCCVC řtsag.yaʔ-ni.ni he makes him pant.

Syllables with a sequence of two vowels as nucleus consist of the nucleus preceded by one, two or three consonants, or preceded by one or two consonants and followed by one consonant. Examples: CVV yeu river, CCVV štflu-lu your uncle (Sp. tio), CVVC nuih smooth, CCCVV šLyái-ni his key, CCVVC škäh clouds.

## 1.2. Syllable nuclei

Syllable nuclei include the following vowels: i, e, ä, a, o, u, and

---

<sup>1</sup>A language spoken by the Zapoteco Indians in the vicinity of the village of Mitla, situated in the Oaxaca Valley, in the state of Oaxaca, Mexico. Data were gathered during field trips to the village of Mitla during the years 1947-1952, under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The author wishes to express appreciation to various members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, especially to William L. Wonderly for assistance in the analysis and preparation of this paper.

## Mitla Zapotec

clusters of any of these followed by i or u, except for the combination \*ou. These clusters are considered to be sequences of vowels rather than vowel plus consonant y and w because each member of the sequence carries a phonemic tone.

Vowels i, e, ä, are front, close, and unrounded. i is high, is slightly lowered in word final unstressed syllables: bi.sih hawk, la-ni he. e is mid, is lowered before s, š, ? and clusters with h: beh wind, reš fly, tyeš body, re? water jar, behN person. ä is low: däh powder.

Of the back vowels, a is open and unrounded, o and u close and rounded. a varies phonetically from central to back: La.nih fiesta, luh-pak really you. o is mid, is lowered before ?: loh face, so?p six. u is high, is unrounded following alveolar clusters nz, dz, ts: gu.šuh dust, dzun work, tsu?N thirteen, ba.dze-ni he stirred.

Vowels are phonetically nasalized when they occur contiguous to a nasal phoneme, or to a consonant cluster containing a nasal phoneme: binih plant, gōn bull, nyáu closed, šuhn eight.

Vowels are partially unvoiced phonetically preceding syllable-final consonant cluster of h plus lenis consonant; or the vowel may be rearticulated, and voiced, between the h and the second C: šahb-ni his clothing, lahdž-tú your village.

Vowels in stem-final open syllables with low-high tone glide are followed by a nonphonemic glottal closure: žíd.rō large cat.

Vowels are phonetically lengthened (1) in stem final: gi flower, gíd-rō big chicken, guLí true; (2) before stem-final lenis consonant, cluster of lenis consonants, lenis consonant plus h: gib iron, bäl meat, didž word, behn-ni he did it; (3) with low-high tone glide on stem-final syllable: kütš (Sp. cochino) pig, dām owl, gíd chicken, tši.tšār (Sp. chicharra) cicada.

All vowels occur syllable initial and final: ihz year, bi.Lí-ni it was straightened, ét.řNi-á didn't I say, nah-ré I, ški-á my flower, na.dä it is narrow, á.na.re here I am, áN.la la-ni ni it appears to be really she, ōs (Sp. oso) bear, lo.nehz in the road, úb (Sp. uva) grape, nū-nú we (inclusive).

Vowel clusters are seen in the following: tríu (Sp. trigo) wheat, yeu river, šan.dyäu Matatlan, rauh eats, Nau skirt, ža.gei by the ruins, bái moon, Láih tooth, gai five, aím (Sp. ánima) spirit of the dead, gu.džuí burn, řóí (Sp. rollo) roll.

Tone phonemes include two levels: high, marked by acute accent over the vowel, and low, unmarked; and two glides: high-low ( ^ ), and low-high ( √ ). Both glides occur on single vowels, but the vowel of a stem-final syllable having a low-high glide is somewhat lengthened. High tone has a

slightly lowered allotone following another high tone in the first or second syllable preceding, or in a final unstressed syllable: bedz.bá.láhp castor bean, bidžehb-nú we were afraid. Low tone has a slightly raised allotone preceding glottal stop or when stressed, a lowered allotone in final unstressed syllable: geʔ-ni it is lime, byaʔN-lu you stayed, ba.wi look', gu.láb-ni it boiled. The high tone of both glides tends to be lowered following high: gíd.ró-ni big chicken, ba.gíd.yás black butterfly.

All tones, both level and glides, occur on all vowels: nahk-ni it is so, nahk-ní he is (term of respect), bíN he came, gíd-re this chicken, gid-ré that chicken, xyeN-ni he is going to be seen, xyeN-nú we will do, báL-ró big snake, báz-ró big baby, tšu.spáL whose snake?, xyád.ná-ni he is going to bring it, ba.wi look', tše.bá.wí-ni when he looked, gu.sáL-ni he is going to send, nalas sad, byuʔ-lu you entered, řláz-nú we want, būr burro, tšú-ne who?, gón.yás black bull, roL-ni he reads, gól-ni he is going to read, gón bull.

Combinations of tones on vowel clusters are only of tone levels not of glides, but all possible combinations of the two levels occur (low-high, high-low, low-low, high-high): baí shawl, bái moon, gai five, baí-ro big shawl.

### 1.3. Syllable margins

Syllable margins include consonants and consonant clusters. Single consonants include fortis p, t, k, k<sup>w</sup>; s, š; M, N, L; lenis b, d, g, g<sup>w</sup>; z, ž; m, n, l; neutral (as to fortis-lenis contrast) r, ř; f, x; ʔ, h; w, y. Consonant clusters consist of two, three or four consonants.

Single consonants. Fortis stops are p, t, k, k<sup>w</sup>. p is bilabial: pil (Sp. pila) tank, gib.lóp pestle, re.páf (Sp. refajo) petticoat. t is alveolar, usually quite fronted: tahp four, niht sugar cane, git.guh yellow squash. k is velar: ká-ro where?, yehk head, ba.kis-ni he distributed. k<sup>w</sup> is labialized velar: kwaʔtš (Sp. cuates) twin, báʔk<sup>w</sup> dog, ba.kwän-ni he awakened him. Both k and k<sup>w</sup> have fronted allophones next to front vowels and back allophones next to back vowels in the same syllable: gi.kín-lu ni you are going to need it, kohb corn dough, kwähkw thin, kwan weeds.

Fortis sibilants are s, š. s is alveolar: nihs water, saʔ dance, gi.se.tšín oleander. š is alveopalatal, and retroflexed except before i and e: řeš a fly, ši.ban-ni its tail, bi.šohs priest.

Fortis liquids are M, N, L. M is bilabial nasal: Mér (Sp. mero) almost, dám owl, ba.smohM-ni he ascertained. N is alveolar nasal: Nid-ni he goes on ahead, tiNt (Sp. tinta) ink, maN.saN (Sp. manzana) apple, biʔN young man. L is alveolar lateral: báL snake, bähL-ni her sister, Libř (Sp. libro) book. These are unvoiced after h in the

## Mitla Zapotec

pattern CVhC: bähL a fish.

Lenis obstruents are b, d, g, g<sup>w</sup>. b is bilabial: byahdz plum, deb feather, gi.bi.güs zinnia. d is alveolar, usually quite fronted: dahn hill, bi.šüd wrinkled, gaN.dêl (Sp. candela) candle. g is velar: gib.goʔN hoe, bąg (Sp. vaca) cow, beN.ga.lô ancestors. g<sup>w</sup> is labialized velar. It has been found only in syllable final: ga.maNg<sup>w</sup> shirt. Both g and g<sup>w</sup> have fronted allophones next to front vowels and back allophones next to back vowels in the same syllable: gin chile, gol.betš vulture. b and g have fricative articulation in word initial and intervocalic: ba.ded-ni he gave, gib iron. Lenis obstruents tend to vary freely from voiced to voiceless articulation, especially in word final and in geminate clusters: gihb string, rähb-ba he says (respect form). Before final pause, these phonemes have voiceless articulation with a slight aspirated release.

Lenis sibilants are z and ž. z is alveolar: báz baby, zah grease, gu.zî thunder. ž is alveopalatal, and retroflexed except before i and e: běž dove, žiht onion, ma.džěd machete.

Lenis liquids are m, n, l. m is bilabial nasal: ma.džěd machete, bi.mohM he ascertained, mēl (Sp. medio) money, bempresis is necessary. m is of infrequent occurrence in native words but occurs frequently in borrowed words. n has a velar allophone before velar consonants; is alveolar elsewhere: ngohl man, niht sugar cane, bi.zihn rat, reni they (familiar). l is alveolar lateral: laz.do-ni his heart, bäl meat. Lenis liquids, like fortis ones, have unvoiced allophones in clusters after h in the pattern CVhC: yähl cornfield.

All lenis consonants have voiceless allophones in cluster with fortis consonants, especially those of the same point of articulation: naläs-zá also sad, džek-gáhk right now, xyád-tú you are coming.

Neutral consonants include vibrants r, ř; fricatives f, x; glottal ʔ, h; and semivowels w, y.

Vibrants are flap r and trill ř. r occurs in any position in the word, fluctuates to voicelessness after h, is lenis in stem final: ru.beh-ni it makes a noise, gu.rüg cut, pyähr rawhide. ř occurs in any position in the word, tends toward lenis and voiceless articulation in stem initial and stem final: řdžag.laz-á I like, bür burro, lo.řgîts beard.

Fricatives are f, x. f is labiodental, rare in native words: fi-ni he is going to see, yao.fru.tî frutella plant. It fluctuates freely in borrowed words with cluster xw, when it occurs in stem initial: xwân ~ fân (Sp. Juan) John, xwehz ~ fehz (Sp. juez) judge. x is velar: xyád-lu you are coming, kâx (Sp. caja) box, kôx (Sp. cojo) lame.

Glottal phonemes are ʔ and h. Glottal stop occurs in syllable initial only rarely, is more frequent in syllable final and as first member of a

syllable-final consonant cluster: ʔáhdi no, daʔ mat, roʔ-ni his mouth, žoʔts back ache. There is frequently a nonphonemic rearticulation of the vowel after stem-final ʔ: zàʔ elote. h occurs only in syllable final or as first member of a syllable-final consonant cluster. After the vowel i, in cluster with fortis stop, and in stem-final position, h has a slightly fricative quality; elsewhere it is a voiceless vocoid of the quality of the preceding vowel: nehz road, gih rock, nihs water ruh cough.

Semivowels are w and y. w is bilabial, and occurs in syllable initial alone and in clusters; wehk it got burned, ba.wi-ni he saw, twái (Sp. toalla) towel. y is palatal, is phonetically fortis before vowels e ä and in stem final, approximating the articulation of g or gy. yäl at night, yehg ice, nîNy (Sp. niño) child, yuʔ house, ka.yôn-ni he is crying.

Consonant clusters of two, three, and four occur as syllable margins. Those of four consonants, however, are infrequent, occur only in syllable initial, and are always morphemically complex.

Syllable-initial clusters. The consonants occurring first in syllable-initial clusters are: p, t, k, s, š, b, d, g, z, ž, m, n, ř, f, x.

Clusters of two. The following syllable-initial clusters of two occur: p followed by: r, y. ka.príʔtš (Sp. capricho) a sweet bread, pyän (Sp. peana) altar.

t followed by: s, š, l, r, y. tsu ten, tšäi slow, tláʔ piece of (meat), treʔ there is, are, tyoʔp two.

k followed by: r. kréNs (Sp. creencia) belief.

s followed by: k, p, t, k<sup>w</sup>, r, y. skîh (Sp. esquina) corner, spâd (Sp. espada) sword, stê another, sk<sup>w</sup>êl (Sp. escuela) school, sré thus, pa.syähr (Sp. pasear) a walk.

š followed by: s, p, t, k, n, m, L, k<sup>w</sup>, w, y, r, ř, l, M, N. špäʔk<sup>w</sup>-ni his dog, šseʔ-ni his voice, štád-ni his father, škâih clouds, šneʔk<sup>w</sup>-ni his chin, šmân (Sp. semana) week, šLa.nih-ni his fiesta, šk<sup>w</sup>aM.behd pigweed, šwa.ka.mai-á (Sp. guacamaya) my parrot, šyuʔ-ni his house, šřéi-ni (Sp. rey) its king, šruh-ni his cough, šlâd-ni (Sp. lado) his side, šMâk-ni (Sp. maquina) her machine, šNau-ni her skirt.

b followed by: y. byaʔN-lu you stayed.

d followed by: z, ž, y. dzun work, džehk then, dyahg-ni his ear.

g followed by: r. kan.grêx (Sp. cangrejo) crab.

z followed by: y. zyäL-á I will come.

ž followed by: y. žyet-dí nothing.

n followed by: y, g. ngohl boy, nyáʔN-ni he didn't stay.

m followed by: b. mbal compadre.

ř followed by: t, d, b, g, k, k<sup>w</sup>, n, N, s, š, l, w, y, L.

řtoʔ-ni he sells, řdim.bi.tšaʔ-ni it is brilliant, řbâhz-ni he waits.

Mitla Zapotec

řguʔt-ni he kills, řkin-ni he needs, řk<sup>w</sup>a.dyahg-ni he listens, řNab-ni he asks, řnib-ni he moves, řsäu-ni he shuts, řšék-ni he unties, řlui-ni he shows, řwi-ni he sees, řyätš-ni it lacks, řLob-ni she sweeps.

f followed by: l, r. fléʔtš (Sp. flecha) arrow, frēs̄n (Sp. fresno) ash (tree).

x followed by: w, y. xwân (Sp. Juan) John, xyâd-ni he is going to come.

Clusters of three. The following syllable-initial clusters of three occur:

n followed by: dr. ndrêhž (Sp. Andrés) Andrew.

s followed by: ts, ty, tr, kr, tš. stsu<sup>u</sup> other ten. styóʔp-ni the other two, stréi (Sp. estrella) star, skrê thus, stšõN other three.

š followed by: ts, ty, Ly, Ny, tš, mb. štsun-ni his work, štyuʔ-ni its handle, šLyâ fever, šNyâ red, štsân hello, šmbal-ni her compadre.

ř followed by: ty, ts, tš, dz, dž, Ny, Ly, zy, sp, st, sk. sL, sn, sy, sg, ly, sl. řtya-ni he scrapes, řtsuL-ni he smooths out, řtšeʔtš-ni he angers, řdzuʔ-ni he spins, řdžohn-ni he forbids, řNyâb-ni he asks, řLyob-ni it is swept řzyed-ni he learns, řspihdz-ni he dries, řstehb-ni he drops, řskehn-ni he hurries, řsLa-ni he loosens, řsnib-ni he moves, řsyak.do-ni he tames, řsga-ni he stretches, řlyänd-ni it is taken off, řsla-ni he saves.

Clusters of four. These have been found only in syllable initial: řsty, řstyʔ-ni.ni he fattens it, řstš, řstšáz-ni.ni he hammers it in.

Syllable-final clusters. Consonants occurring first in syllable-final clusters are: b, g<sup>w</sup>, s, M, N, ř, L, h, ʔ, g, z.

Clusters of two. The following clusters of two occur finally in syllables:

b followed by: ř, l, d. byen.sôbř-ni (Sp. sobrar) it was left over, débl (Sp. débil) weak, sâbd (Sp. sábado) Saturday.

g<sup>w</sup> followed by: ř. swêg<sup>w</sup>ř (Sp. suegra) mother-in-law.

s followed by: m, n, t, k, k<sup>w</sup>. gi.bõsm sickle, frēs̄n (Sp. freno) ash (tree), pa.drâst (Sp. padrastro) step-father, mûsk (Sp. música) music, lo.řbýsk<sup>w</sup> (Sp. bizco) crossed eyes.

M followed by: p. tyêMp (Sp. tiempo) time.

N followed by: t, d, s, g<sup>w</sup>, x, k, y. bîNt (Sp. pinto) spotted, gîNd (Sp. guinda) rose color, gâNs (Sp. gansa) goose. ga.mâNg<sup>w</sup> shirt, es.põNx (Sp. esponja) sponge, kûNy (Sp. cuna) wedge, barâNk (Sp. barranca) gully.

ř followed by: p, s, t, l, d. k<sup>w</sup>ěřp (Sp. cuerpo) body, fěřs (Sp.

fuerza) strength, pwěřt (Sp. puerta) door, pěřl (Sp. perla) beads,  
ko.bāřd (Sp. cobarde) coward.

L followed by: s, t. bōls (Sp. bolsa) bag, LūLt (Sp. el último)  
final.

h followed by: p, t, k, k<sup>w</sup>, M, n, s, š, l, L, r, N. tahp four,  
giht squash, yehk head, dets.lehk<sup>w</sup> hunchbacked, džihM basket,  
na.bahn lives, nihs water, gahs near, bi.džāhl was found, bāhL  
fish, so.lāhr (Sp. solar) a piece of land, bahN mud.

? followed by: p, t, k, k<sup>w</sup>, N. šo?p six, nis.ye?t white water, ye?k  
bird cage, bā?k<sup>w</sup> dog, bi?N young man.

g followed by: r. bināgr (Sp. vinagre) vinegar.

z followed by: l. tšil.kōzl (Sp. chilcosle) chile guajillo.

Clusters of three. The following syllable-final clusters of three  
occur:

s followed by: pr, tř. bīspř (Sp. víspera) vespers, mǎstř (Sp. maestro)  
teacher.

M followed by: bř. gid.gu.lāMbř skin bag.

N followed by: xl, tš. āNxl (Sp. ángel) angel, gěNtš (Sp. gancho) hook.

L followed by: dř. pýLdř (Sp. pildora) pill.

h followed by: ts, tš, ng<sup>w</sup>, nd. gihts paper, gihtš wool, na.rehng<sup>w</sup>  
bent, biduhnd humming-bird.

? followed by: ts, tš, tl, kř, tř, kš. be?ts louse, ba.gu?tš-ni.ni  
he mixed it, mí?tl Mitla, sú?kř (Sp. azúcar) sugar, Lé?tř (Sp. letra)  
letter, zi?kš then that.

#### 1.4. Juncture

Two types of juncture occur: stem-final juncture (marked by hyphen),  
and word-final juncture (marked by space).

Stem-final juncture is actualized as stress<sup>2</sup> on the preceding syllable,  
plus laryngealization of the stem-final vowel. The laryngealization is absent  
if the preceding syllable ends in a glottal phoneme (? or h), or if the vowel

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<sup>2</sup>Stress in Mitla Zapoteco is non-phonemic; stress occurs on stem-final syllables  
in all words studied. The placement of stress in Mitla Zapoteco seems contrary to that  
of other Zapoteco languages, which may have stress occurring on other syllables than  
the stem-final one. Many words in Mitla Zapoteco have one syllable, while the corre-  
sponding word in the language as spoken in other places in Oaxaca may have two sylla-  
bles; for example, the word for meat is, in Ixtlan, Yatzachi el Bajo, and Tehuantepec  
respectively, as follows: bèlá?, bele?, bè?la (The Phonemic Structure of Proto-  
Zapotec, Swadesh, IJAL 13.220-230 [1947]). These are words of two syllables, but  
the word for meat in the language as spoken in Mitla is a one-syllable word, bāl.  
This is only one of many examples. It is possible that this shortening of the word (or  
its lengthening, whichever it may have been) might account for the different placement  
of the stress.

## Mitla Zapotec

following the juncture is e or ä. In compound stems, all constituent stems except the last lose their stress, and stem-final juncture follows the compound: gu.sk<sup>wék</sup>.Li-ni.ni he is going to straighten it.

When morphemes beginning with stops are suffixed to stems ending in vowels, the stem-final laryngealization is replaced by glottal stop: zä<sup>ʔ</sup>-ti just went away (zä<sup>ʔ</sup> went away + 326),<sup>3</sup> guLi<sup>ʔ</sup>-ka.ní it is surely right (gu.Li<sup>ʔ</sup> right + 321 + 344), re<sup>ʔ</sup>-tí up to here (re here + 711), gu.Li<sup>ʔ</sup>-pak.ní it is really right (gu.Li<sup>ʔ</sup> right + 323 + 344).

In word-final juncture, stress and laryngealization are absent, except when word-final juncture coincides with stem-final juncture. (ä and e after word-final juncture do not prevent laryngealization.)

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<sup>3</sup>Affixial morphemes are classified and named as follows: Class 00 morphemes are tense-aspect prefixes and replatives occurring with verb stems; they determine verb stem classes. Class 100 morphemes occur prefixed to sequences of 00 morphemes + verb stems (some also occur prefixed to noun stems and particles). Class 200 morphemes occur suffixed to verb stems, forming complex verb stems (some also occur forming complex noun stems). Class 300 morphemes occur suffixed to verb stems (some also occur suffixed to noun stems and particles). Class 400 morphemes occur suffixed to noun stems forming complex noun stems. Class 500 morphemes occur prefixed to noun stems. Class 600 morphemes occur suffixed to noun stems (some also occur suffixed to particles). Class 700 morphemes occur suffixed to particles.

## 2. Morphophonemics

Morphophonemic changes found in Mitla Zapotec include replacement of consonants and vowels, loss of consonants, and tone changes. These morphophonemic changes occur both in the combination of stems with affixes and in the formation of compound stems.

### 2.1. Phoneme replacement

A morpheme-final nasal is replaced by a bilabial nasal before a bilabial consonant: *nemba* in the tomb (cf. *neN.yed.dyahg* in the ear).

Following the velar fricative *x*, other consonants are replaced by semivowel *y*: *xye?* it is toasted (*ge?* to toast).

Following *š*- morpheme 521, lenis stops are replaced by their fortis counterparts: *škamāNg<sup>w</sup>*-ni his shirt (*gamāNg<sup>w</sup>* shirt), *šta?*-ni his mat (*da?* mat), *špä?k<sup>w</sup>*-ni his dog (*bä?k<sup>w</sup>* dog).

Between a stem containing the vowel *ä* and suffix *-ä* 341.1 the vowel *e* of suffix *-e?* 611 is replaced by *ä*: *špäk<sup>w</sup>-ä?-ä* my puppy (*š*- 521 + *bä?k<sup>w</sup>* dog, + *-e?* 611, + *-ä* 341.1).

Following a stem ending in *a?*, the vowel *ä* of suffix *-ä* 341.1 is replaced by *a*: *ška?-á* I'm going to take (*š* 41.18 + *ka?* take + *-ä* 341.1).

### 2.2. Consonant loss

In compound stems consisting of two or more simple stems, a stem-final consonant cluster of the first stem of the compound is usually lost: *ya.bá.láhp* castor bean plant (*yahg* plant + *bá.láhp* castor bean), *yä.štíl* bread (*yáht* tortilla + *štíl* Spanish).

In compound stems containing simple stems with glottal phonemes, these phonemes are lost except in the last simple stem: *yes.rǒ* big avocado (*yehs* avocado + *rǒ* big), *byaN.näh* be stayed with (*bya?N* stayed + *-näh* with).

When non-causative infix *-h-* is infixed to a causative stem containing *?*, the *?* of the causative is lost: *yehk* it is burned (*ze?k* burn).

### 2.3. Tone change

There are tone changes in the simple stems which make up compound stems except in the last simple stem, and there are perturbations caused by certain affixial morphemes and by some stems.

Tone changes in compound formations. Low-high and high-low tone sequences on diverse vowel clusters in all simple stems except the last stem of a compound are replaced by high-high: *báí.nǒl* white shawl (*baí* shawl + *nǒl* white), *báí.rǒ* big moon (*báí* moon + *-rǒ* big).

## Mitla Zapotec

High-low and low-high glides on single vowels are replaced by high in all simple stems except the last in a compound stem: ós.báz baby bear (ós bear + báz baby), žíd.yâs black cat (žíd cat + -yâs black).

**Tone perturbations.** Perturbations are either regressive or progressive, usually the latter; and perturbations are usually from low to high tones.

Tone perturbation may be "regular" or "irregular." When it is irregular, the morpheme or stem is marked with a raised dagger, †, and must be described for each morpheme so marked. Regular perturbation is marked with a raised circle, °. If the perturbation is progressive, the sign is on the right side of the morpheme, if regressive, it is on the left side: † -á I 341, lad.ro† where, zak.si° because.

Stems which are perturbed do not then themselves cause perturbation, though bound morphemes not forming a complex stem may do so. Regular tone perturbation for different syllable patterns is as follows (1-6 represent one-syllable stems or final syllable of polysyllabic stems, 7-8 represent initial syllable of polysyllabic stems, or prefixial morphemes):

1. ° + CVV > CVV
2. ° + CVVh > CVVh
3. ° + CVhC > CVhC
4. ° + CVC > CVC (except where final C is h or ?)
5. ° + CV > CV
6. ° + CVh, CV? > CVh, CV?,
7. ° + CV- > CV-
8. ° + CVC- > CVC-

**Progressive perturbation.** There are stems and affixial morphemes which perturb the tone in a following syllable. Low-high sequences are not perturbed. Verb and noun stems have been observed to cause perturbation only when they form a part of a compound stem: beN.yéhdž villager (beN† person + yehdž village), byäd.ká?-ni.ni he came and took it (byäd came + -ka? take + 344 + 344), nik.la náh.ré nor I (nik.la° nor, nah.ré I).

The class 00 morphemes which do not regularly cause perturbation, do so when they are themselves perturbed; a class 00 morpheme does not perturb another class 00 morpheme: ka.gu.lúi-ni he is showing (11.2 + 41.1 + -lui show + 344), tše.bá.déd-ni when he gave (156 + 31.8 + -ded give + 344).

**Regressive perturbation.** Four morphemes have been observed to cause only regressive perturbation, and that irregularly; they are all morphemes which occur suffixed to stems. They are: 341 -á I (which perturbs tones on preceding adjacent vowels to low); 347 -nú we, 611 -e? little, 631 -a? (which perturb tones on preceding adjacent vowels to high).

**Morpheme 341.** With the suffixation of this morpheme to a stem, an

identical-vowel cluster is replaced by a single vowel in the preceding adjacent syllable if it has a low tone, an *h* occurring in that syllable is lost, and any laryngealization of vowel in that syllable is lost. A monosyllabic stem with morpheme 341 suffixed, never has a high tone, because the perturbation caused by morpheme 341 takes precedence over any other perturbation. Examples: škon-ä my bull (521.1 + gon bull + 341), ši.ben-á what I did (143 + behn did + 341).

If the first syllable of a polysyllabic stem contains a vowel with a high tone, it optionally retains the high tone after a class 00 morpheme which does not cause perturbation when morpheme 341 is suffixed: řLí.laz-á ~ řLi.laz-á I believe (21.1 + -Lí.lahz believe + 341). The first syllable of the stem does not contain a high tone if the preceding class 00 morpheme is one which regularly causes perturbation: tša.nä.laz-á I am going to love (42.1 + -nä.lahz love + 341), ka.Na.laz-á I continually remember (11.1 + -Na.lahz remember + 341).

When a morpheme is prefixed which regularly perturbs a class 00 morpheme, the vowel in the 00 morpheme takes a high tone as does also the first stem vowel: tše.ká.Ná.laz-á when I continually remember (156 + 11.1 + -Na.lahz remember + 341), ši.gú.Nab.didž-á what question I asked (143 + 31.1 + -Náb.didž ask a question + 341).

**Morpheme 347.** This morpheme suffixed to a stem optionally causes stem changes with morphemes 41.3, 41.4-41.8, 31.9 (except with class 2 verb stems), 32.3. These changes are obligatory with morphemes 347.2, 347.3. An *h* in the stem-final syllable of polysyllabic stems and in monosyllabic stems is lost, the vowel is perturbed regularly, and the tone of the vowel in the syllable preceding the stem-final one becomes high except in morpheme -tše, which is not thus perturbed: bi.yú.tše-nú we kept (31.9 + -yu.tše keep + 347.1), byo.yák.ná-nú we went and helped (32.3 + -yak.náh help + 347.2), řyo.náL-nú we were going to follow (22.2 + -nahL follow + 347.2), řgíž-nú we pay (21.1 + -gihž pay + 347.1) ~ řgihž-nú.

**Morpheme 611.** This morpheme perturbs the tone of the vowel or vowels in the preceding adjacent stem to high, if the tones are high-low or low-high glides or sequences. In addition, any laryngealization disappears. Examples: žíd-e? little cat (žýd cat + 611), ka.báí-e? little horse (ka.bái horse + 611), káx-e? little box (káx box + 611).

**Morpheme 631.** This morpheme perturbs only stems: džéhk-ä? and then?, luh-ä? and you?.

# 3. Verbs

Verb stems are defined in this work as those stems to which are prefixed morphemes of class 00, the morphemes showing tense-aspect. Syntactically verbs occur as the head of predicate expressions.

This section includes stem derivation; a discussion of the kinds of verb stems; a list of class 00 morphemes and their distribution; illustrations of verbs of each class; lists of morphemes prefixed and suffixed to stems, with illustrative combinations of affixial morphemes which may occur.

Many verb stems may become statives with the prefixation of stative morpheme 85. Many verb stems also occur as statives slightly changed in form: an *h* is lost and a low-high glide occurs on the vowel, with the prefixation of the stative morpheme (nalag it is wide, lahg verb stem wide). The formation and function of statives are discussed in detail in section 4.

## 3.1. Derivation of verb stems

There are simple stems (such as *yauh to eat*)<sup>4</sup> and stems which are complex, composed of (1) verb stem plus noun stem, (2) verb stem plus verb stem, (3) verb stem plus particle, (4) verb stem plus stative, (5) verb stem plus morpheme class 200, and (6) reduplication of stem and prefix.

(1) Verb stem + noun stem:<sup>5</sup> *tšalahz to get warm* (*tša? to heat + lahz liver, heart*), *tyobšehn to spit* (*tyob to sprinkle + šehn saliva*).

(2) Verb stem + verb stem:<sup>6</sup> *nagabiš to lie fallen down* (*naga to lie*

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<sup>4</sup>The English meaning of verb stems, expressed with *to* (*to eat*), does not indicate that the form of the Zapoteco verb is an infinitive; it is merely a way of expressing in English the meaning of the verb stem.

<sup>5</sup>Many verb stems indicating feeling are compounds of a verb stem / + *lahz*, a noun meaning *liver, heart*. As a noun, it often occurs as *lazdo*. *Lahz* is also the word used for the part of fruit and vegetables which is eaten, *the heart* of it, as we say in English. As a verb stem, *lahz* means *to want*. Following are examples of those stems in which this noun occurs: *bišlahz to dislike* (*heart is turned over*), *džaglahz to like* (*heart is met*), *džällahz to find way* (*heart finds*), *džetšlahz to envy* (*heart is angry*), *lazlahz to have compassion* (*heart wants, or, heart-heart*), *Lilahz to believe* (*heart is straight, or true*), *Nalahz to remember* (*heart says*), *yoblahz to worry* (*heart is quick*).

<sup>6</sup>The stem *ya?* *to dance* is found in several compound verb stems. It indicates a very sharp quick action. Following are examples: *diNya? to flash as lightning* (*dihN to dive as a hawk*), *džagya? to pant* (*džahg to be tired*), *gidya? to pinch* (*gihd to pierce*), *džebya? to be startled* (*dzehb to be frightened*), *zäbya? to sink suddenly* (*zäb to sink*), *yauya? to bite* (*yauh to eat*), *yärzya? to have a sharp pain* (*yäz to rap, to hit quickly*).

down + bihš to be overturned), bekLí to place straight (beʔk to place + Lí straight).

The stem yäd to come is used to form compounds to express coming and doing something: byädsáʔN-ni didž he came and left word (byäd came + saʔN to leave).

The potential form of the verb žuN to run is often used to form compounds to express an action which is done in a hurry, 'on the run': wäpğužúN-ni he climbed in a hurry (32.1 + yäʔp to climb + 41.1 + žuN to run + 344).

(3) Verb stem + particle: yu-náh- to be with (yuʔ to be + náh with).

(4) Verb stem + stative: kayaknahL it is cold (yahk to become + nahL cold).

(5) Verb stem + morpheme class 200:

211 = -dih loudly; řbedžadih-ni he cried out loudly (21.1 + bedžaʔ to cry out + 211 + 344).

212 = -do much, very; águdžado now very full (131 + 31.1 + džah to be filled + 212).

213 = -duh very; byakdžíduh was very quiet (31.10 + yakdží to become quiet + 213).

214 = -duš very, much; roLduš sings much (21.3 + yoL to sing + 214).

215 = -dzú in the sky; zäbdzú hung up in the sky (85.6 + zäb to be hung up + 215).

216 = -dzuʔts carefully, well; basäudzuʔts-nini he shut it carefully (31.8 + säu to shut + 216 + 344 + 344).

217 = -gah no more than (relating to time of an incident); bidzungah-ni he arrived a short time ago (31.9 + dzuhn to arrive + 217 + 344).

218 = -gahk<sup>o</sup> at once, immediately; gudaugahk-ní eat it at once (31.2 + yauh to eat + 218 + 344).

219 = -la temporarily; gunídzla-lu mēl you are going to lend me money (41.12 + nidž to give + 219 + 342).

221 = -sihk yet, still, up to now; nabansihk-ni he is living yet (85.1 + bahn to live + 221 + 344).

222 = -žga first (then something else); bawižga-ni he first looked (31.8 + wi to look + 222 + 344).

223 = šlyʔ free, for nothing; banidžšlyʔ gave me free (31.8 + nidž to give + 223).

224 = -taʔ by hand; bazäLtaʔ-nini he threw it by hand (31.8 + zäL to throw + 224 + 344 + 344).

225 = -tšuʔ unnoticed; byädtsuʔ-ni he came to enter (by force) (31.10 + yäd to come + 225 + 344).

226 = -yaL quickly, suddenly; biriyaL-ni he went out suddenly (like a streak, as a rat runs) (31.9 + ri to go out + 226 + 344).

227 = -zäk again; giNízäk-ni he will speak again (41.3 + ni to speak + 227 + 344)



Mitla Zapotec

228 = -ž<sup>h</sup>i? not much; ruž<sup>h</sup>izž<sup>h</sup>i? not really laugh (21.4 + ž<sup>h</sup>ihz to laugh + 228).

231 = -dž<sup>h</sup>i quiet (dž<sup>h</sup>i): byak.dž<sup>h</sup>i-ni was quiet.

232 = -dahn a very great number (dahn); wiwi šik<sup>w</sup>eNt kar<sup>h</sup>dahn rebehN go see why such a great number of people are going out,

233 = -dā for a purpose; gāpdā-ni džeh-gā he is going to keep the day for doing nothing.

234 = -e? little; indicative of endearment. širā<sup>h</sup>ke?lu what's the matter with you? With this morpheme, high-low or low-high glide on the previous adjacent syllable is replaced by a high tone. An h in the stem is retained, but a ? is lost.

(6) Reduplication has been observed only rarely in verb stems, though it is common in the syntax. When it does occur, both the stem and prefixed 00 morpheme are reduplicated with the result of intensifying the meaning of the verb: bawi-bawi-ni he saw well, xyād-xyā<sup>h</sup>d-ni it will be washed well.

### 3.2. Causative, non-causative, and neutral verb stems

Many stems have a causative and a corresponding non-causative (or simple) stem. Causative stems are those whose subject causes an action or state of being; non-causative stems are those whose subject is acted upon or acts upon itself: ba.sgon-ni byūž he made the child cry (causative), biyon-ni he cried (non-causative).

Some stems have a causative stem and a second causative. The second causative stem may have two objects, one of which we may consider the object of the causation, and the other the object of the verb stem: ba.sga?N-ni gōn loyuh he made the oxen plough the ground (second causative), go?N-ni loyuh he ploughed the ground (causative).

Some stems have a causative, second causative and a non-causative stem: byā?t žōb the corn was ground (non-causative), bā?t-ni žōb he ground the corn (causative), ba.sgo?t-nini žōb he made him grind the corn (second causative).

There are also stems which do not have a corresponding non-causative or causative stem. These may be called neutral stems: byād-ni he came.

When the causative or second causative are shown by the prefixation of s-, they are considered to be derived from a corresponding non-causative or causative stem respectively (or from a dependent underlying form). Causative stems that are not formed by the prefixation of s- are considered to be underlying forms from which non-causative stems are derived in various ways. This direction of formation has been set up arbitrarily for some stems.

There are four dependent stems which are considered as underlying both the causative and the non-causative stems of five verbs: -tsūg leaning, -tyob raising, -tyo? fattening, -tyohL halving; there is one dependent stem which underlies the second causative of one verb: -dzuhd piercing.

Causative formations. Causative and second causative stems may be formed

by the prefixation of s- (with s + s / š usually remaining s / š). The underlying form for the causative verb stem may be a non-causative verb stem, or a dependent stem. The underlying form of the second causative verb stem may be a causative verb stem or a non-causative verb stem.

Prefixation of s- to non-causative verb stems.

sbahn to waken, become alive (from : bahn to be wakened)  
 sbǐdž to wrinkle (like dried fruit) (from: bidž to be wrinkled)  
 sbihdz to dry (from: bihdz to be dried)  
 sdahl to cause to increase (from: dahl to increase)  
 sdahp to make to be four (from: dahp to be four)  
 sdal.loh to increase (from: dal.loh to be increased)  
 sdan to fatten (from: dan to be fat, well)  
 sdě to cripple (from: dě to be crippled)  
 sdin.ya? to cause to flash (from: din.ya? to flash)  
 sdo to treat gently (from: do to be treated gently)  
 sdǒp to shorten (from: dǒp to be shortened)  
 sduhš to cause to bark (from: duhš to bark)  
 sduš.ba to cause to howl and bark (from: duš.ba to howl and bark)  
 sdzuhn to cause to arrive (like handing up materials to workmen) (from:  
 dzuhn to arrive)  
 sdzun to afflict (from: dzun to be afflicted)  
 sdžahg to tire (from: džahg to become tired)  
 sdžag.ya? to cause to pant (from: džag.ya? to pant)  
 sdželoh to cause to wonder (from: dželoh to wonder)  
 sdžuhk to mutilate (from: džuhk to be mutilated)  
 sdžu? to complete (from: džu? to be completed)  
 sehs to cause to be fast (from: sehs to be fast)  
 sga to cause to extend (from: ga to extend)  
 sgā to cause to sprout up again (from: gā to sprout up again)  
 sgahs to blacken (from: gahs to become black)  
 sgahts to make yellow (from: gahts to become yellow)  
 sga? to cause to take root (from: ga? to take root)  
 sga?tš to cause to be club-footed (from: ga?tš to be club-footed)  
 sge to deceive (from: ge to be deceived)  
 sgě to cause to speak coarsely (from: gě to speak coarsely)  
 sgědž to cause to be touchy (from: gědž to be touchy)  
 sgehs to cause to sleep (from: gehs to sleep)  
 sgibeh to cause to choke (from: gibeh to choke)  
 sgodz to soften (from: godz to be softened)  
 sgoL to cause to wilt (from: goL to wilt)  
 sgubedz to cause to bellow (from: gubedz to bellow)  
 skāhp to cause to tell the truth (from: kāhp to tell the truth)

Mitla Zapotec

- skäih to darken (from: käih to be darkened)  
skihts to whiten (from: kihts to become white)  
skob to renew (from: kob to be renewed)  
skohp to dampen (from: kohp to be dampened)  
sk<sup>w</sup>adyahg to cause to listen (from: k<sup>w</sup>adyahg to listen)  
sk<sup>w</sup>aʔt to deafen (from: k<sup>w</sup>aʔt to be deaf)  
sk<sup>w</sup>ahk<sup>w</sup> to make thin (from: k<sup>w</sup>ähk<sup>w</sup> to be thin)  
sla to save, loose (from: la to be saved, loosed)  
slahg to widen (from: lahg to be widened)  
slahs to make thin (from: lahs to be thin)  
sloʔ to throw into the water (from: loʔ to be thrown into the water)  
släh to shoe (from: läh to be shod)  
sLa.džúďž to cause to smell bad (from: La.džúďž to smell bad)  
sLaneš to cause to smell sweet (from: Laneš to smell sweet)  
sLäb to boil (from: Läb to boil)  
sLí to straighten (from: Lí to be straight)  
sLYan to cause to be hungry (from: Lan to be hungry)  
smohM to cause to make an uproar (from: mohM to make an uproar)  
sná to gather up (from: ná to be gathered up)  
snib to move (from: nib to move)  
snih to swing (from: nih to swing)  
sNalahz to cause to remember (from: Nalahz to remember)  
srah to use up (from: rah to be used up)  
srén to renew (from: rén to be unripe)  
srohp to make two times (from: rohp to be two)  
sroL to roll (from: roL to be rolled)  
sřehng<sup>w</sup> to bend (from: řehng<sup>w</sup> to be bent)  
sši to cause to be wooded (from: ši to be wooded)  
sšnyah to redden (from: šnyah to be red)  
sšuš (or šuš) to toast (from: šuš to be toasted)  
staʔk to flatten (from: taʔk to be flattened)  
stäh to cause to fade (from: täh to fade)  
stän.yaʔ to cause to flatten suddenly (from: täN.yaʔ to be flattened suddenly)  
stäʔN to cause to flatten (from: täʔN to be flattened)  
stehb to drop (from: tehb to be dropped)  
stiht to cause to wobble (from: tih̄t to wobble)  
stin to cause to swoop (only when referring to God doing it) (from: din to swoop)  
stinbitšaʔ to cause to shine brilliantly (from: dinbitšaʔ to shine brilliantly)  
stúďž to cause to be wild (from: túďž to be wild)  
stuhš to cause to blink the eyes (from: tuhš to blink the eyes)  
styähs to cause to jump (from: tyähs to jump)

styoL to make unconscious (from: tyoL to be unconscious)  
 stšá to cause to relieve, lighten (from: tšá to be light)  
 syá to clear off (from: yá to be cleared off)  
 syah to cause to melt (from: yah to melt)  
 syahk to heal (from: yahk to be healed)  
 syahn to cause to burn (from: yahn to burn, to hurt)  
 syak.do to tame, to rule (from: yak.do to be tamed, ruled)  
 syak.džY to cause to be quiet (from: yak.džY to be quiet)  
 syaL to cause to forget (from: yaL to forget)  
 sya? to accustom (from: ya? to become accustomed)  
 syaʔts to cause to diminish (from: yaʔts to diminish)  
 syähd to wash clean (from: yähd to be washed clean)  
 syähL to cause to belch (from: yähL to belch)  
 syäht to fade (from: yäht to be faded)  
 syähž to cause to increase (from: yähž to increase)  
 syäz to cause to retreat (from: yäz to retreat)  
 sye to strip off corn leaves (from: ye to be stripped off)  
 syed to molest (from: yed to be molested)  
 syehtš to cause to increase, to be broken (from: yehtš to increase, to fluff up)  
 syeih to cause noise of talking (from: yeih to be noisy with talking)  
 syei.näh to cause to insult (from: yei.näh to be insulted)  
 syeN to cause to be shown (from: yeN to be shown)  
 syetš.loh to cause to increase (from: yetš.loh to increase)  
 syob.lahz to cause to worry (from: yob.lahz to worry)  
 syohL to make thirsty (from: yohL to be thirsty)  
 syohN to make three times (from: yohN to be three)  
 syol to lengthen (from: yol to be long)  
 syü to make smaller (from: yu to be small)  
 syu? to cause to enter (from: yu? to enter)  
 szob.didz to cause to obey (from: zob.didz to obey)  
 šuš (or sšuš) to toast (from: šuš to be toasted)

Prefixation of s- to dependent stems.

stšüg to cause to lean (from: -tsüg, which underlies bġ to lean)  
 styob to raise (cause to grow) (from: -tyob, which underlies rob to be raised)

styohL to halve (from: -tyohL, which underlies rohL to be halved)  
 styo? to fatten (from: -tyo?, which underlies ro? to be fattened)

Prefixation of s- to non-causative verb stems preceded by prefix 41 - <sup>o</sup>  
 (read: 41 minus its perturbation morphophoneme <sup>o</sup>):

sgon to make to cry (from: 41 - <sup>o</sup> + yon to cry)  
 sgu to load (from: 41 - <sup>o</sup> + yu to be loaded)  
 sk<sup>w</sup>ebäʔN to cause to tumble down (from: 41 - <sup>o</sup> + bebäʔN to tumble down)  
 sk<sup>w</sup>edž.ba to cause to howl and bark (from: 41 - <sup>o</sup> + bedž.ba to howl and

Mitla Zapotec

bark)

Prefixation of s- to causative stems to form second causatives.

sgäz to set (a hen) (from: gäz to embrace, which underlies dāz to be embraced)

sgubeh to cause make a noise (from: gubeh to make a noise, which underlies yubeh to be made a noise)

sgubyehek to cause to turn (from: gubyehek to turn, which underlies yubyehek to be turned)

sguyuh to cause to cultivate (from: guyuh to cultivate, which underlies yuyuh to be cultivated)

sgidža? to cause to scold (from: gidža? to scold; another form of this second causative is: stidža?)

skug to cause to pillow (from: kug to pillow)

sk<sup>W</sup>a to cause to fight (from: k<sup>W</sup>a to fight)

sk<sup>W</sup>abyehk to cause to twist (from: k<sup>W</sup>abyehk to twist, which underlies kabyehk to be twisted)

sk<sup>W</sup>ani? to cause to kick (from: k<sup>W</sup>ani? to kick)

sk<sup>W</sup>atslo to cause to hide (from: k<sup>W</sup>atsloh to hide)

sk<sup>W</sup>edž to cause to whistle (play flute) (from: k<sup>W</sup>edž to whistle)

sla.na to cause to push (from: la.na to push, which underlies la.na to be pushed)

sla.ni? to cause to trip (from: la.ni? to trip, which underlies la.ni? to be tripped)

sla.ro? to cause to bump into (from: la.ro? to bump into)

stā to cause to make narrow (from: tā to make narrow, which underlies dā to be narrow)

stša to cause to change (from: tša to change, which underlies dža to be changed)

swahk<sup>W</sup> to cause to be dressed (from: wahk<sup>W</sup> to dress, which underlies yahk<sup>W</sup> to be dressed)

syä? to make drink (from: yä? to drink)

syä?p (or stšä?p) to make to climb (from: yä?p to climb)

syau.ya? to make bite (from: yau.ya? to bite)

sža?t to cause to jump onto (from: ža?t to jump onto)

sžeb.ni? to cause to rub with the foot (from: žeb.ni? to rub with the foot, which underlies žeb.ni? to be rubbed with the foot)

Prefixation of s- to causative stems preceded by morpheme 41 - 0 (read:

41 minus its perturbation morphophoneme 0).

sgoL to cause to sing (from: 41 - 0 + yoL to sing)

sgo?t to cause to grind (from: 41 - 0 + yo?t to grind, which underlies yä?t to be ground)

skib to cause to wash (from: 41 - 0 + gib to wash)

sk<sup>w</sup>áz to cause to wait (from: 41 - ° + bähz to wait)

sk<sup>w</sup>ek.k<sup>w</sup>ä? to cause to put sideways (from: 41 - ° + bek.k<sup>w</sup>ä? to put sideways)

sk<sup>w</sup>ek.Li<sup>^</sup> to cause to put straight (from: 41 - ° + bek.Li<sup>^</sup> to put straight)

sk<sup>w</sup>ek.řloh to cause to put upside down (from: 41 - ° + bek.řloh to put upside down)

sk<sup>w</sup>ek.sah to cause to put right side up (from: 41 - ° + bek.sah to put right side up)

sk<sup>w</sup>ek.žu?N to cause to put humped over (from: 41 - ° + bek.žu?N to put humped over)

sk<sup>w</sup>e?k to cause to put in place (from: 41 - ° + be?k to put in place)

sk<sup>w</sup>iħb to cause to mount (from: 41 - ° + biħb to mount)

stšáz to cause to pound in (from: 41 - ° yáz to pound in)

stšä?p to cause to climb (from: 41 - ° + yä?p to climb) (this also has a form syä?p, see above)

Prefixation of s- to causative stems with stem initial consonant replaced

by g.

sgahs to cause to chew (from: yahs to chew)

sga?N to cause to plow (from: ya?N to plow)

sgähM to cause to swallow (from: yähM to swallow)

sgäih to cause to put on (clothing) (from: yäih to put on)

Prefixation of s- to non-causative stems to form second causatives:

sdäb.na to cause to pet (from: däb.na to be petted, which is formed from gäb.na to pet)

sdidža? to cause to scold (from: -didža? to be scolded, which is formed from gidža? to scold)

sdi.ya? to cause to squeeze (from: di.ya? to be squeezed, which is formed from gi.ya? to squeeze)

sdi?tš to cause to break (like pencil point) (from: di?tš to be broken, which is formed from gi?tš to break)

syäht to cause to lower (from: yäht to be lowered, which is formed from läht to lower)

Irregular formation.

sdzuhd to cause to pierce (from: -dzuħd, a dependent stem underlying giħd to pierce, which underlies yahd to be pierced)

Non-causative formations. Non-causative stems may be formed from certain causative verb stems, and dependent stems. The following formations occur:

Infixation of post-vocalic ħ in causative verb stems.

a. Regular formations.

džähl to be found (from: džäl to find)

džuiħ to be burned (from: džui to burn)

laht to be emptied (from: la?t to empty)

Mitla Zapotec

zohb to be placed (from: zob to place)

b. With stem-initial consonant replaced by corresponding lenis consonant.

luhž to be finished (from: Luž to finish)

žihN to be spoiled (from: šihN to spoil)

dehd to pass (from: ted to pass)

c. With stem-initial ts, dz, replaced by b, and stem-vowel u replaced by i.

bihb to be put (from: dzub to put)

d. With stem-initial consonant replaced by y.

yahL to be reached (from: waL to reach)

yähs to be picked up (from: läš to pick up)

yäht to be mentioned (from: zäʔt to mention)

yäht to be lowered (from: läʔ to lower; syäht to cause to lower)

yehk to be burned up (from: zeʔk to burn up)

yuih to be chopped up (from: zui to chop up)

e. With stem initial consonant replaced by y, and infixation of post-vocalic ʔ.

yäʔp to be raised (position) (from: läp to raise [position])

yäʔp to be kept (from: yahp to have)

f. With stem-initial ty replaced by r.

ruhğ to be cut (from: tyug to cut)

Infixation of pre-vocalic y in causative stems.

a. Regular formations.

Lyeħb to be fanned (from: Leħb to fan)

Lyädž to be pulled up (from: Lädž to pull up)

Lyob to be swept (from: Lob to sweep)

Lyähd to be taken off (from: lähd to take off)

b. With stem-initial consonant replaced by corresponding lenis consonant.

zyed to be learned (from: sed to learn)

zyehdz to be knocked (from: sehdz to knock)

Replacement of stem-initial consonant by y.

a. Replacement in causative verb stems, with loss of any high tone.

ya to be woven (from: za to weave)

yahb to be dropped (from: sahb to drop)

yahdž to be wet (from: wahdž to wet)

yahk<sup>w</sup> to be clothed (from: wahk<sup>w</sup> to clothe, which underlies swahk<sup>w</sup> to cause to be clothed)

yahz to be bathed (from: wahz to bathe)

yaloh to be completed (from: zaloh to complete)

yaLgih to be lighted, turned on (from: waLgih to light)

yanih to dawn (from: zanih to cause to lighten)

yaN.goʔN to be left behind (from: saN.goʔN to leave behind)

- yaN.štuih to remain in shame (from: saN.štuih to make ashamed)  
 yap.loh to be finished (from: zap.loh to finish)  
 yaʔN to remain (from: saʔN to leave)  
 yäp.säb to jump and play (from: Láp.säb to make jump and play)  
 yäp.yuh to be hilled (from: Láp.yuh to hill)  
 yäu to be closed (from: säu to close)  
 yäz.bän to be stirred up (from: läs.bän to stir up)  
 yehk to be twisted (from: zehk to twist)  
 yeʔt to be folded (from: zeʔt to fold)  
 yubeh to make a noise (from: gubeh to make a sound, which underlies  
 sgubeh to cause to make a noise)  
 yubyehk to be turned (from: gubyehk to turn, which underlies sgubyehk  
 to cause to turn)  
 yui to be quenched (from: sui to quench)  
 yunehz to be directed (from: zunehz to direct)  
 yutše to be kept (from: gutše to keep)  
 yutšgeL to be tickled (from: gutšgeL to tickle)  
 yuyuh to be cultivated (from: guyuh to cultivate)  
 b. With causative stem vowel replaced by a.  
 yahd to be pierced (from: gihd to pierce, stsuhd to cause to pierce)  
 yahž to be paid (from: giž to pay)

Replacement of causative stem-initial fortis consonant by corresponding lenis (lenis stem-initial consonants remain lenis).

a. Replacement in causative verb stems.

- be to be chosen (from: bē to choose, with loss of high tone)  
 dau to be covered (from: tau to cover)  
 daʔk<sup>W</sup> to be glued together (from: taʔk<sup>W</sup> to glue together)  
 ded.kah to exceed (from: ted.kah to cause to exceed)  
 ded.řlahg to be obstructed (from: ted.řlahg to obstruct)  
 dehb to be wrapped (from: tehb to wrap)  
 dŋ̃n to be thrown down (from: tŋ̃n to throw down)  
 din.beh to be out in the air (from: din.beh to air)  
 dohp to be gathered up (from: tohp to gather up [in a pile])  
 dop.žüʔN to shrink up (from: top.žüʔN to cause to shrink up)  
 doʔ to be sold (from: toʔ to sell)  
 dzuʔp to be cleaned (from: tsuʔp to clean [as to pluck feathers from fowl])  
 džä to be changed (from: tša to change, which underlies stša to cause to change)  
 džä.beh full of air (from: tša.beh to fill with air)  
 džag to be met (from: tšag to meet)  
 džag.saʔ to gather (from: džag.saʔ to gather)  
 džah to be filled (from: tšah to fill)  
 džan.loh to be insulted (from: tšan.loh to insult)

Mitla Zapotec

- dža? to be heated (from: tša? to heat)  
džeb.ya? to be startled (from: tšeb.ya? to startle)  
džehb to be frightened (from: tšehb to frighten)  
džetš.tša? to be impatient (from: tšetš.tša? to make impatient)  
džetš.yas to be furious (from: tšetš.yas to make furious)  
dže?N to be erased (from: tše?N to erase)  
dže?tš to be angry (from: tše?tš to anger)  
džuN to drip (from: tšuN to pour drop by drop)  
ge? to be roasted (from: ke? to roast)  
gid to be fastened together (from: kid to fasten together with glue)  
gi?ts to be pierced (from: ki?ts to pierce)  
go to be broken open (from: ko to break open)  
la.na to be pushed (from: la.na to push, which underlies sla.na to cause to push)  
la.ni? to be tripped (from: la.ni? to trip, which underlies sla.ni? to cause to trip)  
la? to be broken (from: La? to break)  
lib to be tied (from: Lib to tie)  
lui to be shown (from: lui to show)  
niht to be lost (from: Niht to lose)  
nit.loh to be melted (from: Nit.loh to melt)  
ruš to be scratched (from: ruš to scratch)  
ruš.ya? to be scratched (from: ruš.ya? to scratch)  
zah to walk (from: sah to make walk)  
za? to be completed (from: sa? to complete)  
zäb to sink (from: säb to cause to sink)  
zäb to be hung up (from: zäb to hang up)  
zäb.didž to be proclaimed (from: zäb.didž to proclaim)  
zäb.ya? to sink suddenly (from: säb.ya? to cause to sink suddenly)  
zihn to close one's eyes (from: sihn to make close the eyes)  
zi.lahz to rest (from: si.lahz to make rest)  
zob.gehs to sit nodding with sleep (from: zob.gehs to cause to sit nodding with sleep)  
zob.k<sup>wä</sup>? to be placed sideways (from: zob.k<sup>wä</sup>? to place sideways)  
zob.loh to be begun (from: zob.loh to begin)  
zob.La to be loose (from: zob.La to loosen)  
zob.Lí to be placed straight (from: zob.Lí to place straight)  
zob.näh to be placed with (from: zob.näh to place with)  
zob.ro? to be taken in the mouth (from: zob.ro? to take in the mouth)  
zob.sah to be placed leaning back (from: zob.sah to place leaning back)  
zob.yob to ache (from: zob.yob to make ache)  
zob.žu?N to squat (from: zob.žu?N to make to squat)

- zohz to be drunk (from: sohz to make drunk)  
 zu.bāL to be fenced (from: zu.bāL to fence)  
 zu.džŸ to stand quiet (from: zu.džŸ to stand quiet)  
 zuh to stop, to stand (from: zuh to make stop, make stand)  
 zu.La to be loose (from: zu.La to loosen)  
 zu.Le? to be declared (from: zu.Le? to declare)  
 zu.Lî to stand straight (from: zu.Lî to make stand straight)  
 zu.nihs to sweat (from: su.nihs to make sweat)  
 zu.řloh to bend over (from: zu.řloh to make bend over)  
 zu.řyĚk to stand on the head (from: zu.řyĚk to make stand on the head)  
 zusiN to be prepared (from: zusiN to prepare)  
 zu.tihp to be taut (from: zu.tihp to make taut)  
 zutše to be dressed (from: zutše to dress)  
 zu.žabāl to be undressed (from: zu.žabāl to undress)  
 žāl to be opened (from: šāl to open)  
 žat.na to be squeezed with hand flat (from: šat.na to squeeze with the hand flat)  
 žat.yek.sa? to be piled up on top of each other (from: šat.yek.sa? to pile up on top of each other)  
 žeb.ni? to be rubbed with the foot (from: žeb.ni? to rub with the foot, which underlies sžeb.ni? to make to rub with the foot)  
 žehb to be rubbed (from: šehb to rub)  
 žĚk to be untied (from: šĚk to untie)  
 že? to be spilled (from: ši? to spill)  
 ži to be squeezed (from: ši to squeeze)  
 žŏb to be patted (tortillas) (from: šŏb to pat)  
 žuhng to become stale (from: šuhng to cause to become stale)  
 žuž to be torn (from: žuž to tear)  
 b. With loss of post-vocalic h in causative verb stem.  
 bib to be shaken (from: bihb to shake)  
 žob to be shelled (from: žohb to shell)  
Replacement of stem-initial ts, dz, by b and of stem-vowel u by i.  
 a. Replacement in causative verb stems.  
 bib.tyehn to rust (from: dzub.tyehn to make rust)  
 bihL to be undone (from: tsuhL to undo)  
 bikah to be removed (from: dzukah to remove)  
 biL to be smoothed out (from: tsuL to smooth out)  
 birĚ to turn from (dzurĚ to cause to turn from)  
 bi? to be spun (from: dzu? to spin)  
 b. Replacement in dependent stems.  
 bĚg to lean (from: -tsĚg, which underlies stsĚg to make to lean)  
Replacement of causative stem-initial g by d.  
 a. Regular formations.

Mitla Zapotec

dahn to be touched (from: gahn to touch)

da? to be thrown (from: ga? to throw)

däb to be rubbed on (from: bäb to rub on)

däb.na to be petted (from: gäb.na to pet, and from which is formed stäb.na to cause to pet)

dän to be dug (from: gän to dig)

däz to be embraced (from: gäz to embrace, which underlies sgäz to set [a hen])

di to be painted (from: gi to paint)

dihb to be sewed (from: gihb to sew)

dil to be looked for (from: gil to look for)

dis to be distributed (from: gis to distribute)

di.ya? to flash (from: gi.ya? to flash, and from which is formed sti.ya? to make flash)

di?N to be asked for (from: gi?N to ask for)

di?š to be broken (from: gi?š to break, and from which is formed sti?š to make break)

dob to be sucked (from: gob to suck)

dob.yuh to be pulled (from: gob.yuh to pull)

b. With loss of post-vocalic h.

duN to be combed (from: guhN to comb)

c. With infixation of post-vocalic ?.

da?p to be slapped (from: gahp to slap)

Replacement of causative stem-initial k<sup>w</sup> by k.

a. Regular formations.

kabyehk to be twisted (from: k<sup>w</sup>abyehk to twist, which underlies sk<sup>w</sup>abyehk to cause to twist)

kadu to be tethered (from: k<sup>w</sup>adu to tether)

kagih to be burned (from: k<sup>w</sup>agih to burn)

kagohp to be dampened (from: k<sup>w</sup>agohp to dampen)

kaloh to be separated (from: k<sup>w</sup>aloh to separate)

b. With post-vocalic h.

kah to be, to stick, to bear fruit (from: k<sup>w</sup>a to give, which underlies sk<sup>w</sup>a to cause to give)

Replacement of stem-initial ty by r.

a. Replacement in causative verb stems.

ra to be scraped (from: tya to scrape)

ra.ya? to be scratched (from: tya.ya? to scratch)

rähL to be hit (from: tyähL to hit)

rähz to be torn (from: tyähz to tear)

räz.ya? to burst open (from: tyäz.ya? to make burst open)

rengih to be thrown (from: tyengih to throw)

reš to be overturned (from: tyeš to overturn)  
 re? to be gathered up (from: tye? to gather up)  
 re?tš to be scattered (from: tye?tš to scatter)  
 rob to be sprinkled (from: tyob to sprinkle)  
 rob.nihs to be baptized (from: tyob.nihs to baptize)  
 ro?N to be left (from: tyo?N to leave)  
 ruhš to burst (from: tyuhš to make burst)  
 ru? to be picked (from: tyu? to pick)

b. Replacement in dependent stems.

rob to be raised (from: -tyob, which underlies styob to raise)  
 rohL to be halved (from: -tyohL, which underlies styohL to halve)  
 ro? to get fat (from: -tyo?, which underlies styo? to fatten)

c. With infixation of post-vocalic h.

ruhg to be cut (from: tyug to cut)

Replacement of causative stem-initial consonant by g.

gáb to be counted (from: láb to count)  
 gah to be shaved (from: wah to shave)  
 ga?ts to be hidden (from: k<sup>wa</sup>?ts to hide)

Irregular changes.

be to be stirred (from: ze ~ dze to stir)  
 yä?t to be ground (from: yo?t to grind, which underlies the second causative stem when 41-<sup>o</sup> is prefixed, sgo?t to cause to grind)

### 3.3. Class 00 morphemes

Class 00 morphemes (morphemes whose number is less than 100) are prefixes and replatives occurring with verb stems. Verb stem classes 1 to 26 are determined by their occurrence with the class 00 morphemes and their allomorphs.

The class 00 morphemes are listed in decade classes. The following decade classes each contain morphemes which share a common element of meaning, but which are mutually contrastive with regard to the meaning of non-ablative vs. ablative (movement away): 10 continuative, 20 habitual, 30 completive 40 potential, 50 unfulfilled, 60 incompletive.

All morphemes whose numbers end in 1 share the meaning of non-ablative, but are mutually contrastive with regard to other elements of meaning; they form a semantic class 01. The morphemes whose numbers end in 2 share the meaning of ablative, but are mutually contrastive with regard to other elements of meaning; they form a semantic class 02 which contrasts with 01. Note that all class 02 morphemes in decade classes 10, 20, 30, 40, 50, 60, have corresponding class 01 morphemes in the same decade class.

In some sequences including class 02 morphemes, the 02 morpheme may have only the meaning of continuative, habitual, etc. (here designated as the "primary meaning" of the morpheme). In such sequences, the meaning of ab-

## Mitla Zapotec

lative (here designated as the "secondary meaning" of the morpheme) may be shown by morpheme 2, or it may be entirely absent. In the distributional statements which follow, both primary and secondary meanings are implied for all class 02 morphemes, unless otherwise stated.

Morpheme 2 indicates ablative. This is marked in certain verb stems by one of the following allomorphs:

**2.1** = 1 ← C, replative consisting of change of stem-initial consonant to 1; occurs with stems of classes 10, 25: tšalútše-ni he will go and keep (42.1 + 2.1 + gutše to keep + 344).

**2.2** = t ← C, replative consisting of change of stem-initial consonant to t; occurs with stems of classes 18, 20, 22: witehdž-ni he went and called (32.1 + 2.2 + behdž to call + 344).

**2.3** = ts ← C, replative consisting of change of stem-initial consonant to the cluster ts; occurs with stems of class 21: Nitsúht-ni he was going to play (but didn't) (52.1 + 2.3 + giht to play + 344).

**2.4** = k<sup>w</sup> ← C, replative consisting of change of stem-initial consonant to k<sup>w</sup>; occurs with stems of class 23, 24: zak<sup>w</sup>ib-ni he went to mount (12.1 + 2.4 + bihb to mount + 344).

**2.5** = g ← C, optional replative consisting of change of stem-initial consonant to g; occurs with stems of classes 16, 17: Niga<sup>?</sup>N-ni ~ Niya<sup>?</sup>N-ni he was going to play (but didn't) (52.1 + 2.5 + ya<sup>?</sup>N to plough + 344).

**2.6** = tš ← C, optional replative consisting of change of stem-initial consonant to the cluster tš; occurs with stems of class 15: tšatšâz-ni ~ tšayâz-ni he will go and pound (42.1 + 2.6 + yâz to pound + 344).

**2.7** = e ← V, optional replative consisting of change of stem vowel/vowels to e; occurs with stems of classes 13, 14: ríyen-ni ~ ríyon-ni he habitually goes and cries (22.1 + 2.7 + yon to cry + 344).

**2.8** = ʔ ← C, replative consisting of change of stem-initial consonant to the corresponding fortis; occurs with stems of classes 9, 19: risutše-ni he habitually goes and dresses (22.1 + 2.8 + zutše to dress + 344).

**2.9** = x-, prefix; occurs with stems of class 7: zixyahb-ni he will go and fall (62.1 + 2.9 + yahb to fall + 344).

Class 10 morphemes denote continuative action in present or past time except when they occur with morpheme 41, in which case the time is either absolute future, or future with respect to the time of an associated verb form. These morphemes contrast as to non-ablative vs. ablative.

Morpheme 11 denotes continuative action, non-ablative. It does not occur with stems of class 6. Its allomorphs are:

**11.1** = ka<sup>0</sup>-; occurs before stems except those of class 6: kaká<sup>?</sup>-ni he

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<sup>ʔ</sup>ʔ denotes a fortis consonant.

continually takes (11.1 + ka? to take + 344).

11.2 = ka-; occurs preceding sequences of 41.1 + stems of class 1:

kaguyá?-ni he is continually dancing (11.2 + 41.1 + ya? to dance + 344).

Morpheme 12 denotes continuative action, ablative. Its allomorphs are:

12.1 = za<sup>0</sup>-; occurs with stems of classes 1-5, 8, 10, 11, 13-17: zasgê-ni he continually goes and deceives (12.1 + sge to deceive + 344). It occurs with only the primary meaning of continuative action preceding stems of class 6 and preceding sequences in which the ablative meaning is contained in morpheme 2 i.e., 2.1 + stems of classes 10, 25; 2.2 + stems of classes 18, 20, 22; 2.3 + stems of class 21; 2.4 + stems of classes 23, 24; 2.5 + stems of classes 16, 17; 2.6 + stems of class 15; 2.7 + stems of classes 13, 14; 2.8 + stems of classes 9, 19; 2.9 + stems of class 7: zatsúnt-ni he went to play (12.1 + 2.3 + gíht to play + 344).

12.2 = za-; occurs before sequences of 41.1 + stems of class 1: zaguzá-ni she went to crochet (12.2 + 41.1 + za to crochet + 344).

12.3 = z<sup>0</sup>-; occurs (instead of 12.1) preceding all stems and sequences which may follow 12.1, when morpheme 347.3 occurs: zoNáb-nú we continually went to ask (12.3 + Náb to ask + 347.3).

Class 20 morphemes designate habitual aspect, an action or state of being which is habitual; they also occur in narratives. They contrast as to non-ablative vs. ablative. Present or past tense is denoted. They cause perturbation only when perturbed.

Morpheme 21 is habitual, non-ablative. The allomorphs are:

21.1 = ř-; occurs with stems of classes 1-4, 7-10, 19-26: řwi-ni he habitually sees (21.1 + wi to see + 344).

21.2 = ř...y-, discontinuous, with ř prefixed and y infix after the stem-initial consonant; occurs with stems of classes 5, 19: řLyan-ni he is habitually hungry (21.2 + Lan to be hungry + 344).

21.3 = r ← C, replacive consisting of change of the stem-initial consonant to r; occurs with stems of classes 11-18: roL-ni he habitually sings (21.3 + yoL to sing + 344).

21.4 = ru-; occurs only with stems of class 1, apparently optionally instead of morpheme 21.1: ruded-ni he habitually gives (21.4 + ded to give + 344).

Morpheme 22 is habitual ablative. The allomorphs are;

22.1 = ri-; occurs with stems of classes 1-3, 5, 8, 11, 13-17 (except first persons, which occur with 22.2): rigui-ni she habitually goes and cooks (22.1 + gui to cook + 344).

With only the primary meaning of habitual, this morpheme occurs with stems of class 6, and before the following sequences (in which the ablative is indicated by morpheme 2): 2.1 + stems of classes 10, 25; 2.2 + stems of classes 18, 20, 22; 2.3 + stems of class 21; 2.4 + stems of classes 23, 24; 2.5 + stems of classes 16, 17; 2.6 + stems of class 15; 2.7 + stems of classes 13, 14; 2.8 + stems of class 19; 2.9 + stems of class 7: ritauh-ni he habit-

## Mitla Zapotec

ually goes and eats (22.1 + 2.2 + yauh to eat + 344).

22.2 =  $\tilde{r}$ -; occurs (instead of 22.1) preceding any stem or sequence which may follow 22.1, when morphemes 341.2 or 347.2 occur:  $\tilde{r}$ yaLeb- $\acute{a}$  I habitually go and fan (22.2 + Lehb to fan + 341.2).

Class 30 morphemes designate completive in past time when a subject is expressed, and imperative singular when no subject is expressed. They contrast as to non-ablative vs. ablative. They cause perturbation only when perturbed.

Morpheme 31 is completive non-ablative, or imperative singular non-ablative when no subject is expressed. Its allomorphs are;

31.1 = gu-; occurs with stems of classes 3, 5, 9-12, 15, 19, 24:

gusloh-ni he began (31.1 + sloh to begin + 344), gusloh begin!.

31.2 = gu- + d  $\leftarrow$  C, gu- being prefixed and stem-initial consonant replaced by d; occurs with stems of classes 18, 20: gudauh-ni he ate (31.2 + yauh to eat + 344), gudauh eat!.

31.3 = gu- + dz  $\leftarrow$  C, gu- being prefixed and stem-initial consonant replaced by the cluster dz (and stem vowel changed to u); occurs with stems of class 21; gudzuht-ni he played (31.3 + giht to play + 344), gudzuht play!.

31.4 = gu- + r  $\leftarrow$  C, gu- being prefixed and stem-initial consonant replaced by r; occurs with stems of classes 22, 23: gurehdž-ni he called (31.4 + behdž to call + 344), gurehdž call!.

31.5 = gu- + l  $\leftarrow$  C, gu- being prefixed and stem-initial consonant replaced by l; occurs with stems of classes 10, 25: gulutše-ni he kept (31.5 + gutše to keep + 344), gulutše keep.

31.6 = g  $\leftarrow$  C + u  $\leftarrow$  V (except i), replacive consisting of stem-initial consonant changing to g and vowels (except i) changing to u, in monosyllabic stems and in first syllable of polysyllabic stems; occurs with class 16:

guhk-ni it became (31.6 + yahk to become + 344), guih-ni it cooked (31.6 + yäh to cook + 344), gukla-ni he loitered (31.6 + yakla to loiter + 344).

31.7 = g  $\leftarrow$  C + o  $\leftarrow$  V, replacive consisting of stem-initial consonant changing to g and vowels in monosyllabic stems and in the first syllable of polysyllabic stems changing to o; occurs with stems of class 17a, b, e: gohz-ni he bathed (31.7 + yahz to bathe + 344).

31.8 = g  $\leftarrow$  C + o  $\leftarrow$  V + t  $\leftarrow$  C, replacive consisting of change of stem-initial consonant to g, stem vowel to o, stem-final consonant to t, or, in the absence of a stem-final consonant, t occurs as a stem-final consonant in the completive aspect; in two-syllable stems, the above changes occur in the first syllable; occurs with stems of classes 17c, d: got.řloh-ni he lay face down (31.8 + ya.řloh to lie face down + 344), goht-ni she put on (31.8 + yahk<sup>W</sup> to put on + 344).

31.9 = ba- occurs with stems of classes 1, 4: bawi-ni he saw (31.9 +

wi to see + 344), bawi look!.

31.10 = bi- occurs with stems of class 2: bigoL-ni it dried up (31.10 + goL to dry up + 344).

It also occurs with stems of classes 1, 3, 5, 8-11, 14-25 when morpheme 347.1 occurs: biyútše-nu we kept (31.10 + yutše to keep + 347.1).

31.11 = b-; occurs with stems of class 7, and with morpheme 207.2 with stems of all classes except 7, 10-12, 15: byohL-ni he was thirsty (31.11 + yohL to be thirsty + 344).

31.12 = b ← C + e ← V, replacive consisting of stem-initial consonant replaced by b and vowels of the first syllable replaced by e; occurs with stems of class 13: behn-ni he did (31.12 + yuhn to do + 344), behn-ni do it!; benzaʔk-ni he did well (31.12 + yunzaʔk to do well + 344).

31.13 = b ← C + i ← V, replacive consisting of stem-initial consonant replaced by b and stem vowels replaced by i; occurs with stems of class 14: biL-ni he sang (31.13 + yoL to sing + 344), biL sing!.

31.14 = k<sup>w</sup> ← C, replacive consisting of change of stem-initial consonant to k<sup>w</sup>; occurs with stems of class 8: k<sup>w</sup>abyehk-ni it was twisted (31.14 + kabyehk to be twisted + 344).

Morpheme 32 is completive (imperative singular when no subject is expressed) ablative. The allomorphs are:

32.1 = wi-; occurs with stems of classes 1-3, 5, 8, 13-17; widžui-nini he went and burned it (32.1 + džui to burn + 344 + 344), widžui-ni go burn it!.

With only its primary meaning of completive, it occurs with stems of class 6, and before the following sequences in which the ablative is expressed by morpheme 2: 2.1 + stems of classes 10, 25; 2.2 + stems of classes 18, 20, 22; 2.3 + stems of class 21; 2.4 + stems of classes 23, 24; 2.5 + stems of classes 16, 17; 2.6 + stems of class 15; 2.7 + stems of classes 13, 14; 2.8 + stems of classes 9, 19; 2.9 + stems of class 7: wisútše-ni he went and dressed (32.1 + 2.8 + zutše to dress + 344), wisútše go dress!.

32.2 = w-; occurs (instead of 32.1) preceding all stems and sequences which may follow 32.1 when morpheme 341.3 occurs: waNi-ä I went and spoke (32.2 + Ni to speak + 341.3).

32.3 = byo-; occurs (instead of 32.1) preceding all stems and sequences which may follow 32.1, when morpheme 347.2 occurs: byoNí-nú we went and spoke (32.3 + Ni to speak + 347.2), byoyákná-nú we went and helped (32.3 + yaknäh to help + 347.2).

32.4 = w ← C, replacive consisting of change of stem-initial consonant to w; occurs with only the primary meaning of completive with stems of class 15: wáz-ni he nailed (32.4 + yáz to nail + 344).

Class 40 morphemes designate potential, something which may occur. They contrast as to non-ablative vs. ablative.

Morpheme 41 is potential non-ablative. The allomorphs are;

Mitla Zapotec

41.1 =  $gu^0-$ ; occurs with stems of class 1: gusáu-nini he is going to close it (41.1 + sáu to close + 344 + 344). This morpheme may follow morpheme 11 and 12, which see.

41.2 =  $gi...y^0-$ , discontinuous morpheme with  $gi-$  prefixed and  $y$  infix after the stem-initial consonant; occurs with stems of class 5: giNyáz-ni he is going to seize (41.2 + Naz to seize + 344).

41.3 =  $gi^0-$ ; occurs with stems of classes 2, 3, 4: gi.róh-ni he is going to grow. It also occurs preceding the following sequences: stems of classes 1, 8-11, 14, 15-19, 24, 25 and morpheme 347.1: giskên-nú we are going to hurry (41.3 + skehñ to hurry + 347.1).

41.4 =  $gi^0-$  +  $e \leftarrow V$ ,  $gi-$  prefixed and the stem vowel changed to  $e$ ; occurs optionally preceding stems of class 13 followed by morpheme 347.1: giyën-nú we are going to do (41.4 + yuhn to do + 347.1).

41.5 =  $gi^0-$  +  $d \leftarrow C$ ,  $gi-$  prefixed and the stem-initial consonant replaced by  $d$ ; occurs optionally preceding sequences of stems of classes 18, 20 + morpheme 347.1: gidám-nú we are going to swallow (41.5 + yähM to swallow + 347.1).

41.6 =  $gi^0-$  +  $dz \leftarrow C$ ,  $gi-$  prefixed and the stem-initial consonant replaced by the cluster  $dz$  (and stem vowel/vowels by  $u$ ); occurs preceding sequences of stems of class 21 + morpheme 347.1: gidzút-nú we are going to play (41.6 + -giht to play + 347.1).

41.7 =  $gi^0-$  +  $r \leftarrow C$ ,  $gi-$  prefixed and the stem-initial consonant replaced by  $r$ ; occurs preceding sequences of stems of classes 22, 23, + 347.1: girédž-nú we are going to call (41.7 + -behdž to call + 347.1).

41.8 +  $gi^0-$  +  $l \leftarrow C$ ,  $gi-$  prefixed and the stem-initial consonant replaced by  $l$ ; occurs preceding sequences of stems of classes 10, 24, + 347.1: gilé?k-nú we are going to plant (41.8 + be?k to plant + 347.1).

41.9 =  $g^0 \leftarrow C$ , replative consisting of change of stem-initial consonant to  $g$ , with loss of  $h$  in monosyllabic stems; occurs with stems of classes 12a, 13a, 14a, 16a, 17a, 17c, 18a: gánzu?-ni he is going to take care of (41.9 + -yanzu? to take care of + 344), ga-ni it is going to ripen (41.9 + -yah to ripen + 344).

41.10 =  $g^0 \leftarrow C$ , replative consisting of change of stem-initial consonant to  $g$ , and infixation of post-vocalic  $?$ ; occurs with stems of class 17e: gá?p-ni he is going to have (41.10 + -yahp to have + 344).

41.11 =  $g^{\neq} \leftarrow C$ , replative consisting of change of stem-initial consonant to  $g$ , loss of  $h$  in monosyllabic stems, and low-high tone sequence on a diverse vowel cluster or tone glide on a single vowel; occurs with stems of classes 12b, 13b, 16b, 17b, 17d, 18b: gái-ni it is going to cook (41.11 + -yäh to cook + 344).

41.12 =  $f^0 \leftarrow C$ , replative consisting of change of stem-initial consonant to  $f$ ; occurs with stems of class 1c: fálgih-nini he is going to light it (as a

fire) (41.12 + -walgih to light + 344 + 344).

41.13 =  $k^{w^o}$  ← C, replacive consisting of change of stem-initial consonant to  $k^w$ , with loss of h in monosyllabic stems; occurs with stems of classes 22, 23a, 24, 25:  $k^{w^{\Delta}}$ áz-ni he is going to wait (41.13 + -bähz to wait + 344),  $k^{w^{\epsilon}}$ k-ni he is going to plant (41.13 + -beʔk to plant + 344).

41.14 =  $k^{w^{\downarrow}}$  ← C, replacive consisting of change of stem-initial consonant to  $k^w$ , with loss of h in monosyllabic stems, and low-high tone glide on stem vowel; occurs with stems of classes 23, 24a:  $k^{w^{\vee}}$ -ni he is going to sit down (41.14 + -beh to sit down + 344),  $k^{w^{\downarrow}}$ b-ni he is going to mount (41.14 + -bihb to mount + 344).

41.15 =  $\zeta^o$  ← C, replacive consisting of change of stem-initial consonant to its corresponding fortis (fortis stem-initial consonant remains fortis), with loss of h in monosyllabic stems; occurs with stems of classes 1b, 3d, 5a, 9a, 10, 19, 20a, 21a: Láʔ-ni it is going to be broken (41.15 + laʔ to be broken + 344), tíL-ni he is going to fight (41.15 + -dihL to fight + 344), sí-ni he is going to buy (41.15 + -zi to buy + 344).

41.16 =  $\zeta^o$  ← C, replacive consisting of change of stem-initial consonant to its corresponding fortis, with infixation of post-vocalic ʔ; occurs with stems of class 20c: káʔp-ni he is going to slap (41.16 + -gahp to slap + 344).

41.17 =  $\zeta^{\downarrow}$  ← C, replacive consisting of change of stem-initial consonant to its corresponding fortis, with loss of ʔ or h, and low-high tone sequence on a diverse vowel cluster, or tone glide on single vowel; occurs with stems of classes 1e, 2b, 3b, 5b, 9b, 20b, 21b: Nít-ni he is going to be lost (41.17 + -niht to be lost + 344), kē-ni / kē̂-ni he is going to carry from one place to another (41.17 + -geh to carry from one place to another + 344), tšá-ni it is going to be filled (41.17 + džah to be filled + 344).

41.18 =  $\check{s}^o$ -; occurs with stems of class 8: škáʔ-ni he is going to take (41.18 + -kaʔ to take + 344).

41.19 =  $t\check{s}^o$  ← C, replacive consisting of change of stem-initial consonant to the cluster tš, with loss of h in monosyllabic stems; occurs with stems of classes 11, 15a: tšúbyehk-ni it is going to be turned (41.19 + -yubyehk to be turned + 344).

41.20 =  $t\check{s}^{\downarrow}$  ← C, replacive consisting of change of stem-initial consonant to the cluster tš, with loss of h in monosyllabic stems, and low-high tone glide on the vowel; occurs with stems of class 15b; tšás-ni it is going to be picked up (41.20 + -yähš to be picked up + 344).

41.21 =  $ty^o$  ← C, replacive consisting of change of stem-initial consonant to the cluster ty; occurs with stems of class 3e: tyóbnihš-ni he is going to be baptized (41.21 + -robnihš to be baptized + 344), tyôb-ni it is going to grow (41.21 + -rob to grow + 344).

41.22 =  $ty^{\downarrow}$  ← C, replacive consisting of change of stem-initial consonant to the cluster ty, with loss of ʔ and h, and low-high tone glide on

Mitla Zapotec

stem vowel; occurs with stems of classes 2c, 3e: ty<sup>o</sup>-ni he is going to be fattened (41.22 + -ro<sup>o</sup> to be fattened + 344), ty<sup>o</sup>L-ni it is going to be halved (41.22 + -rohL to be halved + 344).

41.23 = x<sup>o</sup> ← C, replacive consisting of change of stem-initial consonant to x; occurs with stems of class 1d: xuí-ni he is going to cook (41.23 + -gui to cook + 344).

41.24 = x<sup>o</sup>-; occurs with stems of classes 2d, 5c, 7: xyú<sup>o</sup>-ni he is going to enter (41.24 + -yu<sup>o</sup> to enter + 344), xyé<sup>o</sup>-ni it is going to be roasted (41.24 + ge<sup>o</sup> to be roasted + 344).

41.25 = g<sup>o</sup> ← C, replacive consisting of change of stem-initial consonant to g, and infixation of post-vocalic h; occurs with stems of class 14b: guhtš-ni she is going to wash her head (41.25 + -yu<sup>o</sup>tš to wash the head + 344).

Morpheme 42 designates potential ablative. Its allomorphs are:

42.1 = tša<sup>o</sup>-; occurs with stems of classes 1-5, 8-11, 13-17: tšatyâ-ni he is going to go and scrape (42.1 + tya to scrape out + 344).

It occurs with only the primary meaning of potential before stems of class 6 and before the following sequences in which the ablative is denoted by morpheme 2: 2.1 + stems of classes 10, 25; 2.2 + stems of classes 18, 20, 22; 2.3 + stems of class 21; 2.4 + stems of class 23; 2.5 + stems of classes 16, 17; 2.6 + stems of class 15; 2.7 + stems of classes 13, 14; 2.8 + stems of classes 9, 19; 2.9 + stems of class 7: tšatáúh-ni he is going to go and eat (42.1 + 2.2 + yauh to eat + 344).

42.2 = tš<sup>o</sup>-; occurs (instead of 42.1) preceding all stems and sequences which follow 42.1, plus the morpheme 347.3: tšozûN-nú we are going to go and run (42.2 + žuN to run + 347.3).

Class 50 morphemes designate action unfulfilled in past time. They contrast as to non-ablative vs. ablative.

Morpheme 51 designates action unfulfilled, non-ablative. With a 50 morpheme, plus paLga<sup>o</sup> (paL<sup>o</sup>- 152) if and dġ- 121, a contrary to fact situation is indicated: paLdġnah-ré nidžag-á tekuyó<sup>o</sup>t nyúhn fabô<sup>o</sup>r nah-ré, dġnanibi<sup>o</sup>-á if I had not met a coyote who did me a favor, I wouldn't have returned. The allomorphs are:

51.1 = nu<sup>o</sup>-; occurs with stems of class 1: nuLuž-ni he didn't finish (51.1 + Luž to finish + 344).

51.2 = ni...y<sup>o</sup>-, discontinuous morpheme with ni- prefixed, and y infixes after the stem-initial consonant; occurs with stems of classes 5, 19: niLyá<sup>o</sup>-nini he didn't break it (51.2 + La<sup>o</sup> to break + 344 + 344).

51.3 = ni<sup>o</sup>-; occurs with stems of classes 2-4, 6, 8-10, 20-25: nigġhb-ni she didn't sew (51.3 + -gġhb to sew + 344).

Morpheme 52 designates action unfulfilled, ablative, in past time. The allomorphs are:

52.1 = Ni<sup>o</sup>-; occurs with stems of classes 1-6, 8, 11, 13-17: Nigutšáh-nini

he didn't go and fill it (52.1 + tšah to fill + 344 + 344).

It occurs with only its primary meaning of action unfulfilled in past time preceding the following sequences, where the ablative is designated by morpheme 2: 2.1 + stems of classes 10, 25; 2.2 + stems of classes 18, 20, 22; 2.3 + stems of class 21; 2.4 + stems of classes 23, 24; 2.5 + stems of classes 16, 17; 2.6 + stems of class 15; 2.7 + stems of classes 13, 14; 2.8 + stems of classes 9, 19; 2.9 + stems of class 7: Nitéhdž-ni he didn't go and call (52.1 + behdž to call + 344).

52.2 = N<sup>0</sup>-; occurs preceding stems and sequences which may follow 52.1 + 341.2, or 347.2: Nyatedž-á I was going to go call (52.2 + 2.2 + behdž to call + 341.2).

52.3 = n<sup>0</sup>-; occurs with stems of classes 7, 11-18: nyáhd-ni he was going to wash (but didn't) (52.3 + yáhd to be washed + 344).

Class 60 morphemes designate incomplete action, present or future. They contrast as to non-ablative vs. ablative. They cause perturbation only when perturbed.

Morpheme 61 designates incomplete, non-ablative. The allomorphs are:

61.1 = zu-; occurs with stems of class 1: zure-ni he will invite (61.1 + re to invite + 344).

61.2 = zi-; occurs with stems of classes 2-4, 6, 8-10, 20-25: ziduhš-ni he will bark (61.2 + duhš to bark + 344).

61.3 = zi...y-; discontinuous morpheme with zi- prefixed and y infix after the stem-initial consonant; occurs with stems of classes 5, 19: ziLyáb-ni it will boil (61.3 + Láb to boil + 344 + 344).

61.4 = z-; occurs with stems of class 7: zya?N-ni he will stay (61.4 + ya?N to stay + 344).

61.5 = z ← C, replacive consisting of change of stem-initial consonant to z; occurs with stems of classes 11-18: zuhn-ni he will do (61.5 + yuhn to do + 344).

Morpheme 62 designates incomplete action, ablative. Its allomorphs are:

62.1 = zi-; occurs with stems of classes 1, 5, 11-17; zišál-nini he will go and open it (62.1 + šál to open + 344).

It also occurs with only its primary meaning of incomplete before the following sequences, in which the ablative is expressed by morpheme 2: 2.1 + stems of classes 10, 25; 2.2 + stems of class 18; 2.3 + stems of class 21; 2.4 + stems of classes 23, 24; 2.5 + stems of classes 16, 17; 2.6 + stems of class 15; 2.7 + stems of classes 13, 14; 2.8 + stems of classes 9, 19; 2.0 + stems of class 7: zitähM-nini he will go and swallow it (62.1 + 2.2 + yähM to swallow + 344 + 344).

62.2 = z-; occurs before sequences which may follow 62.1 plus morpheme 341.2 or 347.2: zyatähM-á I will go and swallow (62.2 + 2.2 + hähM to swallow + 341.2).

52.3 = si-; occurs with stems of classes 2-4, 6, 8: sika?-nini he will go

and receive it (62.3 + ka? to receive + 344 + 344).

62.4 = s-; occurs before sequences which may follow 62.3 plus morpheme 341.2 or 347.2: syoka?-nuni we will go and receive it (62.4 + ka? to receive + 347.2 + 344).

Morpheme 75 is imperative plural. It occurs without a subject. Its allomorphs are;

75.1 = koL<sup>0</sup>-; occurs with stems of classes 1-5, 8-11, 13, 14, 16-25: koLwí look!, (75.1 + wi to see).

It also occurs preceding the following sequences: 41.1 + stems of classes 1-3; 41.2 + stems of class 5; 41.11 + stems of class 7; 41.3 + stems of class 8; 41.9 + stems of class 16; 41.25 or 41.26 + stems of class 15; 41.25 + stems of class 11: koLgúzê stir! (75.1 + 41.1 + ze to stir).

It occurs preceding the following sequences, indicating ablative: 42.1 + 2.2 + stems of classes 18, 20, 22; 42.1 + 2.3 + stems of class 21; 42.1 + 41.16 + stems of classes 23, 24; 42.1 + 2.1 + stems of classes 25, 10; 42.1 + 2.7 + stems of classes 13, 14; 42.1 + 2.5 + stems of class 17; 42.1 + 2.9 + stems of class 7; 42.1 + 2.8 + stems of class 9; 42.1 + stems of classes 1, 3, 5, 6, 8, 10, 11: koLtsá'áuh go eat! (75.1 + 42.1 + 2.2 + yauh to eat). 75.2 = koL<sup>0</sup>- + g ← C, with koL<sup>0</sup>- prefixed, and the stem-initial consonant replaced by g; occurs with stems of classes 17, 18: koLgáhsni chew it! (75.2 + yahs to chew + 344).

75.3 = koL<sup>0</sup>- + t ← C, with koL<sup>0</sup>- prefixed, and the stem-initial consonant replaced by t; occurs with stems of class 18: koLtá'uh eat! (75.3 + yauh to eat).

75.4 = koL<sup>0</sup>- + ċ ← C, with koL<sup>0</sup>- prefixed and the stem-initial consonant replaced by its fortis counterpart; occurs with stems of classes 9, 20, 21, 10: kolkhž pay! (75.4 + gihž to pay).

75.5 = koL<sup>0</sup>- + ts ← C, with koL<sup>0</sup>- prefixed, and the stem-initial consonant replaced by the cluster ts; occurs with stems of class 21: koLtsúht play! (75.5 + giht to play).

75.6 = koL<sup>0</sup>- k<sup>w</sup> ← C, with koL<sup>0</sup>- prefixed, and the stem-initial consonant replaced by k<sup>w</sup>; occurs with stems of classes 22-25: koLk<sup>w</sup>éh sit down! (75.6 + beh to sit down).

75.7 = koL<sup>0</sup>- + e ← V, with koL<sup>0</sup>- prefixed, and the stem vowel replaced by e; occurs with stems of classes 13, 14: kolyéhn-ni do it! (75.7 + yuhn to do + 344).

Morpheme 77 denotes imperative, third person. 77 = su<sup>0</sup>- ~ so<sup>0</sup>- let; occurs before sequences of morphemes of classes 11, 21, and 85: sonáhk-ni flôx let him be lazy, sorúhn-nini let him do it.

### 3.4. Verb classes

Verb classes are determined by the morphemes and allomorphs of class 00 with which they may occur. This section illustrates each class of verb

stems by one stem of each class (except class 26, in which all forms are given for all the stems), shown with the 00 morphemes with which it occurs, and the meaning of each form. Over 800 stems have been under consideration. Not all stems of a class necessarily take all the 00 morphemes which determine that class -- certain morphemes are semantically limited, and therefore certain verb stems are to be considered defective members of their class.

Class 1 is by far the largest class of verb stems, most of which are causative. Class 1 is determined by the following morphemes and their allomorphs (and morpheme clusters) as illustrated by the stem *tyu?* to cut:

11.1 *katyú?*-ni he is cutting (not to extend action past one day)

11.2 + 41.1 *kagutyú?*-ni he is continually cutting

12.1 *zatyú?*-ni he continually went and cut

12.2 + 41.1 *zagutyú?*-ni he went continually to cut

12.3 *zotyú?*-nú we continually go/went and cut

21.1 *řtyu?*-ni ~

21.4 *rutyu?*-ni he habitually cuts/cut

22.1 *rityu?*-ni he habitually goes and cuts

22.2 *řyotyú?*-nú we habitually go/went and cut

*řyatyú?*-á I habitually go/went and cut

31.8 *batyu?*-ni he cut; cut it!

31.9 *bityu?*-nú we cut

32.1 *wityu?*-ni he went and cut; go cut it!

32.2 *watyú?*-á I went and cut

32.3 *byotyú?*-nú we went and cut

41.1 *gutyú?*-ni he is going to cut

41.3 *gityú?*-nú we are going to cut

42.1 *tšatyú?*-ni he is going to go and cut

42.2 *tšotyú?*-nú we are going to go and cut

51.1 *nutyú?*-ni he didn't cut

52.1 *Nityú?*-ni he didn't go and cut

52.2 *Nyatyú?*-á I didn't go and cut

*Nyotyú?*-nú we didn't go and cut

61.1 *zutyu?*-ni he will cut

62.1 *zityu?*-ni he will go and cut

62.2 *zyotyú?*-nú we will go and cut

*zyatyú?*-á I will go and cut

75.1 *koLtyú?*-ni ~ *koLgutyú?*-ni cut it!

*koLšatyú?*-ni go cut it!

85.2 *natyú?*-ni he has it cut

Class 2 is the second largest class. Most of these are non-causative stems, with their corresponding causative stems in class 1. Class 2 is determined by the following morphemes and allomorphs as illustrated by the stem

Mitla Zapotec

džehb to be frightened:

- 11.1 kadžéh-b-ni he is/was being frightened  
12.1 zadžéh-b-ni he continually goes/went and was frightened  
12.3 zodžêb-nú we continually go/went and are/were frightened  
21.1 řdžehb-ni he is/was habitually frightened  
22.1 ridžehb-ni he habitually will be frightened  
22.2 řyodžêb-nú we habitually go/went and are/were frightened  
řyadžeb-á I habitually go/went and am/was frightened  
31.9 bidžehb-ni he was frightened  
32.1 widžehb-ni he went and was frightened  
32.2 wadžeb-á I went and was frightened  
32.3 byodžêb-nú we went and were frightened  
41.3 gidžéh-b-ni he is going to be frightened  
42.1 tšadžéh-b-ni he is going to go and be frightened  
42.2 tšodžêb-nú we are going to go and be frightened  
51.3 nidžéh-b-ni he was going to be frightened (but wasn't)  
52.2 Nyadžeb-á I was going to go and be frightened (but didn't)  
Nyodžêb-nú we didn't go and be frightened  
61.2 zidžehb-ni he will be frightened  
62.3 zitšehb-ni he will go and be frightened  
62.4 zyodžêb-nú we will go and be frightened  
zyadžeb-á I will go and be frightened  
85.2 nadžêb-ni it is frightening

Class 3 has only a few stems, most of which are non-causative stems with corresponding causatives in class 1. This class is determined by the following morphemes and allomorphs as illustrated by the stem dedřlahg to cross (block entrance or path with something laid across):

- 11.1 kadédřlahg-ni he continually crosses/crossed  
12.1 zadédřlahg-ni he continually goes/went and crosses/crossed  
12.3 zodédřlâg-nú we continually go/went and cross/crossed  
21.1 řdedřlahg-ni he habitually crosses/crossed  
22.1 ridedřlahg-ni he habitually goes/went and crosses/crossed  
22.2 řyadedřlag-á I habitually go/went and cross/crossed  
řyodédřlâg-nú we habitually go/went and cross/crossed  
31.1 gudedřlahg-ni he crossed; cross it!  
31.9 bidedřlâg-nú we crossed  
32.1 widedřlahg-ni he went and crossed  
32.2 wadedřlag-á I went and crossed  
32.3 byodédřlâg-nú we went and crossed  
41.3 gidédřlâg-nú we are going to cross  
41.17 tédřlahg-ni he is going to cross  
42.1 tšadedřlahg-ni he is going to go and cross  
42.2 tšodédřlâg-nú we are going to go and cross

- 51.3 nidédřlahg-ni he didn't cross  
 52.1 Nidédřlahg-ni he didn't go and cross  
 52.2 Nyodédřlág-nú we didn't go and cross  
 Nyadedřlag-á I didn't go and cross  
 61.2 zidedřlahg-ni he will cross  
 62.2 syodédřlág-nú we will go and cross  
 syadedřlag-á I will go and cross  
 62.3 sidedřlahg-ni he will go and cross  
 75.1 koLdédřlahg, koLgúdedřlahg cross!  
 koLtšádédřlahg go cross!  
 75.3 koLtédřlahg cross!

Class 4 consists of 7 stems, all of which are non-causative with their corresponding causatives in class 1. This class is determined by the following morphemes and allomorphs as illustrated by the stem Nalahz to remember:

- 11.1 kaNálahz-ni he continually remembers/remembered  
 12.1 zaNálahz-ni he continually goes/went and remembers/remembered  
 12.3 zoNálahz-nú we continually go/went and remember/remembered  
 21.1 řNalahz-ni he habitually remembers/remembered  
 22.1 riNalahz-ni he habitually goes/went and remembers/remembered  
 22.2 ryaNalahz-á I habitually go/went and remember/remembered  
 řyoNálahz-nú we habitually go/went and remember/remembered  
 31.8 baNalahz-ni he remembered  
 baNalahz remember!  
 31.9 biNálahz-nú we remembered  
 32.1 wiNalahz-ni he went and remembered  
 wiNalahz go remember!  
 32.2 waNalahz-á I went and remembered  
 32.3 byoNálahz-nú we went and remembered  
 41.3 giNálahz-ni he is going to remember  
 42.1 tšaNálahz-ni he is going to go and remember  
 42.2 tšoNálahz-nú we are going to go and remember  
 51.3 niNálahz-ni he didn't remember  
 52.1 NiNálahz-ni he didn't go and remember  
 52.2 NyoNálahz-nú we didn't go and remember  
 NyaNalahz-á I didn't go and remember  
 1.2 ziNalahz-ni he will remember  
 2.3 siNalahz-ni he will go and remember  
 2.4 syoNálahz-nú we will go and remember  
 syaNalahz-á I will go and remember  
 5.2 zaNálahz-ni he has it remembered

Class 5 contains about 30 stems. This class is determined by the following morphemes and allomorphs as illustrated by the stem lās to pick up:

- 1.1 kalās-nini he continually picks/picked it up

Mitla Zapotec

- 12.1 zalās-nini he continually goes/went and picks/picked it up  
 12.3 zolās-nuni we continually go/went and pick/picked it up  
 21.2 flyās-nini he habitually picks/picked it up  
 22.1 rilās-nini he habitually goes/went and picks/picked it up  
 22.2 řyalās-áni I habitually go/went and pick/picked it up  
 ryolās-núni we habitually go/went and pick/picked it up  
 31.1 gulās-nini he picked it up  
 gulās-ni pick it up!  
 31.9 bilās-núni we picked it up  
 32.1 wilās-nini he went and picked it up  
 wilās-ni go pick it up!  
 32.2 walās-áni I went and picked it up  
 32.3 byolās-núni we went and picked it up  
 41.2 gilyās-nini he is going to pick it up  
 42.1 tśalās-nini he is going to go and pick it up  
 42.2 tśolās-nuni we are going to go and pick it up  
 51.2 nilyās-nini he didn't pick it up  
 52.1 Nilās-nini he didn't go and pick it up  
 52.2 Nyolās-núni we didn't go and pick it up  
 Nyalās-áni I didn't go and pick it up  
 61.3 zilyās-nini he will pick it up  
 62.1 zilās-nini he will go and pick it up  
 62.2 zyalās-áni I will go and pick it up  
 zyolās-núni we will go and pick it up  
 75.1 koLlās-ni, koLgflyās-ni pick it up!  
 koLtsśalās-ni go pick it up!  
 85.1 nalās-ni he has it picked up

Class 6 has 13 stems. This class is determined by the following morphemes and allomorphs as illustrated by the stem nahL to follow:

- 12.1 zanáhL-ni he continually follows/followed  
 22.1 rinahL-ni he habitually follows/followed  
 22.2 řyonâL-nú we habitually follow/followed  
 řyanaL-á I habitually follow/followed  
 32.1 winahL-ni he followed; follow him!  
 32.2 wanaL-á I followed  
 32.3 byonâL-nú we followed  
 42.1 tśanáhL-ni he is going to follow  
 42.2 tśonâL-nú we are going to follow  
 51.3 nináhL-ni he didn't follow  
 52.1 NináhL-ni he didn't go and follow  
 52.2 NyonâL-nú we didn't follow  
 NyanaL-á I didn't follow  
 61.2 zinahL-ni he will follow

62.3 sinahL-ni stelaht he is going to follow to another place

62.4 syonáL-nú we will follow

syanaL-á I will follow

75.1 koLtšánáhL follow!

Class 7 has about 50 stems. Most of these stems are non-causative.

This class is determined by the following morphemes and allomorphs as illustrated by the stem ya<sup>?</sup>N to stay:

11.1 kayá<sup>?</sup>N-ni he continually stays/stayed

12.1 + 2.9 zaxyá<sup>?</sup>N-ni he continually goes/went and stays/stayed

12.3 + 2.9 zoxyá<sup>?</sup>N-nú we continually go/went and stay/stayed

21.1 řya<sup>?</sup>N-ni he habitually stays/stayed

22.1 + 2.9 rixya<sup>?</sup>N-ni he habitually goes/went and stays/stayed

22.2 + 2.9 řyoxya<sup>?</sup>N-nú we habitually go/went and stay/stayed

řyaxya<sup>?</sup>N-á I habitually go/went and stay/stayed

31.10 bya<sup>?</sup>N-ni he stayed

bya<sup>?</sup>N stay!

32.1 + 2.9 wixya<sup>?</sup>N-ni he went and stayed

wixya<sup>?</sup>N go stay!

41.11 xyá<sup>?</sup>N-ni he is going to stay

42.1 + 2.9 tšaxyá<sup>?</sup>N-ni he is going to go and stay

42.2 + 2.9 tšoxyá<sup>?</sup>N-nú we are going to go and stay

51.4 nyá<sup>?</sup>N-ni he didn't stay

52.1 + 2.9 Nixyá<sup>?</sup>N-ni he didn't go and stay

52.2 + 2.9 Nyoxya<sup>?</sup>N-nú we didn't go and stay

Nyaxya<sup>?</sup>N-á I didn't go and stay

61.4 zya<sup>?</sup>N-ni he will stay

62.1 + 2.9 zixya<sup>?</sup>N-ni he will go and stay

62.2 + 2.9 zyoxya<sup>?</sup>N-nú we will go and stay

zyaxya<sup>?</sup>N-á I will go and stay

5.1 + 2.9 koLxyá<sup>?</sup>N stay!

koLtšáxyá<sup>?</sup>N go stay!

5.2 nayá<sup>?</sup>N-ni it is left behind, it stays

Class 8 consists of 11 stems. This class is determined by the following morphemes and allomorphs as illustrated by the stem ka<sup>?</sup> to take:

1.1 kaká<sup>?</sup>-nini he continually takes/took it

2.1 zaká<sup>?</sup>-nini he continually goes/went and takes/took it

2.3 zoká<sup>?</sup>-núni we continually go/went and take/took it

1.1 řka<sup>?</sup>-nini he habitually takes/took it

2.1 rika<sup>?</sup>-nini he habitually goes/went and takes/took it

2.2 řyaka<sup>?</sup>-áni I habitually go/went and take/took it

řyoká<sup>?</sup>-núni we habitually go/went and take/took it

1.13 k<sup>W</sup>a<sup>?</sup>-nini he took it

Mitla Zapotec

k<sup>w</sup>aʔ-ni take it!

31.9 bikaʔ-núni we took it

32.1 wikaʔ-nini he went and took it

wikaʔ-ni go take it!

32.2 wakaʔ-áni I went and took it

32.3 byokaʔ-núni we went and took it

41.3 gikaʔ-núni we are going to take it

41.18 škaʔ-nini he is going to take it

42.1 tšakaʔ-nini he is going to go and take it

42.2 tšokaʔ-núni we are going to go and take it

51.3 nikaʔ-nini he didn't take it

52.1 Nikaʔ-nini he didn't go and take it

52.2 Nyokaʔ-núni we didn't go and take it

Nyakaʔ-áni I didn't go and take it

61.2 zikaʔ-nini he will take it

62.3 sikaʔ-nini he will go and take it

62.4 syokaʔ-núni we will go and take it

syakaʔ-áni I will go and take it

75.1 koLkaʔ-ni, koLgikaʔ-ni take it!

koLšakaʔ-ni go take it!

Class 9 consists of 13 stems. This class is determined by the following morphemes and allomorphs as illustrated by the stem zi to buy:

11.1 kaz<sup>i</sup>-ni he continually buys/bought

12.1 + 2.8 zas<sup>i</sup>-ni he continually goes/went and buys/bought

12.3 + 2.8 zos<sup>i</sup>-nú we continually go/went and buy/bought

21.1 řzi-ni he habitually buys/bought

22.1 + 2.8 risi-ni he habitually goes/went and buys/bought

22.2 + 2.8 řyos<sup>i</sup>-nú we habitually go/went and buy/bought

řyasi-á I habitually go/went and buy/bought

31.1 guzi-ni he bought; buy it!

31.9 biz<sup>i</sup>-nú we bought

32.1 + 2.8 wisi-ni he went and bought; go buy it!

32.2 + 2.8 wasi-á I went and bought

32.3 + 2.8 byos<sup>i</sup>-nú we went and bought

41.3 giz<sup>i</sup>-nú we are going to buy

41.15 s<sup>i</sup>-ni he is going to buy (class 9a stem takes 41.15)

(41.17 N<sup>i</sup>-ni he is going to be lost [class 9b stem niht takes 41.17])

42.1 + 2.8 tšas<sup>i</sup>-ni he is going to go and buy

42.2 + 2.8 tšos<sup>i</sup>-nú we are going to go and buy

51.3 niz<sup>i</sup>-ni he didn't buy

52.1 + 2.8 Nis<sup>i</sup>-ni he didn't go and buy

52.2 + 2.8 Nyos<sup>i</sup>-nú we didn't go and buy

Nyasi-ä I didn't go and buy

61.2 zizi-ni he will buy

62.1 + 2.8 zisi-ni he will go and buy

62.2 + 2.8 zyosí-nú we will go and buy

zyasi-á I will go and buy

75.1 koLzî, koLsî buy!

koLtšasî go buy!

Class 10 consists of 7 stems. This class is determined by the following morphemes and allomorphs as illustrated by the stem gutše to keep:

11.1 kagútše-nini he continually keeps/kept it

12.1 + 2.1 zalútše-nini he continually goes/went and keeps/kept it

12.3 + 2.1 zolútše-núni we continually go/went and keep/kept it

21.1 řgutše-nini he habitually keeps/kept it

22.1 + 2.1 rilutše-nini he habitually goes/went and keeps/kept it

22.2 + 2.1 řyalutše-áni I habitually go/went and keep/kept it

řyolútše-núni we habitually go/went and keep/kept it

31.5 gulutše-nini he kept it

gulutše-ni keep it!

31.9 bilútše-núni we kept it

32.1 + 2.1 wilutše-nini he went and kept it

wilutše-ni go keep it!

32.2 + 2.1 walutše-áni I went and kept it

32.3 + 2.1 byolútše-núni we went and kept it

41.3 gilútše-núni we are going to keep it

41.15 kútše-nini he is going to keep it

42.1 + 2.1 tšalútše-nini he is going to go and keep it

42.2 + 2.1 tšolútše-nuni we are going to go and keep it

51.3 nigútše-nini he didn't keep it

52.1 + 2.1 Nilútše-nini he didn't go and keep it

52.2 + 2.1 Nyolútše-núni we didn't go and keep it

Nyalutše-áni I didn't go and keep it

61.2 zigutše-nini he will keep it

62.1 + 2.1 zilutše-nini he will go and keep it

62.2 + 2.1 zyolútše-núni we will go and keep it

zyalutše-áni I will go and keep it

75.1 koLgútše-ni keep it!

koLtšalútše-ni go keep it!

75.4 koLkútše-ni keep it!

85.2 nagútše-ni he has it kept

Class 11 consists of 4 stems. This class is determined by the following morphemes and allomorphs as illustrated by the stem yutše to be kept:

11.1 kayutše-ni it is/was continually kept

Mitla Zapotec

21.3 rutše-ni it is/was habitually kept

31.1 guyutše-ni it was kept

41.19 tšútše-ni it is going to be kept

51.4 nyútše-ni it wasn't kept

61.5 zutše-ni it will be kept

85.6 yutše<sup>h</sup>-ni it is kept

Class 12 consists of 3 non-causative stems. This class is determined by the following morphemes and allomorphs as illustrated by the stem yuhdš to ro

11.1 kayúhdž-ni it continually rotted/rots

21.1 ruhdž-ni it habitually rots/rotted

31.1 guyuhdž-ni it rotted

41.11 gudž-ni it is going to rot (class 12b takes 41.11)

(41.9 gâ-ni it is going to ripen [class 12a, yah takes 41.9])

51.4 nyúhdž-ni it didn't rot

61.5 zuhdž-ni it will rot

85.9 guyúhdž-ni it is rotten

Class 13 consists of 30 stems. This class is determined by the following morphemes and allomorphs as illustrated by the stem yuhn to do, to make (other members of this class are compounds of this simple stem):

11.1 kayúhn-nini he continually does/did it

12.1 + 2.7 zayéhn-nini he continually goes/went and does/did it

12.3 + 2.7 zoyén-núni we continually go/went and do/did it

21.1 ruhn-nini he habitually does/did it

22.1 + 2.7 riyehn-nini he habitually goes/went and does/did it

22.2 + 2.7 ryayen-áni I habitually go/went and do/did it

ryoyén-núni we habitually go/went and do/did it

31.11 behn-nini he did it

behn-ni do it!

32.1 + 2.7 wiyehn-nini he went and did it

wiyehn-ni go do it!

32.2 + 2.7 wayen-áni I went and did it

32.3 + 2.7 byoyén-núni we went and did it

41.11 gún-nini he is going to do it (class 13b takes 41.11)

(41.9 gúntše-ni he's going to make [class 13a, yuntše to make])

41.4 giyén-núni we are going to do it

42.1 + 2.7 tšayéhn-nini he is going to go and do it

42.2 + 2.7 tšoyén-núni we are going to go and do it

51.4 nyúhn-nini he didn't do it

52.1 + 2.7 Niyéhn-nini he didn't go and do it

52.2 + 2.7 Nyayen-áni I didn't go and do it

Nyoyén-núni we didn't go and do it

61.5 zuhn-nini he will do it

62.1 + 2.7 ziyehn-nini he will go and do it

- 62.2 + 2.7 zyoyĕn-núni we will go and do it  
 zyayen-áni I will go and do it  
 75.1 koLyúhn-ni, koLyéhn-ni do it!  
 koLtsáyéhn-ni go do it!  
 85.2 nayúntše-ni he has it made

Class 14 consists of 5 stems. This class is determined by the following morphemes and allomorphs as illustrated by the stem yoL to sing:

- 11.1 kayôL-ni he continually sings/sang  
 12.1 + 2.7 zayêL-ni he continually goes/went and sings/sang  
 12.2 + 2.7 zoyêL-nú we continually go/went and sing/sang  
 21.3 roL-ni he habitually sings/sang  
 22.1 + 2.7 ríyêL-ni he habitually goes/went and sings/sang  
 22.2 + 2.7 řyayêL-á I habitually go/went and sing/sang  
 řyoyêL-nú we habitually go/went and sing/sang  
 31.9 biyôL-nú we sang  
 31.12 biL-ni he sang; sing it!  
 32.1 + 2.7 wiyeL-ni he went and sang; go sing it!  
 32.2 + 2.7 wayêL-á I went and sang  
 32.3 + 2.7 byoyêL-nú we went and sang  
 41.3 giyôL-nú we are going to sing  
 41.9 gôL-ni he is going to sing  
 42.1 + 2.7 tsáyêL-ni he is going to go and sing  
 42.2 + 2.7 tsoyêL-nú we are going to go and sing  
 51.4 nyôL-ni he didn't sing  
 52.1 + 2.7 NiyêL-ni he didn't go and sing  
 52.2 + 2.7 NyoyêL-nu we didn't go and sing  
 NyayêL-á I didn't go and sing  
 61.5 zoL-ni he will sing  
 62.1 + 2.7 ziyêL-ni he will go and sing  
 62.2 + 2.7 zyoyêL-nú we will go and sing  
 zyayêL-á I will go and sing  
 75.1 koLyôL sing!  
 koLtsáyôL, koLtsáyêL go sing!  
 75.7 koLyêL sing!

Class 15 consists of 7 stems. This class is determined by the following morphemes and allomorphs as illustrated by the stem yáʔp to climb:

- 11.1 kayáʔp-ni he continually climbs/climbed  
 12.1 + 2.6 zayáʔp-ni he continually goes/went and climbs/climbed  
 (zatsáʔp-ni)  
 12.3 + 2.6 zotsáʔp-nú we continually go/went and climb/climbed  
 21.3 ráʔp-ni he habitually climbs/climbed  
 22.1 + 2.6 ritśáʔp-ni he habitually goes/went and climbs/climbed  
 22.2 + 2.6 řyotsáʔp-nú we habitually go/went and climb/climbed

Mitla Zapotec

- řyatšäʔp-á I habitually go/went and climb/climbed
- 31.1 guyäʔp-ni he climbed; climb it!
- 31.9 biyáʔp-nú we climbed
- 32.4 wäʔp-ni he went and climbed; go climb it!
- 41.3 giyáʔp-nú we are going to climb
- 41.19 tšáʔp-ni he is going to climb (class 15a takes 41.19)
- (41.20 tšék-ni it is going to be burned up [class 15b, yehk])
- 42.1 + 2.6 tšatšáʔp-ni he is going to go and climb
- 42.2 + 2.6 tšotšáʔp-nú we are going to go and climb
- 51.4 nyáʔp-ni he didn't climb
- 52.1 + 2.6 Niyáʔp-ni he didn't go and climb (Nitsäʔp-ni)
- 52.2 + 2.6 Nyotšáʔp-nú we didn't go and climb
- Nyatšäʔp-á I didn't go and climb
- 61.5 zäʔp-ni he will climb
- 62.1 + 2.6 zitšäʔp-ni he will go and climb
- 62.2 + 2.6 zyatšäʔp-á I will go and climb
- zyotšáʔp-nú we will go and climb
- 75.1 koLyáʔp, koLtsáʔp climb!
- koLtsáyáʔp go climb!
- 85.2 nayáʔp-ni it is climbed

Class 16 consists of about 70 stems, most of which are compounds of the stem yahk to be; to become. This class is determined by the following morphemes and allomorphs as illustrated by the stem yaknäh to help:

- 11.1 kayáknäh-ni he continually helps/helped
- 12.1 + 2.5 zayáknäh-ni he continually goes/went and helps/helped
- 12.3 + 2.5 zoyáknä-nú we continually go/went and help/helped
- 21.3 raknäh-ni he habitually helps/helped
- 22.1 + 2.5 riyáknäh-ni he habitually goes/went and helps/helped
- 22.2 + 2.5 řyoyáknä-nú we habitually go/went and help/helped
- řyayaknä-á I habitually go/went and help/helped
- 31.6 guknäh-ni he helped; help him!
- 31.9 biyáknä-nú we helped
- 32.1 + 2.5 wiyáknäh-ni he went and helped; go help him!
- 32.2 + 2.5 wayáknä-á I went and helped
- 32.3 + 2.5 byoyáknä-nú we went and helped
- 41.3 giyáknä-nú we are going to help
- 41.9 gáknäh-ni he is going to help (class 16a take 41.9)
- (41.11 gák- is going to be [class 16b, yahk, take 41.11])
- 42.1 + 2.5 tšayáknäh-ni he is going to go and help
- 42.2 + 2.5 tšoyáknä-nú we are going to go and help
- 51.4 nyáknäh-ni he didn't help
- 52.1 + 2.5 Niyáknäh-ni he didn't go and help
- 52.2 + 2.5 Nyayaknä-á I didn't go and help

Nyoyákná-nú we didn't go and help

61.5 zaknáh-ni he will help

62.1 + 2.5 ziyaknáh-ni he will go and help

62.2 + 2.5 zyoyákná-nú we will go and help

zyayákná-á I will go and help

75.1 koLyáknáh, koLgáknáh help!

koLtšáyáknáh go help!

Class 17 consists of 14 stems. This class is determined by the following morphemes and allomorphs as illustrated by the stem ya<sup>?</sup>N to plough:

11.1 kayá<sup>?</sup>N-ni he continually ploughs/ploughed

12.1 + 2.5 zagá<sup>?</sup>N-ni he continually goes/went and ploughs/ploughed

12.3 + 2.5 zogá<sup>?</sup>N-nú we continually go/went and plough/ploughed

21.3 ra<sup>?</sup>N-ni he habitually ploughs/ploughed

22.1 + 2.5 riga<sup>?</sup>N-ni he habitually goes/went and ploughs/ploughed

22.2 + 2.5 řyogá<sup>?</sup>N-nú we habitually go/went and plough/ploughed

řyaga<sup>?</sup>N-á I habitually go/went and plough/ploughed

31.7 go<sup>?</sup>N-ni he ploughed; plough it!

31.9 biyá<sup>?</sup>N-nú we ploughed

32.1 + 2.5 wiga<sup>?</sup>N-ni he went and ploughed; go plough it!

32.2 + 2.5 waga<sup>?</sup>N-á I went and ploughed

32.3 + 2.5 byogá<sup>?</sup>N-nú we went and ploughed

41.3 giyá<sup>?</sup>N-nú we are going to plough

(41.9 gál-ni it is going to be born [class 17a, c, yahI])

(41.10 = gá<sup>?</sup>p-ni he is going to have [class 17e, yahp])

41.11 gáN-ni he is going to plough (class 17b)

(41.11 = gáL-ni he is going to reach [class 17d, yahL])

42.1 + 2.5 tšagá<sup>?</sup>N-ni he is going to go and plough

42.2 + 2.5 tšogá<sup>?</sup>N-nú we are going to go and plough

51.4 nyá<sup>?</sup>N-ni he didn't plough

52.1 + 2.5 Niga<sup>?</sup>N-ni he didn't go and plough

52.2 + 2.5 Nyogá<sup>?</sup>N-nu we didn't go and plough

Nyaga<sup>?</sup>N-á I didn't go and plough

61.5 za<sup>?</sup>N-ni he will plough

62.1 + 2.5 ziga<sup>?</sup>N-ni he will go and plough

62.2 + 2.5 zyogá<sup>?</sup>N-nu we will go and plough

zyaga<sup>?</sup>N-á I will go and plough

75.1 koLyá<sup>?</sup>N plough!

koLtšága<sup>?</sup>N go plough!

85.2 ányayá<sup>?</sup>N-ni he has it ploughed

Class 18 consists of 5 stems. This class is determined by the following morphemes and allomorphs as illustrated by the stem yauh to eat:

11.1 kayáuh-ni he continually eats/ate

12.1 + 2.2 zatauh-ni he continually goes/went and eats/ate

Mitla Zapotec

- 12.3 + 2.2 zotáu-nú we continually go/went and eat/ate  
 21.3 rauh-ni he habitually eats/ate  
 22.1 + 2.2 ritauh-ni he habitually goes/went and eats/ate  
 22.2 + 2.2 řyatau-á I habitually go/went and eat/ate  
     řyotáu-nú we habitually go/went and eat/ate  
 31.2 gudauh-ni he ate; eat it!  
 31.9 bidáu-nú we ate  
 32.1 + 2.2 witauh-ni he went and ate; go eat it!  
 32.2 + 2.2 watau-á I went and ate  
 32.3 + 2.2 byotáu-nú we went and ate  
 41.5 gidáu-nú we are going to eat  
 41.11 gaú-ni he is going to eat (class 18b take 41.11)  
 (41.9 gái-ni he is going to put on [class 18a, yäh, take 41.9])  
 42.1 + 2.2 tšatáu-ni he is going to go and eat  
 42.2 + 2.2 tšotáu-nú we are going to go and eat  
 51.4 nyaúh-ni he didn't eat  
 52.1 + 2.2 Nitáu-ni he didn't go and eat  
 52.2 + 2.2 Nyotáu-nú we didn't go and eat  
     Nyatau-á I didn't go and eat  
 61.5 zauh-ni he will eat  
 62.1 + 2.2 zítauh-ni he will go and eat  
 62.2 + 2.2 zyotáu-nú we will go and eat  
     zyatau-á I will go and eat  
 75.1 koLtšatáu go and eat!  
 75.2 koLgáu eat!  
 75.3 koLtau eat!

Class 19 consists of 15 non-causative stems, with their corresponding causative stems in class 1. This class is determined by the morphemes and allomorphs as illustrated by the stem zutše to dress:

- 11.1 kazútše-ni he continually dresses/dressed  
 12.1 + 2.8 zasútše-ni he continually goes/went and dresses/dressed  
 12.3 + 2.8 zosútše-nú we continually go/went and dress/dressed  
 21.2 rizyutše-ni he habitually dresses/dressed  
 22.1 + 2.8 risutše-ni he habitually goes/went and dresses/dressed  
 22.2 + 2.8 řyosútše-nu we habitually go/went and dress/dressed  
     řyasutše-á I habitually go/went and dress/dressed  
 31.1 guzutše-ni he dressed  
     guzutše dress!  
 31.9 bizútše-nú we dressed  
 32.1 + 2.8 wisutše-ni he went and dressed  
     wisutše go dress!  
 32.2 + 2.8 wasutše-á I went and dressed

- 32.3 + 2.8 byosútše-nú we went and dressed  
 41.3 gizútše-nú we are going to dress  
 41.15 sútše-ni he is going to dress  
 42.1 + 2.8 tšasútše-ni he is going to go and dress  
 42.2 + 2.8 tšosútše-nu we are going to go and dress  
 51.2 nizyútše-ni he didn't dress  
 52.1 + 2.8 Nisútše-ni he didn't go and dress  
 52.2 + 2.8 Nyosútše-nú we didn't go and dress  
     Nyasutse-á I didn't go and dress  
 61.3 zizyutše-ni he will dress  
 62.1 + 2.8 zisutše-ni he will go and dress  
 62.2 + 2.8 zyosútše-nú we will go and dress  
     zyasutše-á I will go and dress  
 75.1 koLzútše dress!  
     koLtšásutše go dress!  
 75.8 koLsútše dress!  
 85.6 zutšé-ni he is dressed

Class 20 consists of 25 stems. This class is determined by the following morphemes and allomorphs as illustrated by the stem gihž to pay:

- 11.1 kagfhž-ni he continually pays/paid  
 12.1 + 2.2 zatfhž-ni he continually goes/went and pays/paid  
 12.3 + 2.2 zotihž-nú we continually go/went and pay/paid  
 21.1 řgihž-ni he habitually pays/paid  
 22.1 + 2.2 ritihž-ni he habitually goes/went and pays/paid  
 22.2 + 2.2 řyatihž-á I habitually go/went and pay/paid  
     řyotihž-nú we habitually go/went and pay/paid  
 31.2 gudihž-ni he paid; pay it!  
 31.9 bidihž-nú we paid  
 32.1 + 2.2 withihž-ni he went and paid; go pay it!  
 32.2 + 2.2 watihž-á I went and paid  
 32.3 + 2.2 byotihž-nú we went and paid  
 41.5 gidihž-nú we are going to pay  
 41.15 kihž-ni he is going to pay (class 20a take 41.15)  
 (41.17 kób-ni he is going to smoke [class 20b, gohb, take 41.17])  
 42.1 + 2.2 tšatfhž-ni he is going to go and pay  
 42.2 + 2.2 tšotihž-nú we are going to go and pay  
 51.3 nigfhž-ni he didn't pay  
 52.1 + 2.2 Nitfhž-ni he didn't go and pay  
 52.2 + 2.2 Nyotihž-nú we didn't go and pay  
     Nyatihž-á I didn't go and pay  
 61.2 zigihž-ni he will pay  
 62.1 + 2.2 zitihž-ni he will go and pay

Mitla Zapotec

62.2 + 2.2 zyotíŷ-nú we will go and pay

zyatíŷ-á I will go and pay

75.1 koLtsáŷíŷ go pay!

75.4 koLkíŷ pay!

Class 21 consists of 3 stems. This class is determined by the following morphemes and allomorphs as illustrated by the stem gíht to play:

11.1 kagíht-ní he continually plays/played

12.1 + 2.3 zatsúht-ní he continually goes/went and plays/played

12.3 + 2.3 zotsút-nú we continually go/went and play/played

21.1 řgíht-ní he habitually plays/played

22.1 + 2.3 ritsuht-ní he habitually goes/went and plays/played

22.2 + 2.3 řyatsut-á I habitually go/went and play/played

řyotsút-nú we habitually go/went and play/played

31.3 gudzuht-ní he played, gudzuht play!

31.9 bidzút-nú we played

32.1 + 2.3 witsuht-ní he went and played, witsuht go play!

32.2 + 2.3 watsut-á I went and played

32.3 + 2.3 byotsút-nú we went and played

41.6 gidzút-nú we are going to play

41.17 kíŷ-ní he is going to play (class 21b take 41.17)

(41.15 kíŷya?-ní he is going to sting [class 21a, gitya?, take 41.15])

42.1 + 2.3 tšatsúht-ní he is going to go and play

42.2 + 2.3 tšotsút-nú we are going to go and play

51.3 nigíht-ní he didn't play

52.1 + 2.3 Nitsuht-ní he didn't go and play

52.2 + 2.3 Nyotsúŷt-nú we didn't go and play (or: Nyotsút-nú)

Nyatsut-á I didn't go and play

61.2 zigíht-ní he will play

62.1 + 2.3 zitsuht-ní he will go and play

62.2 + 2.3 zyotsúŷt-nú ~ zyotsút-nú we will go and play

zyatsut-á I will go and play

75.1 koLgíht play!

koLtsátsúht go play!

Class 22 consists of 3 stems. This class is determined by the following morphemes and allomorphs as illustrated by the stem behďž to call:

11.1 kabéďž-ní he continually calls/called

12.1 + 2.2 zatéďž-ní he continually goes/went and calls/called

12.3 + 2.2 zotéďž-nú we continually go/went and call/called

21.1 řbehďž-ní he habitually calls/called

22.1 + 2.2 riteďž-ní he habitually goes/went and calls/called

22.2 + 2.2 řyatedž-á I habitually go/went and call/called

řyotéďž-nú we habitually go/went and call/called

- 31.4 gurehdž-ni he called; call him!  
 31.9 birédž-nú we called  
 32.1 + 2.2 witehdž-ni he went and called; go call him!  
 32.2 + 2.2 watedž-á I went and called  
 32.3 + 2.2 byotédž-nú we went and called  
 41.7 girédž-nú we are going to call  
 41.13 k<sup>w</sup>édž-ni he is going to call  
 42.1 + 2.2 tšatédž-ni he is going to go and call  
 42.2 + 2.2 tšotédž-nú we are going to go and call  
 51.3 nibédž-ni he didn't call  
 52.1 + 2.2 Nitédž-ni he didn't go and call  
 52.2 + 2.2 Nyotédž-nú we didn't go and call  
     Nyatedž-á I didn't go and call  
 61.2 zibehdž-ni he will call  
 62.1 + 2.2 zitehdž-ni he will go and call  
 62.2 + 2.2 zytédž-nú we will go and call  
     zyatedž-á I will go and call  
 75.1 koLbéhdž call!  
     koLtšátehdž go call!  
 75.6 koLk<sup>w</sup>ehdž call!

Class 23 consists of 5 stems. This class is determined by the following morphemes and allomorphs as illustrated by the stem beh to sit down:

- 11.1 kabeh-ni he continually sits/sat  
 12.1 + 2.4 zak<sup>wě</sup>-ni he continually goes/went and sits/sat  
 12.3 + 2.4 zok<sup>wě</sup>-nú we continually go/went and sit/sat  
 21.1 řbeh-ni he habitually sits/sat  
 22.1 + 2.4 rik<sup>wě</sup>-ni he habitually goes/went and sits/sat  
 22.2 + 2.4 řyak<sup>wě</sup>-á I habitually go/went and sit/sat  
     řyok<sup>wě</sup>-nú we habitually go/went and sit/sat  
 31.4 gureh-ni he sat down  
     gureh sit down!  
 31.9 biré-nú we sat  
 32.1 + 2.4 wik<sup>wě</sup>-ni he went and sat down  
     wik<sup>wě</sup> go sit down!  
 32.2 + 2.4 wak<sup>wě</sup>-á I went and sat down  
 32.3 + 2.4 byok<sup>wě</sup>-nú we went and sat down  
 41.7 giré-nú we are going to sit down  
 41.14 k<sup>wě</sup>-ni he is going to sit down (class 23 takes 41.14)  
 (41.13 k<sup>wě</sup>bä?N-ni it is going to tumble down [class 23a, bebä?N, take 41.13])  
 42.1 + 2.4 tšak<sup>wě</sup>-ni he is going to go and sit  
 42.2 + 2.4 tšok<sup>wě</sup>-nú we are going to go and sit down  
 51.3 nibéh-ni he didn't sit down

Mitla Zapotec

- 52.1 + 2.4 Nik<sup>wě</sup>-ni he didn't go and sit down  
 52.2 + 2.4 Nyok<sup>wě</sup>-nú we didn't go and sit  
           nyak<sup>wē</sup>-á I didn't go and sit down  
 61.2 zibeh-ni he will sit down  
 62.1 + 2.4 zik<sup>wě</sup>-ni he will go and sit down  
 62.2 + 2.4 z yok<sup>wě</sup>-nú we will go and sit down  
           zyak<sup>wē</sup>-á I will go and sit down  
 75.1 koLb<sup>é</sup>h sit down!  
       koLtsá<sup>k</sup>w<sup>é</sup> go sit down!  
 75.6 koLk<sup>wé</sup>h sit down!  
 85.2 nab<sup>é</sup>h-ni he is set down

Class 24 consists of 3 stems. This class is determined by the following morphemes and allomorphs as illustrated by the stem bihb to mount:

- 11.1 kab<sup>h</sup>b-ni he continually mounts/mounted  
 12.1 + 2.4 zak<sup>w</sup>ib-ni he continually goes/went and mounts/mounted  
 12.3 + 2.4 zok<sup>w</sup>ib-nú we continually go/went and mount/mounted  
 21.1 řbihb-ni he habitually mounts/mounted  
 22.1 + 2.4 rik<sup>w</sup>ib-ni he habitually goes/went and mounts/mounted  
 22.2 + 2.4 řyok<sup>w</sup>ib-nú we habitually go/went and mount/mounted  
           řyak<sup>w</sup>ib-á I habitually go/went and mount/mounted  
 31.1 gubihb-ni he mounted; mount it!  
 31.9 bib<sup>h</sup>ib-nú we mounted  
 32.1 + 2.4 wik<sup>w</sup>ib-ni he went and mounted; go mount it!  
 32.2 + 2.4 wak<sup>w</sup>ib-á I went and mounted  
 32.3 + 2.4 byok<sup>w</sup>ib-nú we went and mounted  
 41.3 gib<sup>h</sup>ib-nú we are going to mount  
 41.14 k<sup>w</sup>ib-ni he is going to mount (class 24a take 41.14)  
 (41.13 gubibtyéhn-ni it is going to rust [class 24, bibtyehh take 41.13])  
 42.1 + 2.4 tsák<sup>w</sup>ib-ni he is going to go and mount  
 42.2 + 2.4 tsók<sup>w</sup>ib-nú we are going to go and mount  
 51.3 nib<sup>h</sup>hb-ni he didn't mount  
 52.1 + 2.4 Nik<sup>w</sup>ib-ni he didn't go and mount  
 52.2 + 2.4 Nyok<sup>w</sup>ib-nú we didn't go and mount  
           Nyak<sup>w</sup>ib-á I didn't go and mount  
 61.2 zibihb-ni he will mount  
 62.1 + 2.4 zik<sup>w</sup>ib-ni he will go and mount  
 62.2 + 2.4 z yok<sup>w</sup>ib-nú we will go and mount  
           zyak<sup>w</sup>ib-á I will go and mount  
 75.1 koLb<sup>h</sup>hb mount!  
       koLtsá<sup>k</sup>w<sup>h</sup>ib go mount!  
 75.6 koLk<sup>w</sup>hb mount!  
 85.2 nab<sup>h</sup>hb-ni he has it mounted, it is mounted

Class 25 consists of 11 stems. This class is determined by the following morphemes and allomorphs as illustrated by the stem bähz to wait:

- 11.1 kabähz-ni he continually waits/waited  
 12.1 + 2.1 zalähz-ni he continually goes/went and waits/waited  
 12.3 + 2.1 zolähz-nú we continually go/went and wait/waited  
 21.1 řbähz-ni he habitually waits/waited  
 22.1 + 2.1 rilähz-ni he habitually goes/went and waits/waited  
 22.2 + 2.1 řyolähz-nú we habitually go/went and wait/waited  
     řyalähz-á I habitually go/went and wait/waited  
 31.5 gulähz-ni he waited; wait for him!  
 31.9 bilähz-nú we waited  
 32.1 + 2.1 wilähz-ni he went and waited; go wait for him!  
 32.2 + 2.1 walähz-á I went and waited  
 32.3 + 2.1 byolähz-nú we went and waited  
 41.3 gibähz-nú we are going to wait  
 41.13 kwähz-ni he is going to wait (class 25 take 41.13)  
 42.1 + 2.1 tšalähz-ni he is going to go and wait  
 42.2 + 2.1 tšolähz-nú we are going to go and wait  
 51.3 nibähz-ni he didn't wait  
 52.1 + 2.1 Nilähz-ni he didn't go and wait  
 52.2 + 2.1 Nyolähz-nú we didn't go and wait  
     Nyalähz-á I didn't go and wait  
 61.2 zibähz-ni he will wait  
 62.1 + 2.1 zilähz-ni he will go and wait  
 62.2 + 2.1 zyolähz-nú we will go and wait  
     zyalähz-á I will go and wait  
 75.1 koLbähz wait!  
     koLtšalähz go wait!  
 75.6 koLk<sup>w</sup>ähz wait!

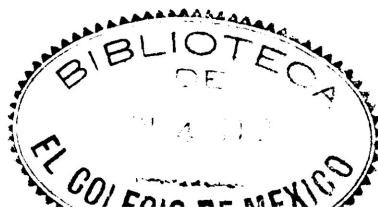
Class 26 consists of the irregular and defective stems. They are given here with all the 00 morphemes and allomorphs with which each stem occurs: dinbeh to air (to have air hit one)

- 11.1 kadínbeh-nini he continually airs/aired it  
 12.1 + 2.8 zatínbeh-nini he continually goes/went and airs/aired it  
 12.3 + 2.8 zotínbê-núni we continually go/went and air/aired it  
 21.1 řdinbeh-nini he habitually airs/aired it  
 22.1 + 2.8 ritinbeh-nini he habitually goes/went and airs/aired it  
 22.2 + 2.8 řyatinbe-áni I habitually go/went and air/aired it  
     řyotínbê-núni we habitually go/went and air/aired it  
 31.1 gudinbeh-nini he aired it  
     gudinbeh-ni air it!  
 31.9 bidínbê-núni we aired it  
 32.1 + 2.8 witinbeh-nini he went and aired it

Mitla Zapotec

- witinbeh-ni go air it!  
32.2 + 2.8 watinbe-áni I went and aired it  
32.3 + 2.8 byotínbê-núni we went and aired it  
41.3 gidínbê-núni we are going to air it  
41.13 kínbeh-nini he is going to air it  
42.1 + 2.8 tšatínbeh-nini he is going to go and air it  
42.2 + 2.8 tšotínbê-núni we are going to go and air it  
51.3 nidínbeh-ni he didn't air it  
52.1 + 2.8 Nitínbeh-nini he didn't go and air it  
52.2 + 2.8 Nyatinbe-áni I didn't go and air it  
Nyotínbê-núni we didn't go and air it  
61.2 zidínbeh-nini he will air it  
62.1 + 2.8 zitínbeh-nini he will go and air it  
62.2 + 2.8 zyoťínbê-núni he will go and air it  
zyatinbe-áni I will go and air it  
75.1 koLdínbeh-ni air it!  
koLšatínbeh-ni go air it!  
75.4 koLkínbeh-ni air it!  
yá? to drink  
11.1 kayá?-ní he continually drinks/drank  
12.1 zayá?-ní he continually goes/went and drinks/drank  
12.3 zoyá?-nú we continually go/went and drink/drank  
21.3 rá?-ní he habitually drinks/drank  
22.1 riyá?-ní he habitually goes/went and drinks/drank  
22.2 řyoyá?-nú we habitually go/went and drink/drank  
řyayá?-á I habitually go/went and drink/drank  
31.6 gu?-ni he drank; drink it!  
31.9 biyá?-nú we drank  
32.1 wiyá?-ni he went and drank; go drink it!  
32.2 wayá?-á I went and drank  
32.3 byoyá?-nú we went and drank  
41.3 giyá?-nú we are going to drink  
41.22 yá-ni he is going to drink  
yá?-á I am going to drink  
42.1 tšayá?-ni he is going to go and drink  
42.2 tšoyá?-nú we are going to go and drink  
51.4 nyá?-ni he didn't drink  
52.1 Niyá?-ni he didn't go and drink  
52.2 Nyoyá?-nú we didn't go and drink  
Nyayá?-á I didn't go and drink  
61.5 ză?-ni he will drink  
62.1 ziyá?-ni he will go and drink  
62.2 zyayá?-á I will go and drink

- zyoyá?-nú we will go and drink
- 75.1 koLyá? drink!  
 koLtšáyá? go drink!  
 yäd to come (with second and third persons)  
 yäl with first person singular  
 yo?p with first person plural
- 10 zyäl-á I continually come  
 zyäd-ni he continually comes  
 zyó?p-nú we continually come
- 20 řyäd-ni he habitually comes came
- 30 byäd-ni he came
- 40 xyäd-ni he is going to come
- 50 nyäd-ni he didn't come
- 60 zyäd-ni he will come
- Imperatives: sg: guda come!  
 pl: koLtá come!
- yi to go away (with second and third persons)  
 ya? with first person singular  
 yöN with first person plural
- 30 zä-ni he went away home  
 zya?-á I went away home  
 zyoN-nú we went away home
- 40 xä-ni he is going to go away  
 xya?-á I am going to go away  
 xyöN-nú we are going to go away
- 50 Nwä-ni he didn't go away  
 Nya?-á I didn't go away  
 NyöN-nú we didn't go away
- 60 zwi-ni he will go away  
 zya?-á I will go away  
 zyöN-nú we will go away
- 75 koLxfh go away!  
 yih to go (with second and third persons)  
 ya? with first person singular  
 yöN with first person plural
- 10 zä-ni he went  
 za?-á I went  
 zöN-nú we went
- 20 rih-ni he habitually goes/went  
 řya?-á I habitually go/went  
 řyöN-nú we habitually go/went
- 30 wih-ni he went; wih, bih go!  
 wa?-á I went



Mitla Zapotec

- byŏN-nú we went  
40 tšá?-á I am going  
tšá-ni he is going  
tšŏN-nú we are going  
50 Nih-ni he didn't go  
Nya?-á I didn't go  
NyŏN-nú we didn't go  
60 zih-ni he will go  
zya?-á I will go  
zyŏN-nú we will go  
75 koLtsáh go!  
-- do'ó ~ do'á let's go (speaking to one person)  
-- koLtsó' let's go (speaking to more than one person)  
yoʔt to grind  
11.1 kayóʔt-ni he continually grinds/ground  
12.1 zayóʔt-ni he continually goes/went and grinds/ground  
12.3 zoyóʔt-nú we continually go/went and grind/ground  
21.3 roʔt-ni he habitually grinds/ground  
22.1 riyoʔt-ni he habitually goes/went and grinds/ground  
22.2 řyayoʔt-á I habitually go/went and grind/ground  
řyoyóʔt-nú we habitually go/went and grind/ground  
31-- báʔt-ni he ground; grind it!  
31.9 biyóʔt-nú we ground  
32.1 wiyoʔt-ni he went and ground; go grind it!  
32.2 wayoʔt-á I went and ground  
32.3 byoyóʔt-nú we went and ground  
41.3 giyóʔt-nú we are going to grind  
41.10 góʔt-ni he is going to grind  
42.1 tšayóʔt-ni he is going to go and grind  
42.2 tšoyóʔt-nú we are going to go and grind  
51.4 nyóʔt-ni he didn't grind  
61.2 zoʔt-ni he will grind  
75.1 koLyóʔt grind!  
koLtsáyóʔt go grind!  
yahk to be possible  
31.6 guhk-ni it was possible  
21.3 rahk-ni it is possible (habitually)  
41.10 gāk-ni it is going to be possible  
51.4 nyáhk-ni it wasn't possible  
61.5 zahk-ni it will be possible  
nahN to know  
nahN-ni he knows

- gâN-ni he will know (potential)  
 gohN-ni he knew  
 zahN-ni he will know  
 nyáhN-ni he didn't know  
     nã to see (as in the expression, I told you so!)  
 gunã-luš you see, then (sg.)  
 koLnã-tuš you see, then (pl.)  
     nah to say  
 nah-ni he said  
 nâ-ni he says  
     gehs to sleep (ablative stem: ges; dyes ~ ges with first person plural)  
 -- nagágehs-ni he is sleeping (na-, probably stative)  
 12.1 zagēs-ni he continually goes/went and sleeps/slept  
 12.3 zodyēs-nú we continually go/went and sleep/slept  
 21.3 rehs-ni he habitually sleeps/slept  
 22.1 rigēs-ni he habitually goes/went and sleeps/slept  
 22.2 řyages-á I habitually go/went and sleep/slept  
     řyodyēs-nú we habitually go/went and sleep/slept  
 31.2 gudyehs-ni he slept  
     gudyehs sleep!  
 32.1 wigēs-ni he went and slept  
     wigēs go sleep!  
 32.2 wages-á I went and slept  
 32.3 byodyēs-nú we went and slept  
 41.3 gidyēs-nú we are going to sleep  
 41.10 gēs-ni he is going to sleep  
 42.1 tšagēs-ni he is going to go and sleep  
 42.2 tšogēs-nú we are going to go and sleep  
 51.4 nyehs-ni he didn't sleep  
 52.1 Nigēs-ni he didn't go and sleep  
 52.2 Nyogēs-nú we didn't go and sleep  
     Nyages-á I didn't go and sleep  
 61.5 zehs-ni he will sleep  
 62.1 zigēs-ni he will go and sleep  
 62.2 zyages-á I will go and sleep  
     zyodyēs-nú we will go and sleep  
 75.1 koLgehs sleep!  
     koLtšagēs go sleep!  
     lahz to want  
 21.1 řlahz-ni he habitually wants  
     dōN to see (about something)  
 41.3 gidōN-nú we are going to see  
     zah to go along, to walk

Mitla Zapotec

- 12.1 zazáh-ni he continually walks/walked  
12.3 zozâ-nú we continually walk/walked  
21.2 řzyah-ni he habitually walks/walked  
31.1 guzah-ni he walked; guzah walk!  
31.9 bizâ-nú we walked  
32.1 wizah-ni he went and walked; wizah go walk!  
32.2 waza-á I went and walked  
32.3 byozâ-nú we went and walked  
41.18 sâ-ni he is going to walk  
42.1 tšazáh-ni he is going to go and walk  
42.2 tšozâ-nú we are going to go and walk  
51.1 nizáh-ni he didn't walk  
62.1 zizah-ni he will go and walk  
    tré? there are many, there were many  
    lá to be named  
    yila to be loaned  
22 ríla-ni it is loaned habitually  
32 wila-ni it was loaned  
52 Níla-ni it wasn't loaned  
62 zila-ni it will be loaned  
    tšáala-ni it is going to be loaned  
    záala-ni it was loaned  
    říla-ni loans it  
    yuih to relate  
21.3 ruih-ni he habitually relates  
11.1 kayúih-ni he is relating  
31 bihy-ni he related  
41.11 guí-ni he is going to relate  
    yu? to be (temporary condition indicated); tšu? ablative  
21.3 ru?-ni he is habitually  
22.1 ritšu?-ni he is habitually elsewhere  
31.1 guyu?-ni he was  
32.1 witšu?-ni he was elsewhere  
41.26 tšu?-á I am going to be; tšu-ni he is going to be  
42.1 tšatšú?-ni he is going to be elsewhere  
51.4 nyú?-ni he wasn't; ~ 51.1 niyu?-ni he wasn't  
52.1 Niyú?-ni he wasn't elsewhere  
61.5 zu?-ni he will be  
62.1 zitšu?-ni he will be elsewhere  
    na-dá-di I don't want to  
    ná-tini he doesn't want to  
    -yalahz disobedient, headstrong

- 11.1 kayālahz-ni he is continually disobedient  
 12.1 zayālahz-ni he continually goes and is disobedient  
 21.1 řyalahz-ni he is habitually disobedient  
 31.1 guyalahz-ni he was disobedient  
 32.1 wiyalahz-ni he went and was disobedient  
 41.11 xyālahz-ni he is going to be disobedient  
 42.1 tšayālahz-ni he is going to go and be disobedient  
 51.4 nyālahz-ni he wasn't disobedient  
 52.1 Niyālahz-ni he didn't go and be disobedient  
 61.4 zyālahz-ni he will be disobedient  
 62.1 ziyalahz-ni he will go and be disobedient  
       -ya to be woven, crocheted; to be rubbed on; to be whipped; to climb  
 11.1 kayā-ni he continually climbs  
 12.1 zayā-ni he continually goes and climbs  
 21.1 řyā-ni he habitually climbs  
 22.1 riya-ni he habitually goes and climbs  
 31.11 bya-ni he climbed  
 32.4 wā-ni he climbed  
 32.1 wiya-ni he went and climbed  
 41.19 tšā-ni he is going to climb  
 41.24 xyā-ni he is going to climb  
 42.1 tšayā-ni he is going to go and climb  
 51.4 nyā-ni he didn't climb  
 52.1 Niyā-ni he didn't go and climb  
 61.4 zya-ni he will climb  
 62.1 ziyā-ni he will go and climb  
 85.1 naya-ni it is crocheted  
       zāb to enter in  
 11.1 kazāb-ni he enters in continually  
 12.1 + 2.8 zasāb-ni he goes and enters in continually  
 21.2 řzyāb-ni he enters in  
 31.1 guzāb-ni he entered in  
 32.1 + 2.8 wisāb-ni he went and entered in  
 41.3 + 2.8 giyāb-ni he is going to enter in  
 42.1 + 2.8 tšasāb-ni he is going to go and enter in  
 51.3 nizāb-ni he didn't enter in  
 52.1 + 2.8 Nisāb-ni he didn't go and enter in  
 61.2 zizāb-ni he will enter in  
 62.1 + 2.8 zisāb-ni he will go and enter in
- 3.5. Morphemes prefixed to sequences of 00 prefixes plus verb stems of any class

These morphemes are divided into four groups, each group being mutually

## Mitla Zapotec

exclusive within itself. Class 00 morphemes occur next to the verb stem, then occur morphemes of classes 110-120, next in order from the stem morphemes of class 130, then classes 140-150, and finally class 160.

Class 110-120 morphemes are as follows:

111.1 = ga<sup>0</sup>-, indicates a question with no answer implied; occurs only with 131 preceding it, and never with first person: ágabáwí<sup>^</sup>-lu loh-ni have you already seen her?

112 = gá-, will become: gánadzuh will become salty.

113.1 = la<sup>0</sup>- suddenly: tšelagúbí<sup>g</sup>-ni when suddenly he approached, tšelabáNáh lahz-lu when suddenly you remembered. This morpheme is not perturbed to high; occurs after tše<sup>0</sup>-; is not perturbed to high tone by tše<sup>0</sup>-.

114 = laga- while: lagabáNáh laz-áni while I remembered; tšenáhL dígákti gudíb-á lahd; laganaLá kib-á when it was cold I couldn't wash clothes; while it is hot I will wash.

115 = lí- immediately, at once: lířri-ni at once it goes out.

116.1 = tís- only, just: tístša<sup>?</sup>-á mandád I'm just going on an errand.

117 = ní<sup>0</sup>-, one who; that; occurs with verb stems before any class 00 morpheme; indicates the doer of the action, or "agentive": níruśéd one who teaches; teacher (117 + 21.4 + sed to teach), behN níružúN gán the runner won, ráhb-ni loh nířNíbe he said to the ruler.

This morpheme may occur with morpheme 85.2 na<sup>0</sup>-, or a<sup>0</sup>-, which cause the vowel of ní- to become high (which does not then perturb the vowel in the following syllable to high). This morpheme combination has the same apparent meaning as ní<sup>0</sup>- used alone. Both ní<sup>0</sup>- and naní ~ aní may be pluralized by morpheme 531: naní bidzuhn ~ ání bidzuhn the one who arrived, reaná ruh dzun ~ reaní ruh dzun those who work.

118 = Na- (Nah) now; áNazyáL-á I'm now come.

119 = ža<sup>0</sup>- afterwards; ážagúślöh máz-ru ruh-ni řeméd now afterwards he began to make more remedies.

121 = ža- under, down under; žaxyát low down under.

122 = zigak<sup>0</sup>- as; zigak.náhk-lu as you are.

123 = nez- (nehz) way: kanézzá<sup>^</sup>-ní what way did he go?

Class 130 morphemes indicate negation. The occurrence of morpheme 311 is obligatory with all of these morphemes except with 131 and 132. With 132 it is optional, indicating negation. If it does not occur with 132, morpheme 311 indicates a question expecting the answer "yes".

Morphemes of this class are as follows:

131 = dí- not. This morpheme does not perturb to a low tone; it occurs before morphemes of classes 20, 40, 50: dířlaz-á I don't want, dínuřlahz we do not want. Morpheme 131 forms separate words with subject morphemes 342, 344, 345, 346, 347.1, 348: dínu not we.

132 = ét- not; étřNí-á loh-lu didn't I say to you!; étřNí<sup>^</sup>-dílu you don't say, étkakđ-d-nini isn't he fastening it!

133 = gád- (gáhd) not yet: gádnafi-áni I haven't seen it yet. This morpheme occurs as a separate word with person morphemes listed after morpheme 131 above: gadni not yet he. Morpheme 133 occurs before morphemes of classes 10, 40, 50.

134 = kát- (kát-di) nowhere: káttšanä-ádilu I will not take you anywhere. This morpheme occurs before morphemes of classes 12, 22, 42, 52.

135 = rúť- (rúť-di) no one: rúťbawi-dini he saw no one. Morpheme 135 occurs before morphemes of classes 10, 20, 30, 40, 50.

136 = žyét- (žyét-di) nothing: žyétkawí-dini he is looking at nothing. Morpheme 136 occurs before morphemes of classes 10, 20, 30, 40, 50.

137 = á- ~ bá-, a completive, something has been (in fact, or in one's mind); both these alternants may occur prefixed to the same noun at the same time, with morpheme 118 between them: ázyäL-á I have come, áNabábidzun-ä I have now arrived, ániábidzuhn-ni ~ ániábídzuhn-ni he has now arrived.

Class 140-150 morphemes indicate a question or introduce a dependent clause; class 140 morphemes, except 144, may do either; 144 only indicates a question. These morphemes are as follows:

141 = gúk- (gúk) when: gúkgubi?-lu when did you return?; dínagaN-á gúkgubi?-ni I don't know when she returned.

142 = ka<sup>o</sup>- (ká-ro) where: katšá-lu where are you going?; gidóN-nú katšá-ni we will see where she is going.

143 = ší<sup>o</sup>- (ší) what: šikáyuhn-lu what are you doing?; fí-lu šibéhn-ni you will see what he did.

144 = tóp- perhaps, would (a polite question): tópyu? dzun gun-á perhaps there is work for me to do?; tópzuhn-lu fabór gun-lu reméd nahré perhaps you will do the favor to doctor me?

145 = tšu<sup>o</sup>- (tšú) who: tšutšátehdž-ni who will call him?; gušáL-lu tšutšátehdž-ni you'll send one to call him.

146 = žó- (žó) how: žóyu?-lu how are you?; wiye?ts žóbehn-lu go tell what you did.

151 = lad<sup>o</sup>- (ladro<sup>o</sup>) where: nahN-ni ladnáhk rolih-z-lu he knows where your home is.

151.a = kad<sup>o</sup>- (kadro<sup>o</sup>) where, same as 151.

152 = paL<sup>o</sup>- (paLga<sup>o</sup>) if: paLgúkbe-ni if he understood. This morpheme with morpheme 131 dí-, and morpheme 50, indicates a contrary to fact situation: paLdílu nyád, nyéht-ni if you hadn't come, he would have died.

153 = pét- perhaps: pétgun-áni perhaps I will do it; pétzuhn-ni gán tšá-ni perhaps he will succeed in going.

154 = sóľ- if; occurs preceding class 40 morphemes: sóľtšayé?ts-lu if you will go and tell.

155 = šíp- how...! šípruhn-ni dzun how she works!

156 = tše<sup>o</sup>- ~ tši<sup>o</sup>- when: tšíbidzuhn-ni when he arrived (tše<sup>o</sup>- preferred).

Mitla Zapotec

157 = zak<sup>0</sup>- (zaksi<sup>0</sup>) because: zakwih-ni because he went.

158 = džek<sup>0</sup>- (džehk<sup>0</sup>) then: džekwih-lu then you went.

159 = aN- ~ a- interrogative morpheme, used with 131 dī-, expecting the answer "yes": aNdíkatyú?-nini isn't he cutting it?

Class 160 consists of two morphemes:

161 = té- so that: witsä?p ro?k téfi-á žózäb-lu go climb there so that I will see how you were hung.

162 = ni<sup>0</sup>- and, but: nitšéáguro?-lu but when you have become fat.

### 3.6. Combinations of class 00 with class 100-200 morphemes

The following list is illustrative:

a- (131) + : ka<sup>0</sup>- (11) ákarí rehn blood was now flowing

z- (51) ázyäL-á I have come

r- (21) árahp-ni he now has

gu- (31) águdyehs-ni he had slept

na- (241) + z- (52) ánazyäL-á I have now come

z1- (52) ázinä-ni he has taken

wi- (31) + 2.9 áwixya?N-lu you have gone to stay

Na- (241) + bá- (131) + bi (31) áNabábidzun-á I have now arrived

Na- (241) + na- (85) aNanaban-ä I have lived

za- (12) azanä-ni he has taken

ga<sup>0</sup>- (111) + ba- (31) ágabawí-lu have you seen?

ka<sup>0</sup>- (11.1) ákayá?N-rúni now he remains more

na- (241.4) ányu?-á there I was

dī- (121) + : x- (41) díxyäL lahz-lu you won't forget

na- (241) + n- (51) dínanyunza?k-á I didn't do well

ř- (21) dīřlaz-á I don't want

na- (241.4) + k<sup>0</sup> (41.13) dínakib-á I am not going to sew

lī- (115) + : ř- (21) līřri-ni it goes right out

ba- (31) lībazui-ni it smashed all to bits

kát- (124) + : tša<sup>0</sup>- (42) kátšanä-ádilu I will take you nowhere

ř- (21) kátřri-dini he goes out nowhere

ka- (11.2) + : gu<sup>0</sup>- (41.1) kaguLöb-ni she is going to be continually sweeping

ni<sup>0</sup>- (245) + : ř- (21) niřNyab-á what I ask

<sup>0</sup> (85) nizóhb which is placed

bi- (31) nibídžáglahz-ni what she liked

ka- (11) níkáyäl that is blossoming

z- (50) nizyäd which will come

gád- (123) + : na- (241) + f<sup>0</sup> (41) gádnafi-á I haven't seen yet

paL<sup>0</sup>- (152) + : š- (41) paLškáhb-lu if you want to

n<sup>0</sup> (85.3) paLnáhk-tu if you are

ni<sup>0</sup>- (162) + : tše<sup>0</sup>- (156) + z- (10) nitšézyátňä-lu and when you were coming with

- tse<sup>o</sup>- (156) + á- (131) + gu- (31.1) nitšéáguro?-lu and when you have become fat
- n (85.3) ninak-á but I am
- pét- (153) + : g<sup>o</sup> (41) pétgün-ni perhaps he will do
- rút- (125) + : bi- (31) rutbidžál-ádi I saw no one
- za<sup>o</sup>- (12) rútzazáh-di no one was going along
- ř- (21) rúťřyád-di re no one comes here
- sól- (154) + : tša<sup>o</sup>- (42) sóltšaye<sup>o</sup>ts-lu if you will go and tell
- ši<sup>o</sup>- (143) + : ka<sup>o</sup>- (11) šikáyúhn-ni what is he doing?
- r- (21) širúhn-lu what do you do?
- g<sup>o</sup>- (41) šigün-ni what will he do?
- š (632) + g<sup>o</sup> (41) šišgün-lu what are you going to do, then?
- gu- (31.1) šigúzak-á that which happened to me
- tša<sup>o</sup>- (42.1) šitšáka?-a what will I go and take?
- š (632) šišrúhn-ni then what does he do?
- šíp- (155) + : r- (21) šípruhn-ni how she works!
- na- (85) šipnasíN-lu how smart you are!
- žó- (146) + : g<sup>o</sup> (41) žógün-lu how will you do?
- n- (85) žónahk-ni how is it?
- š (632) + g<sup>o</sup> (41) žošgün-lu then how will you do?
- ka<sup>o</sup>- (11.1) žókayúnáh-ni how he is continually with
- té- (161) + : tša<sup>o</sup>- (42) tétšaka?-a so I will go and take
- g<sup>o</sup> (41) tégün-reni so they will do
- tše<sup>o</sup>- (156) + gi<sup>o</sup>- (41) tétšegíkin-lu so when you need
- tše<sup>o</sup>- (156) + á- (131) + zo- (50) tétšezodzün-nú so when we will have arrived
- tše<sup>o</sup>- (156) + á- (131) + bi- (31) tétšéábidzuhn-ni so when he had arrived
- dí- (121) + gu<sup>o</sup>- (41) tédígutyú?-nini so he will not pick it
- dí- (121) + n<sup>o</sup>- (51.4) tédínyáúh kuyó<sup>o</sup>t-ni so that the coyote didn't eat him
- tše<sup>o</sup>- / tši- (156) + : ba- (31) tšebáwí-ni when he saw
- ř- (21) tšeřbí?-ni when she returns
- wi- (32) tšewítšág-ni when it was gathered together
- ni<sup>o</sup>- (61) tšeníbá-ni when he didn't take out
- za<sup>o</sup>- (12) tšezázáh-ni when he was going along
- á- (131) + g- (31) tšeáguhk-ni when it was done
- á- (131) + b- (31) tšeábentše-túni when you had made it
- gi<sup>o</sup>- (41) tšegídedgužuN-nú when we are going passing fast
- la<sup>o</sup>- (113) + gu- (31) tšelagúni-ni when of a sudden he spoke
- z- (50) tšezýád-ni when he comes
- á- (131) + za<sup>o</sup>- (12) tšezádzuhn-ni when he will have arrived
- á- (131) + r- (21) tšearahp-ni when he now has

## Mitla Zapotec

- dí- (121) + gi<sup>0</sup>- (41) tšedínigidžál-ni when he didn't find  
na<sup>0</sup>- (85.2) tšenágágehs-nú when we are sleeping  
tšú<sup>0</sup>- (145) + : tša<sup>0</sup>- (42) tšutšátéhđž who will go and call  
x<sup>0</sup>- (41) tšuxyáNnäh-ni who will stay with him  
á- (131) + gu- (31) tšuágudehd who has passed  
zak<sup>0</sup>- (157) + : r- (21) zakráhp-ni because he has  
bi- (31.9) zakbídžun-á because I arrived  
za- (12) + : gu<sup>0</sup>- (41) zagutyú<sup>?</sup>-ni gi she will go and continually pick flowers  
žyét- (126) + : n- (85) žyétnahk-di it is nothing  
ka<sup>0</sup>- (11.1) žyétkawi-ádi I see nothing  
r (21.3) žyétrunsiřb-ádi I am of no use  
g<sup>0</sup> (41) žyétgun-áđini I am going to do nothing to him

### 3.7. Class 300 morphemes

Morphemes of class 300 occur suffixed to verb stems.

Class 310 morphemes occur in first order next to the stem, or following morpheme 341.

311 = -dí, has no apparent meaning, but occurs when morphemes 121, 122, 124, 125, or 126 are prefixed to the stem: žyétkayáúh-dni he eats nothing. It may occur as -de (with assimilation) in rúť-te no one (125), žyét-te nothing (126).

312 = <sup>0</sup>...-ga<sup>0</sup> ~ <sup>0</sup>, the high tone occurring on the first syllable of polysyllabic stems, if that syllable contains the 00 morpheme, or on the 00 morpheme if that contains a vowel; the first alternate is used with morpheme 341, either alternate may be used with the other persons. The question indicated does not imply the answer: rákbe-galú ~ rákbe-lu do you understand?, rákbe-á do I understand?, zíká<sup>?</sup>-lu bäl will you take meat?

Morphemes of classes 320-330 occur in second order, following those of class

310. They are as follows:

321 = -ka<sup>0</sup> surely, indeed: ruhn-kaní he surely does

322 = -lís better: tšá-líslu you'd better go

323 = -pak<sup>0</sup> truly, really: nasíN-pakní he is truly smart

324 = -rú more: řlaz-áru kafe I want more coffee

325 = -si<sup>0</sup> only; no more than this: rap-ási I have enough, ráhb-siní he only said

326 = -tí just, that's all: bažuN-tini he just ran, that's all

327 = -tša would: kátša-tšáni where would she go?

328 = -zá also: tša<sup>?</sup>-ázá I'm also going

329 = -ža<sup>0</sup> might: gól-žaní would she sing?

331 = -la<sup>0</sup> quickly, suddenly: bažuN-laní he suddenly ran

332 = -li<sup>0</sup> scarcely, no more than, just: byäd-lini he had just come (when someone else arrived); since, when morpheme 156 is prefixed: tšebyäd-líni since he came (with tše<sup>0</sup>-)

333 = -tís only, just: tša<sup>?</sup>-átís roğido I'm only going to market, báwí-gatíśni

well, just see to it (care for it)

Class 340 morphemes are person indicators. Indicating verb subject, the first person singular morpheme 341 is always next to the stem; the other persons follow morphemes of class 320-330, or sequences of that class and class 310. The third person and second persons may also occur indicative of the object of the verb when suffixed after one of the same class (except that second person cannot follow itself, and none can follow 343), or suffixed to a noun which is the subject of the verb.

Morpheme 341 is first person singular. The allomorphs are as follows:

341.1 =  $\text{f-á I}$ ; occurs with the following class 00 morphemes: 11, 12.1, 12.2, 21, 22.1, 31, 32.4, 41, 42.1, 51, 52.1, 62.1, 61, 85: guredž-á I called (31.4 + -behdž to call + 341.1).

341.2 =  $\text{ya-... f-á I}$ , discontinuous morpheme consisting of ya- prefixed to the stem with the class 00 morpheme preceding it, and á suffixed to the stem in first order; occurs with morphemes 22.2, 52.2, 61.4, 62.2: řyatedž-á I habitually went and called (22.2 + 2.2 + -behdž to call + 341.2).

341.3 =  $\text{a-... f-á I}$ , discontinuous morpheme consisting of a-, prefixed next to the stem with the class 00 morpheme preceding it, and -á suffixed in first order to the stem; occurs with morpheme 32.2: wawi-á I went and saw (32.2 + -wi to see + 341.3).

341.4 =  $\text{na-... f-á I}$ , discontinuous morpheme consisting of na-, prefixed to the stem preceding the class 00 morpheme, and -á suffixed to the stem; occurs with morphemes 121, 123, 131: dínagidžaglaz-á I don't like (121 + 341.4 + -džaglahz to like + 341.4). Does not usually occur with morpheme 20.

Morphemes 342 and 343 are second person morphemes:

342 = -lu you (second person singular) familiar; occurs suffixed to verb stems and may also form words when suffixed to morphemes 121, 123, 131: badzukah-lu you removed (31.8 + -dzukah to remove + 342), dílu gâN you don't know (121 + 342).

343 = -á you (second person singular) respectful; occurs only with imperative forms and greetings: gureh-á sit down.

Morphemes 344, 345, and 346 are third person:

344 = -ni he, she, it (third person singular) familiar; occurs suffixed to verb stems and forms words with morphemes 121, 123, 131: wih-ni he went, díní gâN he didn't know (121 + 344), ání bidzuhn he has arrived (131 + 344). This morpheme optionally occurs as -ne with free forms of morphemes 143, 145, 146: tšú-ni ~ tšú-ne who is it?

345 = -ní he highly respectful; occurs suffixed to verb stems and also forms words with morpheme 121: ruhn-ní zi'k he does thus (21.3 + -yuhn to do + 345), díní gún zi'k he doesn't do thus (121 + 345).

346 = -bá he, she (third person singular) respectful; occurs suffixed to verb stems and also forms words with morphemes 121, 123, 131: bawi-bá he

## Mitla Zapotec

looked (31.8 + -wi to look + 346), díba nyáđ he didn't come (121 + 346).

Morpheme 347 is first person plural, inclusive. The allomorphs are as follows:

347.1 = ʔ-nú we; occurs with all class 00 morphemes except 32.3, 22.2, 51.4, 61.4, 62.2, 12.3 and also forms words with morphemes 121, 123, 131: bawi-nú we saw (31.8 + -wi to see + 347.1), dínú fi we don't see (121 + 347.1).

347.2 = yo-...ʔ-nú we, discontinuous morpheme consisting of yo- prefixed to the stem with class 00 morpheme preceding and -nú suffixed to the stem; occurs with morphemes 22.2, 51.4, 52.2, 62.4, 62.2, 32.3: řyotédž-nú we habitually go and call (22.2 + 2.2 + -behdž to call + 347.2).

347.3 = o-...ʔ-nú we, discontinuous morpheme with o- prefixed following the class 00 morpheme, and -nu suffixed to the stem; occurs with morphemes 12.3, 42.2: zoNáb-nú we continually go and ask (12.3 + -Náb to ask + 347.3).

348 = -tú you (second person plural) familiar; occurs suffixed to verb stems and also forms words with morphemes 121, 123, 131: tšá-tu you are going to go, dítú gāN you didn't know (121 + 348).

349 = -de this one (third person singular) (dee this): gūn-de this one is going to do.

351 = -ží, third person singular, familiar. This morpheme is used by men only: guNi-ží he said.

### 3.8. Combinations of class 300 morphemes

The following are illustrative combinations of class 300 morphemes suffixed to verb stems:

-á (341.1) + : -di (311) žyétbidzäl-ádi I found nothing.

-ni (344) guiná-áni didž I am going to visit with her

-lu (343) guk<sup>wa</sup>?ts-álu I am going to hide you

-zá (328) zunidž-ázá I will also give you

-si<sup>o</sup> (325) räp-ási I only say

-di (311) + -lu (342) zyetben-ädilu I did nothing to you

-tú (348) basa?N-átú I left you

-lís (322) do?-álís we'd better go

-tís (116.2) řbáz-átís I only wait

-ti (326) k<sup>wa</sup>?-áti I just took

-tša (327) tšeguk-átša when I would have become

-di (311) + : -lu (342) žyétrika?-dilu you bring nothing

-ni (344) žyétřzi-dini he buys nothing

-tú (348) žyetsiřb-ditú you (pl.) are of no use

-rú (324) dígāk-dirú no more possible

-ga<sup>o</sup> (111.2) + : -rú (324) + -ni (344) řyū-garúni does he care yet?

-lu (343) rúMbe-galú do you know?

-ka<sup>o</sup> (321) + : -ni (344) zyū-kaní he will surely care

- la<sup>o</sup> (113.2) + : -lu (342) béhn-lalú gân have you succeeded?  
 -ni (344) bažuN-laní he quickly ran  
 -lu (342) + : -ni (344) guzé<sup>ʔ</sup>k-luni you are going to burn it up  
 -š (632) guna-luš then you see  
 -ni (344) + : -ni (344) žogun-nini how is he going to do it?  
 -lu (342) zanálahz-nilu he loves you  
 -nú (347) + : -ni (344) bikwa<sup>ʔ</sup>ts-núni we hid it  
 -pak<sup>o</sup> (323) + : -tú (348) gúntše-paktú you will indeed make  
 -ni (344) nasiN-pakní he is indeed clever  
 -lu (342) nasiN-paklú you are indeed clever  
 -rú (324) + : -ni (344) ákayá<sup>ʔ</sup>N-rúni prób he now remains poorer  
 -lu (342) šikwéNt tšuzyád-rúlu why haven't you come before?  
 -si<sup>o</sup> (325) + : -ni (344) rāhb-síní he only says  
 -ti (326) + : -ni (344) bya<sup>ʔ</sup>N-tini he just remained  
 -tú (348) gŭn-titú you will just do  
 -tís (116.2) + : -tú (348) + -ni (344) řgutše-tístúni you just keep it  
 -ni (344) + -ni (344) řgutše-tísnini he just keeps it  
 -ni (344) řbāhz-tísní he just waits  
 -lu (342) ninā-tíslu only that which you say  
 -tša (327) + : -ni (344) zuhn-tšani it will probably do  
 -tú (348) + : -ni (344) tšazáL-túni you will go and throw it away  
 -zá (328) + : -lu (342) tšá-zálu you are going to go also  
 -ni (344) byād-záni he also came

### 3.9. Complex units

There are complex units which are made up of one or more prefixial morphemes plus one or more suffixial morphemes, and which for that reason are considered separate words. These, however, do not contain a stress. Following are illustrations:

- dí- (121) + -rú (324) dí<sup>rú</sup> no more  
 dí- (121) + -rú (324) + -ni (344) dí<sup>rú</sup>ni he no more (comes)  
 dí- (121) + -nú (347) dí<sup>nú</sup> not we  
 lí- (115.1) + -tís (116.2) lí<sup>tís</sup> at once  
 šíp- (155) + -zá (328) šíp<sup>zá</sup> how!  
 na- (85) + -ni (117) naní one who, that which  
 re- (531) + -ni (344) reni they (familiar)  
 žyét- (126) + -rú (324) žyétrú (verb) -di nothing more  
 (žyétrú sířb-ádi I'm of no more use)  
 rú<sup>t</sup>- (124) + -rú (324) rú<sup>rú</sup> (verb) -di no one else  
 (rú<sup>rú</sup> rihdi not one more went)  
 gád- (123) + -lu (342) gádlu not yet you  
 (gádlu fi you haven't seen yet)  
 á- (131) + -nú (347) á<sup>nú</sup> re here we are

Mitla Zapotec

zak<sup>0</sup>- (157) + -si<sup>0</sup> (325) zaksi because

Morpheme 632 occurs suffixed to morphemes which are in turn suffixed or prefixed to stems; it occurs suffixed to the following morphemes: 342, 143, 146, 324:

632 = -š; šišbéh<sup>1</sup>n-lu then what did you do? (143 + 632 + 31.11 + -yuhn to do + 342). It may be suffixed to suffixial morphemes coming last in the sequence following a stem:

632 = -š then: gunǎ-lúš then you see!

## 4. *Statives*

In this class of words are found verb stems, stems derived from verb stems, noun stems, number stems, as well as stems which do not belong in any of these classes. For that reason a separate class of statives has been formed.

Three 00 morphemes, ordinarily prefixed to verb stems, are found prefixed also to some stative stems.

Most statives are the second stem in compound stems with nouns; however there are few which form the first part of a compound with a noun, namely: LuLt final, last; maal bad, evil!; ganaz purely, nothing else but; primeer first; za cleared, settled (as coffee). The stem mal bad, may occur either before or after the noun stem: malbehN ~ beNmal evil person.

In the stative class have also been included words which are called "adjectives" in English. Statives may also occur as head of a predicate expression: natāNt-ni he is stupid.

Statives have qualities of both verbs and adjectives:

(1) statives form compounds with nouns, usually forming the second part of the compound modifying the noun, ganāž-byūž just children, gi-šNyā red flower, bestíd-morâd purple dress, nigí-ladbíhdz dried-up man;

(2) statives occur in relative clauses as do verbs, mēž ní nahknákób the table is that which is new, yu? nizób zíht the house is the one which is far, byūž nahk nīprōb the child is one who is poor, ngohl-e? nahk ninádzūn the boy is one who is restless, mēž naní zuřk<sup>wá</sup> the table is one which is sideways, yagzil zuh gábl mēž the chair is one which is near the table, nigí nahk ní nahkLūLt the man is he who is last;

(3) statives occur as predicate adjective, in the predicate of a sentence and attributive to a noun, describing it in some way, didž nahk-ni guyā-si the word it is easy, yáht nahk-ni nažuhng the tortilla it is stale, gōn nahk-ni natūdž the ox it is wild, lahd nahk-ni naza?k the cloth it is good, bur nahk yās the burro is black.

Reduplication of statives has been observed as follows: garén-garěn each one different (garén different), girá-girá all (girá all), teb-tehb each one (tehb one).

Morpheme 85 denotes a state of being, a descriptive quality. Many of the stems occurring with this morpheme are verb stems; some are derived from verb stems; three have been found which are derived from noun stems. There are other stems occurring with morpheme 85 which occur only with this morpheme or in a compound with a noun stem.

There is a difference, as one might expect, in the meaning with morpheme 85 used with transitive and intransitive verbs: naLīb-ni she has him tied (transitive), nalīb-ni he is tied (intransitive); naLōb-ni she has it swept

Mitla Zapotec

(transitive), naLy<sup>o</sup>b-ni it is swept (intransitive).

Most verb stems occur with allomorph 85.2; most stems derived from verb stems, and stems occurring only with morpheme 85, occur with allomorph 85.1.

Illustrations of the use of morpheme 85: nayähL kom<sup>h</sup>d the food is cool, byähL kom<sup>h</sup>d the food was cooled, kom<sup>h</sup>d-yähL cool food. yähL is a verb stem, nayähL is stative form, byähL is completive aspect of the verb.

The allomorphs of morpheme 85 are as follows:

85.1 = na-; occurs with the following stems (v denotes verb stem, n denotes noun stem): bahn alive (v), b<sup>h</sup>dž wrinkled (v), bihdz dry (v), b<sup>h</sup>sk<sup>w</sup> squint-eyed (v), d<sup>h</sup> delicate, d<sup>h</sup> crippled (v), d<sup>h</sup>p hard (n: dihp), dolahz timid, patient, humble, do tamed (v), duš fierce (v: duš<sup>h</sup>), dzuih salty, džohn lacking (v), džuhk mutilated (v), dž<sup>h</sup>đž ugly, g<sup>h</sup> unripe (v: yah), g<sup>h</sup>s black (v: gahs), g<sup>h</sup>ts yellow (v: gahts), gahN difficult, gatsgi very yellow, g<sup>h</sup>dž delicate (v), godz soft (v).

k<sup>h</sup>äh dark (v), kehtš coarse, kits white (v: kihts), kohp damp (v), kob new (v), k<sup>h</sup>ox lame, k<sup>w</sup>änt cross-eyed, k<sup>w</sup>ähk<sup>w</sup> thin (v), k<sup>w</sup>ä? bent (v), k<sup>w</sup>äntš squint-eyed, L<sup>h</sup> hot; bitter, läg wide (v: lahg), läs sad, lehk<sup>w</sup> hunchbacked (v), Li straight (v), r<sup>h</sup>en tender (v), r<sup>h</sup>öp tasteless, r<sup>h</sup>öNk rattling (v), sehs smart (v), šny<sup>h</sup> red (v: šnyah), šny<sup>h</sup>rehn very red, šuhd wrinkled, šuš toasted (v), täh faded (v), t<sup>h</sup>öNt stupid, tš<sup>h</sup> light in weight, t<sup>h</sup>đž wild (v), ty<sup>h</sup>äp blind, w<sup>h</sup>äl younger, y<sup>h</sup> cleared (v), y<sup>h</sup>n burning, hurting, smarting (v: yahn), y<sup>h</sup>l crazy, yähL cool (v), y<sup>h</sup>n understood (v: yehn), ye<sup>h</sup> noisy with people (v: ye<sup>h</sup>h), y<sup>h</sup>l soft, y<sup>h</sup> useful (v), za?k well, ž<sup>h</sup>eb blas, ž<sup>h</sup>ek unloosed (v), žuhng stale (v), r<sup>h</sup>ö boastful, b<sup>h</sup>ab itch (v: bahb).

85.2 = na<sup>o</sup>-; this morpheme, or an alternate form, a<sup>o</sup>-, occurs with morpheme 117 (see sec. 3.5); it also occurs with the following stems:

be chosen (v), be stirred (v), beh seated (v), bihL undone (v), bihš overturned (v), bib shaken; strained (v), bihb mounted (v), bibtyehn rusty (v), bišät overturned (v), dan well (v), dalloh abounding (v), dau covered (v), da? thrown into (v), da?k<sup>w</sup> fastened together (v), d<sup>h</sup> narrow (v), d<sup>h</sup>ab rubbed (v), d<sup>h</sup>n dug; placed on top of (v), dehb wrapped (v), di painted (v), dihb sewed (v), dinbeh aired (v), dinbitšä? brilliant (v), dobyuh pulled (v), dohp gathered up (v), dob removed (v), do<sup>h</sup>žü?N shrunk up (v) do? sold (v), dzun restless (n), dzu?p cleaned (v), dža changed (v), džag met together (v), džagid added to (v), džagsa? met together with like (v), džah full (v), džä? heated (v), džeb frightened (v: džehb), džebya? startled (v), dželoh wondering (v), džetšlahz envious (v), dže?N filled up; erased (v), dže?tš displeased (v), ga extended (v), gab counted (v), gabihš tumbled down (v: yabihš), ga-řloh fallen down before (v: yařloh), ga?tš club-footed (v), ga?ts hidden (v), ga? grown (v), ge deceived (v), ges distributed (v), ge? roasted (v), gibeh choked (v), gid fastened

together (v), goL faded (v), go broken open (v), kug pillowed (v), la? broken (v), Lāsban stirred (v), lib tied (v), lui appear (v), Lyähd taken off (v), Lyob swept (v), La loosed (v), laht empty (v), ra cleared off (v), raya? scratched (v), rähz split (v), rähL hit with something (v), reNgin thrown with force (v), re? gathered up (v), ri gone out (v), rikah appear (v), rilāz abandoned (v), rišnehz sorted out (v), rišyeh formed (v), rižā made clear (v), rižehk untangled (v), robnihs baptized (v), ruhš cleaned; burst (v), rušya? scratched (v), ruš scratched (v), ru? picked (v), siN quick of mind (v), šī wooded (v), ta?k fastened over (v), tā?N flattened (v), tehb thrown (v), yahb fallen down (v), yanih lighted (v), yähž enlarged (v), yähd washed (v), yāz sunk (v), yāz nailed (v), yāhs picked up (v), yäht lowered (v), yäi old (v), yä?p climbed (v), yed molested (v), yehtš broken (v), yui quenched (v), za? completed (v), zina? heavy with fruit (v), zušihb knelt (v), zyehtz touched; knocked (v), ža?t leaned (v), že? spilled (v), žihN spoiled (v), ži squeezed (v), žuž torn (v), žu?N shrunk up; crippled (with rheumatism) (v), yaloh finished (v), gažuu very ill (v).

85.3 = n ← C, replacive consisting of stem-initial consonant replaced by n; occurs with the following stems: yahL hung up (v), yäh dressed with something put on as a skirt (v).

85.4 = n<sup>o</sup> ← C, replacive consisting of change of stem-initial consonant to n, with regular perturbation of the vowel or vowels in the stem-initial syllable; occurs with the following stems: yahdž wet (v), yu loaded.

85.5 = na...y<sup>o</sup>-, discontinuous morpheme consisting of prefix na- and y infix after stem-initial consonant; occurs with the following stems: Lāb boiled (v), laht empty (v).

85.6 = <sup>o</sup>: regular perturbation of tone on single-syllable stems and on the final syllable of polysyllabic stems; occurs with the following stems: Naz seized (v), yutše kept (v), zāb hung up (v), zohb put (v), zuh stood (v), and all two-syllable verb stems of class 19.

85.7 = n ← C + regular tone perturbation on the stem-final syllable; occurs with two-syllable stems of class 16: for example, (yaktše) naktšē made.

85.8 = gi-; occurs with the following stems, derived from non-causative verb stems, with loss of post-vocalic h, and a low-high or high-low tone glide on the stem vowel: bīdz dry; drained (v: bihdz), dāp four (v: dahp), dēb all (v: teb), džā full (v: džah), ra all (v: rah), rōp two (verb: rohp); with numeral stems, 85.8 seems to be comparable to 41.3.

85.9 = gu-; occurs with the following stems: Lī true (v), rob big (v), yā easy (v), yūdž rotten (v: yuhdž), ži few, za?k well; numeral stems listed for 85.8. 85.9 with numeral stems seems to be comparable to 31.1.

85.10 = x-; occurs with the following stems: ya high, yāt deep (v: yäht), yōN three (v: yohN).

85.11 = ga-; occurs with the following stems: bī around, La? part of some-

Mitla Zapotec

thing (such as rice) (v), lắ middle of, between, năž pure, nĭd first (v: nihd), rŏL half of something not cut or broken (v: rohL), ren different.  
85.12 = s<sup>o</sup>-; occurs with the following stem: yol tall (v).

85.13 = zero prefix; occurs with the following stems: baráʔt cheap, byêx old, dă narrow (v), dereʔtš straight, dop short (v: dohp), dŭr continuing, gĭNd dark rose color, gohts yellow gŏl old, kār expensive, kŏx lame, kuyúʔtš brown, kʷadrād square, lās thin (v: lahs), lišt clever, ready, LuLt final, māl bad, masĭs strong, morād purple, morādguh very purple, nahn cooked down thick, nahd foolish, nahL cold, nāL thick, naʔ heavy, nĕn difficult, nĭž flavorful, nŏlbāh very white, nŏl white, nuh smooth, Nyālahz fierce, nehš sweet, nĭ sour, primĕr first, prŏb poor, redŏNd round, rĭʔkʷ rich, sahk worthy, sŭL blue, tŏNt stupid, tšŭL nice, wĕk hollow, wĕn good, wĭn younger, yās black, yāsbo very black, yŭž torn (verb: yuhž), zarŭ ~ zakrŭ pretty, zĭhl much, žáʔt short, židahl many, much, žă clear, settled (as coffee), mŏr urine color, pārd brownish, náʔkĭ light red, solferĭN deep rose, šnya red. (The cardinal numbers belong in this group of stems also. See section on numerals.)

85.14 = ř-; occurs with the following stems: -kʷă sideways; on its side (n: kʷăʔ), -yĕk bottom side up (n: yĕhk), -dže by day (n: džeh).

# 5. Nouns

This section is divided into discussions of stems, possession, reduplication of stems, and prefixial and suffixial morphemes occurring with noun stems, and the list of forms belonging to the pronoun subclass.

Nouns are defined as those words to which may be prefixed morphemes 521 š possessive (or the possessive of which may be formed in another way -- see sec. 5.2), 531 re- pluralizer, or 541 s-<sup>o</sup> other. Syntactically, nouns occur as subject or object of verb stems.

There are a few noun stems to which may be prefixed morpheme 21.1 ř, namely ži?N child, ški? řěš fly specks, (as in lo.řži?N behd turkey egg face; lo.řški? res freckled face). It also occurs with the stems dže, k<sup>w</sup>á, and yék, derived respectively from the stems dzeh day, k<sup>w</sup>ä? side, yehk head. These resultant forms are statives.

One noun stem has been found to which may be prefixed morpheme na<sup>o</sup>-, also making the resultant form a stative: dzun work, nadzûn restless. Another noun occurs with gi- prefixed to form a stative: nihs water, dzutbed.gínihs egg that has become like water.

## 5.1. Noun stems

Noun stems are divided into two classes, simple stems, and complex stems.

Simple stems: ž<sup>v</sup> earthquake, Nihz ear corn, bahN mud.

Complex stems consist of two noun stems, a noun and a verb, a noun and a particle, a noun and a bound morpheme; they may be nominalized stems, or agentivized stems.

Noun + noun: nisgih rain (nihs water + gih stone), bidumaNsâN apple banana (bidu banana + maNsân apple).

Noun + verb: beNrákšu sick person (behN person + rakšu is sick), gurerehn bruise (gureh sat down + rehn blood).

Noun + particle: beNrê native of this place (behN person + re here).

Noun + bound morpheme. Complex noun stems are formed with the following bound morphemes:  
of class 400

411 = -bák relating to Tlacolula; beNbák person from Tlacolula

412 = -bäh snow-like, white-cloud like; nólbäh very white

413 = -bîd affectionate respect; bälBîd-ni her sister

414 = -gái male; gídgái rooster

415 = -gihš ~ gîš mountain, wild, žídgihš wildcat

516 = -gŭ drunk (from verb stem -yä to drink, gu? drank) beN-gŭ drunk person

Mitla Zapotec

- 417 = -güt dead (from verb stem -yeht to die, guht died): beNgüt dead person
- 418 = -kól male; bedkól gobbler turkey
- 419 = -kóʔk setting; gidkóʔk setting hen
- 421 = -kuhn young; bedkuhn young turkey
- 422 = -lās thin; nisgilās drizzle, drizzling rain, thin rain
- 423 = -lūž hairy; gidlūž hairy skin of animal (gihd skin)
- 424 = -nī short and fat; bāk<sup>w</sup>nī a little fat dog
- 425 = -rāL unsound; yekrāL crazy (yehk head)
- 426 = -rō big; berō big wind (beh wind)
- 427 = -sū meaning undetermined; bityušsū red tomatoes (bityuš tomato)
- 428 = -stzuʔts well fixed; nastzuʔts-ni well fixed
- 429 = -šāž hoarse (from verb stem šāž to be hoarse); yeNšāž hoarse throat (gehN throat, neck)
- 431 = -štīl Spanish; yātštīl bread (yāht tortilla)
- 432 = -yeʔt whitish, milky; nisyeʔt white water (nihs water)
- 433 = -zīt far; beNsit person from afar (behN person)
- 434 = -behs enchanted; gilabehs enchanted rock (gilah rock)
- 435 = -yaʔ uncooked; bāLyaʔ uncooked fish (bāl fish)
- 436 = -zīl much, referring to a liquid; niszīl much water
- 437 = -židāl many; beNžidāl many people, a crowd
- 438 = -lahs thin, small; bityušlahs tiny red tomato
- 439 = -gahk<sup>o</sup> giving intensive, or reflexive force to the noun; rolizgahk-nī his home itself (rolihz home)
- 441 = -telēr sliced; yātštīltelēr sliced bread (yātštīl bread)
- 442 = -dišk<sup>w</sup>eNt no good, poor; yudisk<sup>w</sup>eNt poorly made house (yuʔ house)

Of class 200:

- 212 = -do very, much; respected nido sea; dadgoldo great-grandfather
- 214 = -dūš very, big, much; bedūš big wind
- 233 = -dā for a purpose; trāst-dā fine dishes

Nominalized stems. These are formed by prefixing 511 yāL- ~ yā-, or 512 La-, to verb stems.

511 yāL- ~ yā-. This morpheme gives an abstract or general meaning to noun stems: yāLbidža witchcraft (bidža witch-doctor); derived from transitive verb stems, the resulting noun has somewhat the same idea: yāLrusnib, the act of moving something (snib to move something); added to transitive verb stems, the resulting noun has a similar idea: yāLrñib the act of moving one's self, of being moved; yāLrñbekdži lahz-ni act of putting someone's else's heart at rest (rñbekdži-ni he places at rest).

This morpheme occurs with several 00 morphemes, also coloring the meaning of the resulting noun:

- 31 -- yāLguht death (guht died)
- 41 -- yāLgutšnā marriage (gutšnā is going to marry)

85 -- yäL**nabahn** life (nabahn lives)

21 -- yäL**rahz** a bath (rahz bathes)

verb stem: yäL**käih** darkness (käih dark)

512 = lá-. This morpheme makes a noun from a verb stem: lagahp a slap (-gahp to slap), ladehd a pass, a walk (-dehd to pass).

Relative clause as noun. These are formed by prefixing morpheme 117 to sequences of class 21 morpheme plus a verb stem: nirôL who sings, singer; nirúžûN who runs, runner; niřNíbe who rules, ruler; nirúhn dzun one who works, worker.

## 5.2. Possession.

Noun possession is shown in one of two ways: (1) by a possessed stem alternant occurring with or without morpheme 521 plus a morpheme indicating the possessor, or (2) by a non-possessed stem alternant occurring with the noun štén (šté- 542), which is possessed as in (1).

There are two classes of nouns, those which have both non-possessed and possessed stem alternants (class 1), those which have only possessed stem alternants (class 2).

Class 1 nouns. Class 1 nouns have both a non-possessed stem alternant and a possessed stem alternant. The following sub-classes of class 1 occur (the initial hyphen indicates the possessed stem alternant):

Class 1a. Non-possessed stem alternant and possessed alternant with initial

(the initial hyphen indicates the possessed stem alternant):

Class 1a. Non-possessed stem alternant and possessed alternant with initial consonant change and prefixation of morpheme 521: re? ~ -tye? pitcher (štye?-á my pitcher, štye? guNa the woman's pitcher, re? štén reni their pitcher), yäL**nabahn** ~ -käL**nabahn** life (škäL**nabahn**-lu your life, škäL**nabahn** nigi the man's life, yäL**nabahn** štén-bá his life).

Class 1b. Non-possessed stem alternant and possessed alternant with initial consonant lost and prefixation of morpheme 521. žíd ~ -ýd cat (šýd-ni her cat, šýd lís Alice's cat, žíd štén-ni her cat).

Class 1c. Non-possessed stem alternant and possessed alternant with initial consonant lost and change of stem-final consonant, with prefixation of morpheme 521: lahd ~ -ahb clothing (šab-á my clothing, šahb rebyúž the children's clothing, lahd štén-ni her clothing).

Class 1d. The two alternants are phonemically dissimilar; the possessed alternant occurs with morpheme 521: yäht ~ -ku?N tortilla (šku?N-lu your tortilla, šku?N byúž the child's tortilla, yäht štén-ni his tortilla).

Class 1e. The two alternants are identical in their segmental phonemes, with an initial lenis stop or fricative becoming fortis, with prefixation of morpheme 521: gýd ~ -kýd chicken (škýd-lu your chicken, škýd ngohl-e? the boy's chicken, gýd štén-nú our chicken), zehd ~ -sehd salt (šřsehd-tú

## Mitla Zapotec

your salt, šsehd nán-e? the lady's salt, zehd štěn-lu your salt).

Class 1f. Non-possessed stem alternant and possessed alternant with change of initial consonant and of stem vowel: yehdž ~ -lahdž village (lahdž-lu your village, lahdž rebehN the people's village, yehdž štěn-nu our village), ladbeh ~ sudbeh blanket (sudbeh-ni her blanket, sudbeh guNa the woman's blanket, ladbeh štěn-ni her blanket).

Class 2 nouns. These nouns have only a possessed stem alternant, and they do not occur without a possessor being indicated: na-ni his hand, na byůž the child's hand; tšäl-ni his wife, tšäl guNa the woman's husband.

### 5.3. Reduplication

Reduplication has been observed to occur infrequently. It indicates distributive; the following examples are illustrative: šse.šse?-ni each its own place (šse? voice, place), šmód.šmód-ni each his own manner (mód manner), šyu.šyu?-ni each his own house (yu? house), štsun.štsun-ni each his own work (dzun work), tebga.tebga one for each (tehb one)

### 5.4. Prefixial morphemes 500

Morphemes of class 520 always occur next to the stem:

521 = š-; occurs with nouns of class 1a, b, c, d, e, showing possession: šLáp-ni his pencil (521 + Láp pencil + 344), špidu-ni his banana (521 + bidu banana + 344).

522 = yeb<sup>0</sup>, respectful title: yeb.Dyôž God (v: yehb<sup>0</sup>).

Morphemes of class 530 occur preceding those of class 520, and indicate number:

531 = re-, pluralizer: reyu? houses, regamž blouses. Very often nouns, pronouns, and bound subject morphemes are not pluralized when they are known from the context to be plural.

532 = te- (teh, one), a, one; tedžeh one day, težŷd a cat.

21.1 = ř- lo.řži?N behd turkey-egg-face, lo.řški? řš fly-specked face.

Morphemes of class 540 are as follows; they usually precede those of class 530; however, 531 and 143 seem to be interchangeable in position without change in meaning:

541 = s<sup>0</sup>-, other: stěšmân another week (541 + 532 + šmân week).

542 = šté- (štěn), showing possession: šté.yehdž of the village.

The following 140 morphemes may be classed with those of 540:

143 = ši<sup>0</sup>- (šŷ what) what; šiyú? what house?;

145 = tšu<sup>0</sup>- (tšŷ which) which, who; with 521, whose: tšu.gúNa which woman?, tšurěšměž-ni whose tables are they? (145 + 531 + 521 + měž table + 344).

Class 550 forms the largest class of morphemes which occur prefixed to noun stems. They occur next in order from the stem, and are as follows:

551 + áN- appears to be, seems to be: áN.nis.gih nizyád it appears that rain is coming, án.beh gibí? it appears the wind is going to blow, aNla-nini

it appears to be she, aNla šyu?-ni it appears to be his house.

552 = kó- (kŏN, where) where; this may occur as a direct or an indirect question: kó.nán.nés? where is Sra. Ines?, dínagaN-á kó.nán.nés I don't know where Sra. Ines is.

553 = lad<sup>o</sup>- between things in order, as between tortillas in a pile, between houses in a row, etc.: lad.na-ni in his hands.

554 = lo- (loh face) to, from, on, in: lo.nis.do on the sea, guNi-ni lo.nigi he spoke to the man, bažuN kunêf lo.kuyóʔt the rabbit ran from the coyote.

555 = neN- (neN within, in, among) within, in, among: neN.yu? in the house, neN.re.behN among the people.

556 = ro- (roʔ mouth) at, edge of: ro.nis.do seashore.

118 = ža- under, at the bottom of: ža.Läih-ni her gums.

Following are class 100 morphemes which occur in the same position with respect to the noun stem as do the 550 morphemes:

115.1 = lí- (at the moment, handy): lí.de zyäd-ná-ni at the moment he brought only this, lí.šLáp-ni kʷaʔ-á I just now quickly took her pencil.

116.1 = tís- just (that) nothing else but: nah.re tísbyäá I'm the only one who came.

121 = dí-, indicating negation: dí.štad-á xyäd my father isn't coming.

122 ét-, indicating negation; occurs with 311 -di: ét.báL-áđini she isn't my sister.

131 = á- there is, here: á.Libř-gá dzub roʔk there is that book put there.

127 = zigak<sup>o</sup>- as: zigak-lú, zigak-kašwân-lu like master, like man (as you, as your owner).

128 = laga- right while: lagaNah nabân-nú right now while we are living.

Three morphemes always occur last in order from the noun stem; they are morphemes which also occur with verb stems, and are as follows:

133 = nez- (nehz way, road) by, by way of: nez.ro.läʔ by the gate, nez.lo.dahn by the mountain.

161 = té- so that: ténihs naní sunis-á water to make me sweat.

162 = ni<sup>o</sup>- and, but: roL-lu ni.béhts-lu dígak gŏL you sing but your brother can't sing.

#### 5.5. Illustrative combinations of class 500 morphemes and those of class 100 which are found prefixed to nouns:

á- (131) + : š- (521) á.štad-á sugaʔ roʔk there is my father

te (532) á.tedyôz there is an image

dí- (121) + : re- (531) + š- (521) dí.re.škuzan-á nyúhn gân my parents didn't succeed

re- (531) dírebehts-ni tšá his brothers aren't going to go

š- (521) dí.škihts-bá řNi his paper doesn't say

ét- (122) + : š- (521) ét.šlad-áđi not my side

Mitla Zapotec

- lí- (115.1) + : š- (521) líš<sup>á</sup>tád-ni biri his father went out quickly  
 lo- (554) + : š- (521) lo.š<sup>á</sup>tád-á to my father  
     re- (531) + š- (521) lo.re.š<sup>á</sup>kuzahn-ni to his parents  
 nez- (133) + : ro- (556) nez.ro.gu<sup>á</sup>h<sup>á</sup>l by the door of the corral  
     ro- (556) + š- (521) nez.ro.š<sup>á</sup>u<sup>?</sup>-ni by the door of his house  
 ni<sup>o</sup>- (162) + : dí- (121) ni.dí.lisensyá<sup>á</sup>d-re gáN but this lawyer doesn't  
     know  
     re- (531) ni.ré.behts-ni but his brothers  
     re- (531) + š- (521) ni.ré.š<sup>á</sup>tídž-ni but his words  
 re- (531) + : š- (521) re.š<sup>á</sup>tídz-lu your words  
     š<sup>i</sup>o- (143) re.š<sup>i</sup>.kôš what things  
 š<sup>i</sup>o- (143) + : re- (531) š<sup>i</sup>.ré.kôš what thing  
     š- (521) š<sup>i</sup>.š<sup>á</sup>Libř-á what book of mine?  
     -š (632) + re- (531) š<sup>i</sup>.š<sup>á</sup>.ré.dzun-gáni what works those  
     of his, then?  
 š<sup>té</sup>- (542) + : š- (521) ye<sup>?</sup>k š<sup>té</sup>.š<sup>á</sup>mán-ni age of his bird  
     (532) + : š- (521) te.š<sup>á</sup>môs-ni a servant of his  
 té- (161) + : dí- (121) + re- (531) + š- (521) té.dí.re.š<sup>á</sup>kuzahn-ni so that  
     not his parents  
 tíš- (116.1) + : š- (521) tíš.š<sup>á</sup>těn-ni or š<sup>tén</sup>-tíš-ni just his  
 tšu<sup>o</sup>- (145) + : š- (521) tšu.š<sup>á</sup>tád whose father?

5.6. Suffixial morphemes 600

Morpheme 611 always occurs immediately adjacent to the stem.

611 = -e<sup>?</sup> little (term of endearment) nán-e<sup>?</sup> little lady.

This morpheme has a characteristic of those bound morphemes which form complex noun stems, in that it always occurs before any other suffixial morpheme. It causes a high-low, or low-high, tone glide on the previous adjacent syllable to become a single high tone. An h in the stem is retained on the suffixation of morpheme 611, but a ? is lost: špák<sup>w</sup>-ä<sup>?</sup>á my little dog, étbáhL-e<sup>?</sup>dí guda<sup>h</sup>-ni the little fish didn't eat it, reni-e<sup>?</sup>ni his little feet.

Morpheme 341, first person singular indicator, occurs next in order from the noun stem. Only allomorph 341.1 occurs with noun stems:

341.1 = -á<sup>?</sup> I: na-á<sup>?</sup> my hand, špák<sup>w</sup>-ä<sup>?</sup>á my little dog

Morphemes of class 620 follow in next order from the noun stem:

621 = -gá that (far away and invisible): yu<sup>?</sup>-gá that house

622 = -ga only, no more than, referring to time past or future: wa<sup>?</sup>-á gude.š<sup>á</sup>mán-ga I went only a week ago, gun-áni š<sup>té</sup>-š<sup>á</sup>mán-ga I'll do it in another week.

623 = -pá<sup>o</sup> corroborative: yáht-páni it is the real tortilla

624 = -ré that (far away but visible): nigi-ré that man

625 = -re this (near and visible): guNa-re this woman

The following class 300 morphemes follow noun stems in the same order as

the class 620 morphemes:

- 311 = -di, occurs with morpheme 122: étbähL-dini it isn't her sister  
 322 = -lís better: šten-lísni it is better his  
 321 = -ka<sup>o</sup> then, really, indeed: šteb-kaní he is really alone  
 323 = -pak<sup>o</sup> own; really, truly: yu?-pakní it is truly the house, his own house  
 324 = -rú more: nisgih-rú more rain  
 325 = -si<sup>o</sup> just, nothing else: mentir-siní it is simply a lie  
 326 = -ti just, that's all; about: sté.šmán-ti about another week  
 328 = -zá also: nihs-zá also water

The following 100 morphemes also occur in third position from the noun stem:

- 115.2 = -lí since (referring to past time); until (referring to future time):  
bestid-lí nirap-á guyoN.ihz the dress I have had for three years;  
sté.bái-lí until another month, lacks another month; nai-lí gudau-á  
žyēt-té šigau-á since yesterday I ate, I have nothing to eat.  
 116.2 = -tís only, just: nisgih-tís just rain

The following morphemes, the person indicators, with the exception of 341, follow in order the morphemes of class 620; morpheme 341 precedes those of class 620. When two of these morphemes occur suffixed to the same noun stem, the first one shows possession, and the second one the object of the verb of which the possessed noun is the subject.

(See above for 341.1 I)

- 342 = -lu you (sg., familiar): šLibř-lu your book  
 344 = -ni he, she, it (fam.): ni?-ni his foot  
 345 = -ní He (deity): štidž-ní His word  
 346 = -bá he, she (respectful): ro.líhz-bá his home  
 347.1 = -nú we: škabái-nú our horse  
 348 = -tú you (pl., familiar): šu?-tú your house, gurehdž šnān-nítú his mother called you  
 351 = -ží he, she, it (familiar used only by men): bisyahn-ží her brother

630 morphemes occur last in order from the stem:

- 631 = -a? and...? didž-a? and the word?  
 632 = -š then; occurs suffixed primarily, possibly, to other morphemes:  
maNsāN-re.š then this apple

#### 5.7. Illustrative combinations with class 600 morphemes:

- á (341.1) + : -lu (342) xinā bets-á.lu my brother will take you  
 -zá (328) šmandad-á.zá my errand also  
 -di (311) étšlad-ádi not my side  
 -re (625) rešil-á.re these sheep of mine  
 -ka<sup>o</sup> (321) šteb-áka tša?-á I'm just going alone then  
 -tís (116.2) šteb-á.tís I'm just alone  
 -lí (115.2) šteb-á.lí since I'm alone

Mitla Zapotec

- zá (328) + -ni (344) bets-ázáni he is also my brother  
 -di (311) + : -ni (344) ébbaštor-dini he is not a shepherd  
 -lu (342) étbehts-di.lu not your brother  
 -lu + -ni (344) étbähL-di.lu.ni she isn't your sister  
 -gá (621) + : -ni (344) gau' bähL-gá.ni that fish will eat it  
 -lu (342) šik<sup>wé</sup>Nt zyäd.nähL män-gá.lu why is that animal following you?  
 -ka<sup>o</sup> (321) + : -ni (344) štěb-ka.ní he is alone  
 -lu (342) štěb-ka-lú you are alone  
 -lí (115.2) + : -ni (344) stébái-lí.ni it is until another month  
 -líš (322) + : -lu (342) štén-líš.lu better yours  
 -ni (344) + : -gá (621) bähL-ni.gá'a that sister of hers  
 -pá (623) + : -ni (344) štyu?-páni simply its handle  
 -pak<sup>o</sup> (323) + : -ni (344) štén-pak.ní really his  
 -si<sup>o</sup> (325) + : -ni (344) mentír-si.ní it is simply a lie  
 -tís (116.2) + : -ni (344) ni?-tís.ni only his feet  
 -zá (328) + : -lu (342) beN.yéhdž-zá.lu you also a villager  
 -ni (344) + -lu (342) šu?-zá.lu.ni it is also your house

5.8. This subclass of nouns (mostly pronouns) may occur as subject/object of a verb; are not possessed or pluralized.

luh you (familiar, sing.)

ší (ší<sup>o</sup>-) what

žyét-di nothing (žyét-)

la reni they (fam.)

la reží they (fam. man speaking)

lágahk rébá themselves (resp.)

tšu (tšu<sup>o</sup>-) who

žóš (žó-) what

rút-di (rút-) no one

la rebá they (resp.)

lágahk réni themselves (fam.)

yehb-lú you (sg., respectful)

nah-ré I

luh-lá you (sg., respectful)

la-ni he, she, it (familiar)

la-ní He (deity)

la-bá he, she (respectful)

la-ží he, she, it (used only by men; familiar)

nû-nú ~ nû-řnú we (inclusive)

nû-ré we (exclusive of one spoken to)

lá?-tú you (plural, familiar)

yehb-tú you (respectful, plural)

átú you (pl. respectful)

láʔt-látú you (pl. respectful)  
 naghk-ré myself naŋgahk-re  
 lagahk-lú yourself (familiar, sg.)  
 lugahk yourself (sg., familiar)  
 lagahk-ní himself, herself, itself (familiar)  
 lagahk-bá himself, herself (respectful)  
 lagahk-ní Himself (deity)  
 lagahk-ží himself, herself, itself (used only by men)  
 nugahk-nú ourselves (inclusive)  
 nugahk-ré ourselves (exclusive of one spoken to)  
 lagahk-tú yourselves (familiar)  
 naní ~ aní that which, one which, one who; the -ni is morpheme 117. (This pronoun may be pluralized.)

# 6. Particles

Particles are classified on the basis of syntactic position in the sentence, and in relation to their occurrence with noun or verb stems. Although, strictly speaking, particles are not inflected morphologically, there are certain bound morphemes which occur prefixed or suffixed to particles. These are listed below. There are six classes of particles (some particles are members of more than one class): I, Preposed to verb stems; II, Preposed to noun stems; III, Introducing dependent clauses; IV, With no fixed position; V, Connectives; VI, Sentence final (or complete utterance). Each class has both simple and complex members. Complex particles are of two types: those which are composed entirely of bound morphemes, and those which are composed of a simple particle (or member of other stem class) plus an affix. Simple members of a particle class are listed as subclass a, those consisting of bound morphemes as subclass b, and those with affixes as subclass c.

Bound morphemes which occur with particles are classified according to whether they are prefixed or suffixed. Those which are prefixed are:

- 116.1 = tíś- just, nothing more: tíśgížê only tomorrow
- 122 = ét- negative (occurs with 311): étřsíl-dini it isn't early
- 131 = á- ~ bá-, perfective: are here now
- 133 = nez-<sup>o</sup> over, by: nezřek over there
- 143 = ší<sup>o</sup>- what, šík<sup>we</sup>Nt why
- 153 = pét- perhaps: pétzi<sup>k</sup> perhaps thus
- 161 = té- so that: tégíže tša<sup>?</sup>-á so that tomorrow I'm going to go

Those which are suffixed are:

- 115.2 = -lí since (referring to past time); until (referring to near future time): Nai-lí since yesterday, whdž-lí until day after tomorrow
- 116.2 = -tís just, no more, nothing else: ro<sup>k</sup>-tís just there
- 116.3 = -tis just; occurs with tšu who, žo how and šu what: tšu-tis whoever, ší-tis whatever, žo-tis however
- 217 = -gah no more than, just: Na-gah just a short while ago
- 231 = -duh very: mér.duh-tis just very right (a shoe fits; piece of bamboo is just the right length)
- 234 = -e<sup>?</sup> little: käh-e<sup>?</sup> just before daylight
- 311 = -di occurs with 122: étřsíl-dini it isn't early
- 321 = -ka<sup>o</sup> then, indeed: gížê-kaní it is tomorrow, then
- 322 = -lís better: gun-áni gížê-lís I'd better do it tomorrow
- 323 = -pak<sup>o</sup> really: gížé-pak really tomorrow
- 324 = -rú more: džehk-rú then more, džehk-tíru' therefore
- 325 = -sí<sup>o</sup> only this, no more: Měr-síní it is just right
- 326 = -tí about, no more than: zi<sup>k</sup>-tí tsu about ten

- 327 = -tša would: ziʔk-tša would be thus  
 328 = -zá also: nah-réza tšaʔá I am going also  
 344 = -ni third person singular familiar: sré-ni it (is) thus  
 421 = -rô big, very: gušIN-rô around midnight  
 432 = -ô no apparent meaning, occurs often on the end of words when someone is at a distance from the person to whom he is speaking: mbai-ô all right  
 622 = -ga only, just (referring to time): Nai-ga only yesterday  
 631 = -ʔaʔ and?: džéhk-aʔ and then?  
 632 = -š then: ziʔk-š thus then  
 711 = -ti up to: reʔ-tí up to here (re + 711)

6.1. Class I: preposed to verbs

Subclass Ia.

- džĭ (-džĭ 231) quietly: džĭ-tís nagáʔ-ni he just lies quietly, džĭ guyuʔ roʔk be quiet there!  
 malái would that  
 maské ~ masé though  
 mēr almost, just about  
 mexôr better  
 náhk not, no  
 sās then, yes, wanting to do something: sās-wih-ni then he went  
 gáhd (gád- 123) not yet  
 gúk (gúk- 141) when  
 ke how: ke toNt-lu how stupid you are  
 lál meanwhile  
 šâ would, might...?: šâ nagágehs-ni would he be sleeping?  
 kási ~ káske almost (occurs with verb forms in past time): káske waʔ-á I almost went  
 poř because of: poř kaLân (died) from hunger; also occurs in the expression: rahp-ni poř gun-ni dzun he has to work  
 pař for: nihs pař räʔ-ni water to drink  
 táNt so  
 ʔNzde before  
 dezde since  
 sâ presently, soon

Subclass Ib.

- dídí so that not (parú giNĭ-lu lo-á lá zyâd-lu Lâidžeh, tékʷáz-á so that I will wait for you so that I won't go to the postoffice)  
 luh dídí tšaʔ-á kořeu if you say to me: are you coming at noon, so that I will wait for you so that I won't go to the postoffice)  
 lísi<sup>o</sup> quickly (115 + 325); lísi bídžâl quickly found  
 lokni<sup>o</sup> that which: lokni xyēN-nú that which we'll do  
 lítis at once, just and nothing else (115 + 116.2)

## Mitla Zapotec

entís just (completed or did something)

ensí<sup>o</sup> just (finished or did something)

kát-di (kat- 124) to where

ká-ro (ka- 142) where

šípzá how (155 + 328)

šípáhr for what...?

šípóhr for why...?

### Subclass Ic

máz-ru more

gúst-li very well, very good: gúst-li k<sup>w</sup>áz-lu re very good that you  
will live here (we say, "it's nice that...")

zikla in vain: zikla wa?á I went in vain

džehk-tí (džehk<sup>o</sup>- then) then

lák-tí how, indicating much, many, very: lák-tí nahL how cold!

lá interrogative (identifier la + <sup>o</sup> morpheme 111.2): lá tšá-lu are  
you going?

## 6.2. Class II: preposed to nouns

### Subclass IIa

ǎNzde before: ǎNzde gítshn-ni before he arrives

ǎNzde before: ǎNzde gítshn-ni before he arrives

ǎNtes before

asta until

báL how many

deláNt in front of

dezde since

káde each

ke than: báz-e?rúlu ke nah-ré you are smaller than I

kon with, and

koNtre against

kási ~ káske almost: káske tebloh almost equal

kom as, since: xya?N-á šteb-á ree kom nah-ré řNibe-á I'll remain  
here alone, since I rule

mēr almost: mēr mástř almost a teacher (practically)

neN (neN- 343) in, within; among

pař for in behalf of

pař for, in behalf of

poř for, by on account of, because of

sin without

koN (ko- 552) where

žahn ~ žyahn under

sa? same: sa? kolôr the same color

sâ presently, soon: sâ la-ni škâhb-ni soon he will want to

Subclass IIb

aLka<sup>o</sup> instead: ninã-ni nah-ré peř aLka ténêgr zyädñã nah-ré he was going to take me but instead a negro took me

ensi<sup>o</sup> just: ensi nah-ré just me

byätla then, but, while (introducing a contrast of ideas or actions):

kayuhn-ni wên byätla deek kayuhn mâl he is doing good while the other is doing ill

Subclass IIc

lagahk<sup>o</sup> shows intensive action, very, self: lagahk džeh the very day  
lák-e? how (with the idea of something being small): lák-e?ti tematád.bãz  
nahk dets-ã what a little sore is on my back

máz-rú more: máz-rú židahl mël much more money  
lák-tí how, with the idea of superlative

6.3. Class III: introduce dependent clauses

Subclass IIIa

dže because

parú if, if only; would that: parú laa-ni tšã-ni if he should go

tãNt so: tãNt rä?-ni he drank so

adro where: adro yu-ni where is he?

Subclass IIIb.

kadro <sup>†</sup> ~ ladro <sup>†</sup> where (kad<sup>o</sup>- 151.a, lad<sup>o</sup>- 151)

zaksi<sup>o</sup> (zak<sup>o</sup>- 157) because: zaksi tšã?a because I go

paLga<sup>o</sup> (paL<sup>o</sup>- 152) if: paLga dí na tšã?ã sya?n-ã if I don't go, I will stay

tší-gah softly; quietly: tší-gá-gah very quietly

dídí that not

lokni<sup>o</sup> that which

zigáhk-zá also (zi?k <sup>†</sup> + -gahk 439 + -zá): (zi?k-zá) zigák-nahk  
ššwěřt štađ-ã thus was my father's fate

Subclass IIIc

lã interrogative. Identifier + <sup>o</sup> morpheme 111.2

nã.gáhk also

6.4. Class IV: variable position

Subclass IVa.

prõNt at once, soon

pwes ~ pes then

re <sup>†</sup> here (perturbs bound suffixial morphemes forming complex stems)

rëk there, farther, but in sight

ro?k <sup>†</sup> there, farther and out of sight

rês strong, firm

Mitla Zapotec

skrêk thus (showing how something is being done)  
srê ~ skrê thus (showing how to do something, near)  
tšäi slow in motion, little by little  
zi?k thus  
ziht far  
gahš near  
lák how much  
mbaih ~ mbah well, OK  
ű affirmative  
a?ahdi ~ ?ahdi negative  
štšän hello

Subclass IVb.

nez.rê over here  
nez.rêk over there  
nez.ladro over where: nez.ladro yu?á over where I am

Subclass IVc

neN-gá in there  
tšäi-gá-gah very slowly  
džéhk-a? and then?  
tši-nâ much  
guži little  
sik<sup>w</sup>nt why?  
k<sup>w</sup>éNtródüş very bad; very ill; very serious: kayáhkni k<sup>w</sup>éNtródüş he is very ill  
škíz-dyóz-stélu thank you  
sté-rá?t-ti goodbye; another little while then  
škíz-stélu thank you; God pay you  
teh-pas all at once  
get-geht every little while  
tšäitšäi little by little

6.5. Class V connectives

Subclass Va.

näh and, with, also: näh-lu you also  
luš and (connecting coordinate clauses)  
peř but  
o or

(There is no subclass Vb., i.e. no class V bound morpheme forms.)

Subclass Vc.

džehk-tí then  
nägahk then, also  
nikla<sup>o</sup> neither; nikla<sup>o</sup>...nikla<sup>o</sup> neither...nor

6.6. Class VI sentence final

Subclass VIa.

á ~ ǎ right? (after a question expecting the answer "yes"): luh á and  
you?

e no apparent meaning; occurs after the name of a person someone is  
calling to: ElêN e!

gurá right? (after a question expecting the answer "yes"): tšä-lu gurá  
you're going, right?

ǎ at the end of question expecting answer "yes": dílu tšâ mandâd, ǎ  
you aren't going on an errand are you? (answer expected is: 'yes, I'm  
not going!); zika?-lu bäl, ǎ you will take meat, yes?

Subclass VIb:

kát-di nowhere (kát- 124)

kǎ-ro where?

šipáhr for what?

šipóhr in what?

koN-ni where is she?

# 7. *The Number System*

In this section are discussed the cardinal numbers, the ordinal numbers, and the system of reales. Certain characteristics of the first four numbers have been discussed in previous sections of the grammar. These will be mentioned here and reference made to those sections for further details.

Number stems also may occur with stative morphemes as statives. In forming compound stems with nouns, they are first in the compound (gadz.dzeh 7 days), with the exception of teb from tehb one. It occurs second in a compound with nouns, as most statives do (beN.teeb a person alone), and it acts as a noun in that it may occur with the morpheme 521 š- possessive (steb-ni his alone, he is by himself, he is alone). This stem has a stative form deb.

All number stems are like nouns in that they may occur with morpheme 541 s-<sup>o</sup> other (stahp another four, sgahL another twenty).

Stative stems with gi-, may be head of a predicate (giróp reni they are two), modifying a noun (giróp byûz the two children), or act as direct object of a verb (guNi-ni loh giróp reni he spoke to the two). Morpheme gi- has a present or future tense idea, gu- a past tense idea, when they occur with number stems: (gidzû dzeh in 10 days; gudzu dzeh 10 days ago).

The number stems tyo?p two, tšoN three, and tahp four, have corresponding verb stems, also.

For these reasons number stems are best considered a separate class of words.

## 7.1. Cardinal numbers

The cardinal number stems perturb the tone of a following syllable regularly, except when the number stem is itself perturbed. These stems precede the noun to which they may be attributive. Number stems may act as nouns, as direct object of verb: řgú?t-ni gahdz he kills seven.

The stems for two, three, four have both causative and non-causative verb forms (see sec. 3.2.).

Number stems also have stative forms; these are derived from the verb stem form of the numbers for stems tehb one, tyo?p two, tšoN three, and tahp four. For the other number stems, the stative stem is formed by changing an initial stem fortis consonant to corresponding lenis (lenis remaining lenis), and loss of h with a resulting low-high tone glide on the vowel. With these stems, either morpheme 31.1 (completive), or 41.3 (potential) may occur (with -yčN three 41.24 occurs instead of 41.3): gidzún gúbihdž in 15 days, gudzún gúbihdž 15 days ago.

Illustrative stems which occur with these morphemes prefixed are as

follows:

-děb one (teh̄b)  
 -rōp̄ two (with 85.8), -roh̄p (verb stem, for 31.1) (tyōʔp)  
 -yōN̄ three (with 85.10), -yoh̄N (verb stem, for 31.1) (tšōN)  
 -dāp̄ four (with 85.8), -dah̄p (verb stem, for 31.1) (tah̄p)

gaĭ five

-žoʔp̄ six (šoʔp)  
 -gādz̄ seven (gahdz̄)  
 -žūn̄ eight (šuhn̄, žuhn̄)

gā̂ nine

-dzu ten  
 -dzúʔN̄ thirteen (tsúʔN)  
 -dzūn̄ fifteen (tsūn̄)  
 -gāL̄ twenty (gahL̄)

Number stems which are compounds with stems meaning ten and under, occur with the morpheme 716 -bi<sup>o</sup>-: gaL̄-bi-těb̄ twenty-one (twenty and/with one).

teh̄b one (teh̄ ~ te-, a, one); stative stem: děb̄; in compound: těb̄;  
 beN̄-běḡ, štěb̄-ni he alone

tyoʔp̄ two; stative stem: rōp̄; non-causative stem: roh̄p; causative stem:  
 sroh̄p

tšōN̄ three; stative stem: yōN̄; non-causative stem: yoh̄N; causative stem:  
 syoh̄N

tah̄p̄ four; stative stem: dāp̄; non-causative stem: dah̄p; causative stem:  
 stah̄p

gaĭ five

šoʔp̄ six

gāhdz̄ seven

šūhn̄ eight

gā̂ nine

tsū ten

tsubitěb̄ eleven (ten and one)

tsubityoʔp̄ twelve (ten and two)

tsúʔN̄ thirteen

tsúdah̄ fourteen

tsūn̄ fifteen

tsūn̄bitěb̄ sixteen (fifteen and one)

tsūn̄bityoʔp̄ seventeen (fifteen and two)

tsūn̄bitšōN̄ eighteen (fifteen and three)

tsūn̄bitāp̄ nineteen (fifteen and four)

gahL̄ twenty

gaL̄bitěb̄ twenty-one (twenty and one)

gaL̄bityoʔp̄ twenty-two (twenty and two)

## Mitla Zapotec

gaLbitš<sup>o</sup>N twenty-three (twenty and three)  
gaLbitá<sup>p</sup> twenty-four (twenty and four)  
gaLbigá<sup>i</sup> twenty-five (twenty and five)  
gaLbiš<sup>o</sup>ʔ<sup>p</sup> twenty-six (twenty and six)  
gaLbigá<sup>d</sup>z twenty-seven (twenty and seven)  
gaLbiš<sup>u</sup>n twenty-eight (twenty and eight)  
gaLbigá<sup>a</sup> twenty-nine (twenty and nine)  
gaLbitsú<sup>u</sup> thirty (twenty and ten)  
gaLbitsú<sup>b</sup>itēb thirty-one (twenty and ten and one)  
gaLbitsú<sup>b</sup>ity<sup>o</sup>ʔ<sup>p</sup> thirty-two (twenty and ten and two)  
tyú<sup>u</sup> forty  
tyubitē<sup>b</sup> forty-one (forty and one)  
tyubitsú<sup>u</sup> fifty (forty and ten)  
gayoh<sup>N</sup> sixty  
gayoNbitsú<sup>u</sup> seventy (sixty and ten)  
tah eighty  
tabitsú<sup>u</sup> ninety (eighty and ten)  
tegayú<sup>u</sup> one hundred  
tyop-gáyú<sup>u</sup> two hundred  
tsoN-gáyú<sup>u</sup> three hundred  
tsoN-gáyú<sup>u</sup> garó<sup>L</sup> three hundred fifty (half)  
Mí<sup>L</sup> thousand  
təMí<sup>L</sup> one thousand

### 7.2. Ordinal numbers

primēr<sup>u</sup> first  
gan<sup>y</sup>d first  
ř<sup>o</sup>ʔ<sup>p</sup> second (ř + roʔ<sup>p</sup>)  
ř<sup>y</sup>oh<sup>N</sup> third  
ř<sup>d</sup>ahp fourth  
ř<sup>t</sup>sú<sup>u</sup> tenth

The rest of the number stems do not have a special form for the ordinal number. Rather, the morpheme 117 and verb stem *yahk* to be occur with the number stem: niráhk gai that which is five, niráhk š<sup>o</sup>ʔ<sup>p</sup> that which is six, etc.; nigúhk gahdz that which was seven, nigúhk šuhn that which was eight, etc.

Morpheme 117 may also occur with the above number stems: niř<sup>y</sup>oh<sup>N</sup> džeh the third day, niř<sup>o</sup>hp yuʔ the second house.

### 7.3. System of reales

This system of indicating prices is often used, as well as the quoting of prices in Spanish pesos and centavos:

te-mē<sup>l</sup> half-real (six centavos)  
k<sup>w</sup>ař<sup>t</sup>i three centavos

teb-řáhl one real (12 centavos)  
 te yú meél 18 centavos  
 teb-řál-k<sup>w</sup>ar<sup>tí</sup> fifteen centavos  
 tyop-řáhl two reales (25 centavos)  
 tyop-řál-k<sup>w</sup>ar<sup>tí</sup> two and a quarter reales (28 centavos)  
 tšoN-řáhl three reales (37 centavos)  
 tyo<sup>?</sup>p yúmeél 36 centavos  
 tap-řáhl four reales (fifty centavos)  
 šop-řáhl six reales (75 centavos)  
 šun-řáhl eight reales (one peso)  
 tsu-řáhl ten reales (one peso and twenty-five centavos)  
 tsuu-bi tyop řáhl twelve reales (one peso and fifty centavos)  
 tyop bēž two pesos  
 gal-řáhl twenty reales (two pesos and fifty centavos)

# 8. *Syntax*

In this section there are three topics discussed: syntacto-phonemics, intonation, and a description of syntactic units.

## 8.1. Syntacto-phonemics

Some of the phenomena described in Sec. 2 Morphophonemics occur also between words: tendencies to voicelessness, for lenis consonants to become fortis, progressive tone perturbation. These tendencies are more obvious in fast speech than in slow.

Voiceless stops word-final tend to unvoice a following word-initial voiced stop; this is most noticeable when both stops have the same point of articulation. Pause finally voiced stops and fricatives tend to voicelessness.

Lenis voiced phonemes tend to become fortis utterance medially.

Tone perturbation between words has been observed to be only progressive, since no morphemes which cause a regressive perturbation have been found occurring word initially.

## 8.2. Intonation

The common intonational pattern is one in which pitch at the beginning of an utterance, or at the beginning of an utterance after a pause, is higher than that at the end. The pitch gradually becomes lower, modified in its descent by the high and low tones of the vowel phonemes. In questions which end with the word *guräh*, the pitch gradually descends until the final word, which has a rising pitch.

The intonation pattern of questions often has a higher pitch throughout than does a statement by the same speaker. When the question asked has more than the usual insistence, the pitch at the end may be quite a bit lower than the beginning of the question. The pitch at the end of a non-insistent question will rise, and may become higher than the beginning of the question when an affirmative answer is expected.

In a sentence where some word is particularly emphasized, the pitch of the contour will be raised with the emphatic word. As added emphasis, the vowel in the stressed syllable of the word may be lengthened considerably when the pitch is raised--this is particularly noticeable when emphasizing some quality such as size, beauty, color, loudness, amount, and the like.

## 8.3. Syntactic units

Mitla Zapoteco has two kinds of syntactic units: sentence forming units, and non-sentence forming units.

Sentence forming units are simple, complex, or coordinate. Simple sentences consist of a single independent clause. Complex sentences consist of

two or more clauses, at least one of which is independent. Coordinate sentences consist of combinations of simple sentences, or of simple and complex sentences, with or without connectives.

Simple imperative sentences consist of a verb or verb phrase without a subject, with or without a direct object: gudâ come here!, koLk<sup>w</sup>éh sit down!, behn perdôn nah-ré pardon me!.

Simple declarative sentences consist of a verb or verb phrase with a noun or bound morpheme as subject. The bound subject is suffixed to the verb; the noun subject most frequently follows the verb but may precede the verb alone or a combination of verb plus bound subject:

zâ nigî-re this man went away  
 dîbyûž tšâ the child isn't going to go  
 roliz-á kayéhk-ni my home is burning

Verb phrases are of two types: those which consist of one of a special list of verbs plus a noun:

behn-ni būřl kuyóʔt he made fun of the coyote  
 gun-á řemêd niʔ-lu I'll doctor your foot

dîbehts-lu gūn dzun your brother doesn't work; and those which consist of two verbs, the second of which may take the bound subject:

gulâhž kaLôb-ni she stopped sweeping  
 guslôh gudaúh reni they began to eat  
 gudehd byahb nisgih the rain passed

Occasionally a verb phrase may consist of a combination of both types:  
 sâbyáhL gun-á dzun I deserve to work

Following (or occasionally preceding) the verb-subject combination there occur nouns, particles, or phrases expressing object, location, causative object, and the like. There are usually one or two and occasionally three of these peripheral items.

The direct object normally follows immediately after the verb-subject:

rahp byûž Libř the child has a book  
 bazuh reni pláʔt yât.šřil they set down the plate of bread  
 xyáN.nâh-lu yes.bisya you will-stay-with the bean jar

xyaN.nâh-lu Yes.bisya you will-stay-with the bean jar

tenêgr zyâdnâ nah-ré a negro carried me off

étla-dini baguʔt bâL it wasn't he killed the snake

águluhž batyeʔ-á yahg I have finished gathering wood

A noun or phrase expressing location follows the verb-subject:

tšâʔ-á lwâ I'm going to Oaxaca

xyâd židahl behn Yehdž-gâ many people will come from that village

byaʔN-ni Bahk he stayed in Tlacolula

byaʔN-ni roliz-á he stayed at my home

Mitla Zapotec

bitéhb-ni neN ge<sup>h</sup> he fell into the olla

batšah-ni neN bōLs he put it into the bag

wigēs-ni asta dehts nisdō he went to sleep at the other side of the sea

If both locative and direct object occur, the locative follows the direct object:

bastšāʔp-ni byūž loh yahg he caused the child to climb up the tree

bastehb-ni teLaʔ balag.bihdz šiban gīd.bāz-re it made a piece of dry leaf fall onto the tail of this little chicken

tšasaʔN-ni tekārt asta rolih<sup>z</sup> gubihdž he went to leave a letter at the home of the sun

winā bāhL-eʔni asta xyāt neN nisdō the little fish carried him deep into the sea

rahk ruM niʔ-á there is rheumatism in my foot

A locative particle may precede the verb-subject:

roʔk řbāh<sup>z</sup> tedád-eʔ kon tšāl-ni there a man lived with his wife

The causative object follows the verb-subject:

basgaʔN-ni gōn he caused the oxen to plough

it precedes the direct object:

wišehb-ni giřós-eʔ roʔ špa behN-gá he made the little rose flower rub the mouth of his tomb, that person (he rubbed the rose on the tomb of that person)

If there is an indirect object, it follows the direct object:

kʷā-á tekʷéNt loh-tú I'll tell you a story

badéd-ni gih loh nán-eʔ he gave the stone to the lady

The indirect object is expressed by a particle phrase.

A noun or particle expressing time follows the verb-subject, and also follows the direct object:

sū-ni lřst Mēr garóL.Yāl she will be ready about midnight

ruhn-ni gān teb.řāhl teb.džeh he earned twelve cents a day

If both time and location are expressed, the expression of time may follow that of location:

řzyuh lisensyād gahš rolih<sup>z</sup> ařyēr girádžeh the lawyer stood near the muleteer's house every day;

or may precede the verb-subject:

tedžeh wi<sup>h</sup> tšāl-ni gido one day his wife went to the church

In a sentence with a predicate noun, the subject precedes the verb and the predicate noun follows:

nah-ré gak-á tebāhL-eʔ I'll become a little fish

džapeʔ guhkni māstr the girl became a teacher

An exclamatory particle may precede the verb-subject:

mbah, zyāL-á OK, I'll come

A noun of address may precede:

žiʔN-á, dflu gizyéd my child, you aren't learning

or follow:

xyáht-lu, štšuL-äʔá you must come down, my precious!

A few sentences do not contain a verb; most of these are responses to questions:

rut-di nah-ré I (was) not

nah-réni it (is) I

zit.duš-ni it (is) very far

lagahk rê right here;

or polite phrases:

škiždyôz-stélu kon reštidž-lu thank you for your words

Questions are normally marked by some interrogative morpheme, either a particle or an affix. The following list gives meanings, uses and illustrations of these morphemes.

ǎ; occurs sentence final, and implies assent to the statement after which it occurs: zika?-lu bäl, ǎ you will take meat, yes?; dílu tšâ mandâd, ǎ aren't you going on an errand, yes?

aN- ~ a- (147); occurs with morpheme 121 di: aNdíkatyú?-nini isn't he cutting it?; aNdígudauh-ni Hasn't he eaten?

á; occurs sentence final, might be translated "eh", making a question out of a statement: žiʔN-álu, á you are my child, eh?; étgudauh-dini, á? he didn't eat, eh?

báL how many...?; this is a particle which occurs preceding a noun; (a) direct question: báL ihz yu?-ni how many years old is he? (b) indirect question: tšugâN báL behN gau-ni who knows how many people it will eat!

ét- (122); this is a sort of rhetorical question, or an exasperated exclamation: étřNi-á loh-tú čazâL remôs-ni ladro rréʔš giž didn't I say to you the servants are throwing him out where trash is thrown?!; étgudauh-ni hasn't he eaten!

aga<sup>o</sup>- (111.1); ágagudauh-ni has he already eaten?

gúk when...?; gúk gubi?-lu when did you return?

gurá; particle, implying answer "yes": k<sup>w</sup>á-lu retráʔt, gurá you are going to take my picture, aren't you?

ka<sup>o</sup>- where; (a) direct question: kagúdáuh-ni where did he eat?; kagúk gudauh-ni where could he eat?; kanêN gudauh-ni in what did he eat? (b) indirect question: koL-gulúi-tés nah-ré kee-lâd tréʔ

reškoNtrar-tú just show me where your opponents are

kă-ro particle meaning where; (a) direct question: kă-ro wih-tú where did you go?; kă-roni Nah where is he now? (b) indirect question: gákrehdž pintóhr gidôN ka-ró yu? guNa the painter will be called for (us) to find out where the woman is

kôN where; a particle: kôN mbal where is compadre?

lâ; particle, occurring at the beginning of the question; implies either "yes" or "no" as the answer: (a) direct question: lâ dílu gáunâh nah-ré

Mitla Zapotec

will you not eat with me?; lâ luh-ni nahk dâd naní ruhñ dibiN are you the man who divines?; lâ guLi wëndüş nahk Perulin is it true that Perulin is very good?; lâ zyak-á will I get well?; lâ dîni gûñ žibâb tšâ-ni doesn't he plan to go? (b) indirect question: tšugân lâ zeht-ni who knows if he will die.

lăk how much...?; a particle: lăk sahk-ni how much is it worth?

šâ would, might; occurs at the beginning of the question and does not imply a "yes" or "no" answer: šâ nagágehs špaʔk<sup>w</sup>-lu would your dog be sleeping?

šŷ what; a particle: šŷ-š dŷlu gân then what don't you know?; šŷ-ne what is it?

šŷ<sup>o</sup>- (143) what; (a) direct question: šŷgúdáuh-ni what did he eat? (b) indirect question: gidŷN-nú šŷ-nâ-ni we'll see what he says to us

šik<sup>w</sup>ēnt why; (a) direct question: šik<sup>w</sup>ēnt dŷlu xyúʔ why don't you come in? (b) indirect question: nikla gân-ni šik<sup>w</sup>ēnt kadžéʔtš-ni neither does he know why he is angry

šipáhr for what: šipáhr našŷN špáʔk<sup>w</sup>-luʔ for what is your dog clever? (he is good as a watch dog.)

šipóhr in what: šipóhr našŷN špáʔk<sup>w</sup>-luʔ in what is your dog clever? (he's smart in lots of ways.)

tóp- (144) perhaps; this is a respectful way of asking a question: tópgudauh-ni perhaps he has eaten?; tópyuʔ dzun gun-á perhaps there is work for me to do?; tópzuhn-lu fabôr gûñ-lu řemêd nah-ré perhaps you will do the favor to administer medicine to me?

tšŷ who, a particle: tšŷ-ne nah-lu xyâd who is it you say is coming?

tšŷ<sup>o</sup>- (145) who; (a) direct question: tšŷgúdáuh-ni who ate it? (b) indirect question: dŷnagaN-á tšŷ-nŷʔk I don't know who it is

-žâ<sup>o</sup> (329) would, might: tšâ-žani would she go?

žó- (146) how; (a) direct question: žógun-á pelôn what will I do with the bald man?; žógudauh-ni how did he eat? (b) indirect question: kayúhu-ni žigâb žó-gûñ-ni tše-gudehd te-nânbeNgôl he was thinking how he would do when passed an old lady.

žô how; particle: žô-ne how is it?

(111.2) high tone; occurs on the 00 morpheme; (a) direct question: zíkáʔ-lu bâl will you take meat?; zŷNŷ-lu o dŷlu giNŷ will you speak, or won't you speak? (b) indirect question: tšugân zíkâhb šnan-á who knows will my mother be willing; kaNi-á loh-ni, gidŷN zíkâhb-ni I am speaking to him to see if he will be willing.

+ -ga<sup>o</sup> (111.2) the high tone occurring on the 00 morpheme: (a) direct question: bawŷ-galú did you see?; zŷh-gani will he go? (b) indirect question: gidŷN-nú béhn-galú gân we'll see if you won; žyét-k<sup>w</sup>idâd-di gáʔp-lu zúhn-galú gân have no fear if you win.

Complex sentences are of the following types: (1) two or more independent clauses juxtaposed, in a close syntactic relationship; (2) two independent clauses connected by *ziʔk* as, like; (3) a series of independent clauses of which the last is introduced by *niʔk* for that reason; (4) combinations of independent and dependent clauses.

In Type 1 complex sentences, the separate clauses are marked by /. In the following examples the second clause can be analyzed as object of the first:  
 bawi gídǵái / zyád-ni the rooster saw him coming  
 fí-lu / lák-tí zarú teguNaa / bakwáa pintoʔr-re you'll see what a beautiful woman this painter painted

řlaz-á / giNí-lu / ká-ro yuʔ reni I want you to say where they are  
 nikla gáN-lu / kayákzu te špesiN-lu nor do you know that one of your neighbors is ill

baluúz reni / gudauh reni they finished eating  
 dñni nulúi / kadžéʔtš-ni he didn't show he was angry  
 guNaz / sab-á zyád catch my clothes coming

In the following, the object clause stands first:

girâ řyádsáʔN reni / rau-á all they bring I eat

The second clause may be object of a verb phrase:

kayun-ä šigab / kil-ä šmbal-ä I'm thinkking of finding a compadre

kayun-á žibäg / kil-á šmbal-ä I'm thinking of finding a compadre  
 džehk-tí ġñ-lu gán / gidzúhn-lu then you will succeed in arriving

Nah behn žigáb / tebloh náʔk-nú now think that we are equal  
 zúhn-lu fabôr / gunidž-lu teposád / xyaʔN-á will you do the favor of giving me lodging to stay?

The object may be a quotative clause:

řNi-á loh-tú / tšazéʔk-lu dyôz-re I say to you you're going to burn up this god

kaNi-á loh-ni / gidôN zíkáhb-ni I'm saying to him (we'll) see if he wants to  
 ráhb-ni loh tšál-ni: / rútbidžál-ádi, / rutzazáh-di lo nehz he said to his wife: I saw no one, no one was going along the road

The second clause may be attributive to something in the first:

kês gunidž-á / gau-lu cheese I'll give you to eat  
 škáʔ-lu kutšár.ro / guzê-lu loh-ni you'll take a big spoon for stirring it  
 řgil-ni / dzun ġñ-ni he was looking for work to do  
 gaʔ-ni Libr / kayôL-ni he had a book he was reading  
 gunidž-á bařyehk-eʔ kon nihs / yá-lu I'll give you a gourd of water to drink  
 gudehd tenigi / řbâa boô there passed a man (who) made charcoal  
 zahk-ni / gidžáhl mël it is possible for money to be found  
 re zobgaʔ-á / kaguzilaz-á here I sit resting  
 goht-ni / kabáhz-ni gidzúhn kaperusiʔt he lay down waiting for Little Hood to come

## Mitla Zapotec

There may be two attributive clauses:

gunídẓ-lu yáht / gu-á / gau-á lo nehz give me tortillas to take to eat on the road

The first clause may express the time of the second:

zidzuhn-ka džéh / xyú.zák-ni luh a day will indeed come (when) he will care for you again

bidzuhn džéh / guht šnán reni a day came (when) their mother died

águhk štšeh-e? / zá-ni quite a while he was gone

lá bágoHL gidzút-nú is it time for us to play?

džehk-tí goHL gudžeh, / bizák San AntóN rolizh říʔk<sup>w</sup> stéwáL then (when) it was afternoon San Antonio went again to the rich man's house;

or the second may express the time of the first:

gubizák-ni / áwizeʔk renini it returned again (after) they had gone to burn it.

The relation may be that of cause and effect. The effect clause normally precedes the cause clause:

kuyóʔt byaʔN štuih / dínyáuh gidgái the coyote was ashamed he didn't eat the rooster.

lák-tí řbalaz-á řNi-lu ziʔk how happy I am you say thus

re zyaná-á šenkárg<sup>w</sup>-lu / ábehn-lu fabór nah-ré here I bring your "gift" you did me a favor;

but it may follow:

ká-ro tšá-lu / bidzuhn-lu re where are you going that you have arrived here?

The second may express the purpose of the first:

tšaʔ-á / k<sup>w</sup>ená-álu I'm coming to sit with you.

There may be three clauses, the first expressing time and the third attributive to the second:

yuʔ wáL / řded-lu Yäl / řduhš-lu there are times you pass the night barking.

Type 2 complex sentences express comparison:

šá yuʔ stê mán-eʔ ruhn dzun ziʔk-pá rúhn bé-eʔre would there be another little animal that works as does this little ant?

řNibe-á ziʔk řNibe-tú I rule as you rule

kaʔ-ázá tšikóʔt ziʔk kaʔ-tú I also have a whip as you have

Type 3 complex sentences express cause and effect with the effect clause final, introduced by niʔk:

lúš Nah tšigáh-eʔ řNi-ni, / lúš šehn la prinsês ákabíhdz-ni neN

botê, / niʔk tšigáh ářNiʔ-ni and now softly it was speaking, and the princess' saliva was drying in the bottle, for that reason it was now speaking softly

guk-á inkantád, / niʔk guk-á tekabái I became enchanted, for that reason I became a horse.

In Type 4 complex sentences, the dependent clause may be an indirect question:

byá?N reni didž šidžéh tyóbnihš báz they left word what day the baby would be baptized  
 gidóN-nú béhn-galú gán we'll see if you succeeded  
 tšugán zíkáhš šnan-á who knows if my mother will want to  
 dígusan-á tšukáz nah-ré I'll not let anyone hug me  
 tšugán kóN-ni Nah who knows where she is now  
 gidóN-nú lá lá guNa naní nutšná-lu we'll see if this is the woman you were going to marry  
 tšugán báL behN gau'-ni who knows how many people it would eat

It may express cause, followed by a ni?k clause:

táNt židahl reôr-gá rahp-lu, ni?k štěb-kaní byäd.tšú? reni re you have so much gold, for that reason they came in here alone unnoticed  
 zaksi gúzu-á ábyuhž šab-á, ni?k díní níkáhb because I was dressed in old clothes, for that reason he didn't want to  
 lúš Perulín, kom nahk-ni prób-e?, ni?k ráhb-ni loh gŕž guNíht-ni škáLnabahn-ni and Perulin, as he is poor, for that reason he said to the city man he would lose his life.

It may be a relative clause:

ryŭ-ni naní zuza?k he cares for one who appears rich  
 kiž-á zi?k-tšs nigíNyáb-lu I'll pay thus that which you will ask  
 řdže?tš rebehts-ni naní nahk beNgól his brother was angry, the one who was an old person  
 yu? židal.duš rebehN naní yu.duš reštóhL-ni there were very many people those who had many sins  
 balui reni redžihM naní yu? bya.báz kon Lyá they showed the baskets that had the little nopal and beans.

There may be two relative clauses:

widžág-ni behts dád-e? naní nahk tšäl naní wiwahz zŭs she was met by the brother of the man who was the husband of the one the old woman bathed.

The dependent clause may express time:

lagahk ôr naní baze?k-lu yu?, lagahk-zá ôr-gá gustéhb-lu ži?N-nú neN bizyě the same hour you burn the house, also that same hour drop our child into the well  
 niřyóhN džeh kayún.náh-ni mán the next day he was working with the animal.

The independent clause may precede the dependent clause:

xya?N-á štěb-á re, kom nah-ré řNibe-á I'll stay here alone, as I rule  
 behn perdón nah-ré, paLga guk-á málbehN kon luh pardon me, if I have been mean to you  
 Mexór náhk nyáu.duš-ä tédínyetga-á better not to have eaten so much so that I'd not die soon  
 džehk-tí bidže?tš reni tšebáwí-ni bidzuhn behts-ni then they were angry

Mitla Zapotec

when they saw their brother arrive

zibi?á tétšawi-á lá guht-ni I will return to see if he is dead  
 zohb reLái-á tégak gau.za?k-á there are my teeth so that I can eat well  
 nahk-ni gurob téxyénza?k dyag-á they are big so that I can hear well  
 rútbawi-ádi ladro-tí zobgá? teařmít I saw no one where there was only  
 a hermitage

lá dílu škáhb tšaná-áni tyóbnihš-ni téxyá?k-nú mbal do you not want me to  
 take him to be baptized so that we will be compadres?

lúš beNgü.re nahk-ni prób.dúš, tánt rá?-ni and this drunk is very poor  
 he drank so

zahL nihs-re yá-lu asta gún-lu gán gidzúhn-lu this water will last you  
 to drink until you arrive

tšá-lu skwél, ži?N-á, tégizyéd-lu gukwa-lu you are going to school, my  
 child, to learn to write.

The dependent clause may precede the independent clause:

paLga gun-á gán gak-á dibín, džehk-tí áwixya?N-lu re if I succeed  
 in divining, then you will have come here to stay

tšebídžúhn reni lahdž-ni, ro? Yehdž basa?N-nini when they arrived at  
 his village, he left her at the gate of the village

ladro nága? tšoN ládrí-re, ro?k yú?-ni where these three bricks lay,  
 there it is

tšebará Yál, ží reni when it was morning they went away

peř Nah paLga tútšná-lu nah-ré, Mexór tšoN-nú zihť but now if you are  
 going to marry me, better we go far away

maské kayáuh-ni giža?, peř díni gidáh although they eat grass, but they  
 don't fatten

In some series of dependent and independent clauses there may be duplica-  
 tion of the verb-subject:

xyé?ts-nú loh šembal-nú, xyéN-nú meNtír, xyé?ts-nú ži?k náh betswín-nú,  
 nah-ni: parú ná šembal-á lo-á tšaka?-á yag.plá?ť sób ro? špalás-ni  
 we'll say to our godfather, we'll do a lie, we'll say thus says our younger  
 brother, he says: would that my godfather would tell me to go and get the  
 silver tree to be put at the door of his palace!

tšebídžúhn-ni rolihz-ni, kom águhk ššeh žá-ni, tšebídžúhn-ni, řbalaz.dúš  
 šnán-ni when he arrived home, as he had been gone a long time, when he  
 arrived, his mother was very happy

gáb-lu loh ařyer, tšegúťšág-luni Logár naní bya?N-díďž gidžág-tú,  
 gáb-lu bawi-lu nigí tell the driver, when you meet him at the place de-  
 cided upon that you would meet, tell him you saw the man

tšebáwí tšál-ni, kom gahš ro? kwartéL ladro yú? koronéL yunáh tšál  
 dáđ-e?gá, tšebáwí guNa-gá, behn-ni žigáb, ná-ni: áNla tšál-á děk  
 when his wife saw, (as he) was near the mouth of the barracks where was

the colonel (who) was with the wife of that man, when that woman saw, she thought, she said to herself: it appears to be my husband that.

Coordinate sentences with connectives between coordinate parts may consist of simple sentences:

yu? židahl ži?N reni, luš nahk reni prôb they had many children, and they were poor

lâ gizâ-nú, o tšöN-nú lo beh shall we walk, or shall we go through the air?  
nikla žyét-řzi-dini kon mêl-gá, nikla gau-ni, nikla xyó? šahb-ni  
neither did he buy anything with that money, neither something to eat, nor clothes were bought.

They may include both simple and complex sentences joined with connectives:  
žit.duš zyädzanä-á-ni, luš tšebidzun-á rê, byaL laz-áni tšegudáz-tú  
nah-ré I brought her a long way, and when I arrived here, I forgot her when you hugged me

řlaz-á nyun-á gân niNyaz-áni, peř lířyáz-ni neN nihs-gá I wanted to succeed in catching it, but it just sank in that water.

The sentences may have loosely connected parts, without connectives.

These may be structurally independent predicate-subject constructions:  
teb.džeh sä-lu, stê džeh gibí?-lu one day you will go, another day you will return

sä-lu, xyöN-nú come on, let's go  
hwân byâL lahz-nini, dílahz-ni giNah Juan forgot her, he didn't remember  
mexôř suřbâhz-ni ro?k, náhk-rú xyü-túni better let him stay there, pay no more attention to him

gâb-lu loh-ni xyäd-ni, kabadž-áni tell him to come, I am calling him  
Nah águht-záni kon bišohs, girôp reni águht reni now she is also dead and the priest, the two of them are now dead.

Or they may include both an imperative verb form and a verb-subject sentence:

gudâ, gidžün-nú come on, we'll sit down.

There may be duplication of, and addition to, the verb in the first part:

wih-ni, wisi-ni listôn she went, she went to buy ribbon  
tša?-á ro gido, tšasi-á I'm going to the market, I'm going to buy  
xyâL-á, xyädna-á tyo?p palom-e? I will come I'll bring my two doves  
tšâ-lu tšaká?-lu te žigi, naní máz-rú zaru, galâi lo nisdo you'll go, you'll go and get a gourd that is very beautiful in the middle of the sea

There may be duplication of, and addition to, the verb in the first part, with the subject of the first verb not repeated in the second part:

azyäd rešmos-á, xyädna šigau-lu my servants will come, will come and bring you something to eat

bya?N-ti bizinwahg<sup>w</sup>, byaN.nâh gehs the rat just stayed, stayed with the olla  
žâgužün ří?k<sup>w</sup>, zawí the rich man went on a run, went to see.

## Mitla Zapotec

Non-sentence forming units include dependent clauses, noun expressions, particle phrases, and combinations of particles.

Dependent clauses include the following:

tšewa?-á roliz-á when I went home  
zakbídzuhn-lu nai because you arrived yesterday  
paLga sí-lu sú?kř if you buy sugar  
ladro yú? nihs where there is water  
nináhk re which is here  
nimáz-rú zarú who is prettier  
rení řNyáz bähL those who catch fish (fishermen)  
renaní tšá those who are going

Noun expressions include the following:

rolihz guNa the woman's home  
gřd šten-ni her chicken  
bōLs tšaké?t pocket of the jacket  
lo Yehdž at the village  
ro? nido seashore  
be štebe?-ni the little ant alone  
plá?t yätšfil a plate of bread  
loh yäLguht from death  
šten bagřd of the butterfly  
máz-rú židahl meř much more money  
šřl šten škabái-ni his horse's saddle  
gareñ-ka kolōr different color  
agurōb bā?k<sup>w</sup> big dog  
gužř džeh a few days  
xyōN byūž the three children  
Yehdž poř Yehdž from village to village

Particle phrases are illustrated by the following:

neN nihs in the water  
kon tšál-ni with her husband  
lāk-tř trabāř what suffering  
latal Yehdž-gá such a village  
nikla tērá?t-si nor a tiny while  
máz-rú gurōb bigger, very big  
lāk-tř zarú how pretty  
šřpzá nalās how sad  
dže lāk-tř nahL because how cold!

A few combinations of particles are:

lúš džehk-tř and then  
Mexōr náhk better not  
asta ro?k to there

peř zi?k but thus  
 džehk-tí si-ní then indeed  
 peř šik<sup>w</sup>ěNt but why  
 porke zi?k because thus

# Appendix: Nomenclature

Place names. These consist of names of mountains, rivers, villages, and places in the country around Mitla.

## Mountains:

dan-r<sup>o</sup> ~ dan-gído a mountain north of Mitla

dan-gíga Nine Points

dan-gíbbini

dan-bák<sup>w</sup> ~ bääk<sup>w</sup> mountain south of town

dan-gígohdz La Fortaleza

dan-gíga<sup>L</sup> Twenty Points

dan-gído-leh

dan-gíruhn

dan-r<sup>o</sup> loh giž<sup>u</sup>rk

dan-štš

Lóm-šumbrêl Loma de sombrero

Lóm-takohs

dan-gí<sup>b</sup> loh mountain where we get gi-nó<sup>?</sup>tš

Rivers: These are, more accurately, places along the rivers, names of parts of the rivers.

yeu-birúš south of the plaza

yeu-bik<sup>á</sup>

yeu-dán south of Mitla

yeu-galáí in front of Asunción Gopar de Lopez

yeu-ládehdž east of her house

yeu-lák<sup>h</sup> from Xaaga, east of Mitla

yeu-láta<sup>?</sup> where río Grande runs over a solid expanse of rock, also east of Asunción Gopar's house

yeu-lobäg<sup>w</sup> where it flows down the hill west of Asunción's

yeu-Loh

yeu-nákrúhs

yeu-r<sup>o</sup> where it flows by Asunción's in Mitla

yeu-rolahts south of the plaza, at the plain

yeu-st<sup>o</sup> where it flows north and south, west of Mitla

yeu-wí river that runs into the tube for the white water in Mitla

yeu-xyát down the Big River

yeu-žáb<sup>l</sup> where it flows under the yag-bib tree

yeu-žapwěNt where it flows under the bridge in Mitla

yeu-žáhž

yeu-ro.bakáht

yeu-lo.deb

## Villages:

bahk Tlacolula  
 gažohn Yalalag  
 gibehd Totolapa  
 gisyē? Tehuantepec  
 lats̄igehr Lachiguirri  
 lwā Oaxaca  
 Lyobāh old name for Mitla  
 méhg<sup>w</sup> Mexico  
 ro-štes xya Hacienda Xaagá  
 šagi? Teotitlán  
 šandyāu Matatlán  
 yedž-aím Mitla, town of the souls  
 yeudā Nejapa  
 žagei Mitla ruins  
 žaxyóh Fortaleza ruins  
 yek-Lôm Loma Larga

Places around Mitla, in the mountains, on the plains, springs, etc.:

benuš<sup>i</sup>  
 biLyä-gabihL cave of infierno  
 biLyä-guban cave of the thief  
 biLyä-nis-bakaL cave of dream water  
 bityu-giht  
 gila-behs enchanted rock  
 gila-ye?t white rock  
 giro-bä?k<sup>w</sup> dog-mouth stone  
 guhdž bed-kóL turkey spring  
 lād-yéú ža-ōř side of the river below the oven  
 lād-yéú ro-lahts plain by side of the river  
 lats-beN-dahn plain of man of the mountain  
 lats-beN-dán-ro plain of man of the big mountain  
 lats-beN-dán-wín plain of man of the little mountain  
 lats-biLyä plain of the bean tree  
 lakáMp-bityu-giht  
 lo-gibloh  
 lo-gi-nagahN at the difficult stone  
 lo-gila-guzí at the lightning stone  
 lo-guzí-rō at the big lightning  
 lo-guzí-wín at the little lightning  
 lo-lats-rō at the big plain  
 lo-yetš-nūL  
 nihs badzúhts  
 ro-gudž-nig<sup>w</sup> at the standing water turned green and scummy

Mitla Zapotec

lo-yetšáhd  
neN yetš-wěk  
neN yeu-rô kah biLyä-guban  
nis-lo-bedohN water at the whirlpool  
nis-narāNx water at the orange tree  
nis-yag-bikî water at the bamboo  
nis-badzúhdz squirrel water  
nis-bakaL dream water, a spring  
ni? gih foot of the stone  
ni? gila-balô foot of the crow stone  
ni? gi-yôl foot of the long stone  
ro-gi  
ro-kaNtêr nez-šlad-á at the quarry by my side  
ro-kaNtêr at the quarry  
ro-nis-gid-džlô at the goat-skin water  
ro-nis-yéʔt at the white water  
ro-yeu-tšîNtš  
ro-yeu-žáhž  
yed-déhdž mouth of the subterranean passage in Mitla  
yehk lahts yeu-wîn  
yehk yeu-žáhž  
yeu-wap  
yeu-wap-rô  
yeu-wap-wîn  
žā-bāwi under the nanche tree  
žā-gi-šnyā under the red stone  
žā-gi-roL where the shepherds play  
žā-gi-yôl under the long stone  
žā-Lyā under the bean tree  
žā-Lyā neN yéi yu?  
žān-yahg ški? be  
biLyä.gôb broom cane  
basuLyoh  
gilahp  
Lóm.kāLbār mound on which is Calvario  
lats.bitye?  
lo.yu.šnyā  
gulaswād  
lo.řdeu  
nez.yu.ro.štēs  
Months and days, special days:  
abrîL April

agost August  
 byer Friday  
 disyeMbř December  
 dumiNg<sup>w</sup> Sunday  
 enēr January  
 febrēr February  
 lūn Monday  
 mái May  
 mārš March  
 māřt Tuesday  
 myēr<sup>w</sup> Wednesday  
 nobyeMbř November  
 oktubř October  
 pásk<sup>w</sup> Easter  
 pásk<sup>w</sup>-NĪNy Christmas  
 sábd Saturday  
 septyeMbř September  
 xūLy July  
 xūNy June  
 xwēb Thursday

## Names of people:

abēL Abelino  
 abeLiN Abelino  
 abrāN Abram  
 alfrēd Alfredo  
 altagrās Altagracia  
 āN Ana  
 anxeliN Angelina  
 até'k Aztec  
 áur Aura  
 balyeNt Valentino  
 bēl Isabel  
 bēt Beto  
 bír Elvira  
 bitōr Victoria  
 bf'ŕt Victor  
 būNd Abundio  
 bütš Tiburcio  
 danyēL Daniel  
 dari Dario  
 diN Enedina  
 dōLf Adolfo  
 džēdž Celsa

Mitla Zapotec

džéí Ancelma

džón Antonia

ělb Elba

elbír Elvira

elpíd Elpidia

ěls Elsa

elêN Elena

estêL Estela

fân Juan

fil Filomena

flôr Florentino

floríNd Florinda

frosín Frosina

gík Victor

glôr Gloria

grasyêL Graciela

gustín Augustina

gúst Augustin

irêN Irene

írM Irma

israêL Israel

kárm Carmen

kistín Cristina

lâL Eulalia

lán Julian

lárs Lazaro

láž Nicolas

leNtš Lorenza

lí María

líb Felipe

líbuNd Abundia

líflôr Florentina

lín Catalina

lín Marcelina

línNd Ermelinda

líp Felipa

lýt Margarita

lýtš Felicita

lôl Aurora

lôL Dolores

lús Lucía

lusi Lucía

lusiN Lucina

lúʔp Guadalupe  
 lwis Luisa  
 lwiz̃ Luis  
 madalēN Magdalena  
 marī Mary  
 marselīN Marcelino  
 mās Maximo  
 méʔtš Merced  
 miL Amelia  
 miLyāN Emiliando  
 mistéʔk Mixteco  
 miz̃ Mixe  
 moisēs Moises  
 myōm Simeon  
 natāL Natalia  
 nātš Ignacia  
 ndrēhž Andres  
 nēl Manuela  
 nēs Ines  
 néʔtš Ines  
 nīl Petronila  
 nōb Cenobio  
 ofēL Ofelia  
 páu Paula  
 pédr Pedro  
 pét Petra  
 pyedā Piedad  
 řáf Rafael  
 řakēL Rachel  
 řauL Raul  
 řemihx Remijio  
 řexīN Regina  
 řobēřt Roberto  
 řós Rosa  
 řosaLī Rosalia  
 řosār Rosaria  
 řosēL Roselia  
 řoxēL Rogelio  
 řufīN Rufina  
 sabēL Isabel  
 sebēr Cevera  
 sofi Sofia  
 sōL Soledad

Mitla Zapotec

sperãNs Esperanza  
šwãn Juana  
tãNtš Constantino  
tãtš Anastacia  
tãb Esteban  
terês Teresa  
téu Timoteo  
tīb Natividad  
tõN Meliton  
trîN Trinidad  
trõN Petrona  
tšau Isaura  
tšap Josefa  
tšê José  
tšéf Josefina  
tšêNd Vicenta  
tšík Francisca  
tšík<sup>w</sup> Francisco  
tšû María de Jesús  
tšûNtš Asunción  
tšû?tš Jesús  
xakôb Jacobo  
xûL Julia  
xwãn Juan  
yãNk Angela  
xaim Jaime  
mateú Mateo  
bartôL Bartolomeo  
mê Salomé  
mãzh Tomás  
dabïd David  
gusê José

Nouns of time:

řsïdo-rú 6-7 A.M.

řsïl 6-8 A.M.

bãřsïl 7 A.M.

Nagah just a little while ago

gušïNro about 11-12 P.M.

kãirô-rú 1-2 A.M.

Nagehs now soon

águšihN 9-10 P.M.

kakãih 8 P.M.

águširŕ 11 P.M.  
 áyäl-pak 12-2 A.M.  
 Läidžeh noon  
 gudešmân a week ago  
 Nadžeh today  
 gázobLäidžeh every noon  
 řšl-rú 7-8 A.M.  
 bářsíldo 5-6 A.M.  
 glžê tomorrow  
 tempránrŕ-rú 1 P.M.  
 käh-rú 3-4 A.M.  
 Nasguni  
 Nasgunih two days ago  
 nutšeh - - last night  
 bakäh 3-4 A.M.  
 býäl 1-2 A.M.  
 áyälrŕ 12-2 A.M.  
 gudžeh afternoon  
 águdžeh 3-4 P.M.  
 izgudehd a year ago  
 gázobgudžeh every afternoon  
 gázobřšl every morning  
 águdželĹ 5-6 P.M.  
 gudžungúbhdž 2 weeks ago  
 řkälloyuh dawn  
 águdža? 11 A.M.  
 garŕLyäl midnight  
 Naiřšl yesterday morning  
 Nagudžeh this afternoon  
 Nayäl tonight  
 NaNah right now  
 Nah now  
 Nai yesterday  
 yäl night  
 käh 4-5 P.M.  
 gudžedo 6-7 P.M.  
 tsungúbhdž two weeks  
 bágdžža? 8 A.M.  
 águdžarŕ 10 A.M.  
 Naigudžeh yesterday afternoon  
 Nasgudžeh day before yesterday afternoon  
 NagušthN this evening

Mitla Zapotec

widžřsł day after tomorrow morning

gižégizê every day

Nahs day before yesterday

wihdž day after tomorrow

gušihN evening 8-10 P.M.

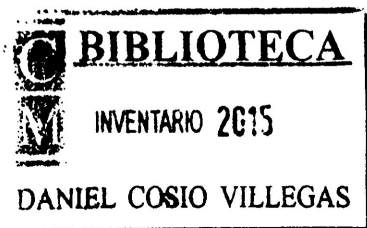
natópru lo yuj dawn

EL COLEGIO DE MEXICO

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