

# **Personal pronouns: distribution**

**Stephen A. Marlett**

The Zapotec Grammar Files

Stephen A. Marlett (February 2010) Personal pronouns: distribution. In: Cheryl A. Black, H. Andrew Black and Stephen A. Marlett (eds.) The Zapotec grammar files.

[\[http://www.sil.org/mexico/WorkPapers/WP001i-ZapotecGrammarFiles.htm\]](http://www.sil.org/mexico/WorkPapers/WP001i-ZapotecGrammarFiles.htm) © SIL International. These are working papers that are periodically updated, expanded, and corrected. Comments or corrections can be sent to the editors (see the [index](#) page).

## Contents

|   |    |
|---|----|
| 1 Introduction .....                                    | 2  |
| 2 Characteristics of +S +P pronouns .....               | 3  |
| 2.1 In isolation .....                                  | 3  |
| 2.2 With question particle .....                        | 4  |
| 2.3 In preverbal position .....                         | 5  |
| 2.4 After Spanish preposition .....                     | 6  |
| 2.5 As subject of predicate nominal clause .....        | 8  |
| 2.6 As predicate nominal .....                          | 8  |
| 3 Characteristics of +S pronouns .....                  | 9  |
| 3.1 As object of the verb following an NP subject ..... | 9  |
| 3.2 After interrogative pronoun .....                   | 10 |
| 3.3 In conjunct situation .....                         | 12 |
| 4 Characteristics of +S -P pronouns .....               | 12 |
| 5 Characteristics of -S -P pronouns .....               | 12 |
| 6 The existence of a person hierarchy .....             | 13 |
| A Points of variation in distribution .....             | 14 |
| References .....  | 16 |

## 1 Introduction

This paper discusses basic facts about the distribution of personal pronouns in Zapotec. It follows the general orientation proposed in Marlett (1993) and provides the basis for the categories presented in [Personal pronouns: inventory, this series](#).<sup>1</sup>

Personal pronouns must be classified by their syntactic (in)dependence and by their phonological (in)dependence. Three types of personal pronouns are attested in Zapotec, although some varieties have only two, which leads to some confusion when looking at the facts across the language family:

|     |                   |                  |       |                     |
|-----|-------------------|------------------|-------|---------------------|
| (1) | Syntactically ... | Prosodically ... |       | Examples from [zai] |
| (a) | Independent       | Independent      | +S +P | 'na? 1SG            |

<sup>1</sup>I thank Beth Merrill for her helpful comments. The following are found in other files: [Transcription Conventions](#) and [Data Sources](#) for Zapotec. The abbreviations used in this paper are: 1 = first person, 1PLEX = first person plural exclusive, 1PLIN = first person plural inclusive, 1SG = first person singular, 2 = second person, 2PL = second person plural, 2SG = second person singular, 3AN = third person animal, 3F = third person feminine, 3FO = third person formal, 3H = third person human, 3IN = third person inanimate, 3INFO = third person informal, 3M = third person masculine, AFM = aforementioned, BASE = base for dependent pronouns, C = completive, CAUS = causative, DIST = distal, H = habitual, P = potential, PL = plural, POSS = possessive, Q = question particle/marker, QE = question emphaziser, S = stative.

|     |             |           |       |        |
|-----|-------------|-----------|-------|--------|
| (b) | Independent | Dependent | +S –P | ni 3IN |
| (c) | Dependent   | Dependent | –S –P | =be 3H |

The contexts that serve to categorize the pronouns are presented in sections 2-5.

## 2 Characteristics of +S +P pronouns

A pronoun that occurs in the contexts discussed in sections 2.1-2.5 is classified as a syntactically and prosodically independent pronoun (+S +P). These pronouns receive their own stress, do not interact phonologically with adjacent words in any significant way, and do not lean on adjacent words phonologically.

When the language does not have a +S +P pronoun to use in a given construction, a more complicated construction must be used (see [Base plus enclitic pronoun, this series](#)).

### 2.1 In isolation

Only +S +P pronouns occur in isolation.

(2) Nēdi'

[zpc] 'nædiʔ

1SG

‘Soy yo.’

*‘It’s me.’*

[H. Lyman (2007:39)]

(3) Na.

[zpo] 'na

1SG

‘Yo.’

*‘Me.’ [As in reply to the question “Who went?”]*

[David Riggs, p.c.]

–P pronouns (whether +S or –S) cannot occur in isolation.

(4) \* Ni.

[zai] ni

3IN

(‘Ello, él (cosa), ellas (cosa).’)

*‘(It.)’*

[Marlett (1993:85)]

(5) \* Yu.

[zpz] ju

3M

(‘Él.’)

*‘(Him.)’*

[Marlett (1993:85)]

- (6) \* Bo'  
 [zav] =bo?  
 3INFO  
 ('Él/ella.')
- (*'Him/her.'*) [Marlett (1993:85)]

## 2.2 With question particle

Only +S +P pronouns occur in questions preceded or followed (depending on the variety) only by the question particle.

- (7) ¿Li'i ya'  
 [zai] 'li? ja?  
 2SG QE  
 '¿(Y) tú?'  
 (*'(And) you?'*) [Marlett (1993:84), Pickett (1960:87)]

- (8) ¿Yā n?  
 [zpz] 'jā n  
 1SG Q  
 '¿Soy yo (a quien se refiere)?'  
 (*'(Is reference being made to) me?'*) [Marlett (1993:84)]

- (9) ¿Tsi lu'  
 [zaa] 'tsi lu?  
 Q 2SG  
 '¿Tú?'  
 (*'You?'*) [Marlett (1993:84)]

Pronouns that are not +P cannot be used in this way whether they are +S or -S.

- (10) \* ¿Be ya'  
 [zai] =be ja?  
 3H QE  
 ('¿(Y) él/ella?')
- (*'(And) him/her?'*) [Marlett (1993:85)]

- (11) \* ¿Lu ya'  
 [zai] =lu ja?  
 2SG QE  
 ('¿(Y) tú?')
- (*'(And) you?'*) [Marlett (1993:85)]

- (12) \* ¿Tsi e?  
 [zaa] tsi e  
           Q 3FO  
 (‘¿(Y) él/ella?’)  
 (‘(And) Him/her?’) [Marlett (1993:85)]

- (13) \* ¿Na n?  
 [zpz] na n  
           1PLIN Q  
 (‘¿Somos nosotros (a quien se refiere)?’)  
 (‘(Is reference being made to) us?’) [Marlett (1993:85)]

- (14) \* ¿Mi n?  
 [zpz] mi n  
           3F/3FO Q  
 (‘¿Es ella (a quien se refiere)?’)  
 (‘(Is reference being made to) her?’) [Marlett (1993:85)]

### 2.3 In preverbal position

Only +S +P pronouns occur in preverbal position.

- (15) Li'i bi'iya lu ni.  
 [zai] 'li? bi?ja =lu ni  
           2SG C.see 2SG 3IN  
 ‘TÚ lo viste.’  
 ‘YOU saw it.’ [Marlett (1993:85)]

- (16) Lué' bē lo kana'.  
 [zpc] luæ? bæ =lo kana?  
           2SG C.make 2SG thus  
 ‘TÚ hiciste eso.’  
 ‘YOU did that.’ [H. Lyman (2007:163)]

- (17) Sa nda ndo' xge'e.  
 [zpt] 'sa nda ndo? fge?  
           1PLEX H.go face plaza  
 ‘Yo (formal) voy a la plaza.’  
 ‘I (formal) am going to the plaza.’ [Wagner (2008:5)]

Example (18) is similar to the preceding ones in that it has a +S +P pronoun in initial position, although there is no verb.

- (18) To ga.  
 [ztg] 'to ga  
 2PL DIST  
 'Ustedes son los que están allí.'  
*'You (pl.) are the ones who are there.'* [Marlett (1993:84)]

Pronouns that are not +P cannot be used in this position whether they are +S or -S.<sup>2</sup>

- (19) \* Ni biwi'ini (ni).  
 [zai] ni biwi'ni ni  
 3IN C.be.small 3IN  
 ('Se hizo mas pequeño.')

*('It got smaller.')*

[Marlett (1993:86)]

- (20) \* Lu bi'iya (lu) ni.  
 [zai] =lu bi'ja =lu ni  
 2SG C.see 2SG 3IN  
 ('TÚ lo viste.')

*('YOU saw it.')*

[Marlett (1993:86)]

- (21) \* Xo ga.  
 [ztg] fo ga  
 3FO DIST  
 ('Es él/ella que está allí.')

*('It is s/he who is there.')*

[Marlett (1993:84)]

## 2.4 After Spanish preposition

Only +S+P pronouns occur after prepositions that are Spanish loanwords. (In the case of example (22), the source of the loanword in Spanish is a noun.)

- (22) Gwnne e' fabor nada'.  
 [zav] g<sup>w</sup>n:e =e? fabor 'nada?  
 C.speak 3FO favor 1SG  
 'Habló en mi favor.'

*'S/he spoke on my behalf.'*

[Butler (1980:248), Marlett (1993:87)]

- (23) par nada'  
 [zav] par 'nada?  
 for 1SG  
 'para mí'  
*'for me'*

[Butler (1980:249), Marlett (1993:87)]

<sup>2</sup>More ungrammatical examples are provided in Marlett (1993:86-87).

(24) par yã  
 [zpz] par 'jã  
 for 1SG  
 'con respecto a mí'  
 'with respect to me' [Marlett (1993:87)]

(25) despwes de na'a  
 [zai] despwes de 'na?  
 for 1SG  
 'después de mí'  
 'after me' [Pickett (1960:47), Marlett (1993:87)]

(26) par liu'  
 [zab] par 'liu?  
 for 2SG  
 'para ti'  
 'for you' [Marlett (1993:87)]

(27) para luë'  
 [zpc] para 'luæ?  
 for 2SG  
 'para ti'  
 'for you' [H. Lyman (2007:38)]

A pronoun that is not +P cannot occur after such prepositions.

(28) \* despwes de be  
 [zai] despwes de =be  
 after of 3H  
 ('después de él/ella')  
 ('after him/her') [Marlett (1993:88)]

(29) \* despwes de ni  
 [zai] despwes de ni  
 after 3H  
 ('después de él/ella (inanimate)')  
 ('after it') [Marlett (1993:88)]

(30) \* par na  
 [zpz] par na  
 for 1PLIN  
 ('con respecto a nosotros (inclusivo)')  
 ('with respect to us (inclusive)') [Marlett (1993:88)]

- (31) \* par a'  
 [zav] par = a?  
 for 1SG  
 ('para mí')  
 ('for me') [Marlett (1993:88)]
- (32) \* par bi  
 [zab] par = bi  
 for 3INFO  
 ('para él/ella')  
 ('for him/her') [Marlett (1993:88)]
- (33) \* Gwnne e' fabor a'.  
 [zav] g<sup>w</sup>wn:e = e? fabor = a?  
 C.speak 3FO favor 1SG  
 ('Habló en mi favor.')
- (34) \* par a'.  
 [zav] par = a?  
 for 1SG  
 ('para mí')  
 ('for me') [Marlett (1993:88)]

## 2.5 As subject of predicate nominal clause

Only +S +P pronouns may occur as the subject of a verbless predicate nominal clause following the predicate nominal if the predicate nominal is an NP.

- (35) Ben' tondo le'e.  
 [zpc] ben? tondo 'læ?  
 person foolish 2PL  
 'Ustedes son tontos.'  
 'You are fools.' [H. Lyman (2007:152)]

## 2.6 As predicate nominal

Only +S +P pronouns may occur as the predicate of a verbless predicate nominal clause.

- (36) Narä ni.  
 [zaw] 'naræ = ni  
 1SG 3INFO  
 'Soy yo.'  
 'It is I.'<sup>3</sup> [Stubblefield & Stubblefield (1994:104)]

<sup>3</sup>The source translated this example as 'I am he'.

### 3 Characteristics of +S pronouns

In addition to the contexts in which only +S +P pronouns are used, at least two contexts only require that the pronoun be +S and do not specify whether the pronoun must be +P or –P.

#### 3.1 As object of the verb following an NP subject

The following examples illustrate the possibility in some varieties of having a +S –P pronoun after an NP subject in its usual postverbal position, usually as an object of the verb.

- (37) ... ra ka enne'yu bi ...  
 [zaa] r-a ka ene?ju bi  
 H-say PL man 3INFO  
 '... le dicen los hombres ...'  
 '... the men say to him/her ...' [Nellis & Nellis (1983:433)]

- (38) Bi'iya Ale ni.  
 [zai] bij'a ale ni  
 C-see Alejandro 3IN  
 'Alejandro lo/la vio.'  
 'Alejandro saw it.' [Marlett (1993:88)]

- (39) Usa'an Xul a'.  
 [ztg] u-sa'an jul a?  
 C-leave Julia 2SG  
 'Julia te dejó.'  
 'Julia left you.' [Marlett (1993:89)]

- (40) Kut Li n.  
 [zpz] kut li n  
 P-CAUS-die María 1PLIN  
 'María nos matará.'  
 'María will kill us.' [Marlett (1993:89)]

- (41) Rure guna Xwan mi.  
 [zab] rure guna jwan mi  
 there C-see Juan 3AN  
 'Juan lo/la vio allá.'  
 'Juan saw it there.' [Marlett (1993:89)]

As it is generally possible to have a +S +P pronoun in this context, this is not illustrated here. –S –P pronouns do not occur in this context.

- (42) \* Bi'iya Ale lu.  
 [zai] bi'ja ale = lu  
 C-see Alejandro 2SG  
 ('Alejandro te vio.')
- (43) \* Kut Li r.  
 [zpz] kut li = r  
 P-CAUS-die María 2SG  
 ('María te matará.')
- (44) \* Gwdao beko' na'a ni' a'  
 [zav] g<sup>w</sup>dao beko? na? ni? = a?  
 C-eat dog DIST AFM 1SG  
 ('Ese perro me mordió.')
- [Marlett (1993:90)]
- [Marlett (1993:90)]
- [Marlett (1993:90)]

### 3.2 After interrogative pronoun

Only +S pronouns occur as the predicate nominal associated with an interrogative pronoun. In some varieties of Zapotec, this must be a +P pronoun as well, but in other varieties it may be a –P pronoun. See appendix A.

Examples (45)–(46) show languages in which a +S but –P pronoun is allowed in this context.

- (45) ¿Chu l'?  
 [ztg] tʃu l'  
 who? 2SG  
 '¿Quién eres tú?'  
 'Who are you?'
- (46) ¿Nuni bi?  
 [zaa] nuni bi  
 who? 3INFO  
 '¿Quién es él/ella?'  
 'Who is s/he?'
- [Marlett (1993:90)]
- [Marlett (1993:91)]

In some varieties, the pronoun may also be +P in this context.

- (47) ¿Nuni inte'?  
 [zaa] nuni 'inte?  
 who? 1SG  
 '¿Quién soy yo?'  
 'Who am I?'
- [Marlett (1993:90)]

- (48) ĵChu luh?  
 [zaw] tʃu 'lu<sup>h</sup>  
 who? 2SG  
 'ĵQuién eres?'  
 'Who are you?' [Stubblefield & Stubblefield (1994:104)]

Examples (49)-(54) show languages in which a +P pronoun is required in this context.

- (49) ĵTu liu'?  
 [zab] tu 'liu?  
 who? 2SG  
 'ĵQuién eres tú?'  
 'Who are you?' [Marlett (1993:91)]

- (50) \* ĵTu b?  
 [zab] tu =b  
 who? 3INFO  
 ('ĵQuién es él/ella?')  
 ('Who is s/he?') [Marlett (1993:91)]

- (51) ĵTu li'i?  
 [zai] tu 'li?  
 who? 2SG  
 'ĵQuién eres tú?'  
 'Who are you?'<sup>4</sup> [Pickett (1960:86), Marlett (1993:90)]

- (52) \* ĵTu l?  
 [zai] tu =l  
 who? 2SG  
 ('ĵQuién eres tú?')  
 ('Who are you?') [Pickett (1960:86), Marlett (1993:90)]

- (53) ĵKyu ru?  
 [zpz] k<sup>j</sup>u 'ru  
 who? 2SG  
 'ĵQuién eres tú?'  
 'Who are you?' [Marlett (1993:91)]

- (54) \* ĵKyu yu?  
 [zpz] k<sup>j</sup>u ju  
 who? 3M  
 'ĵQuién es él?'  
 'Who is he?' [Marlett (1993:91)]

Example (55) illustrates that in no variety (so far as is known) can the pronoun be –S.

<sup>4</sup>The source had the translation 'Who's there?'.

- (55) \* ʔNuni a'ʔ  
 [zaa] nuni =aʔ  
 who? 1SG  
 ('ʔQuién soy yo?')  
 ('Who am I?')

[Marlett (1993:91)]

### 3.3 In conjunct situation

When pronouns are conjoined, it seems +S pronouns are required; more data are needed from varieties that have such conjunctions. (The conjunction /o/ in (56) is a Spanish loanword.)

- (56) ʔTu bi'ni ni? ʔLi'i la o la'a be?  
 [zai] tu biʔni ni liʔ la o laʔ =be  
 who C-do 3IN 2SG Q or BASE 3H  
 'ʔQuién lo hizo? ʔTú o él/ella?'  
 'Who did it? ʔYou or him/her?'

[Pickett, Black &amp; Marcial (2001:29)]

- (57) la'a be ne xamigu be  
 [zai] laʔ =be ne ʃ-amigu =be  
 BASE 3H and POSS-friend 3H  
 'él/ella y su amigo/a'  
 's/he and his/her friend'

[Pickett, Black &amp; Marcial (2001:27)]

## 4 Characteristics of +S -P pronouns

A pronoun that occurs in the contexts discussed in section 5<sup>5</sup> and does not occur in the contexts described in section 2 is classified as a syntactically independent but prosodically dependent (+S -P) pronoun in [Personal pronouns: inventory, this series](#).

## 5 Characteristics of -S -P pronouns

A personal pronoun that does not occur in the contexts described in section 2 and section 3 is classified as a syntactically dependent and prosodically dependent pronoun. The primary positions for -S -P pronouns are following a verb (as subject) and following a noun (as possessor), as illustrated by (58)-(60).<sup>6</sup>

- (58) Rue bi' dxin tsola'dxi'.  
 [zpc] r-ue =biʔ dʒin tsolaʔdʒiʔ  
 H-do 3INFO work slowly  
 'Él/ella trabaja despacio.'  
 'S/he works slowly.'

[H. Lyman (2007:110)]

<sup>5</sup>That is, without support from the BASE word /la'a/; see [Base plus enclitic pronoun, this series](#).

<sup>6</sup>I consider the examples discussed in [Base plus enclitic pronoun, this series](#) to be a subtype of the noun followed by a pronoun.

- (59) Ba nati bi'.  
 [zpc] ba n-ati =bi?  
 already S-die 3INFO  
 'Él/ella ya está muerto/a.'  
 'S/he is already dead.'

[H. Lyman (2007:152)]

- (60) ni'a ba'  
 [zpc] ni?a =ba?  
 foot 3AN  
 'su pata'  
 'its foot/paw'

[H. Lyman (2007:110)]

Assuming that the verb and the possessed noun are the heads of their respective constructions, one may claim that the pronouns are adjacent to the heads. In some varieties of Zapotec, the –S –P pronoun cannot be separated from the head by almost anything. These are those which have a strict condition on this adjacency constraint: a –S –P must directly follow the head. In some varieties, however, a third person –S –P pronoun may be separated from the head by other –S –P pronouns.<sup>7</sup> See appendix A. Choapan Zapotec [zpc] is of the lax type, as shown by (61).

- (61) Bëti bi' ba'.  
 [zpc] bæti =bi? =ba?  
 C-CAUS-die 3INFO 3AN  
 'Él/ella lo mató.'  
 'S/he killed it.'

[H. Lyman (2007:150)]

Such examples are impossible in other varieties such as Isthmus Zapotec [zai]. See (62).

- (62) \* Bi'iya lu be.  
 [zai] bij'a =lu =be  
 C.see 2SG 3H  
 ('Tú lo/la viste.')

(*'You saw him/her.'*)

[Marlett (1993:95)]

## 6 The existence of a person hierarchy

Even when all of the facts presented above are taken into consideration, some distributional facts are not accounted for. Specifically, in languages with the lax version of the adjacency condition (see appendix A), some sequences of pronouns are still disallowed. At least two studies of the distribution of pronouns have made this fact explicit: López, & Newberg (2005:9), H. Lyman (2007:33-35) and H. Lyman (2008). López, & Newberg (2005) show that the hierarchy in (63) is relevant.

- (63) 1/2 > 3FO > 3INFO > 3AN > 3IN

<sup>7</sup>This condition was first elaborated in Marlett (1993).

No example is grammatical that has the order of -S-P pronouns outside of this order, and pronouns cannot be repeated in the string in these particular languages. And in no variety of Zapotec, to the best of my knowledge, can the direct object be a -S -P pronoun that is first or second person.

### Appendix A: Points of variation in distribution

| ISO 639-3 code | Identifier as in Ethnologue | after 'who?' or what? +S and +P or ±P | Strict or Lax version of adjacency condition |
|----------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|
| zaa            | Sierra de Juárez            | ±P                                    |  |
| zab            | San Juan Guelavía           | +P                                    |  |
| zac            | Ocotlán                     |                                       |  |
| zad            | Cajonos                     |                                       |  |
| zae            | Yareni                      |                                       |  |
| zaf            | Ayoquesco                   |                                       |  |
| zai            | Isthmus                     | +P                                    | Strict                                       |
| zam            | Miahuatlán                  |                                       |  |
| zao            | Ozolotepec                  |                                       |  |
| zaq            | Aloápam                     |                                       |  |
| zar            | Rincón                      |                                       | Lax  |
| zas            | Santo Domingo Albarradas    |                                       |  |
| zat            | Tabaa                       |                                       |  |
| zav            | Yatzachi                    |                                       | Lax  |
| zaw            | Mitla                       |                                       |  |
| zax            | Xadani                      |                                       |  |
| zca            | Coatecas Altas              |                                       |  |
| zoo            | Asunción Mixtepec           |                                       |  |
| zpa            | Lachiguiri                  |                                       |  |
| zpb            | Yautepec                    |                                       |  |
| zpc            | Choapan                     | +P                                    | Lax  |
| zpd            | Southeastern Ixtlán         |                                       |  |
| zpe            | Petapa                      |                                       |  |
| zpf            | San Pedro Quiatoni          |                                       |  |
| zpg            | Guevea de Humboldt          |                                       |  |

| ISO 639-3 code | Identifier as in Ethnologue | after 'who?' or what? +S and +P or ±P | Strict or Lax version of adjacency condition |
|----------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|
| zph            | Totomachapan                |                                       |  |
| zpi            | Santa María Quiegolani      |                                       |  |
| zpj            | Quiavicuzas                 |                                       |  |
| zpk            | Tlacolulita                 |                                       |  |
| zpl            | Lachixío                    |                                       |  |
| zpm            | Mixtepec                    |                                       |  |
| zpn            | Santa Inés Yatzechi         |                                       |  |
| zpo            | Amatlán                     |                                       |  |
| zpp            | El Alto                     |                                       |  |
| zpq            | Zoogocho                    |                                       |  |
| zpr            | Santiago Xanica             |                                       |  |
| zps            | Coatlán                     |                                       |  |
| zpt            | San Vicente Coatlán         |                                       |  |
| zpu            | Yalálag                     |                                       | Lax  |
| zpv            | Chichicapan                 |                                       |  |
| zpw            | Zaniza                      |                                       |  |
| zpx            | San Baltazar Loxicha        |                                       |  |
| zpy            | Mazaltepec                  |                                       |  |
| zpz            | Texmelucan                  | +P                                    | moot   |
| zsr            | Southern Rincón             |                                       |  |
| zte            | Elotepec                    |                                       |  |
| ztg            | Xanaguía                    | ±P                                    |  |
| ztl            | Lapaguía-Guivini            |                                       |  |
| ztm            | San Agustín Mixtepec        |                                       |  |
| ztn            | Santa Catarina Albarradas   |                                       |  |
| ztp            | Loxicha                     |                                       |  |
| ztq            | Quioquitani-Quierí          |                                       |  |
| zts            | Tilquiapan                  | ±P                                    |  |
| ztt            | Tejalapan                   |                                       |  |
| ztu            | Güilá                       |                                       |  |

| ISO 639-3 code | Identifier as in Ethnologue | after ‘who?’ or what? +S and +P or ±P | Strict or Lax version of adjacency condition |
|----------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|
| ztx            | Zaachila                    |                                       |  |
| zty            | Yatee                       |                                       |  |

## References

- Butler, Inez M. 1980. *Gramática zapoteca: zapoteco de Yatzaichi el Bajo*. Mexico City: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.
- López, Filemón & Ronaldo Newberg Y. 2005. *La conjugación del verbo zapoteco: zapoteco de Yalálag*. 2nd Edition. Mexico City: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.  
<http://www.sil.org/mexico/zapoteca/yalalag/G033-ConjugVerboZap-zpu.htm>
- Lyman Boulden, Hilario. 2007. *Gramática popular del zapoteco de Comaltepec, Choapan, Oaxaca*. Mexico City: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.
- Lyman Boulden, Hilario. 2008. “El rango en el sistema pronominal del zapoteco. Un estudio de rango en los pronombres personales del zapoteco de Comaltepec, Choapan, Oaxaca.” In Ausencia López Cruz y Michael Swanton, eds. *Memorias del Coloquio Francisco Belmar, Conferencias Sobre Lenguas Otomangués y Oaxaqueñas*. II:329-338. Oaxaca, Mexico: Biblioteca Francisco de Burgoa, Colegio Superior para la Educación Integral Intercultural de Oaxaca, Fundación Alfredo Harp Helú Oaxaca y Instituto Nacional de Lenguas Indígenas.
- Marlett, Stephen A. 1993. “Zapotec pronoun classification.” *International Journal of American Linguistics* 59:82-101.
- Nellis, Neil & Jane G. Nellis, compilers. 1983. *Diccionario zapoteco de Juárez: zapoteco-español, español-zapoteco (Ca titsa’ qui’ ri’u)*. Mexico City: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.
- Pickett, Velma B. 1960. “The grammatical hierarchy of Isthmus Zapotec.” *Language* 36(1):1-101.
- Pickett, Velma B., Cheryl Black & Vicente Marcial Cerqueda. 2001. *Gramática popular del zapoteco del Istmo*. 2nd Edition. Juchitán, Oaxaca and Tucson: Centro de Investigación y Desarrollo Binnizá and Instituto Lingüístico de Verano. <http://www.sil.org/mexico/zapoteca/istmo/G023a-GramaticaZapIstmo-zai.htm>
- Stubblefield, Morris & Carol Stubblefield, compilers. 1994. *Mitla Zapotec texts*. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Wagner, W. John. 2008. “Pronouns in San Vicente Coatlán Zapotec.” *SIL- Mexico Branch Electronic Working Papers* 2008-003. <http://www.sil.org/mexico/workpapers/WP003i-CoatlanZapotecPronouns-zpt.pdf>