

Nouns

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The Zapotec Grammar Files

Valerie Martínez and Stephen A. Marlett (March 2009) Nouns. In: Cheryl A. Black, H. Andrew Black and Stephen A. Marlett (eds.) The Zapotec grammar files.

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1 Introduction¹

Two main classes of nouns are identified by one syntactic criterion: simple nouns (see §2) and inherently possessed nouns (see §3). These two types also define two different ways to express the possessor (see the typology in Nichols & Bickel 2008b).

One can derive possessed nouns from simple nouns in most varieties (see §4); in some varieties this is extremely productive and in others non-productive.

Compound nouns are discussed briefly in §5.

Nominalizations which are formed through a syntactic process are discussed in another paper (in preparation).²

Nouns are not marked for case or number (see the typologies in Dryer 2008 and Haspelmath 2008).³ Therefore a noun such as *bejn* /be^hn/ 'person' in San Pedro Quiatoni [zpf] is used in singular and plural contexts without any modification. Plurality, and the marking of plurality in the phrase, is discussed in another paper in preparation).⁴

¹We thank Beth Merrill, Julie Hernández, Sue Regnier and Andy and Cheri Black for their helpful comments. The following are found in other files: [Transcription Conventions](#) and a table of all [Data Sources](#) for Zapotec. The abbreviations used in this paper are: 1PL = first person plural, 2SG = second person singular, 3AN = third person animal, 3FO = third person formal, 3INFO = third person informal, AFM = aforementioned, C = completive, H = habitual, IF = indefinite future, PL = plural, POSS = possessive, PROX = proximal/proximate.

²These nominalizers are written as prefixes in some varieties such as Mitla [zaw].

³There is no genitive case (see the brief discussion of possessors in §§2-3), and the head noun is also not marked. Therefore Zapotec fits within the relatively uncommon group of “no marking” in the typology set up by Nichols & Bickel (2008a). Since the so-called possessive prefix in Zapotec actually derives one type of noun from another, it does not affect this typology.

⁴Pluralizers are written as prefixes in some varieties such as Mitla [zaw]; they are discussed in that paper as well. We do not take them as true prefixes.

Names are discussed in another paper (in preparation). The uses of names and nouns as vocatives are also discussed in another paper (in preparation).

2 Simple nouns

Simple nouns are distinguished from possessed nouns by their *inability* to occur with a possessor phrase in direct construction, as shown in (1).⁵

- (1) a. lo'on re
 [zpf] lo'n re
 bed PROX
 'esta cama'
 'this bed' [Martínez & Martínez (f.n.)]
- b. *lo'on Bëd
 lo'n bæd
 bed Pedro
 ('cama de Pedro')
 ('Pedro's bed') [Martínez & Martínez (f.n.)]

By *direct construction* we mean that the possessor nominal occurs without any preposition (or other word) meaning '*of*'. The possessor of a simple noun may be expressed in some varieties of Zapotec with a prepositional phrase (or something akin to that). See [Possession, this series](#).

Inherently possessed nouns, on the other hand, must occur with a possessor phrase.⁶ These facts are summarized in (2).

(2)

| | Occurs with possessor in direct construction | Occurs without possessor in direct construction |
|----------------------------------|--|---|
| Simple noun | no | yes |
| Inherently possessed noun | yes | no |

The class of simple nouns is large and includes most nouns that are not parts of the body or kinship terms (viz., not the inalienably possessed nouns), with the exception of loanwords.⁷ It also includes some nouns that are parts of the body. For example, the nouns for '*bone*', '*blood*', and '*hair*' are often simple nouns, perhaps because these items are so commonly disassociated from a particular

⁵In this respect Zapotec is different from Mixtec (see Mixtec nouns, in preparation).

⁶Two systematic exceptions arise. First, some kinship nouns are used as vocatives without a possessor (see the paper in preparation). Second, possessed nouns occur in some compounds without a possessor (see §5.1).

⁷In Sierra de Juárez [zaa], the term *nana* /nàná/ '*mother*' does not take direct possessors (Nellis & Nellis 1983:343). The same source indicates that the word *niu'ula* /niü'lá/ '*woman*' may be indirectly possessed (viz., not with the direct construction but with a prepositional phrase) to mean '*wife*' (much like colloquial Spanish uses 'mi mujer' to mean '*my wife*').

body. In order to use them with a possessor, they typically must undergo the derivational process described in §4.

An inherently possessed noun does not occur without a direct possessor, however, as shown by (3a) and (4a).⁸ (These examples also illustrate, of course, that possession is meant here in a broad sense. One does not really “possess” a part of one's body or a relative.)

(3) Body part nouns:

[zpf] a. *ro' re
 roʔ re
 mouth PROX
 ('esta boca')
 ('this mouth') [Martínez & Martínez (f.n.)]

b. ro' bëi'k
 roʔ bæiʔk
 mouth dog
 'boca del perro'
 'dog's mouth' [Martínez & Martínez (f.n.)]

(4) Kinship terms:

[zpf] a. *zhuis re
 zuis re
 grandmother PROX
 ('esta abuela')
 ('this grandmother') [Martínez & Martínez (f.n.)]

b. zhuis Zhuaj
 zuis zua^h
 grandmother Juan
 'abuela de Juan'
 '*Juan's grandmother*' [Martínez & Martínez (f.n.)]

A few words are famous for the suppletive pairs of stems that relate to the same (or very close) concept.⁹ Examples from three varieties are given in (5)-(7).

(5) Suppletive pairs in San Pedro Quiatoni Zapotec (Martínez & Martínez f.n.)

| [zpf] | Gloss | Simple | Possessed |
|-------|---------------|------------|-----------------------------|
| a. | 'house, home' | yu' juʔ | lijdx li ^h ɕʒ |

⁸There may be isolated counterexamples to this claim. Tilquiapan [zts] can say /tu nambi/ 'a grandmother' (Merrill, unpublished text).

⁹In some cases there may be a historical relationship between the stems. However, the relationship is less transparent in these cases than in those described in §4.

| | Gloss | Simple | Possessed |
|----|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| b. | 'tortilla' | giët giæt | xku'ñ ʃkuʔŋ |
| c. | 'cloth, clothing' | lajd lai ^h d | xajb ʃa ^h b |
| d. | 'town' | giëjdx giæ ^h ɕ | lajdx la ^h ɕ |
| e. | 'footwear, sandal, shoe' | giël gjjd giæl gi ^h d | lahb la ^h b |

(6) Suppletive pairs in Yatzachi Zapotec (Butler 1980:198)

[zav]

| | Gloss | Simple | Possessed |
|----|---|-----------------|--------------------|
| a. | 'flower' | yeq jeɣ | lloq l:ox |
| b. | 'tortilla' | yet jet | chizhri' tʃizɪʔ |
| c. | 'cloth/clothing' vs. 'clothing' ¹⁰ | ladxi' laɕɪʔ | zhra za |
| d. | 'child' ¹¹ | bi'i biʔ | zhri'inn ziʔn: |

(7) A suppletive pair in Lachixío Zapotec (Morales Sánchez & Gaspar, p.c.)

[zpl]

| Gloss | Simple | Possessed |
|--------|----------------|--------------|
| 'bone' | zhruka zuka | arta arta |

2.1 Count nouns vs. mass nouns

Simple nouns (as well as possessed nouns) may be classified as either count nouns or mass nouns. Count nouns may co-occur with a number word (8), whereas mass nouns do not (9).

- (8) a. chop pkis
[zpf] tʃop pkis
two fly
'dos moscas'
'two flies'

[Martínez & Martínez (f.n.)]

¹⁰The simple noun refers to cloth or unpossessed clothing; to indicate possession of cloth, a derived possessed noun is used (see §4). The possessed noun means 'clothing' (Butler 1980:198n).

¹¹The simple form is ambiguous in Yatzachi as it is in English, between a child and a son/daughter. The simple form may have the possessor (parent) expressed indirectly using a prepositional phrase (see possession paper, in preparation).

- b. tap benin
 tap benin
 four child
 'cuatro niños'
 '*four children*' [Martínez & Martínez (f.n.)]
- (9) a. *chop yujzh
 [zpf] tʃop ju^hʒ
 two sand
 ('dos arena')
 ('*two sand*') [Martínez & Martínez (f.n.)]
- b. *tap xni'i
 tap ʃni^ʔ
 four light
 ('cuatro luz')
 ('*four light*') [Martínez & Martínez (f.n.)]

Mass nouns do not commonly occur with the general plural quantifier (see the paper in preparation), but some examples are attested of the type *ka nisa* (PL water) '*the waters*' (Isthmus [zpi]), just as in English and Spanish. Such examples may not be possible in all varieties and are probably not common in any.

Count nouns and mass nouns occur with different interrogative quantifiers in some varieties.

- (10) a. lak ngwna'a
 [zpo] lak nŋ^wna^ʔ
 how.many? woman
 '¿cuántas mujeres?'
 '*how many women?*' [Riggs (1991:23)]
- b. paro nizh
 paro niʒ
 how.much? milk
 '¿cuánta leche?'
 '*how much milk?*' [Riggs (1991:23)]
- (11) a. bal bejn
 [zpf] bal be^hn
 how.many? person
 '¿cuántas personas?'
 '*how many people?*' [Martínez & Martínez (f.n.)]

- b. **kalo** **nis**
kalo **nis**
 how.much? water
 '¿cuánta agua?'
 'how much milk?' [Martínez & Martínez (f.n.)]

3 Inherently possessed nouns

As shown in §2, possessed nouns must occur with an explicit direct possessor.¹² That possessor may be an NP or a pronoun.

Underived possessed nouns commonly include the kinship terms, as illustrated by (12a)-(12b).¹³

- (12) a. **zhrna'a** **bo'o** **ni'**
 [zav] **zɲaʔ** = **boʔ** **niʔ**
 mother 3INFO AFM
 'su madre'
 'his/her mother' [Butler (2000:312)]

- b. **xra** **bo'**
ʂa = **boʔ**
 father 3INFO
 'su padre'
 'his/her father' [Butler (2000:302)]

The possessed noun may indicate a relationship between something and a person or an item that is not one of kinship. Example (13) has an animal as the “possessor.”

- (13) **xran** **bi** **n'**
 [zav] **ʂan** = **bi** **n(i)ʔ**
 owner 3AN AFM
 'su dueño'
 'its owner' [Butler (2000:354)]

Example (14) has an inanimate object (the loanword from archaic Spanish word *tomín*) as the “possessor.”

- (14) **zhi'n** **domin**
 [zpf] **ʂiʔn** **do'min**
 offspring money
 'interés'
 'interest' (in monetary sense) [Martínez & Martínez (f.n.)]

¹²This statement sets aside the zero pronoun issue of Isthmus Zapotec (and perhaps other varieties of Zapotec). See the personal pronoun inventory paper (in preparation). Also see note 8.

¹³The reasons for the presence or absence of the determiner in the examples in (12) have to do with the contexts from which these examples are drawn.

Underived possessed nouns also include body parts, as illustrated by (15)-(19), which may have extended meanings. (See the paper on body part extensions, in preparation.)

- (15) yichq Juan
 [zav] jitʃχ xuan
 head Juan
 'cabeza de Juan'
'Juan's head' [Butler (1980:192)]

- (16) xto'o gie'ey gin
 [zpi] ʃtoʔ gieʔj gin
 head mountain PROX
 'esta cima de la montaña'
'this mountain top' [Black (2000:235)]

- (17) ro'o yo'o
 [zpo] roʔ joʔ
 mouth house
 'puerta'
'door' [Riggs, unpublished text]

- (18) zhran yo'o ni'
 [zav] ʒan joʔ niʔ
 buttocks house AFM
 'el fondo de la casa'
'the backside of the house' [Butler (2000:304)]

- (19) zhrib e'
 [zav] zjib =eʔ
 knee 3FO
 'su rodilla'
'his/her knee' [Butler (2000:309)]

Some other nouns that refer to objects or more abstract notions are also possessed nouns although they are not kinship terms or body part nouns. A short list of these is given in (20) for San Pedro Quiatoni [zpf]; this list includes some of those shown above in (5).

(20)

| | | | | |
|-------|----------|-------------------|---------------|----------------------|
| [zpf] | a. xajb | ʃa ^h b | 'ropa' | <i>'clothing'</i> |
| | b. lijdx | li ^h ɕ | 'hogar, casa' | <i>'home, house'</i> |
| | c. xku'ñ | ʃkuʔɲ | 'tortilla' | <i>'tortilla'</i> |
| | d. lajdx | la ^h ɕ | 'pueblo' | <i>'town'</i> |
| | e. lajb | la ^h b | 'calzado' | <i>'footwear'</i> |
| | f. laj | la ^h | 'nombre' | <i>'name'</i> |

| | | | | |
|----|-----------|-----------------------|---------|---------|
| g. | ballua'an | bal:ua ² n | 'dueño' | 'owner' |
|----|-----------|-----------------------|---------|---------|

Examples from Yareni [zae] (from Thiessen f.n.) are given in (21).

| | | | | | |
|-------|----|----------|----------------------|----------|------------|
| (21) | a. | ladi | ladi | 'cargo' | 'town job' |
| [zae] | b. | lixina | liʃina | 'sombra' | 'shadow' |
| | c. | lixu'uni | liʃu ² ni | 'nido' | 'nest' |

Example (22) illustrates that the possessor does not necessarily immediately follow the possessed noun.¹⁴

| | | |
|-------|--------------------------|----------|
| (22) | xtu'u | laz n |
| [zpf] | ʃ-tu ² | laz n |
| | POSS-rope | thin 1PL |
| | 'nuestro mecate delgado' | |
| | 'our thin rope' | |

[Martínez & Martínez (f.n.)]

3.1 Unpossessed body parts and kinship terms

In Zapotec, a noun that expects a possessor (such as a body part or kinship term) is not readily used in a context where the possessor is not known or not relevant. With a body part noun, one may use a generic-kind of noun after it to express something like *'I saw a mouth gaping at me': 'a person's mouth'*, for example. Unpossessed kinship terms are more difficult to deal with; different circumlocutions are used to say something like *'A brother should always be kind.'*

4 Derived nouns

Possessed nouns may be formed from unpossessed nouns through morphological means in most varieties of Zapotec.¹⁵ In some varieties this derivational process is much less productive than in others, or even non-existent. In some variants it is very productive. See appendix A.

The morphological process usually consists of adding a prefix, something generally like /ʃ-/ to a simple noun, deriving in that way a possessed noun which functions like any possessed noun described in §3. In one variety (Lachixío [zpl]), it is a suffix, namely /-ʃ/, that is added to an unpossessed noun to derive a possessed noun. A few varieties have a suppletive prefix, cognate with /da-/ that is used when the possessor is first person singular. See appendix A.

Of course, not every possessed noun that begins with /ʃ/ (or its cognate) is necessarily a derived possessed noun. For whatever reason historically, various possessed nouns happen to begin with this consonant but are not analyzed here as being synchronically derived from another noun.

¹⁴This example also happens to be a derived possessed noun (see §4). The word order facts are not the same for all varieties, however. See the paper on the noun phrase (in preparation).

¹⁵A common analysis for these in the literature (Butler 1980:192ff, Galant 1998:25ff, H. Lyman 2007:18, for example) is different than the one shown here, treating the prefix x-/ʃ-/ as an inflectional prefix (rather than a derivational prefix) that occurs when the noun is directly possessed. Since in many varieties the class of nouns which can carry x- is limited, the nouns must be classified as listed into groups, essentially the +possessed, the -possessed, and the ±possessed.

The morphological process itself may cause phonological changes in the base noun. These vary from slight (such as simple devoicing), to quite drastic. Some examples of simple nouns in San Pedro Quiatoni [zpf] are given in (23) with their derived possessed nouns (from Martínez & Martínez f.n.).

(23)
[zpf]

| | Gloss | Simple | Derived Possessed |
|----|---------------------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------------|
| a. | 'newborn baby' | pto'o ptoʔ | x-pto'o ʃ-ptoʔ |
| b. | 'bed' | lo'on loʔn | x-lo'on ʃ-loʔn |
| c. | 'coparent' ¹⁶ ('compadre') | mbal mbal | x-mbal ʃ-mbal |
| d. | 'friend' | amig amig | x-amig ʃ-amig |
| e. | 'year' ¹⁷ | ijz i ^h z | x-ijz ʃ-i ^h z |
| f. | 'comb' | běj bæ ^h | x-pěj ʃ-pæ ^h |
| g. | 'palm mat' ('petate') | da' daʔ | x-ta' ʃ-taʔ |
| h. | 'basket' ('canasta') | dxujm ɕu ^h m | x-chujm ʃ-tʃu ^h m |
| i. | 'hen' | gid gid | x-kid ʃ-kid |
| j. | 'water jar' ('cántaro') | re' reʔ | x-te' ʃ-teʔ |
| k. | 'palm tree' | zijn zi ^h n | x-sijn ʃ-si ^h n |
| l. | 'tree' ¹⁸ | yaj ja ^h | x-yaj ʃ-ja ^h |

To get an idea of the complexity that is involved in a variety in which the derivation is not as productive, (24) gives data from Yatzachi [zav] which show some of the more complicated changes (from Butler 1980:193ff).

¹⁶This is the reciprocal relationship between the parents and the godparents of the same child.

¹⁷The possessed noun in this case, in San Pedro Quiatoni, means 'age'.

¹⁸The possessed noun in this case, in San Pedro Quiatoni, means 'handle' when the possessor is the noun for 'hatchet'.

| (24) | | Gloss | Simple | Derived Possessed |
|-------|----|---|-------------------|---|
| [zav] | a. | 'grinding stone' /j/ ~ /ʎ/ (fortis prefix) | yixi jij̃i | zhrlixi ~ llix̃i ẓ-l̃ij̃i ~ li:ij̃i |
| | b. | 'excrement' /j/ ~ /tʃ/ (fortis prefix) | ye'e jeʔ | zhrche'e ẓ-tʃeʔ |
| | c. | 'sandal' /j/ ~ /∅/ (lenis prefix) | yel jel | zhrel ẓ-el |
| | d. | 'water' /n/ ~ /∅/ (fortis prefix) | nis nis | xris ʃis |
| | e. | 'woman' /n/ ~ /∅/ (lenis prefix) | no'oli noʔli | zhro'oli ẓ-oʔli |
| | f. | 'comb' /b/ ~ /l:/ (lenis prefix) | beiqo beix̃o | zhrleiqo ẓ-l:eiχ̃o |
| | g. | 'dog' /be/ ~ /i/ (lenis prefix) | beko' bekoʔ | zhriko' ẓ-ikoʔ |
| | h. | 'broom' /bgʷ/ ~ /p/ (fortis prefix) | bgwe'ey bgʷeʔj | zhrpe'ey ẓ-peʔj |

One has to be careful in understanding how the derived forms and their base forms are related. For example, in San Pedro Quiatoni [zpf] the word for *'bone'* may be used as either a simple noun (dxit gol, bone old *'an old bone'*), or as a possessed noun (dxit bëi'k, bone dog *'the dog's bone'* — referring to a bone of the dog's own body). But a morphologically-marked possessed noun can also be formed on this base, and the result is a noun that is disassociated from the possessor — a bone that the dog happens to be carrying around, in this case, as shown in (25).¹⁹

- (25) x-chit bëi'k
 [zpf] ʃ-tʃit bæiʔk
 POSS-bone dog
 'hueso que tiene el perro'
'bone that the dog has'

[Martínez & Martínez (f.n.)]

5 Compound nouns

Compound nouns may be of various types. While the head of a compound is always on the left, the prosodically prominent syllable is found in the second part of the compound. The effect of this prosodic prominence has meant that there is a weakening of the **non-final** parts with the result that sometimes the head noun is pronounced without one of the distinctive phonetic features of the vowel nucleus that it has when pronounced in isolation. The compounds below are written with an

¹⁹The same facts do not hold in all varieties of Zapotec.

underscore between the two parts unless the phonological evidence (from the head) is that the compound is “phrasal” in nature — something that is not entirely clear in many cases.

5.1 Noun-noun compounds

Compound nouns may be formed by the juxtaposition of two simple nouns, as shown in (26), where (26a) is a morphological compound and (26b) is a phrasal compound.

- (26) (compare *bejn* /be^hn/ 'person')
- [zpf] a. *ben_gidx*
ben_giɕ
person_defect
 'enfermo'
 'sick (person)' [Martínez & Martínez (f.n.)]
- b. *bejn gidx*
be^hn giɕ
person defect
 'persona con defectos'
 'person with defects' [Martínez & Martínez (f.n.)]

In examples (27)-(29) the first noun is a possessed noun. The compound is a possessed noun. The second noun in the compound is not the possessor of the first noun.

- (27) *zhra_dxel*
 [zpq] *zə_ɕel*
clothing_midnight
 'cobija (de)'
 'blanket (of)' [Long & Cruz (1999:411)]
- (28) (compare *zhi'n* /zi^hn/ 'offspring')
- [zpf] *zhin_dxa'p*
zin_ɕa?p
offspring_female
 'hija'
 'daughter' [Martínez & Martínez (f.n.)]
- (29) *xuzi gula*
 [zpc] *fuzi gula*
father old.man
 'abuelo'
 'grandfather' [H. Lyman (2007:19)]

A compound may also have a simple noun in construction with a possessed noun, as shown in (30).

(30) (compare *gi'b /giʔb/ 'metal'*)

[zpf] *xkib_dia'a* 1
ʃ-kib_diaʔ 1
 POSS-metal_ear 2SG
 'tu arete'
 'your earring'

[Martínez & Martínez (f.n.)]

In examples (31)-(33), however, the compound is not a possessed noun as it does not require a direct possessor even though the first noun is a possessed noun.

(31) *xkiech_bě'ëdx*

[zpf] *ʃ-kietʃ_bæʔɕ*
 POSS-thorn_lion
 'zarzamora'
 'zarzamora'

[Martínez & Martínez (f.n.)]

(32) *zhi'i giba*

[zpc] *ʒiʔ giba*
 child iron
 'llave'
 'key'

[H. Lyman (2007:19)]

(33) *lidxi giba*

[zpc] *liɕi giba*
 home iron
 'cárcel'
 'jail'

[H. Lyman (2007:19)]

In (34), both nouns are possessed nouns. The compound is a possessed noun.

(34) (compare *bixujg /biʃuʰg/ 'shell, peel'*)

[zaw] *bixug_nna'a*
biʃug_n:aʔ
 shell/peel_hand
 'uña (de la mano)'
 'fingernail'

[Stubblefield & Stubblefield (1991:13)]

A compound may, in fact, be formed in layers. Example (35) has a compound noun (of the Noun-Adjective type, see (36b)) that is the head of the larger compound noun.

(35) [[[*ben*] *in*] *scuel*]

[zpf] *ben_in scuel*
ben_in skuel
 person_small school
 'estudiante, alumno'
 'student'

[Martínez & Martínez (f.n.)]

5.2 Noun-adjective compounds

Compound nouns may be formed by the juxtaposition of a simple noun and an adjective, as shown in (36)-(37).

(36) a. di'idx le
 [zpf] di'ɔ̃ le
 word straight
 verdad'
 'truth' [Martínez & Martínez (f.n.)]

b. (compare bejn /be^hn/ 'person')
 ben_in²⁰
 ben_in
 person_small
 'niño'
 'child' [Martínez & Martínez (f.n.)]

c. (compare bejn /be^hn/ 'person')
 ben_gie'e
 ben-gie'²
 person_masculine
 'hombre'
 'man' [Martínez & Martínez (f.n.)]

d. (compare be' /be'²/ 'air')
 be_dox
 be_dof
 air_dangerous
 'viento'
 'wind' [Martínez & Martínez (f.n.)]

(37) be_zag
 [zpq] be_zag
 animal_cold
 'tlaconete'
 'a salamander (*Pseudoeurycea sp.*)'

[Long & Cruz (1999:411)]

5.3 Noun-verb compounds

Some compound nouns have the same structure as a noun phrase with a simple relative clause except that no relative pronoun occurs. They therefore have a noun followed by a verb, as exemplified in (38)-(39).

²⁰This contrasts with the phrase *bejn in /be^hn in/* which means a small (short) person.

- (38) a. **nis** **yu'udx**
 [zpf] **nis** **ju'ɟ**
 water IF.rot
 'pus'
 'pus'
- b. (compare **bejn** /be^hn/ 'person')
ben_go'
ben_go?
 person_C.drink
 'borracho'
 'drunkard' [Martínez & Martínez (f.n.)]

- (39) (compare **kwa'n** /k^waⁿ/ 'herb')
 [zaw] **kwan_rajw**
k^wan_r-a^hw
 herb_H-eat
 'verdura(s)'
 'vegetable(s)'

[Stubblefield & Stubblefield (1991:197)]

Appendix A: Various details about nouns

This table provides known information for all the Zapotec languages for the facts reported in this paper.²¹

| ISO 639-3 code | Identifier as in Ethnologue | Affix for deriving possessed noun | Relatively productive Poss N derivation? |
|----------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|
| zaa | Sierra de Juárez | (does not have) | |
| zab | San Juan Guelavía | ʃ- | |
| zac | Ocotlán | ʃ- | yes ²² |
| zad | Cajonos | ʃ- | no |
| zae | Yareni | (does not have) | |
| zaf | Ayoquesco | | |
| zai | Isthmus | ʃ- | yes |
| zam | Miahuatlán | | |
| zao | Ozolotepec | | |

²¹To give some content to the word “relatively” here for the context of column four: it occurs on at least 100 derived words and also occurs on loanwords.

²²Used with loanwords.

| ISO 639-3 code | Identifier as in Ethnologue | Affix for deriving possessed noun | Relatively productive Poss N derivation? |
|----------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|
| zaq | Aloápam | (does not have) | |
| zar | Rincón | | |
| zas | Santo Domingo Albarradas | ʒ-, da- ²³ | yes? |
| zat | Tabaa | | |
| zav | Yatzachi | z- | no |
| zaw | Mitla | ʃ- | no |
| zax | Xadani | | |
| zca | Coatecas Altas | ʃ- | yes |
| zoo | Asunción Mixtepec | | |
| zpa | Lachiguiri | | |
| zpb | Yautepec | | |
| zpc | Choapan | ʃ- | no |
| zpd | Southeastern Ixtlán | | |
| zpe | Petapa | | |
| zpf | San Pedro Quiatoni | ʃ- | yes |
| zpg | Guevea de Humboldt | ʃ- ²⁴ | yes |
| zph | Totomachapan | | |
| zpi | Santa María Quiévolani | ʃ- | yes |
| zpj | Quiavicuzas | | |
| zpk | Tlacolulita | | |
| zpl | Lachixío | -ʔ | yes |
| zpm | Mixtepec | ʃ- | yes |
| zpn | Santa Inés Yatzechi | ʃ- | |
| zpo | Amatlán | ʃ- | yes |
| zpp | El Alto | | |
| zpq | Zoogocho | ʃ- | no |
| zpr | Santiago Xanica | ʃ- | yes |

²³The prefix /da-/ is used when the possessor is first person singular.

²⁴The prefix is omitted when the possessor is first person (singular or plural); an inflectional prefix for first person occurs in its place. (This inflectional prefix /d-/ is used on basic possessed nouns as well as derived possessed nouns in this variety, unlike in Xanaguía [ztg], for example.)

| ISO 639-3 code | Identifier as in Ethnologue | Affix for deriving possessed noun | Relatively productive Poss N derivation? |
|----------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|
| zps | Coatlán | | |
| zpt | San Vicente Coatlán | ʃ- | yes |
| zpu | Yalálag | ʃ- | no |
| zpv | Chichicapan | ʃ- | yes |
| zpw | Zaniza | | |
| zpx | San Baltazar Loxicha | | |
| zpy | Mazaltepec | | |
| zpz | Texmelucan | (does not have) | |
| zsr | Southern Rincón | | |
| zte | Elotepec | | |
| ztg | Xanaguía | ʃ(a)-, da- ²⁵ | |
| ztl | Lapaguía-Guivini | ʃ-, di-/de- ²⁶ | yes |
| ztm | San Agustín Mixtepec | | |
| ztn | Santa Catarina Albarradas | | |
| ztp | Loxicha | | |
| ztq | Quioquitani-Quierí | ʃ- | yes |
| zts | Tilquiapan | ʃ- | yes |
| ztt | Tejalapan | | |
| ztu | Güilá | ʃ- | |
| ztx | Zaachila | | |
| zty | Yatee | | |

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²⁵The prefix /da-/ is used when the possessor is first person singular, as in /da-bur-ʔn/ 'my donkey' (Hopkins 1995:29).

²⁶The prefix /di-/ (or /de-/) is used when the possessor is first person singular.

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