Personal pronouns: inventory

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Contents

1 Introduction

   Zapotec is rich with an expressive set of personal pronouns. The inventory of these pronouns is presented in this paper while details of their distribution are presented in Personal pronouns: distribution, this series.

   An important distinction, documented in the appendices of this article but more pertinent to the question of distribution, is that of the different kinds of pronouns. Pronouns must be classified by their syntactic (in)dependence and by their phonological (in)dependence. Three types of pronouns are actually attested in Zapotec: [1]

(1)

	Syntactically ...	Prosodically ...		Examples from [zai]
(a)	Independent	Independent	+S +P	ˈnaʔ 1SG
(b)	Independent	Dependent	+S -P	ni 3IN
(c)	Dependent	Dependent	-S -P	=be 3H

Type (a) pronouns are syntactically and prosodically independent. Type (b) are syntactically independent but prosodically dependent. And type (c) are both syntactically and prosodically dependent.

Pronouns are presented in Appendices A-D in the following way. Type (a) pronouns (prosodically and syntactically independent) are presented in the "independent" column with a raised vertical stroke preceding them. Type (c) pronouns, which are on the other end of the scale since they are both prosodically dependent and syntactically dependent, are presented in the "dependent" column with an equal sign before them. Type (b) pronouns, which are in the middle of the typology since they are prosodically dependent and syntactically independent, are presented without a raised vertical stroke and without an equal sign and, when appropriate and possible, as spanning both columns.

Section 2 presents first- and second-person pronouns (also see the appendices); two parameters are important: number and the exclusive/inclusive distinction. Section 3 presents third-person pronouns (also see the appendices).[2]

2 First- and second-person pronouns

There are two major parameters for first-person and second-person pronouns in Zapotec: the number parameter and the exclusive-inclusive parameter. Most varieties exploit both of these parameters.

The formality parameter (Helmbrecht 2008) that is prominent in Mixtec is less pervasive in Zapotec. See the second person pronouns in appendix A. In at least one variety (San Vicent Coatlán, [zpt]), formality may also be indicated in first person by using (what is analyzed here as) the first person plural exclusive pronoun; this pronoun must be used with the plural proclitic when it indicates plural. In addition, in some varieties of Zapotec (and also at least one variety of Mazatec),[3] respect may be shown intonationally, by raising the register of the voice significantly (J. Persons 1997) (see appendix E). Finally, a few varieties have a special morpheme that indicates respect, used primarily (but perhaps not exclusively) before second person pronouns (see appendix E).

Unlike in (at least some varieties of) Mixtec,[4] first person plural pronouns are not used in soliloquy in Zapotec.

In some varieties of Zapotec (but not all) second person pronouns are not used for expressing an unspecified human subject (as in English "How do you find a taxi?" to mean "How does one find a taxi?" or, as in general instructions, "First, you put the water into the kettle."). In Isthmus Zapotec [zai] the subject of such sentences is /tuˀʒa/ 'one, someone'.[5] But in some varieties at least, such as Tilquiapan [zts], second person pronouns are commonly used in certain kinds of sayings that may be directed at the addressee as a way of giving advice, such as *You shouldn't eat the heart of the chicken, because if you do, you will always ...*. This is an area that requires more investigation across the family.

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[2] The Yareni pronouns have not been completely analyzed with respect to the classification.
[3] Terry and Judy Schram, p.c.
[4] Laura Gittlen, p.c.
[5] María Villalobos Villalobos, p.c.

2.1 The singular-plural parameter

Most varieties distinguish singular and plural with respect to first- and second-person pronouns. See appendix A and appendix B. Zapotec is representative of the large group in Daniel (2008) in which number and person are conflated in the stems of the pronouns.

2.2 The exclusive-inclusive parameter

Zapotec would be an important addition to the typological study of Cysow (2008) in which languages with the exclusive-inclusive distinction are discussed. Most varieties distinguish between first-person plural exclusive and first-person plural inclusive; see appendix B. In Quiegolani [zpi], the first-person singular pronoun is actually vague for number and is also used for first-person plural exclusive.

2.3 The duality parameter

At least one variety of Zapotec distinguishes dual from plural in the second person pronouns (Wagner 2008).

3 Third person pronouns

Considerable variation is found in the third-person pronoun inventory throughout the family. The third person pronouns distinguish between various classes of referents in several varieties, most commonly between humans, animals, and objects. See appendix C for human referents, and appendix D for non-human referents. Zapotec does not fall neatly into the typology set up by Siewierska (2008) since it does not distinguish between third-person pronouns with respect to number. (Pluralization of third-person pronouns is possible by syntactic means as described in Marlett & Pickett 2002.)

Distinction between male and female referents is not a major one in Zapotec, but it is attested in a few varieties (see appendix C). In those cases, mixed groups of male and female are referred to with a different pronoun than purely masculine groups.

Male- vs. female-speech differences are attested in some varieties, and the difference may be subtle. See appendix C.

The pronoun that is used when the referent is an animal is not entirely straightforward. In Yareni [zae], it is only used with affection for an animal. In Tilquiapan [zts] and Santo Domingo Albarradas [zas] it is the pronoun used when the referent is a mushroom (as well as for animals).[6]

A few varieties have a special pronoun for deity and celestial beings (such as angels) and sometimes persons of great respect as well as newborn babies. In Tilquiapan [zts] and San Juan Guelavía [zab], at least, the deity pronoun is also used when the referent is the sun or the moon. In

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[6]Thanks for Beth Merrill for pointing out the Tilquiapan information, and for alerting me to this fact. Thanks to Josefa Martínez for the Santo Domingo Albarradas data.

San Juan Guelavía, at least, it is also used when the referent is thunder, potable water, rain, corn, or edible corn products (tortillas, tamales, tostadas, etc.).[7]

 The formality parameter has a role in some varieties (see appendix C).

 At least one variety (Choapan, [zpc], see H. Lyman (2007:30)) has a pronoun for third person that is very deprecatory. (This pronoun has not been described in other varieties, and the eytmology of it is not known.) It can be used for sentient beings as well as inanimate objects, as the examples below show.

(2) Lë   dã' bi re'n dã' we dã' dxin.
[zpc] læ dã? bi ɾeʔn dã? we dã? dʒin
    BASE 3DEPR not H-want 3DEPR H-do 3DEPR work
    '¡No funciona (implicación: la basura)!'
    'It (implication: the blasted thing) doesn't work!'
    [The referent is a machine.]   [L. Lyman (f.n.)]

(3) Ba   za'a dã'.
[zpc] ba zaʔ dã?
    already H.come 3DEPR
    '¡Ya viene (implicación: el malvado)!'
    'Here s/he (implication: the jerk) comes!'
    [The referent is some person.]   [L. Lyman (f.n.)]

 In some varieties third-person pronouns are rarely used since generic nouns, regular nouns, and noun phrases are all used (with great repetition) in common discourse (see Martínez 1995).

 The third-person pronouns are unrelated to the demonstratives, as in the largest group of languages presented in the typology presented in Bhat (2008).

Appendix A: First-person and second-person singular pronouns

 Explanation of shading in the tables: A blank cell means that the relevant information is not known except if cell has dark gray shading, in which case it is known quite certainly that no form exists. Light gray shading simply means that data from that language have not generally been included yet.

ISO 639-3 code	Identifier as in Ethnologue	1SG +S +P	1SG -P	2SG +S +P	2SG -P
zaa	Sierra de Juárez	ˈindè?	= aʔ, = deʔ[8]		ˈluʔ
zab	San Juan Guelavía	ˈnaʔ[9]	= aʔ	ˈliuʔ	= uʔ
zac	Ocotlán	ˈna	= a		= l

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[7]Thanks for Beth Merrill for pointing out the Tilquiapan facts and checking all of the related facts. The San Juan Guelavía information is courtesy of Joaquín López (a proficient speaker, writer and translator of this variety).

[8]These relate to two separate conjugation patterns.

[9]The presumably compound form /na-ɾe/ form is sometimes used (Jones & Church 1985)

ISO 639-3 code	Identifier as in Ethnologue	1SG +S +P	1SG -P	2SG +S +P	2SG -P
zad	Cajonos	ˈnaʔd	=ʔ, =dʔ[10]	ˈliʔ	=oʔ, =loʔ[11]
zae	Yareni	ˈnedi[12]	=a, =di[13]	lu	
zaf	Ayoquesco	ˈná	=na, =z̩na[14]	ˈleʔ-l[15]	=l
zai	Isthmus	ˈnaʔ	=aʔ	ˈliʔ	=lu
zam	Miahuatlán	ˈdá	=n	ˈlu	=l
zao	Ozolotepec				
zaq	Aloápam				
zar	Rincón				
zas	Santo Domingo Albarradas	ˈnaʰ	=an, =n[16]	ˈlyʰ	=il, =l[17]
zat	Tabaa				
zav	Yatzachi	ˈnadaʔ	=aʔ, =daʔ[18]	ˈleʔ	=oʔ, =doʔ[19]
zaw	Mitla	ˈnaɾæ, ˈnaʰɾæ[20]	=æ	ˈluʰ	=lu
zax	Xadani				
zca	Coatecas Altas	ˈna	=a, =n, da[21]	ˈlu	=a, =al[22]
zoo	Asunción Mixtepec				
zpa	Lachiguiri				
zpb	Yautepec				
zpc	Choapan	ˈnæʔdiʔ	=aʔ	ˈlwæʔ	=loʔ

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[10]These relate to two separate conjugation patterns.

[11]These relate to two separate conjugation patterns.

[12]It should be noted (see the transcription conventions) that the /d/ represents a lenis stop, which is typically voiceless in this variety.

[13]These relate to two separate conjugation patterns. The pronoun /=a/ has the allomorph /=ja/ under specific conditions.

[14]The distributional facts are unrecorded.

[15]This is a composite form. The part /leʔ/ can be replaced by the respect 'modifier', yielding /jubel/. See appendix E.

[16]After consonants and vowels, respectively.

[17]After consonants and vowels, respectively.

[18]These relate to two separate conjugation patterns.

[19]These relate to two separate conjugation patterns.

[20]The distributional facts are unrecorded.

[21]The pronouns /=a/ and /=n/ after consonants, and vowels, respectively; /da/ has a more complicated distribution, including for possessor of alienably possessed nouns.

[22]After consonants and vowels, respectively.

ISO 639-3 code	Identifier as in Ethnologue	1SG +S +P	1SG -P	2SG +S +P	2SG -P
zpd	Southeastern Ixtlán				
zpe	Petapa				
zpf	San Pedro Quiatoni	ˈnaʰ	vowel length	ˈluˀj	al, l[23]
zpg	Guevea de Humboldt				
zph	Totomachapan				
zpi	Santa María Quiegolani	ˈnoˀ[24]		ˈde[25]	= de[26]
zpj	Quiavicuzas				
zpk	Tlacolulita				
zpl	Lachixío	ˈliʔá[27]	= a		= lu
zpm	Mixtepec	ˈnaˀ		ˈluˀ	
zpn	Santa Inés Yatzechi	ˈnaˀ	= aʔ	ˈloʔ	= uʔ
zpo	Amatlán	ˈna[28]		ˈlu[29]	
zpp	El Alto				
zpq	Zoogocho	ˈnedaʔ	= aʔ, = daʔ[30]	ˈleʔ	= oʔ, = doʔ[31]
zpr	Santiago Xanica	ˈna		le	
zps	Coatlán				
zpt	San Vicente Coatlán	ˈnàʔ[32]		ˈlo	
zpu	Yalálag	ˈnːadaʔ	= aʔ, = laʔ[33]	ˈlːweˀ	= loʔ
zpv	Chichicapan	ˈnaʔ	= n	ˈjiʔ	= luʔ
zpw	Zaniza				
zpx	San Baltazar Loxicha				
zpy	Mazaltepec				

[23] After consonants and vowels, respectively. This pronoun is syntactically independent.

[24] Also used for first-person exclusive.

[25] This pronoun is vague for number as it may be either singular or plural.

[26] There is reason to believe that the second person pronoun has a homophonous enclitic form as well as the free form.

[27] This may be a composite form.

[28] Contracts to /n/ under conditions that have not been investigated.

[29] Contracts to /l/ under conditions that have not been investigated.

[30] These relate to two separate conjugation patterns.

[31] These relate to two separate conjugation patterns.

[32] This pronoun is used in informal situations. See the first person plural exclusive pronoun for formal situations.

[33] These relate to two separate conjugation patterns.

ISO 639-3 code	Identifier as in Ethnologue	1SG +S +P	1SG -P	2SG +S +P	2SG -P
zpz	Texmelucan	ˈjã³⁴	= ã	ˈɾu³⁵	= ɾu, = ɾ³⁶
zsr	Southern Rincón	ˈnedaʔ			
zte	Elotepec				
ztg	Xanaguía	ˈnaʔ	nʔ	ˈluʔj	aʔ, lʔ ³⁷
ztl	Lapaguía-Guivini				
ztm	San Agustín Mixtepec				
ztn	Santa Catarina Albarradas				
ztp	Loxicha				
ztq	Quioquitani-Quierí	ˈnaʔ	= aʔ, = n³⁸	ˈliʔ	= oʔ, = l³⁹
zts	Tilquiapan	ˈnaʔ	= a, = na⁴⁰	ˈliʔ	= uʔ
ztt	Tejalapan				
ztu	Güilá				
ztx	Zaachila				
zty	Yatee				

Appendix B: First-person and second-person plural pronouns

ISO 639-3 code	Identifier as in Ethnologue	1PLEX +S +P	1PLEX -P	1PLIN +S +P	1PLIN -P	2PL +S +P	2PL -P
zaa	Sierra de Juárez	ˈinduʔ	= duʔ	ˈriʔu		lebiʔ	= lé
zab	San Juan Guelavía	ˈdunːɨ	= nɨ, = n⁴¹	(no exclusive/inclusive difference)			= tɨ, = t⁴²
zac	Ocotlán	náʔ		jaʔ			= tɨ

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[34]These first person pronouns are also used to express first person plural exclusive when they are preceded by the plural proclitic /de/.

[35]These second person pronouns are also used to express second person plural when they are preceded by the plural proclitic /de/.

[36]After consonants and vowels, respectively.

[37]After consonants and vowels, respectively.

[38]After consonants and vowels, respectively.

[39]After consonants and vowels, respectively.

[40]The form / = na/ is used after the 'Focus' morpheme and the 'base' morpheme (see Base plus enclitic pronoun, this series. Otherwise / = a/ is used.

[41]After consonants and vowels, respectively.

[42]After consonants and vowels, respectively.

ISO 639-3 code	Identifier as in Ethnologue	1PLEX +S +P	1PLEX -P	1PLIN +S +P	1PLIN -P	2PL +S +P	2PL -P
zad	Cajonos	ˈnetoʔ	=ntoʔ	ˈʤoˀ	=ʤo	ˈleʔ	=le
zae	Yareni	ˈɾiˀdu	=du	ɾiˀ		leˈbiˀ	=le
zaf	Ayoquesco	ˈlezá	=za	(no exclusive/inclusive difference ?)			=lò
zai	Isthmus		=du		=nu		=tú
zam	Miahuatlán	ˈnaʔ					=l
zao	Ozolotepec						
zaq	Aloápam						
zar	Rincón						
zas	Santo Domingo Albarradas						=il, =l[43]
zat	Tabaa						
zav	Yatzachi	ˈnetoʔ	=toʔ	ˈʤjoˀ	=ʤo	ˈle	=leʔ
zaw	Mitla	ˈnuˀɾe	nuˀɾe, =nuɾe	ˈnuˀɾnu	=nu	ˈlaʔ-tu[44]	=tu
zax	Xadani						
zca	Coatecas Altas	ˈno		ˈbɪ		ˈgo	
zoo	Asunción Mixtepec						
zpa	Lachiguiri						
zpb	Yautepec						
zpc	Choapan	ˈnætoʔ	=ndoʔ	ˈraʔo	=ɾo	ˈleˀ	=le
zpd	Southeastern Ixtlán						
zpe	Petapa						
zpf	San Pedro Quiatoni	ˈtuʰɲ	=n	(no exclusive/inclusive difference)		ˈlaʔt	=d
zpg	Guevea de Humboldt						
zph	Totomachapan						

[43] After consonants and vowels, respectively.
[44] This is a composite form. The part /laʔ/ can be replaced by the respect modifier. See appendix E.

ISO 639-3 code	Identifier as in Ethnologue	1PLEX +S +P	1PLEX -P	1PLIN +S +P	1PLIN -P	2PL +S +P	2PL -P
zpi	Santa María Quiegolani	ˈnoʔ			= be	see 2SG	
zpj	Quiavicuzas						
zpk	Tlacolulita						
zpl	Lachixío		= awa		= ɾu		= wa
zpm	Mixtepec	ˈnó				ˈtó	
zpn	Santa Inés Yatzechi		= duʔ, = ɾaʔ		= niɨʔ, = ɾniʔ[45]		= tuʔ
zpo	Amatlán	ˈnu		ˈbe		ˈgu	
zpp	El Alto						
zpq	Zoogocho	ˈnetoʔ	= toʔ	ˈʤjoʔ	= ʤo	ˈleʔ	= le
zpr	Santiago Xanica			= aˀ			
zps	Coatlán						
zpt	San Vicente Coatlán	ˈsà[46]		ˈná, ˈwa (dual), ˈuna (dual formal)		ˈgó[47]	
zpu	Yalálag	ˈnːadaʔ	= aʔ, = laʔ[48]	ˈnːadaʔ	= aʔ, = laʔ[49]	ˈlːweˀ	= loʔ
zpv	Chichicapan		nu		nuʔ		= tu
zpw	Zaniza						
zpx	San Baltazar Loxicha						
zpy	Mazaltepec						
zpz	Texmelucan	see 1SG			na, n	see 2SG	
zsr	Southern Rincón						
zte	Elotepec						
ztg	Xanaguía	ˈnòˀ		ˈnó	nó, n	ˈto	
ztl	Lapaguía-Guivini						
ztm	San Agustín Mixtepec						

[45]The form / = ɾniɨʔ/ is used for 'you (sg.) and me'.

[46]Requires the plural proclitic when used for first person exclusive plural. This pronoun means first person singular formal when that morpheme is not present.

[47]Requires the plural proclitic when used for second person exclusive plural. This pronoun means second person singular formal when that morpheme is not present.

[48]These relate to two separate conjugation patterns.

[49]These relate to two separate conjugation patterns.

ISO 639-3 code	Identifier as in Ethnologue	1PLEX +S +P	1PLEX -P	1PLIN +S +P	1PLIN -P	2PL +S +P	2PL -P
ztn	Santa Catarina Albarradas						
ztp	Loxicha						
ztq	Quioquitani-Quierí		= no		= noˀ		= do
zts	Tilquiapan		= du		= nuˀ		= tu
ztt	Tejalapan						
ztu	Güilá						
ztx	Zaachila						
zty	Yatee						

Appendix C: Third person human pronouns

ISO 639-3 code	Identifier as in Ethnologue	3AD (adult)	3AL (alternate)	3BA (baby)	3CH (child)	3F (female)	3FO (formal)	3INFO (informal)	3M (male)	3UM (unmarried adolescent male)
zaa	Sierra de Juárez						(n)é	bí ? = bí ?		
zab	San Juan Guelavía				bi		ɲ	bɨ, b[50]	ʒɨ, ʒ[51]	
zac	Ocotlán						= (i)ʔ	= ʒ		
zad	Cajonos						= eʔ	= bʔ		
zae	Yareni						e, bie[52]	bi		
zaf	Ayoquesco								ˈleʔn, aʔn[53]	

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[50]After consonants and vowels, respectively.

[51]After consonants and vowels, respectively.

[52]The distribution of these two allomorphs is not understood. Thiessen (in preparation) also reports that these pronouns are used when talking about the following referents: people who deserve respect, God, young children, newborn animals, the sun, the moon, corn, the harvest, and water.

[53]The distributional facts for these forms are not clear in the source.

ISO 639-3 code	Identifier as in Ethnologue	3AD (adult)	3AL (alternate)	3BA (baby)	3CH (child)	3F (female)	3FO (formal)	3INFO (informal)	3M (male)	3UM (unmarried adolescent male)
zai	Isthmus		= ∅[54]		= niʔ[55]		= be			
zam	Miahuatlán								ˈʃaʔ	
zao	Ozolotepec									
zaq	Aloápam									
zar	Rincón									
zas	Santo Domingo Albarradas						= man	= m	= iʒ, = ʒ[56]	
zat	Tabaa									
zav	Yatzachi						= eʔ	= boʔ		
zaw	Mitla		= na[57]		= bi[58]		= ba[59]	= ni,[60] = ʃi[61]		
zax	Xadani									
zca	Coatecas Altas	ˈʃaʔ,[62] ˈʒaʔ[63]							mbɪ[64]	
zoo	Asunción Mixtepec									
zpa	Lachiguiri									
zpb	Yautepec									
zpc	Choapan						= næʔ	= biʔ		

[54]The difference between the overt pronoun (glossed 3H in examples) and the null pronoun (3AL) is significant. See Marlett & Pickett (1996), Marlett & Pickett (2008) and (Personal pronouns: distribution, this series).

[55]This pronoun, which can also be used to show pity toward an adult, is not commonly used today.

[56]After consonants and vowels, respectively.

[57]In the subdialect of Santo Domingo Matatlán.

[58]In the subdialect of Santo Domingo Matatlán; for children and also adults for whom there is love.

[59]Not commonly used.

[60]Used in both women's speech and men's speech.

[61]Used only in women's speech. In Santo Domingo Matatlán involves respect.

[62]Men's speech.

[63]Women's speech.

[64]Men's speech.

ISO 639-3 code	Identifier as in Ethnologue	3AD (adult)	3AL (alternate)	3BA (baby)	3CH (child)	3F (female)	3FO (formal)	3INFO (informal)	3M (male)	3UM (unmarried adolescent male)
zpd	Southeastern Ixtlán									
zpe	Petapa									
zpf	San Pedro Quiatoni	a, na,⁶⁵ ʒi, ʒ⁶⁶ (for disrespect) [nouns are very commonly used]								
zpg	Guevea de Humboldt									
zph	Totomachapan									
zpi	Santa María Quiegolani			ne⁶⁷			me	ˈmen	ˈzaʔ	
zpj	Quiavicuzas									
zpk	Tlacolulita									
zpl	Lachixío			See appendix D.		nzu̧⁶⁸	za̧⁶⁹	ì		
zpm	Mixtepec									
zpn	Santa Inés Yatzechi						= neʔ			
zpo	Amatlán				mad⁷⁰	me			ʃaʔ	
zpp	El Alto									
zpq	Zoogocho						= eʔ	= beʔ		
zpr	Santiago Xanica	me⁷¹							ʒa	
zps	Coatlán									

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⁶⁵After consonants and vowels, respectively.

⁶⁶After consonants and vowels, respectively.

⁶⁷Same as 3DE.

⁶⁸Only for referring to females under the age of about 20, whether married or not.

⁶⁹Only for referring to authorities and considerably older people.

⁷⁰This is also the noun for 'child', but it is also used pronominally in texts.

⁷¹This pronoun does not indicate the sex of the referent. It is glossed 3H in examples.

ISO 639-3 code	Identifier as in Ethnologue	3AD (adult)	3AL (alter-nate)	3BA (baby)	3CH (child)	3F (fe-male)	3FO (for-mal)	3INFO (infor-mal)	3M (male)	3UM (unmar-ried ado-les-cent male)
zpt	San Vicente Coatlán						ˈmi	ˈʃa		
zpu	Yalálag						=(l)eʔ[72]	=beʔ		
zpv	Chichicapan						ba	bi		
zpw	Zaniza									
zpx	San Baltazar Loxicha									
zpy	Mazaltepec									
zpz	Texmelucan					mi, m[73]		See appendix D.	ju, j[74]	
zsr	Southern Rincón									
zte	Elotepec									
ztg	Xanaguía	nouns are used					ʃ(o)[75]	nouns are used		
ztl	Lapaguía-Guivini									
ztm	San Agustín Mixtepec									
ztn	Santa Catarina Albarradas									
ztp	Loxicha									
ztq	Quioquitani-Quierí							me	ʃaʔ[76]	
zts	Tilquiapan	=ba	=níʔ	=bi	=nin					=ʒ

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[72] These relate to two separate conjugation patterns.

[73] This pronoun refers respectfully to females in male speech, respectfully to males or females in female speech, and to deity in male and female speech (Marlett 1993:99). The forms are after consonants and vowels, respectively.

[74] After consonants and vowels, respectively.

[75] Infrequently used.

[76] This is used only by men and only to refer to other men.

ISO 639-3 code	Identifier as in Ethnologue	3AD (adult)	3AL (alternate)	3BA (baby)	3CH (child)	3F (female)	3FO (formal)	3INFO (informal)	3M (male)	3UM (unmarried adolescent male)
ztt	Tejalapan									
ztu	Güilá									
ztx	Zaachila									
zty	Yatee									

Appendix D: Third-person non-human or mixed-reference pronouns

ISO 639-3 code	Identifier as in Ethnologue	3AN (animate)	3IN (inanimate)	3DE (deity)	3GEN (general)	3DEPR (deprecatory)
zaa	Sierra de Juárez				(n)ã[77]	
zab	San Juan Guelavía	mɨ, m[78]	ni[79]	nɨ		
zac	Ocotlán	= ma	= nɨ	= mɨ[80]		
zad	Cajonos	= b	= n			
zae	Yareni	ba[81]			ni, na[82]	
zaf	Ayoquesco					
zai	Isthmus	= me	ni			
zam	Miahuatlán					
zao	Ozolotepec					
zaq	Aloápam					

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[77]Used for animals and object as well as people without indicating disrespect. The parenthesized consonant occurs when this pronoun follows certain other pronouns.

[78]After consonants and vowels, respectively.

[79]This pronoun contracts to /n/ under conditions that have not been described.

[80]Used for God, Jesus, the twelve apostles, the village president, and perhaps one's father. This is not the pronoun used for angels, which is the 3FO pronoun.

[81]This pronoun is used in this variety only with a sense of affection, such as for an adult animal or any newborn animal. See the 3GEN pronoun in this appendix.

[82]The pronoun /na/ is used when the pronoun is an argument of a verb; /ni/ is used when the pronoun is the possessor. These pronouns have not been classified with respect to the diagnostics yet. The use of these pronouns for human referents indicates a lack of respect (Thiessen, in preparation).

ISO 639-3 code	Identifier as in Ethnologue	3AN (animate)	3IN (inanimate)	3DE (deity)	3GEN (general)	3DEPR (deprecatory)
zar	Rincón					
zas	Santo Domingo Albarradas	= b[83]	= án, = n[84]			
zat	Tabaa					
zav	Yatzachi	= b	= n[85]			
zaw	Mitla	= ma;[86] = ni[87]	= ni[88]	= ba[89]		
zax	Xadani					
zca	Coatecas Altas	= ma	= ɪ	= mɪ		= nɪʔ
zoo	Asunción Mixtepec					
zpa	Lachiguiri					
zpb	Yautepec					
zpc	Choapan	= baʔ	= n[90]			= dãʔ
zpd	Southeastern Ixtlán					
zpe	Petapa					
zpf	San Pedro Quiatoni	[same pronoun as for humans, although usually nouns are used]				
zpg	Guevea de Humboldt					
zph	Totomachapan					
zpi	Santa María Quiegolani	maʔ	w, o[91]	ne[92]		
zpj	Quiavicuzas					
zpk	Tlacolulita					

[83] This allomorph occurs following vowels; one expects that another allomorph, probably /-ib/, follows consonants.
[84] After consonants and vowels, respectively.
[85] Also used to show disrespect for a person.
[86] In the subdialect of Santo Domingo Matatlán.
[87] See 3INFO above.
[88] See 3INFO above.
[89] In the subdialect of Santo Domingo Matatlán (but needs to be re-checked).
[90] Some speakers sometimes use / = na/ as well, and others may use / = nan/ [= naŋ].
[91] After consonants and vowels, respectively.
[92] Same as 3BA.

ISO 639-3 code	Identifier as in Ethnologue	3AN (animate)	3IN (inanimate)	3DE (deity)	3GEN (general)	3DEPR (deprecatory)
zpl	Lachixío	í	ī	nu[93]		
zpm	Mixtepec					
zpn	Santa Inés Yatzechi	man[94]				
zpo	Amatlán	ma	ja; a, j[95]		ngi[96]	
zpp	El Alto					
zpq	Zoogocho	baʔ	(e)n			
zpr	Santiago Xanica	ngʷe	na			
zps	Coatlán					
zpt	San Vicente Coatlán	ˈmá	ja; a, j[97]		na[98]	
zpu	Yalálag	=baʔ	=nː			
zpv	Chichicapan	ma	an	ɲiʔh		
zpw	Zaniza					
zpx	San Baltazar Loxicha					
zpy	Mazaltepec					
zpz	Texmelucan	ma	ɲi, ɲ[99]	See appendix C.		
zsr	Southern Rincón					
zte	Elotepec					

[93]This pronoun is used for only deity and angels in San Vicente Lachixío. In Santa María Lachixío it is also used for parents and newborn children.

[94]This is also the noun for 'animal'.

[95]Uncontracted; contracted after consonants and vowels, respectively.

[96]The use of this seldom-used pronoun has not been investigated in detail. It seems to be most used in colloquial speach (Dave Riggs, p.c.).

[97]Uncontracted; contracted after consonants and vowels, respectively. This pronoun has some syntactic properties that distinguish it from other pronouns in this variety Wagner (2008).

[98]When used as the object of the possessive word /ten/ in certain contexts, this pronoun may refer to first, second, or third person (Wagner 2008).

[99]This pronoun is used for informal reference to people (irrespective of sex) in female speech, for informal reference to females in male speech, and to things in female and male speech (Marlett 1993:99). After consonants and vowels, respectively.

ISO 639-3 code	Identifier as in Ethnologue	3AN (animate)	3IN (inanimate)	3DE (deity)	3GEN (general)	3DEPR (deprecatory)
ztg	Xanaguía	[nouns used][100]	o, w[101]			
ztl	Lapaguía-Guivini					
ztm	San Agustín Mixtepec					
ztn	Santa Catarina Albarradas					
ztp	Loxicha					
ztq	Quioquitani-Quierí	ma	o, w[102]			
zts	Tilquiapan	ma	n	nì^{ʔ}		
ztt	Tejalapan					
ztu	Güilá					
ztx	Zaachila					
zty	Yatee					

Appendix E: Respect

ISO 639-3 code	Identifier as in Ethnologue	Respect modifier before second person pronoun	Use of high pitch to show respect for Addressee
zaa	Sierra de Juárez	kʷiã̃ʔ	
zab	San Juan Guelavía	gip	
zac	Ocotlán	jub	
zad	Cajonos		
zae	Yareni	kʷina	
zaf	Ayoquesco	jub	
zai	Isthmus		
zam	Miahuatlán		
zao	Ozolotepec		

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[100]The noun for 'animal' is /ma/; this was misreported as a pronoun in Marlett (1993).

[101]After consonants and vowels, respectively.

[102]After consonants and vowels, respectively.

ISO 639-3 code	Identifier as in Ethnologue	Respect modifier before second person pronoun	Use of high pitch to show respect for Addressee
zaq	Aloápam		
zar	Rincón		
zas	Santo Domingo Albarradas		
zat	Tabaa		
zav	Yatzachi		
zaw	Mitla	g^{w}e^{h}b	
zax	Xadani		
zca	Coatecas Altas		
zoo	Asunción Mixtepec		
zpa	Lachiguiri		
zpb	Yautepec		
zpc	Choapan		
zpd	Southeastern Ixtlán		
zpe	Petapa		
zpf	San Pedro Quiatoni		
zpg	Guevea de Humboldt		
zph	Totomachapan		
zpi	Santa María Quiegolani		
zpj	Quiavicuzas		
zpk	Tlacolulita		
zpl	Lachixío		yes
zpm	Mixtepec		
zpn	Santa Inés Yatzechi		
zpo	Amatlán		previously
zpp	El Alto		
zpq	Zoogocho		
zpr	Santiago Xanica		
zps	Coatlán		
zpt	San Vicente Coatlán		
zpu	Yalálag		

ISO 639-3 code	Identifier as in Ethnologue	Respect modifier before second person pronoun	Use of high pitch to show respect for Addressee
zpv	Chichicapan	juʔbi[103]	
zpw	Zaniza		
zpx	San Baltazar Loxicha		
zpy	Mazaltepec		
zpz	Texmelucan		
zsr	Southern Rincón		
zte	Elotepec		
ztg	Xanaguía		
ztl	Lapaguía-Guivini		
ztm	San Agustín Mixtepec		
ztn	Santa Catarina Albarradas		
ztp	Loxicha		
ztq	Quioquitani-Quierí		
zts	Tilquiapan	jubj	
ztt	Tejalapan		
ztu	Güilá		
ztx	Zaachila		
zty	Yatee		

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[103]Also used before third person pronouns.

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