

SIL-Mexico Branch Electronic Working Papers #003: Pronouns in San Vicente Coatlán Zapotec

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1 Introduction

This paper presents the pronouns as found in the Zapotec language of San Vicente Coatlán, Oaxaca (hereafter SVCZ). This language is one of the group of Southern Zapotec languages and is spoken by approximately 4,000 speakers in the town of San Vicente Coatlán in the district of Ejutla, Oaxaca, Mexico. The basic word order of SVCZ is VSO.¹

The most noteworthy features of the SVCZ pronoun system are two-fold:

- a distinction between familiar and respect in both first and second person
- a distinction among singular, dual, and plural in first person

All of the features and forms of the personal pronouns are described in section 2. Section 3 then covers the possessive pronouns and section 4 presents the interrogative pronouns. Also included are indefinites (section 5) and reflexives (section 6), both of which in SVCZ are expressed by phrases.

¹The data for this paper was collected by the author and his wife while studying the language under the auspices of SIL between 1996 and the present.

2 Personal Pronouns

The following table in example (1) shows all the personal pronouns with their meanings and abbreviations used in this paper. The plural morpheme *be* that appears with most of the plural pronouns in this table is optional, depending on the context. For example, the word *xa* without the plural morpheme can mean *he*, *she*, or *they* depending on the context. Likewise the word *go* can mean *you* (sg.) or *you* (pl.). The context of the discourse makes clear whether the meaning is singular or plural.

(1)

Pronoun	Gloss	Description	Abbrev.
na ¹	<i>I</i>	first person singular	1S
sa	<i>I</i>	first person singular, respect	1R
lu	<i>you</i>	second person singular	2S
go	<i>you</i>	second person singular, respect	2R
xa	<i>he, she</i>	third person singular, human	3H
mi ²	<i>he, she</i>	third person singular, human, respect	3R
ma	<i>he, she, it</i>	third person singular, animal	3A
ya	<i>it</i>	third person singular, inanimate	3I
na	<i>it</i>	third person singular, general	3G
wa	<i>we</i>	first person dual	1D
una	<i>we</i>	first person dual, respect	1DR
beuna	<i>we</i>	first person plural, inclusive	Pl-1I
min	<i>we</i>	first person plural, inclusive familiar	Pl-1Inf
besa	<i>we</i>	first person plural, exclusive	Pl-1E
bego	<i>you</i>	second person plural	Pl-2R
bexa	<i>they</i>	third person plural, human	Pl-3H
bema	<i>they</i>	third person plural, animal	Pl-3A
bena	<i>they</i>	third person plural, general	Pl-3G

The various features of these pronouns are discussed in the following subsections. The most interesting members of the class of personal pronouns are the familiar and respect first person singular pronouns (discussed in section 2.1) and the familiar and respect first person dual pronouns (section 2.4).

2.1 Respect

Similar to the Spanish distinction of *tú* (second person singular familiar) and *usted* (second person singular respect) SVCZ also makes the distinction between familiar and respect in the personal pronouns for second person singular. However, as Mexican Spanish has only one second person plural form, *ustedes*, similarly SVCZ also loses the distinction between familiar and respect in the plural and simply pluralizes the singular respect form. The familiar forms are generally used only between close friends, between siblings, or from a parent or grandparent to a child. The respect forms indicate a somewhat more distant relationship and are also used to demonstrate more respect

²The respect third person pronoun is disappearing from the language and is used only by older speakers. We have not observed a plural form of this pronoun.

toward the addressee. For example, a child speaking to his parents or grandparents would use the respect pronouns. Parents will occasionally use the respect pronouns when addressing their children when trying to convince the child to do something.³

Examples of the second person pronouns are given in (2), with the singular familiar form in (2a), the singular respect form in (2b) spoken to a person in authority, and the plural form in (2c).

- (2) a. Le'a xus na' nd-ab ndo' na', "¿Nchu'u ta g-aw lu?
 FOC father 1S C-say face 1S guava cosa P-eat 2S
 My father said to me, "Do you want to eat a guava?"
- b. Le'a go lá n-la'ach ta nd-ab be men
 FOC 2R NEG H-heed thing H-say Pl person
 You don't pay attention to what people say.
- c. Sa ba' n-cho mob i-sen be-go.
 place DemM S-exist car P-grab Pl-2R
 There there is a car for you (plural) to get.

There are a number of other Zapotec languages that have third person respect pronouns (Marlett 1993 lists Atepec Zapotec, Guelavía Zapotec, and Xanaguía Zapotec, for example), and some others have second person respect pronouns also (for example Coatlán-Loxicha Zapotec; Beam de Azcona 2005). However, to my knowledge, SVCZ is unique in also having first person respect pronouns. In fact, this is very unusual worldwide, although Hollenbach describes a similar system of first and second person respect pronouns in Highland Mixtec languages (Hollenbach 2003).

For first person singular, the normal pronoun is na'. But when the speaker is speaking formally or with respect to the other person, the form sa is used to refer to oneself. In a conversation between two people of more or less equal status, where the relationship is not one of close friendship, the speaker will use the respect form go to address the other person and the respect form sa to refer to himself. Compare the use of the respect in (3a) and the response in (3b), with the use of the familiar in (4a) and the response in (4b).

Respectful situation:

- (3) a. ¿Pa n-cha'a go?
 where S-go 2R
 Where are you (respect) going?
- b. Sa nda' ndo' xge'e.
 1R H-go face plaza
 I (respect) am going to the plaza.

Familiar situation:

³In addition to the abbreviations used for pronouns, the following abbreviations are used for glosses in this paper: C = completive, DemD = distal demonstrative adjective, DemM = medial demonstrative adjective, DemP = proximal demonstrative adjective, FOC = focus, H = habitual, I = imperative, Ir = irrealis, NEG = negative, P = potential, Pl = plural, POS = possessed, Pr = progressive, Q = question, Repl = reflexive, S = stative.

- (4) a. ʔPa n-cha'a lu?
where S-go 2S
 Where are you going?
- b. Na' nd-a ndo' xge'e.
1S H-go face plaza
 I (familiar) am going to the plaza.

2.2 Agreement

2.2.1 Gender

In SVCZ, personal pronouns do not distinguish between masculine and feminine referents. The pronoun *xa* (or its plural form *bexa*) can have male or female referents. The larger context makes clear which it is. Because of culturally gender-specific roles, some verbs are understood by native speakers to imply a specific gender of the subject. For example, in (5b) *xa* would be assumed to refer to a woman, and in (5c) *xa* would be assumed to refer to a man. However, the word *xa* in itself does not indicate gender.

- (5) a. Xa ba' n-cho ni'i ndee.
3H DemM S-exist house DemP
 He (or she) lives in this house.
- b. Le'a xa nd-a'-u-sat lad.
FOC 3H H-go-P-wash clothes
 She goes to wash clothes.
- c. Nd-unde'e xa lid-na.
H-make 3H house-3G
 He builds his house.

2.2.2 Animacy

In contrast, the personal pronouns in third person make a distinction among human, animal and inanimate. For human referents, the personal pronouns are *xa* for singular, and *bexa* for plural. These pronouns generally are used to refer to adults, but they may also be used to refer to people in general, including children. Note that in example (6a) the word *xa* can mean *he*, *she* or *they*. The plural marker *be* is optional, but as shown in example (6b) it is normally used.

- (6) a. Xa ba' ng-oste tempran.
3H DemM C-arise early
 He/she/they arose early.

- b. Cha u-laya be-sa sa n-so' **be-xa** wa.
then C-arrive Pl-1F place H-stand Pl-3H that
 Then we (inclusive) arrived at the place where they were.

For animals, whether living or dead, the personal pronouns are **ma** in singular, and **bema** in plural. These pronouns appear to be a shortened form of the noun **man**, *animal*.

- (7) a. B-it be **man** ndee, cha u-daw **ma**.
I-kill Pl animal DemP then I-eat 3A
 Kill these animals and eat them.
- b. N-cho **ma** to'o nitsdo'o.
S-exist 3A mouth sea
 It (animal) lives at the seashore.
- c. Cha nes n-cha'a **be-ma**.
then road/path S-go Pl-3A
 Then they (the animals) are going on the road.

For inanimate referents, the personal pronoun is **ya**, but most often it is found encliticized to the previous word, whether it is a verb, noun, personal pronoun or adjective. If the previous word ends with a vowel, then the clitic form of the inanimate pronoun is =y. If the previous word ends with a consonant, then the clitic form is =a, as shown in the following examples. Also **ya** is the only pronoun that cannot take modifiers of any kind, whether adjectives, quantifiers or demonstratives.

Encliticized to a verb (as subject):

- (8) M-dub = **a**.
C-end = 3I
 It ended. / It has finished.

Encliticized to a verb (as direct object):

- (9) Le'a Juan m-sat = **a**.
FOC Juana C-wash = 3I
 Juana washed it.

Encliticized to a verb (as indirect object):

- (10) Cha n-yo nits = **a**.
then H-enter water = 3I
 Then water goes into it.

Encliticized to a pronoun (as direct object):

- (11) N-gi'ib be men = **a** ndo' yo.
H-pull.out Pl person = 3I face ground
 The people pull it out from the ground.

Encliticized to an adjective (as subject):

- (12) Nsa-yak gox = a.
Pr-be old = 3I
 It becomes old.

Encliticized to a preposition (as object of the preposition)

- (13) U-ti'ib besa be caj ten be-sa xan = a.
C-put Pl-1E Pl box of Pl-1E below = 3I
 We put our boxes under it.

Encliticized to an obligatorily possessed noun (as possessor)

- (14) Cha u-lo xa nits gek = a.
then C-put 3H water head = 3I
 Then he put water on its head. (as the roof of a house)

The general third person personal pronoun *na* and its plural *bena* can be used instead of *xa* (and *bexa*). Note that in (15b) the pronoun *bexa* refers to the group excluding the speaker of the indirect discourse, and *bena* refers to the group including the speaker.

- (15) a. **Be-na** m-zhe'al s-tub biaj.
Pl-3G C-meet other-one time
 They met again.
- b. Le'a Marc nd-ab ndo' be-xa wa le'a **be-na** wit na.
FOC Marcos C-say face Pl-3H DemD FOC Pl-3G brother 3G
 Marcos said to them that they were brothers.

Also *na* and *bena* can be used with inanimate referents. However, in contrast to the third person singular inanimate pronoun, *ya*, *na* can take modifiers, including quantifiers⁴, adjectives and demonstratives.

Singular form (*na*):

- (16) a. Le'a **na** wa mas tuzh ndo' s-top **na** wa.
FOC 3G DemD more small face F-two 3G that
 That is smaller than the other two.
- b. Le'a **na** ya'an wa g-unti'in xa s-tub wizh.
FOC 3G P-remain DemD P.use 3H F-one day
 That which will remain, he will use another day.

Plural form (*bena*):

⁴The quantifiers in these examples have the *s-* and *i-* which I gloss as future and potential aspect because they appear the same as those verbal aspect markers. When applied to numbers, they have the meanings shown in the free translation lines: *stuh* = one more, *stop* = two more, *itop* = both. (see Black 2000a)

- (17) a. U-ke'a xa las burr i-top **be-na** wa
C-place 3H body donkey P-two Pl-3G DemD
 He put both of them on the donkey.
- b. M-te xa **be-na** n-so'-ga'al wa.
C-place 3H Pl-3G H-stand-straight that
 He placed those standing ones.

2.3 Inclusivity

As in all Zapotec variants, to my knowledge, the first person plural pronouns in SVCZ make a distinction between inclusive (including the addressee) and exclusive (excluding the addressee). The exclusive pronoun is *besa* and the inclusive pronoun is *beuna*. Both of these appear to be formed from singular respect pronouns, *beuna* being formed from the respect first person dual pronoun *una*, and *besa* being formed from the respect first person singular pronoun *sa*.

- (18) a. Ngw-a'-be **be-una** be gezh gax ndee.
C-go-Pl Pl-1I Pl town near DemP
 We (including the addressee) went to the nearby towns.
- b. Cha u-tid **be-sa** xan dub ya.
then C-pass Pl-1E below one tree
 Then we (excluding the addressee) passed below a tree.

There is also another first person inclusive pronoun, *min*, that appears to be derived from the word *men*, which means *people*. This pronoun is always plural, and therefore it does not take the plural particle *be* to indicate its plurality. Also it does take modifiers such as adjectives and modifiers. Its meaning is approximately the same as *beuna*, but its usage is somewhat less formal.

- (19) a. Nat g-un **min** itea ta nd-ab xa.
now P-do 1PlInf all thing H-say 3H
 Now we will do all that he says.
- b. Uzhe'eb n-i'i-kwea' men ndo' **min**.
much H-speak-heavy people face 1PlInf
 The people insult us a lot.
- c. Yamer g-a'-i-na' na' go, zha we'e g-udi'izh **min**.
soon P-go-P-see 1S 2R time that P-talk 1PlInf
 Soon I will go to see you, then we will talk.

2.4 Duality

I am not aware of any other Zapotec languages with dual pronouns. However in SVCZ there are two pronouns for first person dual, both of which are inclusive, referring to the speaker and the addressee. These two pronouns are *wa*, the normal form which means *you (familiar) and I*, and

una, the respect form which means *you (respect) and I*. These are used in conjunction with the other familiar and respect pronouns and are used in the same situations, as discussed above in 2.1.

- (20) a. W-a'a **wa** ta lid Pedr.
 Imp.go 1D to house Pedro
 Let us go to Pedro's house.
- b. Tga g-aw **una** ngid m-g'iix.
 later P-eat 1DR chicken C-roast
 Later we will eat roasted chicken.

Example (21), spoken by a woman to her mother, shows the pairing of **go**, second person respect, with **una**, first person dual respect.

- (21) Kw-eas **go**, gaw **una** dub geat.
 I-wait 2R P-eat 1DR one tortilla
 Wait, we'll eat a tortilla.

2.5 Case

The grammatical function of the pronoun in SVCZ does not cause a change in its form. That is, pronouns are not marked for case, whether subject, direct object, indirect object, possessor, or object of a preposition. Note that in the following examples, the third person human pronoun, **xa**, is shown in each of these grammatical functions but its form does not change.

Subject:

- (22) Nd-a'-u-xi **xa** lod wa.
 H-go-P-tie 3H cane that
 He goes to tie up the cane.

Direct object:

- (23) Cha m-ka'ach be-xa **xa** len dub ba'a.
 then C-bury Pl-3H 3H inside one tomb
 Then they buried him in a tomb.

Indirect object:

- (24) B-sa'a be-go dub = a ndo' **xa**
 I-give Pl-2R one = 3I face 3H
 Give (you plural) one to him.

Possessor:

- (25) Itea men ngw-a'a ta lid-**xa**.
 all person C-go to house-3H
 Everybody went to his house.

Object of preposition:

- (26) Cha u-senke'a be men wa tso'o **xa**.
then C-follow Pl people DemD behind 3H
 Then the people followed after him.

3 Possessive Pronouns

As discussed in section 2.5 on case marking, SVCZ does not have a set of possessive pronouns distinct from the personal pronouns. In most contexts the possessive pronouns are identical to the corresponding personal pronouns. Note in the following examples that whether the possessed noun is obligatorily possessed (27a and 27b) or optionally possessed (28a and 28b), the form of the possessive pronoun is the same as the corresponding personal pronoun.

Optionally possessed nouns:

- (27) a. M-ti'ib xa ko'ob ten **xa**.
C-strain 3H atole of 3H
 She strained her atole.
- b. Le'a xa u-tix pasaj ten **be-sa**.
FOC 3H C-pay fare of Pl-1E
 He paid our fare.

Obligatorily possessed nouns:

- (28) a. Ngw-a'-no na' xna'a **na'**.
C-go-with 1S mother 1S
 I went with my mother.
- b. Ta ba' x-bek **min**.
thing DemM POS-dog 1PlInf
 That is our dog.

The only exception to this is the general possessive pronoun **na** (3G). When it is the possessor, this pronoun can mean my, your (singular or plural), his, her, its, our, or their. Generally, the referent must be present in the same sentence or in close context, in such a way that the meaning of the pronoun is not ambiguous.

- (29) a. Na' m-binbe'e ulate lo ten **na**.
1S C-think P-fall fence of 3G
 I decided to take down my fence.
- b. Xagots ba' n-cho Laa nd-ap mgi'i ten **na**.
woman DemM S-exist Oaxaca H-has man of 3G
 That woman lives in Oaxaca (and) has a husband.

- c. Ma ba' nd-ap xo-ya'a-na.
 3A DemM H-has shell-arm-3G
 That animal has claws.
- d. W-a'-kwa'an sa g-ak lid-na.
 I-go-seek place P-be house-3G
 Go look for a place to be your house.

4 Interrogative pronouns

SVCZ has two interrogative pronouns, *ton* and *xta'an*, as shown in the table in (30). There are interrogative pronouns for human and inanimate referents, but not for animal referents. The corresponding question for animal referents is a phrase, not a single word (*Ta man, which animal?*). Interrogative pronouns and phrases must always be fronted before the verb. This is illustrated in section 4.1 for the human interrogative pronoun, and in section 4.2 for the inanimate pronoun.

(30)	<u>ton</u>	<u>Who?</u>
	<u>xta'an</u>	<u>Which thing?</u>

4.1 Who?

The word *ton* can be substituted for the subject in a equative clause, the subject of a transitive clause, the possessor of a possessive phrase, the direct object in a transitive clause, or the indirect object in a bitransitive clause, as shown in the following examples.

Subject of a equative clause:

- (31) ¿Ton ta ba?
 who? thing DemM
 Who is that?

Subject of a transitive clause:

- (32) ¿Ton m-xa'al puert ndee?
 who? C-open door DemP
 Who opened this door?

Direct object of a transitive clause:

- (33) ¿Ton u-ni'í lu zha?
 who? C-see 2S INT
 Who saw you? or Whom did you see?

In clauses of the type in example (33) where both the subject and direct object are human or animate, grammatically it is ambiguous as to who is the subject and who is the object. Without the full context, this question could be understood to have either of the meanings shown in the free translation.

Because the interrogative pronoun **ton** is always fronted, in certain types of interrogative clauses this fronting results in a word order different from the word order of the corresponding declarative clauses. This occurs where the interrogative pronoun is the possessor in a possessive phrase or the indirect object of a bitransitive clause. In a possessive phrase for an optionally possessed noun, the normal order in a declarative clause is the possession morpheme (**ten**) followed by the possessor noun or pronoun. For example:

- (34) Le'a be-xa nde-yun ti'in **ten xa**.
 FOC Pl-3H PrPl-do work POS 3H
 They are doing their work.

However in an interrogative clause, the interrogative pronoun is fronted, followed by the possession morpheme as shown in (35a). In an interrogative clause the normal declarative clause word order for the possessive phrase is ungrammatical and does not occur (35b).

- (35) a. ¿**Ton ten** mob ndee?
 who? POS car DemP
 Whose car is this?
- b. *¿**Ten ton** mob ndee?
 POS who? car DemP
 (Of whom is this car?)

For obligatorily possessed nouns and nouns that indicate possession by use of the possessive prefix **x-**, the normal declarative clause word order is noun followed by possessor. For example:

- (36) a. lid Pedr
 house Pedr
 Pedro's house
- b. x-bek bexa
 POS-dog Pl-3H
 their dog

However, in interrogative clauses the possessive pronoun **ton** is fronted, followed by the possessed noun and the general third person singular pronoun **na**. The pronoun **na** here fills the normal slot of the possessor and is coreferent with the interrogative pronoun **ton**.

- (37) ¿**Ton** lea' **na** n-ke'a ndo' git ba'?
 who? name 3G H-hit/stick face paper DemM
 Whose name is written on that paper?

Similarly, when the interrogative pronoun is the indirect object of a bitransitive clause, it is in the fronted position, followed by the preposition **ndo'** (*face*) and the general third person singular pronoun, **na** (38a). The normal word order for a prepositional phrase would have the preposition first, but as example (38b) shows, this is ungrammatical.

- (38) a. ¿**Ton** ndo' **na** m-sa'a go med wa?
who? face 3G C-give 2R money DemD
 To whom did you give the money?
- b. *¿**Ndo'** **ton** m-sa'a go med wa?
face who? C-give 2R money DemD
 (To whom did you give the money?)

These types of word order inversion in interrogatives have been documented for other Zapotec languages, for example Black (2000b) for Quiegolani Zapotec. Also the double fronting of an interrogative in a prepositional phrase was shown to be an areal phenomenon in Smith Stark (1988).

4.2 What?

The inanimate interrogative pronoun *xta'an* is also always fronted and can be substituted for the subject of a equative clause, the subject of an intransitive clause, or the direct object of a transitive or bitransitive clause, as shown in the following examples:

Subject of an equative clause:

- (39) ¿**Xta'an** ta ba'?
what.thing? cosa that
 What is that?

Subject of an intransitive clause:

- (40) ¿**Xta'an** u-late sa ba'?
what.thing? C-fall place there
 What fell there?

Direct object of transitive clause or a bitransitive clause:

- (41) a. ¿**Xta'an** u-si'i bego zhaga?
what.thing? C-buy Pl-2R Q
 ¿What did you (Pl) buy?
- b. ¿**Xta'an** i-nab na' ndo' mech?
what.thing? P-request 1S face teacher
 What will I request from the teacher?

5 Indefinites

In SVCZ, indefinites are not expressed with pronouns, but rather with phrases. Some of these phrases are formed from the interrogative pronouns *xta'an* (*what?*) and *ton* (*who?*), while the others use the quantifiers *dub* (*one*) and *itea* (*all*). The following table lists these indefinite phrases with their glosses.

(42)	na'an xta'an	<i>nothing</i>
	na'an ton	<i>nobody</i>
	guni'i xta'an, tal xta'an	<i>whatever</i>
	guni'i ton, tal ton	<i>whoever</i>
	dub ta'a	<i>something (lit. one thing)</i>
	dub men	<i>somebody (lit. one person)</i>
	itea (be) ta'a	<i>everything (lit. all things)</i>
	itea (be) men	<i>everybody (lit. all persons)</i>

The negative inanimate indefinite “nothing” is always fronted:

- (43) Ná **na'an xta'an** ng-un-no bego na'.
but NEG what Ir-do-with Pl-2R 1S
 But you (pl) did nothing with me.

When the negative indefinite takes a modifier as in (44), *na'an xta'an* (*nothing*) is followed by *dub ta'a* (*something*) which is coreferent to the negative.

- (44) Na' **na'an xta'an dub ta'a** ugap ng-un.
1S NEG what one thing bad Ir-do
 I did nothing bad.

The negative human indefinite “nobody” also must appear fronted before the verb:

- (45) **Na'an ton** n-yakbe'ena xte'e nsabndo' gun xa.
NEG who H-understand how must do 3H
 Nobody understands what he must do.

When the word for *nobody* is the object of a preposition as in (46), the phrase *na'an ton* is fronted, followed by the preposition and the third person general pronoun *na* which is coreferent to the indefinite. This inversion in the normal word order within prepositional phrases with negative objects is also seen in Quiegolani Zapotec Black (2000b)

- (46) **Na'an ton ndo' na** gudi'izh go ta uyo'o wa.
NEG who face 3G P-speak 3R thing C-exist DemD
 Tell nobody what happened. (or Don't tell anybody what happened.)

Guni'i xta'an (*whatever*):

- (47) G-okno be-go xa **guni'i xta'an** n-ki'in xa.
I-help Pl-2R 3H indefinite what H-need 3H
 Help him with whatever he needs.

Tal ton (*whoever*):

- (48) Le'a **tal ton** utsin g-un ti'in ten na,
FOC if who well P-do work POS 3G

le'a xa wa mas sian med i-ka'a.
FOC 3H DemD more much money P-receive
 Whoever will do his work well, he will receive more money.

Dub ta'a (*something*):

- (49) Le'a na' no i-nab-di'izh **dub ta'a** ndo' be-go.
FOC 1s also P-ask-word one thing face Pl-2R
 I also will ask you something.

Itea be men (*Everyone*):

- (50) Cha m-bidi'izh xa ta wa ndo' ga'al **itea be men**
then C-speak 3H thing DemD face straight all Pl person
 Then he spoke that openly to everyone.

6 Reflexives

The reflexive is expressed by a phrase consisting of the word le'aka followed by the focus particle le'a and a personal pronoun which agrees with the subject pronoun, as shown in (51)

- (51) a. B-la'ach be-go **le'aka le'a** be-go.
I-take.care.of Pl-2R Refl FOC Pl-2R
 Take care of yourselves.
- b. Cha n-sea' xa ta lid xa, cha m-bit xa **le'aka le'a** xa.
then H-return 3H to house 3H then C-kill 3H Refl FOC 3H
 Then he returned home, then he killed himself.

The word le'aka is also used to emphasize the subject, which may be either a pronoun or a noun, as shown in (52).

- (52) a. **Le'aka xa** m-bit be man wa.
Refl 3H C-kill Pl animal DemD
 He himself killed those animals.
- b. **Le'aka David** m-sa'a sian be ta wa.
Refl David C-give many Pl thing DemD
 David himself gave many of those things

Le'aka is also used as an adjective meaning “the same”, referring to a previously mentioned noun, as shown in (53).

- (53) a. Nd-ab be-xa ndo' José i-len xa **le'aka** gezh wa.
C-say Pl-3H face José P-come 3H Refl town DemD
 Then they said to José that he come to that same town.

- b. Cha m-kichko xa = ya **le'aka** sa wa.
Then C-hide 3H = 3I Refl place DemD
 Then he hid it in that same place. (a field mentioned in the previous sentence)

There is also a reciprocal phrase construction, meaning “each other”. This uses the obligatorily possessed word *Itsa'a*, *companion*, followed by a possessor pronoun that is coreferent with the subject pronoun, as shown in (54). These examples show that the plural marker *be* is optional on the word *Itsa'a* as well as on its possessor pronoun, but it is obligatory on the subject pronoun.

- (54) a. Ndab xa ba' gakno **bexa be Itsa'a bexa.**
C-say 3H DemM P-help Pl-3H Pl companion Pl-3H.
 He said that they should help each other.
- b. Nsabndo' gunge'ladna **beuna ndo' Itsa'a beuna.**
H-must P-forgive Pl-1I face companion Pl-1I
 We (incl) must forgive each other.
- c. Nsabndo' gunge'ladna **be men ndo' be Itsa'a na.**
H-must P-forgive Pl person face Pl companion 3G
 People must forgive each other.

7 Conclusion

This paper has presented the pronoun system of SVCZ. Especially noteworthy are the unique features of this pronoun system: the distinction between familiar and respect form in both first and second person and the distinction among singular, dual, and plural in first person pronouns. The first person respect pronouns are not only unusual within the Zapotec language family, but worldwide.

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