

## **Presentation of three short texts in Isthmus Zapotec**

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## Abstract

This paper presents three short interlinearized texts in Isthmus Zapotec using conventions that generally follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules. One is a procedural text (a recipe) and two are fictional pieces. An explanation of how the texts were prepared and glossed is included, with special attention to the glossing conventions. Some notes on facts of Isthmus Zapotec that are illustrated in these texts are also included.

## Resumen

*Este trabajo presenta tres breves textos interlinearizados en el zapoteco del Istmo utilizando criterios que generalmente siguen las Reglas de Glosado de Leipzig. Uno es un texto de procedimiento (una receta) y los otros son obras ficticias. Se incluye una explicación de cómo los textos fueron preparados y glosados, con atención especial a los criterios del glosado. También se incluyen algunas notas sobre puntos del zapoteco del Istmo que se ilustran en estos textos.*

## Contents

Abstract . . . . .	2
Resumen . . . . .	2
1. Introduction . . . . .	3
2. Conventions . . . . .	3
2.1. Lines of presentation . . . . .	3
2.2. Division into units . . . . .	5
2.3. Adjustments to the text in the base line . . . . .	6
2.4. Non-exhaustive glossing . . . . .	7
2.5. Common grammatical glosses . . . . .	9
2.6. Punctuation in the glosses . . . . .	11
2.6.1. Hyphen . . . . .	11
2.6.2. Colon . . . . .	12
2.6.3. Period . . . . .	12
2.6.4. Forward diagonal . . . . .	13
2.6.5. Reverse diagonal . . . . .	14
2.6.6. Parentheses . . . . .	14
2.6.7. Square brackets . . . . .	15
2.6.8. Equals sign . . . . .	15
3. The verb forms in the procedural text . . . . .	16
4. Other items of interest in the texts . . . . .	18
Appendix A. Interlinear text: Recipe for fish soup . . . . .	26
Appendix B. Interlinear text: Three brothers . . . . .	30
Appendix C. Interlinear text: Two thieves . . . . .	37
References . . . . .	49

## 1. Introduction

This paper presents in interlinear fashion three short texts using currently espoused glossing conventions: a short procedural text (a recipe) and two short fictional pieces.<sup>1</sup> It is hoped that the presentation of these texts may help other researchers on Zapotec languages as they consider how to provide texts for a linguistic audience.<sup>2</sup> The texts themselves and information about them are given in appendices A-C.

The glosses, in English, are primarily based on my understanding of the Spanish sources, primarily Pickett et al. (2013), Pickett et al. (2001) and Villalobos Villalobos (1983/1976); I expect that they will need adjustment after further consultation.

The conventions used for presenting the texts are given in §2. In §3 I briefly discuss the use of verb forms in the procedural text since these are illustrative in interesting ways. Additional items of interest about Isthmus Zapotec seen in these texts are discussed in §4.

Isthmus Zapotec (ISO 639-3 code *zai*) is a well-known member of the Zapotecan family, itself part of the expansive Otomanguean family (Campbell 1997, Dryer & Haspelmath 2013).

## 2. Conventions

In this section I present a basic account of how the texts presented in appendices A-C have been glossed.<sup>3</sup>

### 2.1 Lines of presentation

The texts are presented in four lines of interlinearized words followed by two lines of free translation. All lines written in Zapotec are presented in the community-oriented orthography that has been in use for more than half a century (CLI & ILV 1956), including in Pickett et al. (2013) and many other works, with slight variations in word break conventions.<sup>4</sup>

The second line of textual material is largely the same as the first except that morphemes are divided with a hyphen when the morpheme division is clear and when the division would not imply something

<sup>1</sup>I thank Rolando Talín Gutiérrez for his help with some specific questions relating to Zapotec, and Donna Kreutz, David Riggs, Rosa María Rojas Torres, and especially Heather Beal, Andy Black and Valerie Hillman for their comments on various drafts of this paper. None is responsible for any remaining errors, of course. The texts were glossed using FLE<sub>x</sub> (<https://software.sil.org/fieldworks/>) and exported to X<sub>L</sub>ingPaper (<https://software.sil.org/xlingpaper/>) for formatting and inclusion in this paper. The use of X<sub>L</sub>ingPaper allows for the easy inclusion of examples drawn from the texts.

<sup>2</sup>See the works listed in Marlett (2017) for information on other interlinearized texts.

<sup>3</sup>See also the discussion, in Spanish, of glossing conventions along these lines in Marlett (2018).

<sup>4</sup>Word breaks, especially dealing with enclitics, compounds, and idioms, have been issues about which consensus has been lacking. The alphabet is explained in Pickett et al. (2001:5-17); notably, double vowels indicate contrastively laryngealized vowels, and vowel followed by a “saltillo” (U + A78C) is one that is “checked” by what is perceived as a glottal stop. See the brief discussion in Pickett et al. (2010:367-368). Laryngeal features disappear under certain conditions. Since the official orthography has reflected these features based on phonetic form, some words have spelling variations appropriate for different contexts. As one listens to the recording of the text in Appendix C, one might perceive that some final “checked” vowels are not represented as such in the orthography, for unknown reasons, despite the fact that the writer, editor and narrator were the same person.

incorrect. See the discussion in §2.6.1. One difference should be noted between the two lines. The first line sometimes includes an acute accent for orthographical reasons that do not relate to tone, but rather to something akin to stress; the penultimate syllable of the root is prominent (Pickett et al. 2010:369). This acute accent is omitted on the second line. Words in the base line that appear to be, or could be taken as, code-switching into Spanish, are omitted on this line.<sup>5</sup>

The third line uses grammatical glosses and conventions as proposed by the Leipzig Glossing Rules, with some adaptations that seem appropriate and helpful, as will be explained.<sup>6</sup>

The fourth line gives the citation form for the word as it is found in Pickett et al. (2013) except that the tonal information is explicitly presented here, using an acute accent for a high tone, a grave accent for a low tone, and a caron for rising tone. This diacritic is only written on the first vowel of a laryngealized vowel (e.g., *zèe*) and on the final vowel of a diphthong (e.g., *riè*).<sup>7</sup> Words that are not found in Pickett et al. (2013) are presented in this line with a hash sign (#) before them (and without indication of tones).<sup>8</sup> If such a word is mentioned in Pickett et al. (2001), a page number where it is found is included in parentheses following G (grammar). An example in [SkuFox:1], the text in Appendix C, is *#huiini'* (G.26).

Two interlinear free translations occur for each text. The Spanish free translation that occurs first is taken directly from the sources. In the case of the texts in appendices A and C, this translation almost certainly was originally provided by María Villalobos, the author of the text, but may have undergone some additional stylistic editing.<sup>9</sup> The punctuation of this free translation does not necessarily match that of the Zapotec nor the English. In the case of the text in Appendix B, the free translation is that given in Pickett et al. (2001), although another translation also appears in ILV (1951). In a few cases, a simple hyphen appears on this line because the corresponding less-than-literal free translation in Spanish does not have a direct translation or because the free translation encompassed more than one unit of the text.

The English free translation, which appears next, intends to reflect the Zapotec line above it. When some implicit information is deemed helpful to include, that information is included within square brackets.

Whatever metadata is available about the texts is provided in the introductions to the texts in the respective appendices.

<sup>5</sup>Words that have been adapted from Spanish, as evidenced by phonological changes and represented in the orthography, are glossed the same as native Zapotec words.

<sup>6</sup>See <https://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php>. The abbreviations used in this paper are: 1PL = first person plural, 1SG = first person singular, 2PL = second person plural, 2SG = second person singular, 3 = third person, AMB.PROG = ambulatory progressive, ANML = animal, ANDTV = andative, CAUS = causative, DEF = definite, DEM = demonstrative, DT = distal, EXCL = exclusive, FUT.A = future A, FUT.B = future B, HOST = host, HUM = human, IMPF = imperfective, INAN = inanimate, INCL = inclusive, INDF = indefinite, INTR = intransitive, IRR = irrealis, LA = “la” morpheme, LOC = location, MD = medial, NOM = nominative, N.V = not visible, PFV = perfective, PL = plural, POS = posesivo, POSS = possessive, PRON = pronoun, PROG = progressive, PROG.MOT = progressive on motion verb, PX = proximal, QUES = question, RCP = reciprocal, REL = relativizer, SBRD = subordinator, STAT = stative, SUPE = superessive.

<sup>7</sup>In Pickett et al. (2013) the tonal information is given separately from the word itself (since tone is not explicitly marked in the official orthography). In that work, if no tone is explicitly indicated, the tones are all low. Otherwise, “b” indicates a low tone, “a” indicates a rising tone, and “h” indicates a high tone. For more information on a basic analysis of the tones and other phonological features of Isthmus Zapotec, including the laryngeal features that are distinctive on the vowels, see Pickett et al. (2010).

<sup>8</sup>The enclitic pronouns are not found in the body of Pickett et al. (2013), but are discussed in an appendix in that volume. The tones for these are indicated when they are clearly known from other pieces in that work.

<sup>9</sup>I have made three small emendations to correct errors that apparently crept into the translation of the first text.

## 2.2 Division into units

Complex sentences are usually divided into subunits, as described here. First, major adverbial clauses are separated from the main clause, as illustrated in (1), where (1a) is separated from (1b).

- (1) a. *Ora ma' candaabi =ni,*  
*ora ma' ca-ndaabi =ni*  
 when already PROG-boil.INTR =3.INAN  
*ǒrà mǎ' rìndàabì' nǐ*  
 'Cuando ya está hirviendo,'  
 'When it is boiling,' [CalPes:7.1]
- b. *guiruuxe bitiaa, cebolla ne bichooxhe lu =ni.*  
*gui-ruuxe bitiaa ne bichooxhe lu =ni*  
 FUT.A-be.chopped epazote.(herb) onion with/and tomato face/SUPE =3.INAN  
*rìrùuxě bìtiāa ně bichòoxhě lù nǐ*  
 'se pican el epazote, la cebolla y el jitomate y se echan en el agua.'  
 'the epazote, onion and tomato are chopped [and put] into it.' [CalPes:7.2]

Second, other clauses that are presented in one sentence and separated by commas are also divided into subunits; see (2).

- (2) a. *Guiá'ri = chaahui' benda,*  
*gu-ia'ri chaahui' benda*  
 FUT.A-be.washed slowly fish  
*rià'ri' chàahui' bèndà*  
 'Se lava bien el pescado,'  
 'The fish is washed slowly (well),' [CalPes:4.1]
- b. *guia ndaani ique Ø.*  
*gu-ia ndaani ique =Ø*  
 FUT.A-be.cleaned belly/inside head =3  
*riă ndàani' ìquè #Ø*  
 'y se limpia dentro de la cabeza.'  
 '[and] the inside of its head is cleaned.' [CalPes:4.2]

In the cases of examples like (3) and (4), I have kept two verbs in one unit because of the very close timing between the two clauses that is clearly heard in the recording.<sup>10</sup>

- (3) *na Ø rabi Ø laa =me:*  
*na =Ø r-abi =Ø laa =me*  
 STAT.say =3 IMPF-say.to =3 HOST =3.ANML  
*nà #Ø ràbì #Ø làa mě*  
 'que le dijo.'  
 'he [the fox] said, he said to him [the skunk]:' [SkuFox:3.3]

<sup>10</sup>See the introduction to Appendix C for information about the recording.

- (4) *Na mistu gui'xhi rabi ∅ laa = me:*  
*na mistu gui'xhi r-abi = ∅ laa = me*  
 STAT.say fox(cat.wilderness) IMPF-say.to =3 HOST =3.ANML  
*nà mìstú guì'xhì' ràbì #∅ làa mě*  
*'Al rato, el zorro le preguntó.'*  
*'The fox said, he said to him [the skunk].'* [SkuFox:12]

## 2.3 Adjustments to the text in the base line

The base line appears almost exactly as it appears in the source. In order to facilitate the glossing, some clitics written as prefixes or suffixes have been separated from their hosts in the base line, with a space and an equals sign. This allows the text to be reconstructed exactly as originally published, while permitting a presentation that may be more helpful for syntactic analysis. An example is given in (5).

- (5) *Gáca =me chupa o chonna ndaa.*  
*g-aca =me chupa o chonna ndaa*  
 FUT.A-happen =3.ANML two or three piece  
*ràcà mě chùpǎ #o chònnǎ ndǎa*  
*'Se corta en dos o tres pedazos.'*  
*'It [the fish] is cut into two or three pieces.'* [CalPes:5]

Some complex words in the source are also divided artificially, also using an equals sign, to allow for the perspicuous presentation of the position of some adverbs.

- (6) *Guid'ri = chaahui' benda,*  
*gu-ia'ri chaahui' benda*  
 FUT.A-be.washed slowly fish  
*rià'rì' chàahui' bèndà*  
*'Se lava bien el pescado.'*  
*'The fish is washed slowly (well),'* [CalPes:4.1]

In order to facilitate the study of the zero pronoun described in Marlett & Pickett (2002/1996), a null sign has been inserted into the base line in the proper places, as shown in (7).

- (7) *ne cada tobi zanda guxhii ∅ caadxi limón*  
*ne tobi z-anda g-uxhii = ∅ caadxi*  
 with/and each one FUT.B-be.possible FUT.A-CAUS:be.squeezed =3 little.bit lemon  
*ně tòbì ràndǎ rùxhìi #∅ càadxĩ*  
*'y cada uno puede agregar algo de limón'*  
*'and each one (person) can squeeze in some lemon'* [CalPes:10.2]

For mechanical reasons, I have replaced the long dashes introducing conversation quotes to opening chevrons, and added closing chevrons as well. These markers of punctuation are then also used in the presentation of the English and Spanish free translations. See the example in (8).

- (8) *«Paraa che =u', be'te bichi.»*  
*paraa che =u' be'te bichi*  
 where PROG.MOT.go =2SG skunk friend  
*pàráa riè lu' bè'tè' bíchì*  
*‘«¿A dónde vas, hermano zorrillo?»’*  
*‘«Where are you going, friend skunk?»’* [SkuFox:4]

## 2.4 Non-exhaustive glossing

Morphological causatives are glossed with CAUS followed by the gloss of the root, but the particular pieces of the morphology, which is sometimes complex, are not shown.

- (9) *guxhii*  
*g-uxhii*  
 PFV-CAUS:be.squeezed  
*‘should be squeezed’* [from CalPes:10.2]

While idioms are not usually glossed literally, some hint may be given as to the complex nature of the forms. The expression for ‘want’, for example, composed of morphemes meaning ‘happen’ and ‘liver’, is handled as shown in (10). Note that the expression is written as two words in Pickett et al. (2013); this is reflected in the fourth line of the interlinearized text.

- (10) *pa racala'dxi'*  $\emptyset$ .  
*pa r-acala'dxi'* =  $\emptyset$   
 if IMPF-want(happen:liver) =3  
*pǎ ràcà là'dxi'* # $\emptyset$   
*‘si uno quiere.’*  
*‘if s/he wishes.’* [CalPes:10.4]

The verbal compounds for ‘to dream’ and ‘to ask’ are also presented in this way, as shown in (11)-(12).

- (11) *tu guiní'xcaanda jma la? ngue go  $\emptyset$  bere.*  
*tu gui-ní'xcaanda jma la ngue g-o =  $\emptyset$  bere*  
 who FUT.A-dream(talk:dream) more LA PRON.DEM.N.V FUT.A-eat =3 chicken  
*tù rìnì' xcàandà' jmá lá? nguě rò # $\emptyset$  bèrè*  
*‘el que tenga un sueño más bonito podrá comer el pollo.’*  
*‘Whoever has the most beautiful dream will eat the chicken.’* [TreHer:9]
- (12) *canabadiidxa =ca'  $\emptyset$  tu guní'xcaanda' ti bacaanda' jma sicarú*  
*ca-nabadiidxa' ca'= = $\emptyset$  tu gu-ni'xcaanda' ti bacaanda' jma sicarú*  
 PROG-ask(say:word) PL= =3 who PFV-dream(talk:dream) INDF dream more beautiful  
*rìnàbǎ ãiidxà' cà # $\emptyset$  tù rìnì' xcàandà' tì bàcàandà' jmá sìcàrú*  
*‘y preguntaron quién había tenido el sueño más bonito’*  
*‘[and] they asked who had the most beautiful dream,’* [TreHer:17.2]

The idiom for ‘intelligent’ does not lend itself to the same kind of treatment since it is composed of a verb and a possessed noun. The idiomatic meaning of the expression that is literally ‘X’s light exists’ is therefore only seen in the free translation.

- (13) *Chupa que la? nuu xpiaani' Ø,*  
*chupa =que la nuu xpiaani' =Ø*  
 two =DEM.N.V LA STAT.located/exist POS:light =3  
*chùpǎ quě lá nũu xpiaani' #Ø*  
 'Dos de ellos eran inteligentes,'  
 'Two of them were intelligent.' [TreHer:4.1]

Note that with respect to the possessed noun, taken as resulting from a derivational process Marlett (2010), the internal morphology is identified by the glosses but not segmented.

The compound for 'young man' is glossed freely and then literally, the latter part being in parentheses.

- (14) *Sicarí' bizaacalí chonna ba'dunguiiu.*  
*sica =ri' bi-zaaca-lu chonna ba'dunguiiu*  
 like =DEM.PX PFV-happen-face/SUPE three young.man(child:man)  
*sicà rí' rìzàacà lú chònnǎ bà'dù nguìiu*  
 'Esto fue lo que aconteció a tres jóvenes.'  
 'It happened this way to three young men.' [TreHer:1]

The deverbal nominalization accomplished by preposing the morpheme *guenda* to the Imperfective form of the verb is written as one word according to the spelling conventions used in the sources consulted and is glossed without spelling out all of the internal morphology.

- (15) *Ni racané guendaró ri':*  
*nì = r-acane guendaró =ri'*  
 REL= IMPF-happen:with NOM:eat =DEM.PX  
*nì ràcàně (gu)èndàrò rí'*  
 'Ingredientes.'  
 'What this dish consists of (is made with):' [CalPes:1]

The adverb for 'here' in (16) is likely to be historically related to the locative proclitic *ra=* and the deictic element that appears in the proximal demonstrative. The etymology is not presented in the gloss.

- (16) *ne laca rarí idxaaga nu*  
*ne laca rarí i-dxaaga =nu*  
 with/and also here FUT.A-meet =1PL.INCL  
*ně làacǎ rarí' rìdxàagǎ nũ*  
 'Al terminar, nos reuniremos aquí mismo'  
 'and we will meet here' [SkuFox:23.2]

If there is serious doubt about the proper gloss of the morpheme, I have used three question marks, as in the verb of the idiom for 'talk' in (17) since the verb by itself does not appear in Pickett et al. (2013).



- (17) *ziyu'* *ca* = *me* *diidxa'*  
*z-iy-uf'* *ca=* = *me* *diidxa'*  
 PROG.MOT-ANDTV-??? PL= =3.ANML word  
*ruì' diidxà'* *cà* *mě* *diidxà'*  
 '.\_'  
 'they were talking.'

[SkuFox:11.3]

## 2.5 Common grammatical glosses

Verbs occur in seven possible finite forms, shown in Table 1.<sup>11</sup> The presentation here utilizes some non-standard glosses that are an attempt to harmonize Zapotec glossing conventions with those that are more widely used.<sup>12</sup>

Table 1: Glosses for finite verb forms

This paper	Other works (Pickett 1955, Marlett & Pickett 1987, Pickett 1989, Mock 1990 and Pickett et al. 2001, except as noted)
<b>Future A</b>	Potential
<b>Future B</b>	Future; (future) Incompletive (Pickett 1989); Incompletive (Pickett 1955); Inceptive (Mock 1990)
<b>Unrealized</b>	Unrealized; Unreal (Pickett 1955, 1989)
<b>Perfective</b>	Completive
<b>Imperfective</b>	Habitual; (nonfuture) Habitual (Pickett 1989)
<b>Progressive</b>	Progressive; Continuative (Pickett 1955)
<b>Ambulatory Progressive</b>	Ambulative (Mock 1990); <i>Progresivo ambulante</i> Pickett et al. 2001
<b>Repetitive Past</b>	Perfect; Perfective (Pickett 1955); Repetitive (Marlett & Pickett 1987); Repetitive Past (Pickett 1989)
<b>Stative</b>	Stative

Pronouns are glossed as shown in Table 2. The first person singular enclitic pronoun often fuses with a word-final vowel of the host and therefore is often presented here with a colon (see §2.6.2) rather than an equals sign.<sup>13</sup> This table also includes mention of the zero pronoun discussed in Marlett & Pickett (2002/1996).

Pronominal forms do not indicate the role of the pronoun, but there are restrictions on their distribution that may suggest that they do, as discussed in Marlett (1993). The enclitic forms in the second column of data, with the exception of the inanimate pronoun, are used only adjacent to the host, either a noun (as

<sup>11</sup>These forms often have all been labeled “aspects”, although Pickett et al. (2001:51) clearly mentions that one form is actually tense. But the system hardly seems entirely aspectual. Antonio (2015:269) takes a clear position for another Zapotec language in claiming that some of the forms are aspect, some are mood and one is tense. After briefly reviewing various proposals, Bueno Holle (2019:24) appropriately states that a “complete study of the [Isthmus Zapotec] TAM system would be extremely valuable”. See also the discussion in the lesser-known work Pickett (1989).

<sup>12</sup>A fuller discussion of these conventions will be presented in a later work.

<sup>13</sup>The difference between the inanimate enclitic pronoun and the others, described in Marlett (1993), is ignored here.

possessors) or a verb (as subject). The third person enclitics, including the zero pronoun, may be pluralized using the general pluralizer proclitic *ca* =.

Table 2: Glosses for pronominal forms

	Independent form	Enclitic Form	Complex form based on <i>laa</i>
First person singular	PRON.1SG	= 1SG	
Second person singular	PRON.2SG	= 2SG	
Third person human		= 3.HUM	HOST = 3.HUM
Third person animal		= 3.ANML	HOST = 3.ANML
Third person inanimate		= 3.INAN	
Third person (zero)		= 3	HOST = 3
First person plural exclusive	PRON.1PL.EXCL	= 1PL.EXCL	
First person plural inclusive	PRON.1PL.INCL	= 1PL.INCL	
Second person plural	PRON.2PL	= 2PL	

The morpheme *laa* that is followed by an enclitic pronoun to form a free-standing pronominal form referred to in the fourth column of Table 2, has been glossed HOST. An example is shown in (18).

- (18) *na*       $\emptyset$     *rabi*       $\emptyset$     *laa*    = *me*:  
*na*      =  $\emptyset$     *r-abi*      =  $\emptyset$     *laa*    = *me*  
STAT.say =3 IMPF-say.to =3 HOST =3.ANML  
*nà*      # $\emptyset$     *ràbì*      # $\emptyset$     *làa*    *mě*  
‘*que le dijo.*’  
‘he [the fox] said, he said to him [the skunk].’ [SkuFox:3.3]

I have glossed the grammatical morpheme written *la?*, used following polar questions and also following some phrases that are set off, with the simple gloss LA.<sup>14</sup>

- (19) «*Zanda*              *chi ne*                      = *u*    *naa*              *la?*»  
*z-anda*              *ch-ine*                      = *u*    *naa*              *la*  
FUT.B-be.possible FUT.A-take(go:with) =2SG PRON.1SG LA  
*ràndă*              *rìně*                      *lu'*    *nàa*              *lá*  
‘«¿*Me llevas?*»’  
‘«Could you take me along?»’ [SkuFox:7]
- (20) *Chupa que*              *la?*    *nuu*                      *xpiaani'*     $\emptyset$ ,  
*chupa*    = *que*              *la*    *nuu*                      *xpiaani'*    =  $\emptyset$   
two    =DEM.N.V LA STAT.located/exist POS:light =3  
*chùpă*    *quě*              *lá*    *nũu*                      *xpiàani'*    # $\emptyset$   
‘*Dos de ellos eran inteligentes.*’  
‘Two of them were intelligent.’ [TreHer:4.1]

<sup>14</sup>This is a topic for further study. I am simply assuming here that the two uses of LA are connected rather than there being a pair of homophones. See Pickett et al. (2001:99, 106).

## 2.6 Punctuation in the glosses

The following subsections explain the conventions used for punctuation in the glosses, most of which follow the standard Leipzig Glossing Rules.

### 2.6.1 Hyphen

When there is a clear and “clean” morpheme division that can be made, a hyphen is used to indicate it, as in (21); see Leipzig Glossing Rule #2 (p. 2).

- (21) a. *gagui*  
           *g-agui*  
           FUT.A-be.cooked  
           ‘should be cooked’ [from CalPes:9]
- b. *racané*  
           *r-acane*  
           IMPF-happen:with  
           ‘is made up of’ [from CalPes:1]

What may be taken as epenthetic vowels or consonants (see Marlett & Pickett 1987) are arbitrarily included with one morpheme and are not explicitly indicated as such.<sup>15</sup>

- (22) a. (The *i* is taken as epenthetic.)  
           *guiruxxe*  
           *gui-ruuxxe*  
           FUT.A-be.chopped  
           ‘should be chopped’ [from CalPes:7.2]
- b. (The *i* is taken as epenthetic.)  
           *riruxxe*  
           *ri-ruuxxe*  
           IMPF-be.chopped  
           ‘is chopped’ [Pickett et al. 2013:32]
- c. (The *y* is taken as epenthetic.)  
           *cayuni*  
           *cay-uni*  
           PROG-do  
           ‘is doing’ [from Pickett et al. 2001:117]

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<sup>15</sup>If one does not take these as epenthetic, it makes no difference; I have still chosen to include them with the affix rather than with the root.

### 2.6.2 Colon

When there is fusion of the vowels of the morphemes or when the use of a hyphen would give an incorrect impression, a colon is used to separate the glosses; see Leipzig Glossing Rule #4C (p. 5). An example is given in (23) where it is relevant, I believe, to know that the root is not simply 'gui'; the word can be compared with (21a).

- (23) (The root is *√a'gui'*.)  
*gu'gui*  
*gu'gui*  
 PFV:be.cooked  
 'when has cooked' [from CalPes:8.1]

I also use the colon after a derivational morpheme that is labeled but not segmented, as in (24).

- (24) *guxhii*  
*g-uxhii*  
 PFV-CAUS:be.squeezed  
 'should be squeezed' [from CalPes:10.2]

Likewise, a colon is used in (25) to indicate the incorporation of the preposition *ne* 'with' (which is also used as a conjunction in the procedural text) to form a new verb, although not all lexicalized complex forms are presented in this way.<sup>16</sup>

- (25) *racané*  
*r-acane*  
 IMPF-happen:with  
 'consists of' [from CalPes:1]

### 2.6.3 Period

A period is used to join the glosses of morphemes that require more than one word in English, whether the gloss is lexical or grammatical (Leipzig Glossing Rule #4, p. 3).

- (26) *caadxi*  
*caadxi*  
 little.bit  
 'little bit' [from CalPes:10.2]

When a suppletive stem occurs, the glosses of the morphemes are also joined with a period, as in (27).<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup>The verb *racané* appears in Pickett et al. (2013) as meaning 'to help', a meaning that does not appear to be relevant here. Nevertheless, the verb is obviously composed of *√aca* 'happen' and *ne* 'with'. The use of the colon in the Leipzig Glossing Rules is meant to indicate that a morpheme break could be shown, but that the analyst has chosen not to. The alternative for this particular example would be to use a hyphen in both the analysis line, *r-aca-ne*, and in the gloss line 'IMPF-happen-with'. I have chosen not to gloss all derivational morphology nor examples of compounding.

<sup>17</sup>This is not a clear convention in the Leipzig Glossing Rules.

- (27) *cu'*  
*cu'*  
 FUT.A.put.in  
 'can put in' [from CalPes:10.3]

I also use the period to join glosses when the morphemes in question are not easily separated because of incomplete or irregular paradigms. Important examples of this are given in (28).

- (28) a. *nuu*  
*nuu*  
 STAT.located/exist  
 'is' [from TreHer:26]
- b. *na*  
*na*  
 STAT.say  
 'said' [from TreHer:12]

Additional material may be included as part of the gloss to give information to help distinguish between otherwise identical glosses. In the case of the verb in (29), for example, the intransitive form is being labelled so as to clarify that this is not the transitive verb for 'boil'.

- (29) *candaabi'*  
*ca-ndaabi'*  
 PROG-boil.INTR  
 'is boiling' [from CalPes:7.1]

#### 2.6.4 Forward diagonal

Occasionally, two or more glosses are given for the same morpheme. These glosses, which can be important sense discriminations, are separated with a forward diagonal; the more basic meaning is given first.<sup>18</sup>

- (30) *ndaani*  
*ndaani*  
 belly/inside  
 'belly, inside (depending on the context)' [from CalPes:4.2]

Not all sense discriminations are indicated in this way. The word *gueela'* in (31) probably has the sense of 'darkness' in this example, but this is not indicated since it is relatively obvious, as would be many others where also the additional senses are not indicated.<sup>19</sup>

- |      |                  |           |           |                  |
|------|------------------|-----------|-----------|------------------|
| (31) | <i>guri</i>      | =be       | <i>lu</i> | <i>gueela'</i> , |
|      | <i>gu-ri</i>     | =be       | <i>lu</i> | <i>gueela'</i>   |
|      | PFV-PFV\sit.down | =3.HUM    | face/SUPE | night            |
|      | <i>ribi</i>      | <i>bě</i> | <i>lù</i> | <i>guèelà'</i>   |

<sup>18</sup>The use of this symbol is not part of the Leipzig Glossing Rules.

<sup>19</sup>Such examples would be important to follow up on for lexicographic studies.

‘se sentó en la noche,’

‘he sat down in the darkness,’

[TreHer:15.2]

### 2.6.5 Reverse diagonal

When a morpheme (typically a root) undergoes a morphological operation (such as ablaut, mutation or tone change) the glosses are separated by a reverse diagonal (backslash, Leipzig Glossing Rule #4D, p. 5). In example (32), the root *√za* appears with a voiceless consonant at the beginning to signal the Future.A (a.k.a., Potential) form.

- (32) *sa'*  
*sa'*  
 FUT.A\walk  
 ‘should walk’

[from Pickett et al. 2001:61]

The reverse diagonal is also used when the stem is morphologically irregular and unrelated via abstract phonology to another stem, and therefore should be labeled appropriately. Perfective is indicated on the verbs in the examples in (33) in more than one way, although the primary realization is still the prefix that is used with other verbs. In (33a), the stem beginning with a *d* that does not appear in other places of the conjugation for this verb, is labeled as being special for the Perfective aspect.

- (33) a. (The usual root is *√o*.)

*gudo*  
*gu-do*  
 PFV-PFV\eat  
 ‘ate’

[from Marlett & Pickett 1987:409]

- b. (The usual stem is *√guza*, which appears to be a causative form of *√luuza* “be.broken”.)

*guluza*  
*gu-luza*  
 PFV-PFV\break  
 ‘broke’

[from Marlett & Pickett 1987:413]

### 2.6.6 Parentheses

I have parenthesized the literal glosses of some nominal and verbal compounds, presenting them following the non-literal gloss, as mentioned in §2.4. See example (34).

- (34) *ti*      *guihuinni*      *tu*    *jmagalán*    *guiní'xcaanda'.*»  
*ti*      *gui-huinni*      *tu*    *jma*      *gui-ni'xcaanda'*  
 so.that    FUT.A-appear    who    more      FUT.A-dream(talk:dream)  
*tí*      *rihuinnì*      *tù*    *jma*      *rìnì' xcàandà'*  
 ‘para que podamos ver quién tiene el mejor sueño.»  
 ‘so that it is evident who has had the most beautiful dream.»

[TreHer:10.3]

### 2.6.7 Square brackets

When a morpheme in a particular word does not appear phonetically for some reason, the gloss is enclosed in square brackets (Leipzig Glossing Rule #6, p. 6). The reason for the lack of phonetic realization may be either due to elision (a phonological situation) or to the fact that there is a zero allomorph for morphological reasons. Of course, the exact reason depends on the morphological theory that one is using. One example is given in (35).

- (35) *na*  
*na*  
 [FUT.A]agree.to  
 'should agree to' [from Marlett & Pickett 1987:61]

The use of the null symbol prompts the use of a gloss without square brackets, despite the lack of phonological content, according to the explanation given of Leipzig Glossing Rule #6, as shown in (36).

- (36) *pa racala'dxi'* Ø.  
*pa r-acala'dxi'* = Ø  
 if IMPF-want(happen:liver) =3  
*pǎ ràcà là'dxi'* #Ø  
 'si uno quiere.'  
 'if s/he wishes.' [CalPes:10.4]

### 2.6.8 Equals sign

An equals sign precedes an enclitic in the morpheme-division line and in the gloss line (Leipzig Glossing Rule #2, p. 2). In the same way, an equals sign follows a proclitic. In (37) there is one proclitic, *ca*= (written with a space after it in the practical orthography in this case), and two enclitics, *=ni* (written joined to the previous word in the practical orthography in this case) and *=ca* (written with a space before it in this case).<sup>20</sup>

- (37) *Ora ma' gu'gui = huiini' ca sti = ni ca,*  
*ora ma' gu'gui huiini' ca= sti = ni =ca*  
 when already PFV:be.cooked small PL= possession =3.INAN =DEM.MD  
*ǒrà mǎ' rà'guì' #huiini' (G.26) cà stí nǐ cǎ*  
 'Cuando ya están cocidos un poco,'  
 'After those ingredients have cooked a bit,' [CalPes:8.1]

Not all simple clitics are marked in the texts, however. For example, it may be that *ma'* in (37) is a simple clitic.

<sup>20</sup>Recall from §2.3 that the equals sign on the first line is only used to indicate that an orthographic word has been separated in this presentation. The morpheme *huiini'* is written attached to the preceding verb in the original text. I am making no claim here about its status as a clitic.

### 3. The verb forms in the procedural text

The text in Appendix A is a type of procedural text. The steps in the instructions are given in the Future.A (a.k.a. Potential) form of unaccusative verbs,<sup>21</sup> not an imperative form of a transitive verb. The relevant examples are presented in (38).

- (38) a. *Guiá'ri* = *chaahui'* *benda*,  
*gu-ia'ri* *chaahui'* *benda*  
 FUT.A-be.washed slowly fish  
*rià'rì'* *chàahui'* *bèndà*  
 'Se lava bien el pescado.'  
 'The fish is washed slowly (well),' [CalPes:4.1]
- b. *guia* *ndaani* *ique* Ø.  
*gu-ia* *ndaani* *ique* = Ø  
 FUT.A-be.cleaned belly/inside head =3  
*riă* *ndàani'* *iquè* #Ø  
 'y se limpia dentro de la cabeza.'  
 '[and] the inside of its head is cleaned.' [CalPes:4.2]
- c. *Gáca* = *me* *chupa o* *chonna ndaa*.  
*g-aca* = *me* *chupa o* *chonna ndaa*  
 FUT.A-happen =3.ANML two or three piece  
*ràcà* *mě* *chùpă* #*o* *chònnă* *ndăa*  
 'Se corta en dos o tres pedazos.'  
 'It [the fish] is cut into two or three pieces.' [CalPes:5]
- d. *Cui'* *bia'* *chonna litru nisa*.  
*c-ui'* *bia'* *chonna litru nisa*  
 FUT.A-seated approximately three liter water  
*rìbì* *bià'* *chònnă* #*litru* *nìsà*  
 'Se ponen a hervir tres litros de agua.'  
 'About three liters of water are put on [to boil].' [CalPes:6]
- e. *guiruuxe* *bitiaa,* *cebolla ne* *bichooxhe lu* = *ni*.  
*gui-ruuxe* *bitiaa* *ne* *bichooxhe lu* = *ni*  
 FUT.A-be.chopped epazote.(herb) onion with/and tomato face/SUPE =3.INAN  
*rìrìuxě* *bìtiăa* *ně* *bìchòoxhě* *lù* *nĩ*  
 'se pican el epazote, la cebolla y el jitomate y se echan en el agua.'  
 'the epazote, onion and tomato are chopped [and put] into it.' [CalPes:7.2]

<sup>21</sup>See Perlmutter (1978) and much later work; the Real Academia Española (RAE 2009:3053) refers to such verbs as *inacusativos*. These verbs may imply an agent, but if the agent is going to be expressed, a derived causative form is required instead of the unaccusative form.



- f. *guiaba benda que lu =ni*  
*gui-iaba benda =que lu =ni*  
 FUT.A-fall fish =DEM.N.V face/SUPE =3.INAN  
*riàbà bèndà quě lù nĩ*  
 ‘se agrega el pescado (al caldo)’  
 ‘the fish is added to it [the broth],’ [CalPes:8.2]

- g. *ne guiaba zidi.*  
*ne gui-iaba zidi*  
 with/and FUT.A-fall salt  
*ně riàbà zìdì*  
 ‘y se agrega la sal.’  
 ‘and the salt is added.’ [CalPes:8.3]

- h. *Gágui =ni bia' quince minutu.*  
*g-agui =ni bia' minutu*  
 FUT.A-be.cooked =3.INAN approximately fifteen minute  
*ràguì' nĩ bià' #minutu*  
 ‘Debe cocerse como quince minutos.’  
 ‘It is cooked about fifteen minutes.’ [CalPes:9]

- i. *Guidaa ni bladu',*  
*gui-daa =ni bladu'*  
 FUT.A-be.extended =3.INAN dish  
*rìdàa nĩ blàdú'*  
 ‘Se sirve en platos hondos,’  
 ‘It is served in bowls,’ [CalPes:10.1]

Other verb forms are used in the text once the steps of preparation have begun to be described. The Progressive is used to describe an ongoing condition that is the context for the next step.

- (39) *Ora ma' candaabi =ni,*  
*ora ma' ca-ndaabi =ni*  
 when already PROG-boil.INTR =3.INAN  
*òrà mǎ' rìndàabì' nĩ*  
 ‘Cuando ya está hirviendo,’  
 ‘When it is boiling,’ [CalPes:7.1]

The Perfective is used to describe a condition that needs to have been completed before the next step is taken.

- (40) *Ora ma' gu'gui =huiini' ca sti =ni ca,*  
*ora ma' gu'gui huiini' ca= sti =ni =ca*  
 when already PFV:be.cooked small PL= possession =3.INAN =DEM.MD  
*òrà mǎ' rà'guì' #huiini' (G.26) cà stí nĩ cǎ*

*‘Cuando ya están cocidos un poco,’*

*‘After those ingredients have cooked a bit,’*

[CalPes:8.1]

The Future.B form is used for the verb meaning ‘be possible’ in (41); this is typical for this particular verb when describing a present situation (see Pickett et al. 2001:55).

- (41) *ne cada tobi zanda guxhii Ø caadxi limón*  
*ne tobi z-anda g-uxhii = Ø caadxi*  
 with/and each one FUT.B-be.possible FUT.A-CAUS:be.squeezed =3 little.bit lemon  
*ně tòbì rándă rùxhì # Ø càadxĩ*

*‘y cada uno puede agregar algo de limón’*

*‘and each one (person) can squeeze in some lemon’*

[CalPes:10.2]

The conditional clause in (42b) that completes the sentence in (42a) occurs in the Imperfective form.

- (42) a. *ne cu' Ø guiñña lu = ni*  
*ne cu' = Ø guiñña lu = ni*  
 with/and FUT.A.put.in =3 chili face/SUPE =3.INAN  
*ně rìgùu # Ø guññà' lù nĩ*

*‘y chile’*

*‘and [can] put chili into it,’*

[CalPes:10.3]

- b. *pa racala'dxi' Ø.*  
*pa r-acala'dxi' = Ø*  
 if IMPF-want(happen:liver) =3  
*pă ràcà là'dxì' # Ø*

*‘si uno quiere.’*

*‘if s/he wishes.’*

[CalPes:10.4]

The verbs of the complement clauses that occur with the verb ‘be able’ are in the Future.A form, both when directly following the verb ‘be able’, as in (41), and when separated from it, as in (42a).

#### 4. Other items of interest in the texts

The verb-initial nature of the Zapotec clause can be observed in examples such as those shown in (43).<sup>22</sup>

- (43) a. *Guiá'ri = chaahui' benda,*  
*gu-ia'ri chaahui' benda*  
 FUT.A-be.washed slowly fish  
*rià'rì' chàahui' bèndà*

*‘Se lava bien el pescado,’*

*‘The fish is washed slowly (well),’*

[CalPes:4.1]

<sup>22</sup>Other examples, albeit with enclitic pronouns, also illustrate this word order.

- b. *guia*                      *ndaani*                      *ique*     $\emptyset$ .  
*gu-ia*                      *ndaani*                      *ique*    =  $\emptyset$   
 FUT.A-be.cleaned belly/inside head =3  
*riă*                      *ndàani'*                      *iquè*    # $\emptyset$   
 'y se limpia dentro de la cabeza.'  
 '[and] the inside of its head is cleaned.' [CalPes:4.2]
- c. *Cui'*                      *bia'*                      *chonna litru nisa*.  
*c-ui'*                      *bia'*                      *chonna litru nisa*  
 FUT.A-seated approximately three liter water  
*ribi*                      *bià'*                      *chònnă* #litru nîsà  
 'Se ponen a hervir tres litros de agua.'  
 'About three liters of water are put on [to boil].' [CalPes:6]
- d. *guiruuxe*                      *bitiaa,*                      *cebolla ne*                      *bichooxhe lu*                      = *ni*.  
*gui-ruuxe*                      *bitiaa*                      *ne*                      *bichooxhe lu*                      = *ni*  
 FUT.A-be.chopped epazote.(herb) onion with/and tomato face/SUPE =3.INAN  
*riàuxě*                      *bitiăa*                      *ně*                      *bichòoxhě lù*                      *nĩ*  
 'se pican el epazote, la cebolla y el jitomate y se echan en el agua.'  
 'the epazote, onion and tomato are chopped [and put] into it.' [CalPes:7.2]
- e. *guiaba*                      *benda que*                      *lu*                      = *ni*  
*gui-iaba*                      *benda =que*                      *lu*                      = *ni*  
 FUT.A-fall fish =DEM.N.V face/SUPE =3.INAN  
*riàbà*                      *bèndà quě*                      *lù*                      *nĩ*  
 'se agrega el pescado (al caldo)'  
 'the fish is added to it [the broth],' [CalPes:8.2]
- f. *ne*                      *guiaba*                      *zidi*.  
*ne*                      *gui-iaba*                      *zidi*  
 with/and FUT.A-fall salt  
*ně*                      *riàbà*                      *zidi*  
 'y se agrega la sal.'  
 'and the salt is added.' [CalPes:8.3]

Zapotec languages have typically been described as having pronouns that substitute for noun phrases; some of these are enclitics (Marlett 1993) and yet are constrained by the sentence word order rules. They are not analyzed as agreement morphology, although the first person singular form, being vowel-initial, fuses more intimately with its host. When a nominal occurs preverbally, in some sort of focus or topicalization construction, a resumptive pronoun is expected in the postverbal position that corresponds to its role (Pickett et al. 2001:98). In Isthmus Zapotec, a fronted personal pronominal has such a resumptive pronoun, as in (44).

- (44) «Cumu biiya' laa =tu nuune =tu Diuxi la?  
 cumu b-iiya' laa =tu nuune =tu Diuxi la  
 since PFV-see:1SG HOST =2PL STAT.located/exist:with =2PL God LA  
 #cumu rùuyà' làa tǔ #nuune tǔ Diúxi lá?  
 '«Como vi que ustedes estaban con Dios,'  
 '«Since I saw that you were with God,' [TreHer:24.1]

Fronted noun phrases that are not personal pronominals use the zero pronoun in the postverbal position, as in (45) and (46).<sup>23</sup>

- (45) Stobi que na Ø:  
 stobi =que na =Ø  
 other =DEM.DT STAT.say =3  
 stóbì quě nà #Ø  
 'El otro dijo.'  
 'The other (second) one said:' [TreHer:20]

- (46) ne cada tobi zanda guxhii Ø caadxi limón  
 ne tobi z-anda g-uxhii =Ø caadxi  
 with/and each one FUT.B-be.possible FUT.A-CAUS:be.squeezed =3 little.bit lemon  
 ně tòbì rándǎ rùxhii #Ø càadxĩ  
 'y cada uno puede agregar algo de limón'  
 'and each one (person) can squeeze in some lemon' [CalPes:10.2]

In (47) we have clear evidence of a zero pronoun in object position, corresponding to the fronted direct object. The object position for the enclitic pronoun requires a host even though it is null.

- (47) ne stobi que nápa =ca =be laa Ø de guidxa.  
 ne stobi =que n-apa ca= =be laa =Ø de guidxa  
 with/and other =DEM.N.V STAT-have PL= =3.HUM HOST =3 ?? stupid  
 ně stóbì quě nàpǎ cà bě làa #Ø #de guĩdxà  
 'y ellos consideraban que el otro era tonto.'  
 'and the other, they considered stupid.' [TreHer:4.2]

No overt pronoun occurs as the head of noun phrases such as *ra nuu mistu gui'xhi'* in (48), assuming that the morpheme *ra* = there is a locative marker followed superficially by a headless relative.

- (48) Chiita chiita yendá me ra nuu mistu gui'xhi'.  
 chiita chiita yendá =me ra= nuu mistu gui'xhi'  
 ??? ??? PROG =3.ANML LOC= STAT.located/exist fox(cat.wilderness)  
 #chiita #chiita rindǎ mě rà núu mistú guì'xhì'  
 'Cojeando llegó a donde estaba el zorro.'  
 'Limping, he arrived to where the fox was.' [SkuFox:31]

Zapotec languages have long been the subject of interest regarding the grammaticalization of body part nouns to indicate location (MacLaury 1989, Lillehaugen 2004, Lillehaugen & Sonnenschein 2012). A few

<sup>23</sup>See the discussion in Marlett & Pickett (2002/1996).

examples of this appear in these texts: the semantic extension of the noun for ‘belly’ to mean the inside area of something in (49a), and the noun for ‘face’, *lu*, to mean something like ‘into’ in (49b)- (49d), and ‘in’ in (49e).<sup>24</sup>

- (49) a. *guia*                      *ndaani*              *ique*     $\emptyset$ .  
*gu-ia*                      *ndaani*              *ique*    =  $\emptyset$   
 FUT.A-be.cleaned belly/inside head =3  
*riă*                      *ndàani'*              *iquè*    # $\emptyset$   
 ‘y se limpia dentro de la cabeza.’  
 ‘[and] the inside of its head is cleaned.’ [CalPes:4.2]
- b. *guiruuxe*              *bitiaa,*              *cebolla* *ne*              *bichooxhe* *lu*              = *ni*.  
*gui-ruuxe*              *bitiaa*                              *ne*              *bichooxhe* *lu*              = *ni*  
 FUT.A-be.chopped epazote.(herb) onion with/and tomato face/SUPE =3.INAN  
*rìrìuuxě*              *bìtiăa*                              *ně*              *bichòoxhě* *lù*              *nĩ*  
 ‘se pican el epazote, la cebolla y el jitomate y se echan en el agua.’  
 ‘the epazote, onion and tomato are chopped [and put] into it.’ [CalPes:7.2]
- c. *guiaba*    *benda* *que*              *lu*              = *ni*  
*gui-iaba*    *benda* = *que*              *lu*              = *ni*  
 FUT.A-fall fish =DEM.N.V face/SUPE =3.INAN  
*riàbà*    *bèndà* *quě*              *lù*              *nĩ*  
 ‘se agrega el pescado (al caldo)’  
 ‘the fish is added to it [the broth],’ [CalPes:8.2]
- d. *ne*              *cu'*               $\emptyset$     *guiiña* *lu*              = *ni*  
*ne*              *cu'*              =  $\emptyset$     *guiiña* *lu*              = *ni*  
 with/and FUT.A.put.in =3 chili face/SUPE =3.INAN  
*ně*              *rìgìu*              # $\emptyset$     *guiiñà'* *lù*              *nĩ*  
 ‘y chile’  
 ‘and [can] put chili into it,’ [CalPes:10.3]
- e. *guri*                      = *be*              *lu*              *gueela'*,  
*gu-ri*                      = *be*              *lu*              *gueela'*  
 PFV-PFV\sit.down =3.HUM face/SUPE night  
*rìbì*                      *bě*              *lù*              *guèlà'*  
 ‘se sentó en la noche,’  
 ‘he sat down in the darkness,’ [TreHer:15.2]

<sup>24</sup>The orthography used in Pickett et al. (2013) uses a diacritic acute accent on the noun for ‘face’ (and its semantic extension ‘eye’) and lack of that accent for the grammaticalized use. I am using the grammatical label SUPE (superessive) for the locative extensions, which are various.

The preposition *ne* meaning ‘with’ is used as a coordinating conjunction both with nominals, as in (50), and with clauses, as in (51).<sup>25</sup>

- (50) 4 *guluxu ro'*, 1 *bichooxhe ro'*, 1 *cebolla huiini'*, 1 *rama bitiaa*, 1  
*guluxu ro' bichooxhe ro' huiini' bitiaa*  
 catfish large tomato large onion small branch epazote.(herb)  
*gùlũuxũ #ro' bìchòoxhě #ro' #huiini' (G.26) bitĩaa*  
*gudxara ro' zidi, limón ne guiiña'*  
*gudxara ro' zidi ne guiiña'*  
 spoon large salt lemon with/and chili  
*gùdxără #ro' zìdì ně guiĩnà'*  
 ‘*cuatro bagres grandes, un jitomate grande, una cebolla chica, una rama de epazote, una cucharada de sal, limón y chile.*’  
 ‘four large catfish, one large tomato, one small onion, one sprig of epazote, a tablespoon of salt,  
 [a] lemon and [a] chili.’ [CalPes:2]

- (51) *ne guiaba zidi.*  
*ne gui-iaba zidi*  
 with/and FUT.A-fall salt  
*ně riàbà zìdì*  
 ‘*y se agrega la sal.*’  
 ‘and the salt is added.’ [CalPes:8.3]

The plural proclitic *ca*, as in (52), does not occur when an explicit numeral appears in the noun phrase, as in (53).

- (52) *Ora ma' gu'gui =huiini' ca sti =ni ca,*  
*ora ma' gu'gui huiini' ca= sti =ni =ca*  
 when already PFV:be.cooked small PL= possession =3.INAN =DEM.MD  
*õrà mǎ' rà'guì' #huiini' (G.26) cà stí nĩ cǎ*  
 ‘*Cuando ya están cocidos un poco,*’  
 ‘After those ingredients have cooked a bit,’ [CalPes:8.1]
- (53) a. *Gáca =me chupa o chonna ndaa.*  
*g-aca =me chupa o chonna ndaa*  
 FUT.A-happen =3.ANML two or three piece  
*ràcà mẽ chùpǎ #o chònnǎ ndǎa*  
 ‘*Se corta en dos o tres pedazos.*’  
 ‘It [the fish] is cut into two or three pieces.’ [CalPes:5]

<sup>25</sup>The two uses are distinguished in the orthography used in Pickett et al. (2013); the word with the sense of ‘with’ is written with a diacritic acute accent, while the conjunction is written without that diacritic. Both words have the same (rising) tone.

- b. *Cui'*                      *bia'*                      *chonna litru nisa.*  
*c-ui'*                      *bia'*                      *chonna litru nisa*  
 FUT.A-seated approximately three liter water  
*rìbì*                      *bià'*                      *chònnă #litru nìsà*  
 'Se *ponen a hervir tres litros de agua.*'  
 'About three liters of water are put on [to boil].' [CalPes:6]
- c. *Sicarí'*                      *bizaacalú*                      *chonna ba'dunguiiu.*  
*sica =rì'*                      *bi-zaaca-lu*                      *chonna ba'dunguiiu*  
 like =DEM.PX PFV-happen-face/SUPE three young.man(child:man)  
*sìcà rì'*                      *rìzàacà lú*                      *chònnă bà'dù nguiiu*  
 'Esto fue lo que *aconteció a tres jóvenes.*'  
 'It happened this way to three young men.' [TreHer:1]

When a noun is modified by a descriptive word, it becomes less prominent prosodically; the prominent syllable with the contrastive laryngeal features is simplified. The orthographical conventions in use reflect the loss of laryngealization on the word for 'catfish' in (54); therefore, the dictionary entry form *guluuxu* does not exactly match the form as it is written in the text.

- (54) 4 *guluxu ro'*, 1 *bichooxhe ro'*, 1 *cebolla huiini'*, 1 *rama bitiaa*, 1  
*guluxu ro'* *bichooxhe ro'* *huiini'* *bitiaa*  
 catfish large tomato large onion small branch epazote.(herb)  
*gùlũuxũ #ro'* *bìchòoxhě #ro'* *#huiini' (G.26)* *bitiãa*  
*gudxara ro'* *zidi, limón ne guiiña'*  
*gudxara ro'* *zidi ne guiiña'*  
 spoon large salt lemon with/and chili  
*gùdxără #ro'* *zìdì ně guiñà'*  
 'cuatro bagres grandes, un jitomate grande, una cebolla chica, una rama de epazote, una cucharada de  
 sal, limón y chile.'  
 'four large catfish, one large tomato, one small onion, one sprig of epazote, a tablespoon of salt,  
 [a] lemon and [a] chili.' [CalPes:2]

It may be noted, however, that the next noun, *bichooxhe*, in the text does not change. This is unexplained.

Adnominal demonstratives distinguish between four points based on reference to the speaker and something like visibility:<sup>26</sup> proximal (DEM.PX), medial (DEM.MD), distal (DEM.DT), and not visible (DEM.N.V). In the recipe text, one instance of the proximal form is used to refer to the dish for which the recipe is provided.

<sup>26</sup>See Pickett et al. (2001:47), although the system is not explained in detail there. The form labelled "not visible" here is labelled "*ausente*" in that work. The distal form appears etymologically to be a concatenation of the proximal and medial forms.

- (55) *Ni racané guendaró ri':*  
*ni = r-acane guendaró = ri'*  
 REL= IMPF-happen:with NOM:eat =DEM.PX  
*nì ràcàně (gu)èndàrò rí'*  
*'Ingredientes.'*  
*'What this dish consists of (is made with):'* [CalPes:1]

While Isthmus Zapotec does not have definite articles, the “not visible” demonstrative appears in these texts in places where it appears to clearly have a use that is functionally more like an article in that it seems only to indicate that the referent has already been activated in the context.

- (56) *guiaba benda que lu = ni*  
*gui-iaba benda = que lu = ni*  
 FUT.A-fall fish =DEM.N.V face/SUPE =3.INAN  
*riàbà bèndà quě lù nĩ*  
*'se agrega el pescado (al caldo)'*  
*'the fish is added to it [the broth],'* [CalPes:8.2]

- (57) *gudo = be guirá' bere que.*  
*gu-do = be gui-ra' bere = que*  
 PFV-PFV\eat =3.HUM FUT.A-be.finished chicken =DEM.N.V  
*rò bě rirà bèrè quě*  
*'y se comió todo el pollo.'*  
*'[and] he ate the whole chicken.'* [TreHer:15.3]

- (58) *Biree lugola que,*  
*bi-ree lugola = que*  
 PFV-go.out/begin oldest.child =DEM.N.V  
*rìrè lùgòlà quě*  
*'El mayor empezó.'*  
*'The oldest began,'* [TreHer:18.1]

In one place, the medial demonstrative is used in a noun phrase to indicate that the referent has just been mentioned.

- (59) *Biaana stubi guionna' bí'chi = ca'.*  
*b-iaana stubi guionna' bí'chi = ca'*  
 PFV-remain alone DEF:three brother =DEM.MD  
*riàană stùbĩ guiònná' bí'chì' #ca'*  
*'Los tres hermanos se quedaron solos.'*  
*'The three brothers had been left alone [orphaned].'* [TreHer:2]

In the recipe text, the medial demonstrative is used in a noun phrase referring to ingredients that are present in the thought of the person explaining the recipe.



- (60) *Ora ma' gu'gui = huiini' ca sti = ni ca,*  
*ora ma' gu'gui huiini' ca= sti = ni = ca*  
 when already PFV:be.cooked small PL= possession =3.INAN =DEM.MD  
*òrà mǎ' rà'gui' #huiini' (G.26) cà stí nǐ cǎ*  
*'Cuando ya están cocidos un poco,'*  
*'After those ingredients have cooked a bit,'* [CalPes:8.1]

Pronominal demonstratives are apparently based on the adnominal forms (see Pickett et al. 2001:37), but these are simply glossed with PRON followed by the same abbreviations as the adnominal forms, as in (61).

- (61) *tu guini'xcaanda jma la? ngue go Ø bere.*  
*tu gui-ní'xcaanda jma la ngue g-o = Ø bere*  
 who FUT.A-dream(talk:dream) more LA PRON.DEM.N.V FUT.A-eat =3 chicken  
*tù rìnì' xcàandà' jma lá? nguě rò #Ø bèrè*  
*'el que tenga un sueño más bonito podrá comer el pollo.'*  
*'Whoever has the most beautiful dream will eat the chicken.'* [TreHer:9]

Example (61) is interesting in that the referent, while unknown, must be one of the young men present.

## Appendix A: Interlinear text: Recipe for fish soup

This short procedural text explains how one should prepare fish soup as it is done in the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, Mexico. It is included in Pickett et al. (2001), along with an interlinearization. A version of the text appears in English in Villalobos Villalobos (1985:35). The author, María Villalobos Villalobos (1941-2011), from Juchitán, Oaxaca, was a great cook as well as a writer (see her original “fables” in Villalobos Villalobos 1983/1976, one of which appears in Appendix C) and gifted translator into Zapotec; she was the primary person responsible for the text of the Isthmus Zapotec New Testament (Liga Bíblica 1972). A member of the Instituto Lingüístico de Verano who worked over the years with Velma Pickett and others, she was enthusiastically involved in promoting literacy in her home area.

The text as it appears in Pickett et al. (2001:121-122) is given here:

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*Ni racané guendaró ri':*

*4 guluxu ro', 1 bichooxhe ro', 1 cebolla huiini', 1 rama bitiaa, 1 gudxara ro' zidi, limón ne guiiña'*

*Sicari' raca ni:*

*Guiá'richaahui' benda, guía ndaani ique. Gácame chupa o chonna ndaa. Cui' bia' chonna litru nisa. Ora ma' candaabini, guiruuxe bitiaa, cebolla ne bichooxhe luni. Ora ma' gu'guihuiini' ca stini ca, guiaba benda que luni ne guiaba zidi. Gáguini bia' quince minutu. Guidaa ni bladu', ne cada tobi zanda guxhii caadxi limón ne cu' guiiña luni pa racala'dxi'.*

---

Some notes on particular parts of this text:

1. In [CalPes:2]: epazote (*Dysphania graveolens*) is an herb used in Mexican cooking (DEM 2010). On the currently accepted scientific name, updated from the name *Chenopodium graveolens*, which still appears in the literature, see <https://www.itis.gov/>.
2. In [CalPes:4.1], the noun for ‘fish’ is presented without a plural marker, despite there being four fish.
3. It is anomalous that in [CalPes:7.2] the location of where the ingredients are put simply appears in the clause with no verb of putting. I have supplied one in brackets in the translation. The expression *lu = ni* also appears in [CalPes:8.2] and [CalPes:10.3] to indicate ‘into it’ (the hot water and the prepared soup, respectively) even though *lu* more commonly is understood as meaning ‘to’ or ‘on’ (in addition to ‘face’ and ‘eye’). It may be that this is even more generally indicating location in these examples and not being intended to indicate precision (such as in English one adds salt *to* the soup and not *into* the soup).
4. [CalPes:8.1]: The Spanish free translation given in the source does not give an explicit translation for the phrase *ca stini ca*.
5. In [CalPes:10.1], it is not clear why the original text has the inanimate pronoun separated from the verb, unlike in the preceding clause. They are both subjects.

Recipe for fish soup: *Caldu benda*

## CalPes:1

Ni racané guendaró ri':  
 ni = r-acane guendaró = ri'  
 REL= IMPF-happen:with NOM:eat =DEM.PX  
 nì ràcàně (gu)èndàrò rí'

'Ingredientes.'

'What this dish consists of (is made with):'

## CalPes:2

4 guluxu ro', 1 bichooxhe ro', 1 cebolla huiini', 1 rama bitiaa, 1 gudxara  
 guluxu ro' bichooxhe ro' huiini' bitiaa gudxara  
 catfish large tomato large onion small branch epazote.(herb) spoon  
 gùlũxũ #ro' bìchòoxhě #ro' #huiini' (G.26) bìtiã gùdxără  
 ro' zidi, limón ne guiiña'  
 ro' zidi ne guiiña'  
 large salt lemon with/and chili  
 #ro' zìdì ně guiiñà'

'cuatro bagres grandes, un jitomate grande, una cebolla chica, una rama de epazote, una cucharada de sal, limón y chile.'

'four large catfish, one large tomato, one small onion, one sprig of epazote, a tablespoon of salt, [a] lemon and [a] chili.'

## CalPes:3

Sicarí' raca ni:  
 sica-ri' r-aca = ni  
 like-DEM.PX IMPF-happen =3.INAN  
 sìcà rĩ' ràcà nĩ

'Instrucciones.'

'It takes place in this way.'

## CalPes:4.1

Guiá'ri = chaahui' benda,  
 gu-ia'ri chaahui' benda  
 FUT.A-be.washed slowly fish  
 rià'ri' chàahui' bèndà

'Se lava bien el pescado.'

'The fish is washed slowly (well).'

## CalPes:4.2

guia ndaani ique Ø.  
 gu-ia ndaani ique = Ø  
 FUT.A-be.cleaned belly/inside head =3  
 riã ndàani' ìquè #Ø

'y se limpia dentro de la cabeza.'

'[and] the inside of its head is cleaned.'

## CalPes:5

Gáca = me chupa o chonna ndaa.  
 g-aca = me chupa o chonna ndaa  
 FUT.A-happen =3.ANML two or three piece  
 ràcà mě chùpă #o chònnă ndăa

'Se corta en dos o tres pedazos.'

'It [the fish] is cut into two or three pieces.'

## CalPes:6

Cui'                bia'                chonna litru nisa.  
 c-ui'                bia'                chonna litru nisa  
 FUT.A-seated approximately three liter water  
 rìbì                bià'                chònnă #litru nìsà

'Se ponen a hervir tres litros de agua.'

'About three liters of water are put on [to boil].'

## CalPes:7.1

Ora ma'            candaabi            = ni,  
 ora ma'            ca-ndaabi            = ni  
 when already PROG-boil.INTR =3.INAN  
 òrà mǎ'            rìndàabì'            nǐ

'Cuando ya está hirviendo,'

'When it is boiling,'

## CalPes:7.2

guiruuxe            bitiaa,                cebolla ne            bichooxhe lu            = ni.  
 gui-ruuxe            bitiaa                ne            bichooxhe lu            = ni  
 FUT.A-be.chopped epazote.(herb) onion with/and tomato face/SUPE =3.INAN  
 rìrùuxě            bitiaa                ně            bichòoxhě lù            nǐ

'se pican el epazote, la cebolla y el jitomate y se echan en el agua.'

'the epazote, onion and tomato are chopped [and put] into it.'

## CalPes:8.1

Ora ma'            gu'gui                = huiini'            ca sti                = ni ca,  
 ora ma'            gu'gui                huiini'            ca = sti                = ni = ca  
 when already PFV:be.cooked small PL= possession =3.INAN =DEM.MD  
 òrà mǎ'            rà'guì'                #huiini' (G.26) cà stí                nǐ cǎ

'Cuando ya están cocidos un poco,'

'After those ingredients have cooked a bit,'

## CalPes:8.2

guiaba            benda que            lu            = ni  
 gui-iaba            benda = que            lu            = ni  
 FUT.A-fall fish =DEM.N.V face/SUPE =3.INAN  
 riàbà            bèndà quě            lù            nǐ

'se agrega el pescado (al caldo)'

'the fish is added to it [the broth],'

## CalPes:8.3

ne            guiaba            zidi.  
 ne            gui-iaba            zidi  
 with/and FUT.A-fall salt  
 ně            riàbà            zidì

'y se agrega la sal.'

'and the salt is added.'

## CalPes:9

Gágui                = ni            bia'                quince minutu.  
 g-agui                = ni            bia'                minutu  
 FUT.A-be.cooked =3.INAN approximately fifteen minute  
 ràguì'                nǐ            bià'                #minutu

'Debe cocerse como quince minutos.'

'It is cooked about fifteen minutes.'

## CalPes:10.1

Guidaa                      ni              bladu',  
 gui-daa                    =ni        bladu'  
 FUT.A-be.extended =3.INAN dish  
 rìdàa                      nĩ              blàdú'

'Se sirve en platos hondos,'  
 'It is served in bowls,'

## CalPes:10.2

ne            cada    tobi    zanda                      guxhii                      Ø        caadxi    limón  
 ne                      tobi    z-anda                    g-uxhii                    =Ø      caadxi  
 with/and each one FUT.B-be.possible FUT.A-CAUS:be.squeezed =3    little.bit lemon  
 ně                      tòbì    ràndă                      rùxhii                    #Ø      càadxĩ

'y cada uno puede agregar algo de limón'  
 'and each one (person) can squeeze in some lemon'

## CalPes:10.3

ne            cu'                      Ø        guiiñã    lu                      =ni  
 ne                      cu'                      =Ø      guiiñã    lu                      =ni  
 with/and FUT.A.put.in =3    chili    face/SUPE =3.INAN  
 ně                      rìgùu                    #Ø      guiiñà'    lù                      nĩ

'y chile'  
 'and [can] put chili into it,'

## CalPes:10.4

pa    racala'dxi'                      Ø.  
 pa    r-acala'dxi'                    =Ø  
 if IMPF-want(happen:liver) =3  
 pǎ    ràcà là'dxi'                    #Ø

'si uno quiere.'  
 'if s/he wishes.'

## Appendix B: Interlinear text: Three brothers

So far as I know, this text was published first in ILV (1951:4), and later, revised considerably in wording and in orthographic conventions, now following the standardized conventions, with interlinear glosses in Pickett et al. (2001:111-115). No further attribution of authorship or explanation of how the text came to be appears in either of those sources. The text here is the version in Pickett et al. (2001). It describes how two brothers, supposing themselves to be more intelligent than their third brother, intended to trick him so that they could eat a chicken without giving him a share. As it turns out, he is the one who wins.

The text as it appears in Pickett et al. (2001) is given here:

---

*Sicarí' bizaacalú chonna ba'dunguiiu. Biaana stubi guionna' bí'chica'. Guti jñaaca'. Chupa que la? nuu xpiaani', ne stobi que nápacabe laa de guidxa.*  
*Ti dxi bichuunicabe ti bere. Biyubi guiroa' ni nuu xpiaani' que niguite laabe ti qué ñobe bere.*  
*Naca' rábica' laabe: —Sicarí' gíninu: tu guiní'xcaanda jma galán la? ngue go bere. Ora guirá' gueela' cada tobi guiní' xi guiní'xcaanda' ti guihuinni tu jma galán guiní'xcaanda'—.*  
*—Bueno— na guidxa.*  
*Gúsicabe. Bia' galaa gueela' biasa guidxa canayubi paraa bicaachi' xhupa que sartén bere que. Bidxélabé ni, guribe lu gueela', gudobe guirá' bere que. Birá si gueela' bibani ca bí'chibe que. Para bicuaanica' laabe, canabadiidxaca' tu guiní'xcaanda' ti bacaanda' jma sicarú ngue go bere.*  
*Biree lugola que, na: —Guniéxcaanda' nuu' ra nuu Diuxi—.*  
*Stobi que na: —Guniéxcaanda' zubaniá' laabe ndaani' ti jardín—.*  
*Óraque gunabadiidxacabe guidxa xi guiní'xcaanda'.*  
*Para na: —Cumú bíiya' laatu nuunetu Diuxi la? biasa' gudahuaxhié' bere que—.*  
*—Racá gudxi'tu' laadu— na caní nuu xpiaani'.*

---

Some notes on particular parts of this text:

1. I assume that the noun phrase in [TreHer:1] is the subject, but this is not clear.
2. The third word of [TreHer:4.1] is written *la?* as the orthographic conventions described in Pickett et al. (2001:106-109) indicate. It appears without the question mark in Pickett et al. (2013).
3. The expression for 'X is intelligent' in [TreHer:4.1] is literally 'X's light exists'.
4. Two words for 'three' appear in this text: the basic word, *chonna*, as in [TreHer:1], and a derived word, *guionna'*, as in [TreHer:2]. The latter, based on the same root as the other, is explained in Pickett et al. (2001:44) as giving the sense of definiteness. It is glossed here as 'DEF:three'. An analogous form based on the root for 'two' is found in [TreHer:6.1].

Three brothers: *Chonna bi'chi*<sup>27</sup>

## TreHer:1

*Sicari'*      *bizaacalú*      *chonna* *ba'dunguiiu.*  
*sica = ri'*      *bi-zaaca-lu*      *chonna* *ba'dunguiiu*  
 like =DEM.PX      PFV-happen-face/SUPE      three      young.man(child:man)  
*sicà rĩ'*      *rìzàacà lú*      *chònnă* *bà'dù nguìiu*

*'Esto fue lo que aconteció a tres jóvenes.'*

*'It happened this way to three young men.'*

## TreHer:2

*Biaana*      *stubi*      *guionna'*      *bi'chi*      *=ca'.*  
*b-iaana*      *stubi*      *guionna'*      *bi'chi*      *=ca'*  
 PFV-remain alone      DEF:three brother      =DEM.MD  
*riàană*      *stùbĩ*      *guiònnă'*      *bi'chì*      *#ca'*

*'Los tres hermanos se quedaron solos.'*

*'The three brothers had been left alone [orphaned].'*

## TreHer:3

*Guti*      *jñaa*      *=ca'*      *Ø.*  
*guti*      *jñaa*      *ca'=*      *=Ø*  
 PFV:die mother      PL=      =3  
*ràtì*      *jñăa*      *cà*      *#Ø*

*'Murió su madre.'*

*'Their mother had died.'*

## TreHer:4.1

*Chupa*      *que*      *la?*      *nuu*      *xpiaani'*      *Ø,*  
*chupa*      *=que*      *la*      *nuu*      *xpiaani'*      *=Ø*  
 two      =DEM.N.V      LA      STAT.located/exist      POS:light      =3  
*chùpă*      *quě*      *lá*      *nñu*      *xpiàani'*      *#Ø*

*'Dos de ellos eran inteligentes.'*

*'Two of them were intelligent.'*

## TreHer:4.2

*ne*      *stobi*      *que*      *nápa*      *=ca*      *=be*      *laa*      *Ø*      *de*      *guidxa.*  
*ne*      *stobi*      *=que*      *n-apa*      *ca=*      *=be*      *laa*      *=Ø*      *de*      *guidxa*  
 with/and other      =DEM.N.V      STAT-have      PL=      =3.HUM      HOST      =3      ??      stupid  
*ně*      *stóbì*      *quě*      *nâpă*      *cà*      *bě*      *lâa*      *#Ø*      *#de*      *guĩdxà*

*'y ellos consideraban que el otro era tonto.'*

*'and the other, they considered stupid.'*

## TreHer:5

*Ti*      *dxi*      *bichuuni*      *=ca*      *=be*      *ti*      *bere.*  
*ti*      *dxi*      *b-ichuuni*      *ca=*      *=be*      *ti*      *bere*  
 INDF day      PFV-CAUS:be.fried      PL=      =3.HUM      INDF chicken  
*tì*      *dxì*      *rùchùunì'*      *cà*      *bě*      *tì*      *bèrè*

*'Un día frieron un pollo.'*

*'One day, they fried a chicken.'*

<sup>27</sup>The title of this text in Pickett et al. (2001) is *Chonna bi'chi* ('three brother') while it is given as *Guionna bi'chi* ('DEF.three brother') in ILV (1951).





## TreHer:10.2

*cada tobi guiní'*     $\emptyset$     *xi*    *guní'xcaanda'*     $\emptyset$   
*tobi gui-ni'*    =  $\emptyset$     *xi*    *gu-ni'xcaanda'*    =  $\emptyset$   
 each one FUT.A-talk =3 that.which PFV-dream(talk:dream) =3  
*tòbì rìnì'*    # $\emptyset$     *xĩ*    *rìnì' xcàandà'*    # $\emptyset$

'cada uno contará lo que soñó'

'each one [of us] will tell what he has dreamed about.'

## TreHer:10.3

*ti guihuinni tu jmagalán guiní'xcaanda'.*  
*ti gui-huinni tu jma gui-ni'xcaanda'*  
 so.that FUT.A-appear who more FUT.A-dream(talk:dream)  
*tí rìhuinnì tò jmá rìnì' xcàandà'*

'para que podamos ver quién tiene el mejor sueño.''

'so that it is evident who has had the most beautiful dream.''

## TreHer:11

«Bueno,»

good

««Bien»'

««Agreed,»'

## TreHer:12

*na guidxa.*  
*na guidxa*  
 STAT.say stupid  
*nà guĩdxà*  
 'contestó el tonto.'  
 'said the stupid one.'

## TreHer:13

*Gúsi = ca = be.*  
*gusi ca = = be*  
 PFV:sleep PL= =3.HUM  
*ràsì cà bẽ*  
 'Se durmieron.'  
 'They went to sleep.'

## TreHer:14.1

*Bia' galaa gueela' biasa guidxa*  
*bia' galaa gueela' b-iasa guidxa*  
 approximately half night PFV-get.up stupid  
*bià' gálàa guèelà' riàsà guĩdxà*  
 'Como a media noche el tonto se levantó,'  
 'About midnight, the stupid one got up,'

## TreHer:14.2

*canayubi paraa bicaachi' xhupa que sartén bere que.*  
*cana-yubi paraa b-icaachi' xhupa = que bere = que*  
 AMB.PROG-look.for where PFV-CAUS:be.hidden other:two =DEM.DT frying.pan chicken =DEM.DT  
*rùyùbĩ pàráa rùcàachì' #xhupa quẽ bèrè quẽ*  
 'andaba buscando por dónde los otros dos habían escondido la sartén con el pollo.'  
 'he went around looking for where the other two had hidden the frying pan with the chicken.'

## TreHer:15.1

*Bidxèla* =be ni,  
*bi-dxela* =be =ni  
 PFV-find =3.HUM =3.INAN  
*rìdxèlà* bě nĩ  
 'La encontró'  
 'He found it,'

## TreHer:15.2

*guri* =be lu gueela',  
*gu-ri* =be lu gueela'  
 PFV-PFV\sit.down =3.HUM face/SUPE night  
*rìbì* bě lù guèelà'  
 'se sentó en la noche,'  
 'he sat down in the darkness,'

## TreHer:15.3

*gudo* =be guirá' bere que.  
*gu-do* =be guí-ra' bere =que  
 PFV-PFV\eat =3.HUM FUT.A-be.finished chicken =DEM.N.V  
*rò* bě rìrà bèrè quě  
 'y se comió todo el pollo.'  
 '[and] he ate the whole chicken.'

## TreHer:16.1

*Birá* si gueela'  
*bi-ra* si gueela'  
 PFV-be.finished only night  
*rìrà* #si guèelà'  
 'Tan pronto como amaneció'  
 'As soon as the night was over,'

## TreHer:16.2

*bibani* ca bí'chi =be que.  
*bi-bani* ca= bí'chi =be =que  
 PFV-wake.up.INTR PL= brother =3.HUM =DEM.N.V  
*rìbàni* cà bí'chì' bě quě  
 'sus hermanos despertaron.'  
 'his brothers woke up.'

## TreHer:17.1

*Para bicuaani* =ca' Ø laa =be,  
*para b-icuaani* ca'= =Ø laa =be  
 then PFV-CAUS:wake.up.INTR PL= =3 HOST =3.HUM  
*pàrà rùcuàani'* cà #Ø làa bě  
 'Entonces lo despertaron,'  
 'Then they woke him up,'

## TreHer:17.2

*canabadiidxa* =ca' Ø tu guní'xcaanda' ti bacaanda' jma sicarú  
*ca-nabadiidxa'* ca'= =Ø tu gu-ni'xcaanda' ti bacaanda' jma sicarú  
 PROG-ask(say:word) PL= =3 who PFV-dream(talk:dream) INDF dream more beautiful  
*rìnàbã diidxà'* cà #Ø tù rìnì' xcàandà' tì bàcàandà' jma sìcàrũ  
 'y preguntaron quién había tenido el sueño más bonito'  
 '[and] they asked who had the most beautiful dream,'

## TreHer:17.3

*ngue*            *go*             $\emptyset$     *bere.*  
*ngue*            *g-o*            =  $\emptyset$     *bere*  
 PRON.DEM.N.V    FUT.A-eat    =3    chicken  
*nguě*            *rò*            # $\emptyset$     *bèrè*  
 'porque ese se comerá el pollo.'  
 '[because] that one would eat the chicken.'

## TreHer:18.1

*Biree*            *lugola*            *que,*  
*bi-ree*            *lugola*            = *que*  
 PFV-go.out/begin    oldest.child    =DEM.N.V  
*rìrèè*            *lùgôlà*            *quě*  
 'El mayor empezó.'  
 'The oldest began,'

## TreHer:18.2

*na*             $\emptyset$ :  
*na*            =  $\emptyset$   
 STAT.say    =3  
*nà*            # $\emptyset$   
 'diciendo.'  
 'he said:'

## TreHer:19

*«Guniéxcaanda'*            *nuaa'*            *ra*    *nuu*            *Diuxi.»*  
*gu-niexcaanda'*            *nuaa'*            *ra* = *nuu*            *Diuxi*  
 PFV-dream(talk:dream):1SG    STAT.located/exist:1SG    LOC=    STAT.located/exist    God  
*rìnì' xcàandà'*            *nũu*            *rà*    *nũu*            *Diúxi*  
 '«Yo soñé que estaba sentado donde está Dios.»'  
 '«I dreamed that I was in the place where God is.»'

## TreHer:20

*Stobi que na*             $\emptyset$ :  
*stobi = que na*            =  $\emptyset$   
 other    =DEM.DT    STAT.say    =3  
*stóbì quě nà*            # $\emptyset$   
 'El otro dijo.'  
 'The other (second) one said:'

## TreHer:21

*«Guniéxcaanda'*            *zubani*            = *á'*    *laa*    = *be*    *ndaani'*    *ti*    *jardín.»*  
*gu-niexcaanda'*            *zubani*            = *a'*    *laa*    = *be*    *ndaani'*    *ti*  
 PFV-dream(talk:dream):1SG    STAT.seated:with    =1SG    HOST    =3.HUM    belly/inside    INDF    garden  
*rìnì' xcàandà'*            #*zubane*            #*a'*    *làa*    *bě*    *ndàani'*    *tì*  
 '«Yo soñé que estaba sentado con él en un jardín.»'  
 '«I dreamed that I was seated with him [God] in a garden.»'

## TreHer:22

*Óraque*            *gunabadiidxa*            = *ca*    = *be*            *guidxa xi*            *guni'xcaanda'*             $\emptyset$ .  
*oraque*            *gu-nabadiidxa*            *ca* =    = *be*            *guidxa xi*            *gu-ni'xcaanda'*            =  $\emptyset$   
 when/then    PFV-ask(say:word)    PL=    =3.HUM    stupid    that.which    PFV-dream(talk:dream)    =3  
*ôràquě*            *rìnàbă dīidxà'*            *cà*    *bě*            *guĩdxà xĩ*            *rìnì' xcàandà'*            # $\emptyset$   
 'Entonces le preguntaron al tonto qué soñó.'  
 'Then they asked the stupid one what he had dreamed.'

## TreHer:23

Para na Ø:  
 para na = Ø  
 then STAT.say =3  
 pàrà nà #Ø  
 'Entonces dijo.'  
 'Then he said.'

## TreHer:24.1

«Cumú biiya' laa =tu nuune =tu Diuxi la?  
 cumú b-iíya' laa =tu nuune =tu Diuxi la  
 since PFV-see:1SG HOST =2PL STAT.located/exist:with =2PL God LA  
 #cumú rùuyà' làa tũ #nuune tũ Diúxi lá?  
 '«Como vi que ustedes estaban con Dios, '  
 '«Since I saw that you were with God,'

## TreHer:24.2

biasa'  
 b-iasa'  
 PFV-get.up:1SG  
 riàsà  
 'me levanté'  
 'I got up,'

## TreHer:24.3

gudahuaxhié' bere que.»  
 gu-dahuaxhié' bere =que  
 PFV-?:1SG chicken =DEM.DT  
 #??? bèrè quě  
 'y me comí el pollo.»  
 '[and] I ate the chicken.»'

## TreHer:25

«Racá gudxi't =u' laa =du.»  
 r-aca gu-dxi't =u' laa =du  
 IMPF-happen PFV-PFV\play/deceive =2SG HOST =1PL.EXCL  
 ràcà riguitè lu' làadũ dũ  
 '«Pues, nos engañaste.»'  
 '«You have tricked us,»'

## TreHer:26

na ca = ni nuu xpiaani' Ø.  
 na ca = ni = nuu xpiaani' = Ø  
 STAT.say PL= REL= STAT.located/exist POSS:light =3  
 nà cà nĩ nũu xpiaani' #Ø  
 'dijeron los inteligentes.'  
 'said the intelligent ones.'

## Appendix C: Interlinear text: Two thieves

This text is one of four short stories written by María Villalobos Villalobos<sup>28</sup> and published in Villalobos Villalobos (1983/1976:1-2). A recording by the author, presumably a reading of it, was archived and is available at <http://www.mexico.sil.org/resources/archives/76308>; this story is simply labeled STORY1.WAV in that place. This text figured prominently in the discussion of the zero pronoun in Marlett & Pickett (2002/1996), a topic that continues to be of interest.<sup>29</sup>

In this fable, a fox joins a skunk in looking for something to eat. Since they are looking for food from illegitimate places, they split up for the day. Each has a bad experience in his efforts, although later each brags to the other about his success.

The text as it appears in Villalobos Villalobos (1983/1976) is given here:

---

*Sicarí bizaaca lú ti be'te huiini'. Casi bidxí layú biree ziyubi ni go. Nécati biree me ralidxi me bidxaaga me ti mistu gui'xhi', na rabi laame:*

*—Paraa cheu', be'te bichi.*

*—Chi yube xiixa guiaba jlaagua' —na me.*

*—Zanda chi neu naa la? —na mistu gui'xhi rabi laame.*

*—Zanda pue —na me.*

*Para biree iropa came ze came, ziyu' came diidxa'. Na mistu gui'xhi rabi laame:*

*—Xi jma culul'la'dxu go lo yana gueela'.*

*De guluuñe huiini me ique me, na me:*

*—Neca bia' chonna si xandié ne chupa chonna zee. Laga lii ya' —rabi me mistu gui'xhi'.*

*—Laca cadí stale —na— neca chupa chonna si bere.*

*Zaqué ziyu' came diidxa dede yendá came ra nuu ti ranchu. Para na mistu gui'xhi rabi laame:*

*—Rarí indaa saa nu, bichi. Idu'ya nu tu jma guiaba ni laa, ne laca rarí idxaaga nu para chibi' nu, bichi.*

*Biree came ze came. Mistu gui'xhi ze luguíá bere. Laame ze me luguíá xandié ne zee. Chaahui chaahui gudxi'ba mistu gui'xhi lu ti yaga ra dxi'ba jma bere. Nécati zidxiña ti binni bi'ni ca bere que ruidu. Biree xpixuaana yoo que bichenda ti paliza xa diaga, ziyaba rilú biete tí zi uxooñe'.*

*Dxa be'te laca chicué' chicué' ziyuu xa'na ti le'. Yácati chindá me ra nuu xandié biaaxha ti bi'cu bichá ruaa ñee me, peru gunda biree yaande me ze me. Chiita chiita yendá me ra nuu mistu gui'xhi'. Para na mistu gui'xhi rabi laame:*

*—Biaba ni lii la? bichi.*

*—Biaba —name— cadí cayuuyu la? Dede ma qué ganda saya' tantu dxá ndaane'. Laga lii ya' —rabi me laa.*

*—Laaca —na— dede ndaani ique dxá ni —na rulul' ná ique ra unaaze palu que, dxá gui.*

*Zacá biziidi iropa came cadí chi ndana came sti binni.*

---

Some notes on particular parts of this text:

1. I assume that the noun phrase in [SkuFox:1] is the subject, but this is not clear.
2. I do not understand [SkuFox:2.1] well.
3. Although the free translation in Spanish uses a relative clause to present the information in [SkuFox:3.3], a relative clause is not used in Zapotec.

<sup>28</sup>See the introduction to Appendix A for more information about this author.

<sup>29</sup>I thank Lydia Good for her part in helping to begin the process of glossing this collection of texts in FLEEx.

4. The word for ‘friend’ in [SkuFox:4] was translated as *hermano* in the Spanish free translation. The two words are very similar, and, in fact, the word for ‘friend’ may historically derive from the word for ‘brother’. They differ in laryngeal features, according to the entries in Pickett et al. (2013).
5. I do not understand [SkuFox:44] well.
6. The subordinator in [SkuFox:28.5] introduces reason clauses and purpose clauses. A more suitable gloss than the one given would be preferred.
7. There are several places in this text where some facts are still not clear to me or where the morphemes are not identified, including [SkuFox:38].

### The story of two thieves: *Stiidxa chupa gubaana*<sup>30</sup>

#### SkuFox:1

*Sicarí            bizaaca lú            ti    be'te    huiini'.*  
*sica =rí        bi-zaaca-lu            ti    be'te    huiini'*  
 like =DEM.PX   PFV-happen.to-face/SUPE   INDF   skunk   small  
*sicà rĩ'        rìzàacá lú            tì    bè'tè'    #huiini' (G.26)*

‘- (Not translated in the Spanish version.)’

‘It happened like this to a small skunk.’

#### SkuFox:2.1

*Casi            bidxí            layú*  
*casi            bi-dxí            layú*  
 as.soon.as   PFV-be.daytime   land  
*càsì            rìdxĩ'            làyù*

‘Una tarde en que ya estaba oscureciendo,’

‘Late one afternoon’

#### SkuFox:2.2

*biree    Ø    ziyubi            Ø    ni    go    Ø.*  
*bi-ree    =Ø    z-i-yubi            =Ø    =ni    g-o    =Ø*  
 PFV-exit   =3   PROG.MOT-ANDTV-look.for   =3   =3.INAN   FUT.A-eat   =3  
*rìrèe    #Ø    rùyùbĩ            #Ø    nĩ    rò    #Ø*

‘un zorrillito salió a buscar algo para comer.’

‘he went out looking for something that he would eat.’

#### SkuFox:3.1

*Nécati    biree    me    ra =    lidxi    me*  
*nécati    bi-ree    =me    ra =    lidxi    =me*  
 hardly   PFV-exit   =3.ANML   LOC=   home   =3.ANML  
*#necati   rìrèe    mě    rà    lĩdxì    mě*

‘Apenas había salido de su casa’

‘He had barely left his house’

<sup>30</sup>The title given in Villalobos Villalobos (1983/1976) was *Stiidxa chupa gubaana* (story two thieves). The word *stiidxa* is a derived, obligatorily possessed form based on *diidxa* ‘word’ Pickett et al. (2001:33). On the derivation of such nouns in Zapotec, see Martínez & Marlett (2010).

## SkuFox:3.2

*bidxaaga me ti mistu gui'xhi'*  
*bi-dxaaga =me ti mistu gui'xhi'*  
 PFV-meet =3.ANML INDF fox(cat.wilderness)  
*riðxàagă mẽ tì mîstú guì'xhì'*  
 'cuando se encontró con un zorro,'  
 '[when] he came across a fox;'

## SkuFox:3.3

*na Ø rabi Ø laa =me:*  
*na =Ø r-abi =Ø laa =me*  
 STAT.say =3 IMPF-say.to =3 HOST =3.ANML  
*nà #Ø ràbì #Ø làa mẽ*  
 'que le dijo.'  
 'he [the fox] said, he said to him [the skunk].'

## SkuFox:4

*«Paraa che =u', be'te bichi.»*  
*paraa che =u' be'te bichi*  
 where PROG.MOT.go =2SG skunk friend  
*pàráa riè lu' bè'tè' bíchì*  
 '«¿A dónde vas, hermano zorrillo?»'  
 '«Where are you going, friend skunk?»'

## SkuFox:5

*«Chi yube xiixa guiaba jlaagu =a'»*  
*chi-yube xiixa gu-iaba jlaagu =a'*  
 FUT.A.ANDTV-look.for:1SG something FUT.A-fall gullet<sup>31</sup> =1SG  
*riyùbĩ xĩxă riàbà jlàagù' #a'*  
 '«Voy a buscar algo para llenarme la panza»'  
 '«I am going looking for a bite to eat (something that will fall in my gullet),»'

## SkuFox:6

*na me.*  
*na =me*  
 STAT.say =3.ANML  
*nà mẽ*  
 'dijo el zorrillo.'  
 'he [the skunk] said.'

## SkuFox:7

*«Zanda chi ne =u naa la?»*  
*z-anda ch-ine =u naa la*  
 FUT.B-be.possible FUT.A-take(go:with) =2SG PRON.1SG LA  
*ràndă rîně lu' nàa lá*  
 '«¿Me llevas?»'  
 '«Could you take me along?»'

## SkuFox:8

*na mistu gui'xhi rabi Ø laa =me.*  
*na mistu gui'xhi r-abi =Ø laa =me*  
 STAT.say fox(cat.wilderness) IMPF-say.to =3 HOST =3.ANML  
*nà mîstú guì'xhì' ràbì #Ø làa mẽ*  
 'preguntó el otro.'  
 'said the fox, he said to him [the skunk].'

<sup>31</sup>The word glossed 'gullet' here is given as *buche de ave* 'bird crop' in Pickett et al. (2013).

## SkuFox:9

«Zanda pue»  
 z-anda pue  
 FUT.B-be.possible of.course  
 rãdã #pue  
 «¡Claro!»  
 «That's possible, of course»

## SkuFox:10

na me.  
 na =me  
 STAT.say =3.ANML  
 nã mẽ  
 'contestó el zorillo.'  
 'he [the skunk] said.'

## SkuFox:11.1

Para biree iropa ca =me  
 para bi-ree iropa ca = =me  
 then PFV-exit DEF.TWO PL= =3.ANML  
 pãrà rirèe (gu)ròpá' cã mẽ  
 'Se fueron los dos,'  
 'Then the two of them went,'

## SkuFox:11.2

ze ca =me,  
 z-ie ca = =me  
 PROG.MOT-go PL= =3.ANML  
 riè cã mẽ  
 'caminando juntos por el camino'  
 'they went,'

## SkuFox:11.3

ziyui' ca =me diidxa'.  
 z-iy-ui' ca = =me diidxa'  
 PROG.MOT-ANDTV-??? PL= =3.ANML word  
 ruì' diidxà' cã mẽ diidxà'  
 '.'  
 'they were talking.'

## SkuFox:12

Na mistu gui'xhi rabi Ø laa =me:  
 na mistu gui'xhi r-abi =Ø laa =me  
 STAT.say fox(cat.wilderness) IMPF-say.to =3 HOST =3.ANML  
 nã mìstú guì'xhì' ràbì #Ø làa mẽ  
 'Al rato, el zorro le preguntó.'  
 'The fox said, he said to him [the skunk].'

## SkuFox:13

«Xi jma cului'la'dx =u go lo<sup>32</sup> yana gueela'.»  
 xi jma c-ului'la'dx =u g-o lo yana gueela'  
 ?? more PROG-be.inclined.to.believe/desire(show:heart) =2SG FUT.A-eat =2SG now night  
 xĩ jma' rùlui' là'dxì' lu' rò lu' yànnà guèlà'  
 '«¿Qué se te antoja para cenar esta noche?»'  
 'What are you wanting to eat tonight?'

<sup>32</sup>Pickett et al. (2013:116) indicates that *lo'* is an occasional allomorph of the second person singular enclitic. I assume that the form *lo* here is simply another allomorph.



## SkuFox:14.1

De guluuñe huiini me ique me,  
 de gu-luuñe huiini = me ique = me  
 ??? PFV-PFV\scratch small =3.ANML head =3.ANML  
 dè rìguuñe #huiini' (G.26) mě ìquè mě

'El zorrillo se rascó un poco la cabeza,'

'He [the skunk] scratched his head a bit,'

## SkuFox:14.2

na me:  
 na = me  
 STAT.say =3.ANML  
 nà mě

'y contestó.'

'[and] he said.'

## SkuFox:15

«Neca bia' chonna si xandié ne chupa chonna zee.  
 neca bia' chonna si xandié ne chupa chonna zee  
 although approximately three only watermelon with/and two three ear.of.fresh.corn  
 něčā biā' chònnā #si xāndiē ně chùpā chònnā zèe

'«Me conformaría con dos o tres sandiítas y dos o tres elotitos.'

'«Just a few watermelons and a few ears of corn [would be good for me].'

## SkuFox:16

Laga lii ya'»  
 laga lii ya'  
 ??? PRON.2SG QUES  
 làgǎ lii ya' (G.117)

'Y ¿a ti, qué se te anoja?' '

'How about you?'

## SkuFox:17

rabi me mistu gui'xhi'.  
 r-abi = me mistu gui'xhi'  
 IMPF-say.to =3.ANML fox(cat.wilderness)  
 ràbì mě mìstú guì'xhì'

'dijo el zorrillito.'

'he [the skunk] said to the fox.'

## SkuFox:18

«Laca cadi stale»

laca cadi stale

also not much

làacǎ cǎdì stàlě

'«Pues, yo tampoco pido mucho,»'

'«Not much,»'

## SkuFox:19.1

na Ø  
 na = Ø  
 STAT.say =3  
 nà #Ø

'\_ '

'he [the fox] said,'

## SkuFox:19.2

neca chupa chonna si bere.  
 neca chupa chonna si bere  
 although two three only chicken  
 nēcă chùpă chònnă #si bèrè

‘«Sólo dos o tres gallinitas.»’

‘«Just a few chickens.»’

## SkuFox:20.1

Zaqué ziyuí' ca = me diidxa  
 zaqué z-iy-uí' ca = = me diidxa'  
 así PROG.MOT-ANDTV-??? PL= =3.ANML word  
 zaqué ruì' diidxà' cà mě diidxà'

‘Y así se fueron platicando.’

‘They continued along talking’

## SkuFox:20.2

dede yendá ca = me ra nuu ti ranchu.  
 dede yendá ca = = me ra = nuu ti ranchu  
 until arrive.at PL= =3.ANML LOC= STAT.located/exist INDF ranch  
 dèdè rìndă cà mě rà nũu tì ràrchù

‘hasta que llegaron a un rancho.’

‘until they came to where there was a ranch.’

## SkuFox:21.1

Para na mistu gui'xhi  
 para na mistu gui'xhi  
 then STAT.say fox(cat.wilderness)  
 pàrà nà mìstú gui'xhì'

‘Allí el zorro dijo.’

‘Then the fox said,’

## SkuFox:21.2

rabi Ø laa = me.  
 r-abi = Ø laa = me  
 IMPF-say.to =3 HOST =3.ANML  
 ràbì #Ø làa mě

‘.’

‘he said to him.’

## SkuFox:22

«Rarí indaa saa nu, bichi.  
 rarí i-ndaa-saa = nu bichi  
 here FUT.A-CAUS:separate-RCP =1PL.INCL friend  
 rarí' rìndă sáa nũ bíchì

‘«Aquí agarramos diferentes caminos, mi amigo.’

‘«Here we will split up, friend.’

## SkuFox:23.1

Idu'ya nu tu jma guiaba ni laa Ø,  
 i-du'ya = nu tu jma gu-iaba = ni laa = Ø  
 FUT.A-PFV\see =1PL.INCL who more FUT.A-fall =3.INAN HOST =3  
 rùuyà' nũ tũ jmá riàbà nĩ làa #Ø

‘Vamos a ver quién de los dos tiene más suerte.’

‘We will see who of us has more luck,’

## SkuFox:23.2

ne laca rarí idxaaga nu  
 ne laca rarí i-dxaaga =nu  
 with/and also here FUT.A-meet =1PL.INCL  
 ně làacă rarí' rìdxàagă nŭ  
 'Al terminar, nos reuniremos aquí mismo'  
 'and we will meet here'

## SkuFox:23.3

para chibí' nu, bichi.»  
 para chi-bi' =nu bichi  
 then FUT.A.ANDTV-go.home =1PL.INCL friend  
 pàrà rìbí' nŭ bíchì  
 'para imos a casa.」'  
 'to go home, friend.」'

## SkuFox:24.1

Bíree ca =me  
 bi-ree ca =me  
 PFV-exit PL= =3.ANML  
 rìrèe cà mě  
 'Los dos se separaron.'  
 'They left.'

## SkuFox:24.2

ze ca =me.  
 z-ie ca =me  
 PROG.MOT-go PL= =3.ANML  
 riè cà mě  
 '.'  
 'they went.'

## SkuFox:25.1

Mistu gui'xhi ze Ø luguíá bere.  
 mistu gui'xhi z-ie =Ø luguíá bere  
 fox(cat.wilderness) PROG.MOT-go =3 on/about chicken  
 mìstú guì'xhì' riè #Ø lùguiă' bèrè  
 'El zorro se fue pensando en caerle encima a una gallina.'  
 'The fox went [thinking] about a chicken;'

## SkuFox:25.2

Laa =me ze me luguíá xandié ne zee.  
 laa =me z-ie =me luguíá xandié ne zee  
 HOST =3.ANML PROG.MOT-go =3.ANML on/about watermelon with/and ear.of.fresh.corn  
 làa mě riè mě lùguiă' xàndiè ně zèè  
 'El zorrillo iba buscando sandías y elotes.'  
 'He [the skunk] went [thinking] about watermelons and ears of corn.'

## SkuFox:26

*Chaahui chaahui gudxi'ba mistu gui'xhi lu ti yaga ra dxi'ba jma*  
*chaahui chaahui gu-dxi'ba mistu gui'xhi lu ti yaga ra = dxi'ba jma*  
 slowly slowly PFV-PFV\go.up fox(cat.wilderness) face/SUPE INDF tree LOC= gone.up more  
*chàahui' chàahui' rìguì'bà' mìstú gui'xhì' lù tì yàgà rà dxi'bà' jma*  
*bere.*  
*bere*  
 chicken  
*bèrè*

'Muy calladito se subió el zorro a un árbol donde muchas gallinas dormían,'

'Very slowly [quietly] the fox climbed a tree in which many chickens were sleeping.'

## SkuFox:27.1

*Nécati zidxiña ti binni*  
*nécati z-i-dxiña ti binni*  
 hardly PROG.MOT-ANDTV-approach INDF person<sup>33</sup>  
*#necati rìdxiñà tì binnĩ*

'y casi las agarraba,'

'He was approaching one,'

## SkuFox:27.2

*bi'ni ca bere que ruidu.*  
*b-i'ni ca = bere = que ruidu*  
 PFV-??? PL= chicken =DEM.N.V noise  
*rùnì ??? cà bèrè quě #ruidu*

'cuando comenzaron a hacer un gran alboroto.'

'[when] the chickens began to make noise.'

## SkuFox:28.1

*Biree xpixuaana yoo que*  
*bi-ree xpixuaana yoo = que*  
 PFV-exit owner house =DEM.N.V  
*rìrèè xpìxuàanà' yòò quě*

'El dueño vino corriendo,'

'The owner of the house came out,'

## SkuFox:28.2

*bichenda Ø ti paliza xa diaga Ø,*  
*bi-chenda = Ø ti xa diaga #Ø*  
 PFV-wrap =3 INDF beating under ear =3  
*rùchènda tì #Ø #xa (G.84) diàgà #Ø*

'y le dio una tremenda paliza al zorro y le atizó muy fuerte en la cabeza,'

'[and] he gave him a blow under his ear,'

## SkuFox:28.3

*ziyaba Ø rilú Ø*  
*z-iy-aba = Ø ri-lu = Ø*  
 PROG.MOT-ANDTV-fall =3 IMPF-??? =3  
*riàbà #Ø #rilú #Ø*

'el zorro, todo atarantado,'

'[and] he [the fox] fell down,'

<sup>33</sup> While literally meaning 'person', the word *binni* here is referring to an individual chicken.

## SkuFox:28.4

*biete*  $\emptyset$   
*b-iete* =  $\emptyset$   
 PFV-get.down = 3  
*riètè* # $\emptyset$   
 'saltó del árbol y tambaleándose'  
 '[and] he got down'

## SkuFox:28.5

*tí* *zi uxooñe'*  $\emptyset$ .  
*tí* *z-i-uxooñe'* =  $\emptyset$   
 SBRD PROG.MOT-ANDTV-run = 3  
*tí* *rùxòoñe'* # $\emptyset$   
 'se fue corriendo.'  
 'in order to run off.'

## SkuFox:29

*Dxa* *be'te* *laca* *chicuè'* *chicuè'* *ziyuu*  $\emptyset$ , *xa'na* *ti* *le'*.  
*dxa* *be'te* *laca* *chicue'* *chicue'* *z-iy-uu* =  $\emptyset$ , *xa'na* *ti* *le'*.  
 ??? skunk also furtively PROG.MOT-ANDTV-enter = 3 buttocks/under INDF fence  
*#dxa* *bè'tè'* *làacǎ* *chicuè'* *chicuè'* *riùu* # $\emptyset$ , *xà'nà'* *tì* *le'*  
 'El zorrillo, por su parte, pasó cautelosamente debajo de una cerca.'  
 'The skunk also furtively was going under a fence.'

## SkuFox:30.1

*Yácati* *chindá* *me* *ra* *nuu* *xandié*  
*yácati* *ch-i-nda* = *me* *ra* = *nuu* *xandié*  
 ??? FUT.A-ANDTV-arrive.there = 3.ANML LOC= STAT.be.located/exist watermelon  
*#yácati* *rindǎ* *mě* *rà* *nǐu* *xàndiè*  
 'Casi había llegado a las sandías'  
 'He had almost arrived to where there were watermelons'

## SkuFox:30.2

*biaaxha* *ti* *bi'cu*  
*b-iaaxha* *ti* *bi'cu*  
 PFV-start.up.INTR INDF dog  
*riàaxhǎ* *tì* *bì'cù'*  
 'cuando un perro'  
 '[when] a dog suddenly appeared (?)'

## SkuFox:30.3

*bichá*  $\emptyset$  *ruaa*  $\emptyset$  *ñee* *me*,  
*b-icha* =  $\emptyset$  *ruaa* =  $\emptyset$  *ñee* = *me*  
 PFV-CAUS:full = 3 mouth/edge = 3 leg = 3.ANML  
*rùchà* # $\emptyset$  *ruàa* # $\emptyset$  *ñèe* *mě*  
 'le agarró una pata,'  
 '[and] grabbed his foot in his mouth,'

## SkuFox:30.4

*peru* *gunda* *biree yaande* *me* *ze* *me*.  
*peru* *gunda* *bi-reeyaande* = *me* *z-ie* = *me*  
 but PFV:be.possible PFV-leave.running = 3.ANML PROG.MOT-go = 3.ANML  
*#peru* *ràndǎ* *rìrèe yǎandě* *mě* *riè* *mě*  
 'y apenas se pudo zafar. ¡Patás para qué las quiero! Salí corriendo.'  
 'but it was possible for him to escape.'

## SkuFox:31

Chiita chiita yendá me ra nuu mistu gui'xhi'.  
 chiita chiita yendá =me ra= nuu mistu gui'xhi'  
 ??? ??? PROG =3.ANML LOC= STAT.located/exist fox(cat.wilderness)  
 #chiita #chiita rindă mě rà nũu mĩstú guì'xhì'

'Cojeando llegó a donde estaba el zorro.'

'Limping, he arrived to where the fox was.'

## SkuFox:32

Para na mistu gui'xhi rabi Ø laa =me:  
 para na mistu gui'xhi r-abi =Ø laa =me  
 then STAT.say fox(cat.wilderness) IMPF-say.to =3 HOST =3.ANML  
 pàrà nà mĩstú guì'xhì' ràbì #Ø làa mě

'y éste le preguntó.'

'Then the fox said, he said to him [the skunk].'

## SkuFox:33

«Biaba ni lii la? bichi.»<sup>34</sup>  
 bi-iaba =ni lii la bichi  
 PFV-fall =3.INAN PRON.2SG LA friend  
 riàbà nĩ lii lá bíchì

'«¿Te fue bien, hermanito?»'

'«Did luck come to you, friend?»'

## SkuFox:34

«Biaba»<sup>35</sup>

bi-iaba

PFV-fall

riàbà

'«Uuuyuy, muy bien.»'

'«I had luck.»'

## SkuFox:35

na =me

na =me

STAT.say =3.ANML

nà mě

'contestó el zorrillo.'

'he [the skunk] said.'

## SkuFox:36

«cadi cay-uyy =u la?

cadi cay-uyy =u la

not PROG-see 2SG LA

căđì rùuyà' lu' lá

'«¿Qué no ves?»'

'«Can't you see?»'

## SkuFox:37

Dede ma qué ganda sa =ya' tantu dxá ndaane'.

dede ma qué g-anda sa =ya' tantu dxa ndaane'

until already not FUT.A-be.possible FUT.A\walk =1SG so.much full belly/inside:1SG

dèdè mă' qué ràndă rìzà =a' #tantu dxă ndàani'

'Estoy tan lleno que casi no puedo andar.'

'It is almost to the point where I cannot walk because my belly is so full.'

<sup>34</sup>I do not hear the word *lii* in the recording.

<sup>35</sup>I presume this is shorter version of the expression in [SkuFox:33] since it does not have a pronominal subject.

## SkuFox:38

Laga lii ya'.»  
 laga lii ya'  
 ??? PRON.2SG QUES  
 làgǎ lii ya' (G.117)  
 '¿Y a ti, cómo te fue?'  
 'How did it go for you?'

## SkuFox:39

rabi me laa Ø.  
 r-abi =me laa =Ø  
 IMPF-say.to =3.ANML HOST =3  
 ràbì mě làa #Ø  
 '.'  
 'he said to him [the skunk].'

## SkuFox:40

«Laaca»  
 laaca  
 also  
 làacǎ  
 '«Muy, pero muy bien.»'  
 '«Likewise,»'

## SkuFox:41

na Ø  
 na =Ø  
 STAT.say =3  
 nà #Ø  
 '.'  
 'he [the fox] said'

## SkuFox:42

«dede ndaani ique dxá ni»<sup>36</sup>  
 dede ndaani ique dxa =ni  
 until belly/inside head:1SG full =3.INAN  
 dèdè ndàanì' ìquè dxǎ nǐ  
 '«Estoy tan lleno que tengo comida hasta dentro de la cabeza»'  
 '«[I've eaten so much that] the inside of my head is full,»'

## SkuFox:43

na Ø  
 na =Ø  
 STAT.say =3  
 nà #Ø  
 '.'  
 'he [the fox] said,'

## SkuFox:44

rului' Ø ná ique ra unaaze palu que, dxá gui.  
 r-ului' =Ø ná ique ra = u-naaze palu =que dxa gui  
 impf-show =3 ??? head LOC= PFV-grab stick =DEM.N.V inflamed(full-fire)  
 rùlùi' #Ø #ná ìquè rà rìnàazě #palu quě dxǎguì  
 'y el zorro le mostró los chipotes que le habían salido en la cabeza por la golpiza que le habían dado.'  
 '[and] he showed the bumps on his head where the stick had hit him.'

<sup>36</sup>I do not understand the syntax of this sentence. A fronted NP would not take a coreferent pronoun in the postverbal position.

## SkuFox:45

Zacá	biziidi	iropa	ca	=me	cadi	chi ndana	ca	=me	sti	binni.
zaca	bi-ziidi	iropa	ca =	=me	cadi	chi-ndana	ca =	=me	sti	binni
thus	PFV-learn	DEF.two	PL=	=3.ANML	not	FUT.A.ANDTV-???	PL=	=3.ANML	possession	person
zàcǎ	rìziidi'	(gu)ìròpá'	cà	mě	cǎdi		cà	mě	stí	bìnnĩ

‘Así fue como los dos rateros aprendieron a no tomar lo ajeno.’

‘Thus the two of them learned not to steal other people’s property.’



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