

Citation: MacLaury, R.E. (1970). Ayoquesco Zapotec: Ethnography, Phonology, and Lexicon (Master's Thesis). Retrieved from the Graduate Institute of Applied Linguistics Library. (OAI Identifier oai:gial.edu:24619)

AYOQUESCO ZAPOTEC:  
ETHNOGRAPHY, PHONOLOGY, AND LEXICON

A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate School of  
the University of the Americas  
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements  
for the Degree of  
Master of Arts

by  
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Mexico, D.F., Mexico  
March 1970

The Thesis herewith presented has been read  
by the members of the Graduate Committee of

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and is considered worthy of approval in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Anthropology.

Department of Anthropology

Mexico, D.F., Mexico

March 1970

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.....	vii
INTRODUCTION.....	1
Chapter	
1. Ethnography.....	3
1.1. The Setting.....	3
1.1.1. Terrain.....	3
1.1.2. Village.....	4
1.2. The Language.....	6
1.2.1. Inter-village dialects.....	6
1.2.2. Intra-village dialects.....	6
1.2.3. Bilingualism.....	7
1.2.4. Loans: lexical and cultural.....	8
1.2.5. Language tradition.....	9
1.3. History.....	12
1.4. World View.....	14
1.4.1. Space.....	14
1.4.2. Time.....	15
1.4.3. Color.....	17
1.4.4. The interpersonal world.....	18
1.4.5. The supernatural world.....	19
1.5. Health And Sickness.....	29
1.5.1. Healers.....	29

1.5.2. Medicinal practices.....	30
1.6. Life Cycle.....	38
1.6.1. Pregnancy.....	38
1.6.2. Birth.....	39
1.6.3. Infancy.....	41
1.6.4. Childhood.....	42
1.6.5. Marriage.....	43
1.6.6. Domestic life.....	49
1.6.7. Extended family.....	52
1.6.8. Old age.....	58
1.6.9. Death.....	58
1.7. Dress.....	62
1.8. Diversion.....	63
1.9. Government.....	66
1.10. Livelihood.....	67
1.10.1. The annual cycle.....	67
1.10.2. Soil types.....	69
1.10.3. Land.....	71
1.10.4. Staple.....	71
1.10.5. Distribution of goods.....	74
1.10.6. Weights and measures.....	75
1.10.7. Income and occupations.....	76
1.10.8. Wealth and property.....	78
1.10.9. Cooperative labor.....	80
1.11. Change.....	80
2. Linguistics.....	83
2.1. Segmental Phonemes.....	90

2.1.1. Consonants.....	90
2.1.1.1. Obstruents.....	91
2.1.1.1.1. Stops.....	91
2.1.1.1.2. Fricatives...	98
2.1.1.2. Resonants.....	99
2.1.1.2.1. Nasals.....	99
2.1.1.2.2. Lateral flap.	102
2.1.1.2.3. Apical flap..	102
2.1.1.2.4. Semivowels...	105
2.1.2. Vowels.....	107
2.1.2.1. Simple vowels.....	109
2.1.2.2. Glottalized vowels.....	110
2.1.2.3. Interrupted vowels.....	111
2.2. Suprasegmental Phonemes.....	112
2.2.1. Pitch.....	112
2.2.2. Stress.....	113
2.3. The Syllable.....	114
2.3.1. Syllable patterns.....	114
2.3.2. Syllable-initial margin.....	114
2.3.3. Word-medial consonant clusters...	118
2.3.3.1. <sup>mon</sup> Monosyllabic clusters...	118
2.3.3.2. Bisyllabic clusters.....	119
2.3.3.3. Ambisyllabic clusters...	122
2.3.4. Syllable-final margin.....	128
2.3.5. Consonant and vowel restrictions.	129
2.4. Morphophonemics.....	130
2.4.1. Elision.....	130

2.4.2. Elision with substitution.....	133
2.4.3. Elision with reduction.....	134
2.4.4. Reduction.....	135
2.4.5. Assimilation.....	138
2.4.6. Intercalation.....	139
2.4.7. Metathesis with substitution.....	139
2.4.8. Substitution.....	139
3. Lexicon.....	141
3.1. General Vocabulary.....	141
3.2. Numbers.....	179
3.3. Terms Of Affinity.....	181
3.4. Toponyms.....	185
3.5. Basic Vocabulary.....	189
NOTES.....	197
PLATES.....	208
REFERENCES CITED.....	228

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

### Figures

	Page
Figure 1.....	16
Figure 2.....	57
Figure 3.....	90
Figure 4.....	91
Figure 5.....	107
Figure 6.....	108

### Plates

Plate I.....	208
Plate II.....	208
Plate III.....	208
Plate IV.....	208
Plate V.....	209
Plate VI.....	209
Plate VII.....	209
Plate VIII.....	209
Plate IX.....	210
Plate X.....	210
Plate XI.....	210
Plate XII.....	210
Plate XIII.....	211

Plate XIV.....	211
Plate XV.....	211
Plate XVI.....	211
Plate XVII.....	212
Plate XVIII.....	212
Plate XIX.....	212
Plate XX.....	212
Plate XXI.....	213
Plate XXII.....	213
Plate XXIII.....	213
Plate XXIV.....	213
Plate XXV.....	214
Plate XXVI.....	214
Plate XXVII.....	214
Plate XXVIII.....	214
Plate XXIX.....	215
Plate XXX.....	215
Plate XXXI.....	215
Plate XXXII.....	215
Plate XXXIII.....	216
Plate XXXIV.....	216
Plate XXXV.....	216
Plate XXXVI.....	216
Plate XXXVII.....	217
Plate XXXVIII.....	217
Plate XXXIX.....	217



Plate XL.....	217
Plate XLI.....	218
Plate XLII.....	218
Plate XLIII.....	218
Plate XLIV.....	218
Plate XLV.....	219
Plate XLVI.....	219
Plate XLVII.....	219
Plate XLVIII.....	219
Plate XLIX.....	220
Plate L.....	220
Plate LI.....	220
Plate LII.....	220
Plate LIII.....	221
Plate LIV.....	221
Plate LV.....	221
Plate LVI.....	221
Plate LVII.....	222
Plate LVIII.....	222
Plate LIX.....	222
Plate LX.....	222
Plate LXI.....	223
Plate LXII.....	223
Plate LXIII.....	223
Plate LXIV.....	223
Plate LXV.....	224

Plate LXVI.....	224
Plate LXVII.....	224
Plate LXVIII.....	224
Plate LXIX.....	225
Plate LXX.....	225
Plate LXXI.....	225
Plate LXXII.....	225
Plate LXXIII.....	226
Plate LXXIV.....	226
Plate LXXV.....	226
Plate LXXVI.....	226
Plate LXXVII.....	227
Plate LXXVIII.....	227
Plate LXXIX.....	227
Plate LXXX.....	227

## INTRODUCTION

O. The following is a descriptive field study of some aspects of the language and culture of Ayoquesco de Aldama, a Zapotec village in the Valley of Oaxaca. This description divides into two parts: linguistics and ethnography.

The linguistic sections include studies of lower level phonology and morphophonemics, and a lexicon, the former two sections being prerequisite to the accurate recording of the latter.

The ethnographic section attempts to enhance the linguistic study by presenting the language in its cultural context; without this cultural perspective many of the terms in the vocabulary would appear fragmentary and meaningless. Conversely, the brief ethnography draws heavily from the linguistic data, and this lexical supplement contributes to a balanced description of Zapotec culture.

If a coordination of language and culture studies is instrumental to this description, it was the indispensable tool of the investigator during his field work. The words in the lexicon and their attendant concepts yielded some first clues to various associations and distinctions within the culture; similarly, the ethnographic

data shed light on the existence of many lexical items that otherwise would have passed unnoticed.

A further aim of this study, then, is that it might demonstrate in a small but concrete manner how linguistic and ethnographic investigations are mutually reinforcing in understanding a culture.

## CHAPTER I

### ETHNOGRAPHY

1. This descriptive sketch is categorized into life cycle, livelihood, and other convenient divisions. Some topics, such as social structure, although not summarized under a single heading, divide among several of the existent categories.

Where relevant, native and Spanish lexical data supplement the text. The vocabularies of Zapotec and of Campesino Spanish do not perfectly coincide, although both languages have long coexisted and have more recently become integral to the same culture. A non-botanical Spanish word which appears in the text without somewhere being matched to a Zapotec equivalent implies that no native equivalent was observed. Spanish words are underlined, Zapotec words framed in solidi.

#### The Setting

1.1.1. Terrain. Santa Maria Ayoquesco de Aldama, District of Zimatlán, Oaxaca, altitude 1470 meters, population 3283, is situated fifty-five kilometers south of Oaxaca City on State Highway 131 at the southwestern extremity of the Valley of Oaxaca (Secretaria... 1963; Estados... 1958; Welte 1965). The Atoyac River flows

beyond the eastern periphery of the village where Ayoqueskans cultivate the flat river land with maize, tobacco, and other crops. From the river eastward the valley floor is broken by low hills; this landscape is generally dry with xerophytic vegetation and a few ancient trees. The terrain due west of Ayoquesco rises 830 meters within a distance of six kilometers; it is an escarpment of hills which culminates in a ridge<sup>top</sup>. This high summit is covered with conifers and live oak and is often hidden by clouds and mist. The valley north of Ayoquesco is flat and fecund; ten kilometers to the south the road ascends abruptly into the mountains at the valley's end (Plates I-VII, XXVI). <sup>ent of the valley</sup>

1.1.2. Village. Ayoqueskans call their village /giʔōnd/ (see 4.1.). It is a compact settlement in which most of the house-sites are immediately adjacent to their neighbors. Each house is surrounded by a fenced yard and has direct access to a lane or to a narrow unpaved street (Plates VIII-XIV).

Ayoquesco divides into an upper, larger barrio, and a lower, smaller barrio, called Cal Barrio. Each barrio has its own church. The Cal Barrio church, although in daily use, is quite small and in disrepair (Plates XV-XVI). Cal Barrio is poorer and more conservative than Upper Barrio in that the inhabitants of this lower barrio own less land and capital and retain to a greater degree the older dress and customs and the Zapo-

tec language. Ayoquesco also divides into five sections, which are merely an administrative convenience. Words describing this settlement pattern, such as 'road' /n<sup>t</sup>z/, 'street' /n<sup>i</sup>zyo/, 'house' /y<sup>o</sup>'o/, 'yard' /rolé'e/, 'fence' /ló'o/, 'plaza' /gè'e/, and pueblo /g<sup>i</sup>ĵ/, are native; 'church' /yádo'o/ is a native compound in which the first syllable probably derives from 'wood' /yág/, and the second syllable is a cognate for 'temple' in other Zapotec languages (see 4.1.1.).

Solar (p. 22)  
 Solar (p. 22)  
 Solar (p. 22)

Common words  
 to these  
 parts of house?

page 186, item 25.

The central plaza is in the upper barrio; it is surrounded by a large church, the local government buildings /yòlāy/, the jail /lígīb/, the school /škwīl/, a dingy restaurant, and three stores /tyěnd/. In the plaza center is a shelter for market stalls, a stagnant fountain, benches, and many large shade trees. The plaza serves as a regional market place each Tuesday and as an hourly stop for the highway bus line (Plates XVII-XXII).

The municipal lands of Ayoquesco comprise 58.69 square kilometers, much of which lies in the hills west of the village. These lands, which are called campo /wāyn/ as opposed to the village proper, are linguistically divided into cerro /dāyn/ 'hills' and llano /lāč/ 'plain'; villagers refer to the entire terrain as mi tierra or mi pueblo /lāj-ná/.

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## The Language

1.2. In general, the Zapotec "language" is a language subfamily comprising many closely related languages which are spread throughout the central, north central, southern, and eastern regions of the state of Oaxaca. The exact number and delineations of the many mutually unintelligible languages which constitute the Zapotec subfamily are undetermined (Nader 1969: 329-31).

1.2.1. Inter-village dialects. Ayoquesco Zapotec is essentially the same language as is spoken over a ten-kilometer segment of the Atoyac River in the neighboring villages of Santa Cruz Nixila, San Martín Lachila, and San Andrés Zabache. Although the language is mutually intelligible between these villages, the dialects of each village are sufficiently diverse so that speakers of Ayoquesco and of San Andrés <sup>can</sup> have difficulty understanding one another; Ayoquesco Zapotec is most readily inter-intelligible with that of Santa Cruz, but even these two dialects, which are less than five kilometers apart, are by no means identical. Ayoquescans <sup>say that they</sup> can converse to a slight extent with Zapotec from San Pablo Huixtepec, twenty three kilometers to the north; but these two speech groups constitute different languages.

1.2.2. Intra-village dialects. Within Ayoquesco, speech differences are limited to a variety of "accents," <sup>between fine speakers</sup> which amount to different distributions of allophones for certain phonemes and choices of different phonemes by



different speakers for a single word: some speakers use palatal and velar allophones of /n/ syllable-finally, whereas other speakers use a dental allophone in this position (see 4.5.); some choose /r/ word-initially before a consonant, whereas others use an alveopalatal retroflexed fricative <sup>1.7~3!</sup> in this environment; some drop initial lenis /g/ before certain vowels, whereas others drop initial lenis /b/ before other vowels; two speakers may choose different <sup>segmental</sup> phonemes for one word, such as /byēʔe/ versus /wyēʔe/ fijate, and they may use the same <sup>segmental</sup> phonemes for another almost identical word: /byèʔe/ versus /byèʔe/ baila. *(also different vocabularies)*

Although minor diversities within Ayoquesco Zapotec are numerous, village dialects are hard to define and to circumscribe on the basis of phonological differences; each speaker may combine the available phonemic options into a different constellation of his own unique making, and no one pattern of mutually predictable phonemic features is easily observed to characterize a particular group of speakers and thereby to define the limits and diagnostics of a dialect. It remains undetermined whether the intra-village speech variations are dialects, which correspond to age, sex, family, or locality; or whether these variations are merely ideolects (cf. Gudschinsky 1967: 174-75).

1.2.3. Bilingualism. Most adult Ayoqueskans are "subordinate" or nearly "coordinate" bilinguals (Weinrich

1953; cf. Diebold 1964: 496), using Spanish almost as proficiently as Zapotec. Many villagers, especially in Cal Barrio, recall that their grandparents did not speak Spanish; the last monolingual Zapotec president, José Lustres, left office nearly sixty years ago. Monolingual Zapotecs exist, but they are rare and usually of advanced age. People under twenty-five years old either do not speak Zapotec or are ashamed to admit their knowledge of the language; the children now being born will grow up as monolingual Spanish speakers, and within a few decades Ayoquesco Zapotec will die out with the older generations.

Generally, Ayoquescos, even those who speak poor Spanish and good Zapotec, look upon Zapotec as socially inferior to Spanish, and they associate their native language with backwardness and stupidity (cf. Robinson 1963: iii-iv). It is a recent practice to adorn one's Zapotec with an abundance of unassimilated Spanish words "to make it sound better."

1.2.4. Loans: lexical and cultural. The Spanish language and Spanish loanwords are not new in Ayoquesco and at one time there was apparently a reciprocal borrowing between Spanish and Zapotec throughout the valley. Spanish borrowed Zapotec words for local plants, animals, and other peculiarities: yagazache /yàzāč/, cuanasana /kwáʔnzān/, yocuela /yòkwīl/, guelaguetza /gūlgüz/, sonaze /žnāž/, lase /lăš/, and others; Ayoquesco Zapotec borrowed Spanish words for some items of European inno-

vation: /žombr̥l/ sombrero, /dómī/ 'money' (tomín), /žm̥n/ semana, /w̥y/ caballo, /būr/ burro, /šk̥w̥l/ escuela, /m̥ž/ mesa, /ž̥l/ silla, /g̥m̥ž/ camisa, /m̥j̥t/ machete, /y̥r̥d/ arado.

Although most of these apparently earlier loans are well assimilated and are distinct from less assimilated recent loans, a definitive statement concerning the relative age of a loanword cannot be based on the degree of a word's phonemic modification or its lack of it. Certain intra-related sets of loanwords, such as those for the days of the week, which were probably borrowed simultaneously as a group, show different degrees of assimilation; compare: /ly̥ž/ lunes, /m̥rt/ martes. Moreover, older loanwords versus native words do not perfectly coincide with items of Spanish versus native origin, and hence do not conclusively indicate the origin of a cultural trait: /z̥n̥t/, /k̥rp̥nt̥r/, and /t̥mb̥r/ are Spanish loans, and the only words in Ayoquesco Zapotec, for the indigenous items 'grackle,' 'woodpecker,' and 'native skin drum.' Conversely, /g̥ʔon/, /ly̥y/, and /br̥p/ are monosyllabic words of native origin for the Hispanic elements 'bullox,' 'key,' and 'large ocean-going ship.' With this in mind, lexical inferences concerning the age or origin of cultural traits are advanced in this study with caution.

1.2.5. Language tradition. Despite the tone system of the language and the language's pleasing prosody,

Ayoqueskans have no songs, verse, ~~nar~~ative stories, or other oral traditions. Boys and young men use whistle speech, with which they whistle messages to one another over distances. Whistle speech conveys only the tones of the language, and the listener must infer the words that correspond to the tones. The messages whistled<sup>of Ayoquesco whistle speech</sup> are usually fairly short and specific to the immediate situation (cf. Cowan 1948).

Ayoquesco Zapotec includes many idiomatic expressions and several of these concern a well developed system of interpersonal etiquette and flattery. Villagers classify some words as coarse or crude and other words as polite and refined. The language of courtesy frequently contains references to God. Gratitude is expressed with /ščandyôzel/ as a general usage and with /štyôzel/ specifically when receiving food. One refers to a person from whom one begs a favor as being created by God:

/nàn nó rūyn yub jándyôz/  
señora que hizo el solo Dios.

A typical farewell until recently included hand kissing and was expressed:

/jándyôz d'íd g'íl ští?l, dábăly; lija?l, dábăly/  
Con Dios pase su noche, padrino; la mano, padrino.

Good taste and etiquette are also equated with humility, and polite people are called humble /nado?o/ or exceedingly humble /nado?nšán/. It was once customary for

children to fall to their knees before kissing the hand of a respected relative. /nàsá?k/ refers to civil and refined speech and to a person who talks this way.

Course and obscene language can entail references to one's mother, which is a ~~diametrical~~ <sup>diametrically opposed to</sup> degradation of the saintly and honorific status that Ayoqueskans ascribe to motherhood. The association of saintliness and one's mother is reflected by similarities among this set of words: /žunžá?anèš/ La Virgin, Nuestra Madre, an especially affectionate reference to the virgin saints of the church; /žūnžwâ/ and /nánžwâ/, two endearing synonyms for 'mother.' The similarity between /nānmī/ 'female saint' and /nāmī/ 'grandmother' could also be relevant. A set of salient words refers derogatively to one's mother: /žūnžán/ and /tūnžán/. The components of all the above compound words, except /nàn/ 'mother,' are meaningless as isolated syllables; ~~notice that~~ both sets of words, saintly and derogatory, share similar and identical components.

Other lustful idioms, such as /pūt bīnjà?áb/ 'the devil's whore,' and /dād štī?ü gābil/ 'man from hell,' are in direct opposition to the divine content of polite phraseology. The word /bazī?l/ denotes nothing of religion or motherhood, and has no meaning other than being a foul name to call somebody. Innumerable lewd phrases are composed of ordinary words, the content of which is as often anal as phallic. All invectives are insults when

used between enemies, remote acquaintances, or people of unequal status; close friends, male or female, perpetually address one another with this language in jest. A /natï?in/ lépero is a person renowned for unsavory speech and behavior.

The indigenous vocabulary includes a detailed *(classifications 2.10)* terminology for birds, plants, animals, and other features of the landscape -- ten words for varieties of grasshoppers, eleven words for thistles and thorns -- which reflects the intimate relationship that Ayoqueskans have with their ecological surroundings.

### History

1.3. Formal legends concerning the origin of Ayoquesco are lacking, although villagers attribute the remains of prehispanic temples on a nearby hill to their ancestors and consider terraces on this hill to be the sites of ancient dwellings (Plates XXIII-XXVII). The hill is called El Cerro Antiguo, The Old Hill, and also /dàyn giǰōnd/, Hill of Ayoquesco. Residents say that when their predecessors lived on the hill the present location of Ayoquesco was a thorn thicket. The reason that these alleged village founders descended from the hilltop is obscure. After their descent, the founders built a church where they interred the dead; the cemetery is said to be relatively recent and is denoted with a loanword /pāntyōn/, but the words for 'grave' /bǎ?/ and 'tomb'

/rõ'obã'/ are native.

The mutual intelligibility of Ayoquescan<sup>o</sup> Zapotec with the dialects of Santa Cruz, San Martín, and San Andrés implies a more recent unity with these villages than with Zapotec towns, such as Zaachila, Ocotlán, Tlacolula, Mitla, and Sola de Vega, with which the Ayoquescan language is mutually unintelligible. Spherical pestles and other stone relics scattered about the village, of a type neither used nor remembered by today's residents, suggest that Ayoquesco was anciently inhabited.

Modern village history is mildly turbulent. In 1915 drought, swarms of locusts, famine, and pestilence, a hardship called /win/, afflicted Ayoquesco; many villagers without money to buy food died in the ordeal. In 1918 the Revolution arrived in the vicinity with four months of sporadic fighting. Zapatista troops forcefully recruited forty Ayoquescans, some of whom never returned; the Carrancistas executed a few villagers either after mistaking their identity or for suspicion of rebel sympathies. Both rebel and federal forces frequented the village for food and information; the village president of that time, Filipe Cruz, is still commended for his skill in negotiating a relatively nonpartisan position with both sides of the conflict.

An earthquake in <sup>January 14, 1931</sup> ~~1914~~ toppled the bell towers of the lower barrio 17th century church, and in 1924 a sec-

ond earthquake demolished the upper barrio church; Ayoqueskans rebuilt the demolished church (Plates XXVIII-XXIX).

*works to ...*

#### World View

1.4.1. Space. Formal directional orientation of older Ayoqueskans is bipartite and they express this in Zapotec as 'up the road' /n̄zyă?/ arriba and 'down the road' /n̄zgî?/ abajo. This conforms to the north-south axis of the old road which bisects the village. That the river, as well as the new highway, parallels the old road reinforces this orientation (Plate I). The two barrios are distinguished in Zapotec and in Spanish by the same words as the directions. Senior Ayoqueskans, especially women, have no conception of the four compass points.

*tiérew  
Jogew  
12/10*

Villagers express directions other than arriba and abajo as toward, near, at, or on a particular place. This system is highly specific because every hill, gully, stream, section of land, or segment of the river in the vicinity of Ayoquesco bears a descriptive or proper name in Zapotec (cf. Briggs 1961: 102-4). Beyond the radius of a few miles toponyms become less specific, designating the major landmarks, towns, and cities of the southern valley and adjacent mountains. Beyond the southern valley Ayoqueskans use native placenames for the geography around Sola de Vega /wâč/, and for Oaxaca City /lōlá?a/, Miahuatlán /gîjdo?o/, Tlacolula /bâk/, Tehuantepec

*12/10/10  
1/10/10/10*

*Juchitan 12/10/10*



/gizü'ü/, and Mexico City /zègīt/. Indigenous names for some local towns, such as San Miguel Mixtepec /sàn màg'ìl/, San Martín /žàn màrtìn/, San Andrés /žāndriž/, and some more prominent towns, such as Juquila /xūkīl/, Etna /làspěyn/, and Mitla /sàn pābl nītl/, are conspicuously absent.

Ayoqueskans know of the sea and have a word for it /nīsto'o/, but their nautical terminology is nil. Elderly Zapotec have heard of neighboring states but are uncertain where the states are; they cannot name the governor of Oaxaca. Ayoqueskans use a native word for world /gīšlyo/, and they believe that it is <sup>very big</sup> extremely large.

1.4.2. Time. Today Ayoqueskans divide a twenty-four-hour cycle into post meridiem /g'īl/ and ante meridiem /jě/; during the A.M. people greet one another by inquiring, "How did you pass your P.M.?" /žàn dīd g'īl štī'1/, and during the P.M., "How did you pass your A.M.?" /žàn dīd jě štī'1/. Time is counted by the hour according to a large chiming clock <sup>/r'16/</sup> which was installed on the bellfry of the upper barrio church in 1959 (Plate XXX). One asks, "What hour is it?" /žōrèn/; one replies, "It strikes 12:00 P.M." /rkē či'ityòp g'īl/, "It strikes 12:00 A.M." /rkē či'ityòp jě/. Midnight is /grōl g'īl/, midday /grōl jě/.

Apart from this bipartite division, villagers divide the twenty-four-hour cycle into six parts (Figure

1). /zi?il/ and /ščî/ mean 'breakfast' and 'dinner' as well as 'dawn' and 'evening.' Ayoqueskans arise at 5:00, eat breakfast at 6:00, begin work at 7:00, rest at 12:00, cease work at 17:00, eat supper at 18:00, and bed down at 19:00. The period between <sup>00</sup>24:00 and 5:00 is called /žòrgĩl/ la hora pesada, in addition to /watre?e/, its purely temporal term.

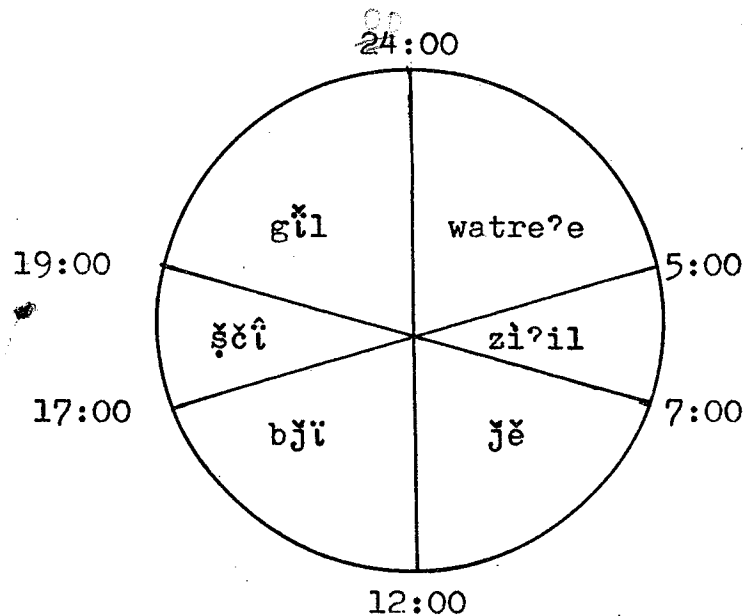


Figure 1.

Larger temporal units are: /wiĵ/, a twenty-four-hour day; /žmǎn/, a week (semana); /bè/, a month; /íz/, a solar year. Names of weekdays and of months are Spanish loans; dates are expressed as /gal šťĩ?ũ nòbyěmr, íz gayombìgè?é/ 'twenty of November, year sixty-nine.' The annual cycle divides into a wet season and a dry season (see 1.10.1.). Extensive inquiries revealed no remnants

	žnyê	nāgè'e	gúč	bzāč	zùyn
Intensity ↑	nāgāty	té	béys	yà'ač	yá'as
-17-					
↓					

of a precolumbian calendar (cf. Weitlaner 1958).

1.4.3. Color. /žàn rnáyn/ means 'What color is it?' The basic indigenous color terms so far observed are: /yá'as/ 'black,' /nāgāty/ 'white,' /žnyê/ 'red,' /nāgè'e/ 'green,' ranging from blackish green to blue in some ideolects, /gúč/ 'yellow,' ranging to light tan, /yà'ač/ 'dark grey,' /té/ 'light grey,' /zùyn/ 'chocolate brown,' /béys/ <sup>medium grey</sup> 'orange.' The first six terms listed are used frequently, and the last three terms are used rarely and are unknown to some informants.

Two words regularly used as color terms also refer to other things: /bzāč/ 'yellow orange' is used idiomatically as /žōbzāč/, a yellow orange variety of corn; this designation corresponds with /žōb nāgè'e/, a blackish green corn, and /žōb nāgāty/, a whitish corn. However, it is undetermined whether /bzāč/ first signifies a color and secondarily a variety of corn or whether it denotes primarily a variety of corn and only indirectly the color of the corn. /bīldòb/ refers to any reddish color ranging from pink to purple, but it excludes the color red itself. The word also denotes the pink century-plant worm as well as velatobe /žōbīldòb/, a purplish red variety of corn. That /dōb/ means 'century plant,' and that /bīl/ means 'snake' and <sup>that this latter syllable</sup> often appears in compounds denoting specific species of worms, implies that /bīldòb/ historically denoted the century-plant worm. It is undetermined whether this term now basically refers to a

Words denoting colors (hues) can be compounded with words denoting relative shades (intensities), as in nāgāty-té /off-green/ as in which "intensity" words can be used. Words denoting color are understood.

Compounded precisely with which hue is still not fully understood.

žnyê / red  
nāgāty / white  
nāgè'e / green  
gúč / yellow  
bzāč / yellow orange  
zùyn / chocolate brown  
yà'ač / dark grey  
yá'as / black  
béys / orange  
tē / light grey

color or merely implies the color through its reference to a reddish variety of corn and worm.

Ayoqueskans vary widely in their opinions of what general segment of the color spectrum a specific native color term should be assigned to. This degree of disagreement, and in many cases inconsistency and uncertainty, might result from acculturation, in which prolonged and dominant use of loanwords, such as /mòrăd/ 'purple,' /rôs/ 'pink,' /kâfě/ 'brown,' and /ăsŭl/ 'blue,' indicate at least a partial shift to the Spanish system of specifying color.

Ayoqueskans frequently denote a particular color by naming a natural object of that color; 'maroon' can be called /škitwiĵ/ venturilla, 'olive green' /bžyăž/ lama del rio, 'red violet' /bĵi?/ tuna, 'cadet blue' /gōlōštĭl/ zinzontle, 'lemon yellow' /gōlĵit/ clare de huevo.

1.4.4. The interpersonal world. People without specific business in another section or barrio seldom travel to other parts of town. During busy or plentiful seasons, individuals may frequent the central plaza only once or twice weekly. Trips to other villages or urban centers, except by persons of traveling occupations such as vendors, are infrequent. But, despite the intra- and inter-village isolation, all older people know each other by name and know many people in Santa Cruz as well. Aged residents will usually stop to converse on the

street. There is less familiarity among young people as an age group; nor does the older generation know all the younger villagers.

Individuals who have been mutually amiable and cordial for a lifetime will avoid lending money to one another and will reserve this liberty for immediate family and intimate friends. Friends are valued, but only faithful friends, and there is a sharp distinction between these and affable acquaintances. A real friend, who is not a family member, is often made so through the fictive alliance of compadrazgo, co-parentship, because the family is the traditional stronghold of one's confidences. Behind the veneer of cordiality, Ayoqueskans mistrust all but their family and closest companions and justifiably suspect others of self-interest. Pure altruism is rare in the village, and the man who does not use his social and political power, or his opportunities to exploit, for his personal gain is thought a fool /gij/ by everyone, even by those at whose expense he would have prospered. Words commonly used in Campesino Spanish, such as interesado 'with ulterior motives,' envidia 'envy of wealth,' desconfiado 'distrustful,' and encajoso 'deceitfully crafty,' have no Zapotec equivalents.

1.4.5. The supernatural world. The religious beliefs of early Ayoqueskans might have included the sun and the moon and a syncretisation of these with 17th cen-

tury Christianity. The Zapotec words /jángwiĵ/ 'sun' and /jámbe/ 'moon' are compounds comprising native words preceded by a modified lexical loan of the Spanish san-, a saint's title (cf. Waterhouse 1957: 244). In these two words san- is phonemically modified to /ján-/ so that the Spanish voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ has become a Zapotec alveopalatal lenis stop /j/. The Zapotec compound /jándyóž/ 'God (Santo Dios)' includes this same modification of the borrowed san- plus a borrowing of Spanish Dios 'God.'

The only other examples of san- as a loanword in Ayoquesco Zapotec are a few placenames, such as /žāndriž/ San Andrés, and /sāmpābl/ San Pablo; the san- of the latter word is unassimilated because /s/ never occurs initially in native words, and the san- of the former placename is modified from Spanish /s/ to a Zapotec alveopalatal retroflexed lenis fricative /ž/.

In both placenames san-, which is either unassimilated or which at least maintains an initial fricative, is less modified than it is in the Zapotec words for 'sun,' 'moon,' and 'God' in which the original Spanish fricative has become a stop /j/. This more extreme modification of san- in these three latter words implies that these compounds which combine 'saint' with 'sun,' 'moon,' and 'God' are at least older than the other loanwords containing 'saint,' and they could be of some antiquity.

This antiquity is further implied by the occur-

rence of /jándy'oz/ in conjunction with a vestige of an ancient possessive prefix \*/š-/ and its attendant morphophonemic change in /ščàndyôzel/ 'thank you.' This historical prefix is no longer meaningful as a morpheme and its form is preserved only in words and idioms to which it was habitually affixed (cf. Leal and Leal 1954).

That 'sun,' 'moon,' and 'God' are the only three words in the language which are compounded with the more ancient loan for 'saint' and that no loanword for 'saint' exists independently, suggests that the sun, the moon, and God could have been especially associated in the minds and in the religious beliefs of the early Ayoques-cans who originally adopted this lexical triad, perhaps centuries ago.

The ancient lexical syncretisation of the moon, the sun, God, and Christian sainthood corresponds to certain motifs on the face of the Cal Barrio church (Plate XXXI). The restrained baroque architecture of this church as well as the conspicuous grape vine motif beneath its entablature date the construction of this church and its iconography within the mid-17th century. In the iconography, the sun and the moon occupy a prominent position on either side of the cross of Jesus, and the two spheres form a trinity in an inverted triangle with a skull and crossbones, which rest at the base of the cross. This trinity might be accidental, because the skull and cross-

bones could relate exclusively to the cross in symbolic reference to the cross on Golgotha or to the skull and bones of Adam (Ferguson 1961: 50). The proximity of this skull to the sun and the moon could be more decorative than symbolic. Furthermore, the sun and the moon motifs could well be of European origin, since "...the sun and the moon are used as attributes of the Virgin Mary (Ferguson 1961: 45)." It is interesting that the village is formally called Santa Maria Ayoquesco de Aldama, <sup>however</sup> although La Virgin de la Natividad is the village patron saint. The strong European content of the iconography is also evident in: the symbols of the passion, that is, the torch, the robe, the hand, the hammer, the pinchers, the pillar, the cock (destroyed over pillar), the ladder, the plate of coins, the dice, the scourge, and the bat; symbols associated with the Virgin Mary, that is, the church motif (Sta. Maria Madonna di Loreto) and the basin (the purity of Mary); triglyphs and tabot flowers.

It is inexplicable, however, why the moon and the sun are so prominently situated above the other symbols, unless this prominence might indicate the high status of the moon and the sun in the early indigenous religion. It is possible that tactful 17th century friars, who wished to gain Zapotec converts, gave the elements which were common both to Christianity and to the native religion a dominant place on the church face.



*/jándró/ a child's game, now called  
Las Chinas, once called  
by a saint's name?  
San Andrés*

The lexical triad /jámbe; jángwiĵ; jándyóz/ could derive directly from the associations drawn graphically by the iconography rather than from an earlier mental association, although the iconography itself could be a 17th century product of native religious concepts extant at that time.

*see #11 on  
P.P. 127/128.*

Modern Ayoqueskans say that the full moon brings rain and they attribute a lack of rain to a half, old, or new moon. A frequent idiom is:

/nabiĵ zít jámbé; nate?e yèw/  
Seca viene la luna; no hay agua (lluvia).

The association of the lunar and agricultural cycles is apparent in this idiom, and the sun is also vital to agriculture. The agricultural import of the sun and the moon might explain, as well as help to substantiate, the the position of these two bodies in the religion of the ancient Zapotec, whose sedentary society relied on agriculture.

Earlier in the century parents assigned a tono /nyà?á/ to a newly born child. A tono is an animal in some way reminiscent of the child's character. A child could have the tono of a snake, coyote, ocelot, turkey, fox, cacomistle, deer, buzzard, owl, goat, bull, or other animal; but a fish, dog, or mouse could not represent one's tono. Individuals born with the tono of a witch

are said to have "strong blood." People respected their corresponding animal, and they believed that at night in their sleep their soul would leave their body and wander about the village in the form of that animal. If the animal was killed on a midnight excursion, the individual whose soul the animal embodied would die simultaneously. Today Ayoqueskans attribute the tono belief to "backward people of other villages," such as San Pablo Huixtepec, or to their unbaptized ancestors. Where the tono belief survives, it is blended with an imperfect knowledge of the oráculo obtained from popular magazines. One's tono is now synonymous with one's astrological planeta and contingent zodiacal animal, which are assigned to an individual according to his birthdate.

The night is populated with malevolent beings and no one ventures outside during la hora pesada, after midnight. <sup>the witching hour</sup>

The matlacihoa /waj/ appears at night as a beautiful girl or a man's good friend. The creature lures drunken men and occasionally women into the countryside where it drowns them or tears them to pieces. When the matlacihoa does not assume human form, it is the invisible content of the aire malo /bīnāzāk/, malignant breezes allied with the devil which sicken and cripple people. <sup>and the origin of disease</sup>

Some villagers believe the matlacihoa is la llorona, a weeping child thief who once killed her ten children and

later escaped from jail when the devil converted her to air.

Duendes or enanitos /šk̄r/ are midgets one-half meter tall with large heads who are thought to be the bearers of mysterious torch lights that occasion the nocturnal hills and countryside. Duendes float through the air and do not walk, which makes their torches dance up and down. No one has seen the enanitos or their torches for twenty years.

El perro negro /n̄kw-yá?as/ 'the black dog' still exists and is another manifestation of the devil. It comes out at night with burning eyes and kills other dogs, which are found mauled in the morning or simply stupefied, and which soon die of this stupefaction. Villagers often hear the black dog whistling in the dark among the thickets and trees.

Witches /n̄žū?/ are bodiless beings of unspecified sex, diurnal and nocturnal, who derive their evil directly from the devil. A witch may incarnate itself as a bird to enter the house of someone it wishes to bewitch. Ill-fated victims abandon their lives to vice, which brings their ruin and their death. Ayoqueskans say of nightmares /n̄žū? b̄t̄à?ajná/ 'the witch crushes me.'

Espantos or fantasmos /j̄t̄b/ are ghosts of villagers who died a mala muerte 'sudden death' and who cannot enter heaven for not having received their last sacrament. A fantasmo appears at night or even in the day

as an ethereal form without feet.

The nahual /nàwǎl/ is a white serpent with shoulders and arms and a fierce female head, which inhabits rivers and lagoons. The nahual generates itself from a baby girl's placenta, which the midwife has thrown into the water. The serpent can grow to immense size. If someone kills the nahual, then the girl of the placenta also dies. Moreover, a nahual may generate itself from the strands of a young girl's hair which are placed in the river.

Although the nahual is unaffiliated with the devil, Ayoqueskans consider the creature evil, because it may ascend into the clouds with all the fish of the river to create a fierce storm which rains fish. The storm causes floods, collapses houses, erodes fields, and destroys crops. When people drown or disappear at the river, villagers blame the nahual.

In 1945 a nahual generated itself from a placenta in the river by Ayoquesco, but after four months the serpent became enraged by boys dynamiting fish, and it ascended into the sky with a thunderstorm and moved to Rio de la "Y." The nahual sent a message to its progenitors, a little girl and her mother, who lived in Cal Barrio. The message requested eight fishermen and a cart. The mother and daughter ignored the message in fear that the nahual intended to drown them, and they died of this

fright. Ayoqueskans say that the nahual later migrated to Jamixtepec.

An hechicero (-a) /bʃiʔil/ is a man or a woman in league with the devil who controls supernatural forces and who may use this power to sicken and to bewitch. One may commission an hechicero to cast a malignant spell on an enemy. The hechicero afflicts the victim through a ritual involving the mutilation and interment of a picture, a hair lock, or a piece of the victim's dirty clothing /lɛryoʒ/; the human witch may pierce a miniature effigy with pins and spines. The bewitched one gets sick, becomes infected, falls down with dizziness and convulsions, experiences morbid hallucinations, and withers and dies; or death can strike the victim suddenly when the hechicero stabs the first needle into the effigy doll /mònlār/. A villager may save the life of a bewitched family member by confronting the personal enemy whom he suspects of commissioning the hechicero, and by forcing that enemy at gun-point to command the witch to break the spell. Most Ayoqueskans deny the existence of hechiceros and witchcraft /gʷbʃiʔil/ in their village, and they denounce any knowledge of the practice as unclean.

Ayoquesco Zapotec includes four words for 'devil,' two of which are loans /xūdyěw; èniměw/, and two of native origin /bʷnʃàʔáb; nònàzǎk/, all of which refer to the same nefarious figure. This opposes the two expres-

*chamego*

*Concepto*

sions for 'God,' which are the loan compound /ʃándyóʒ/ and a phrase /dàt làynbē/ Señor en el cielo, a native word for 'saint' /bdō?/, two native words referring to the Holy Virgin /nənmí; žunžəʔanèš/, and a native compound for the village patron saint /nàngopīj/; all four of these divinities are at least conditionally benevolent.

El señor del cerro /dàdàyn/ 'the mountain guardian' is benevolent and is embodied in San Ustaquio. Hunters must ask this personage permission to kill deer by presenting a candle to the shrine of San Ustaquio before hunting in the hills. El señor del cerro will not show the deer to a hunter who neglects this ritual.

All households maintain a small altar or shrine on which are small lamps of burning oil, flowers, and pictures of divinities and saints. The home altar /lōbdō?/ is apart from the church altar /lōpkóʔog/ (Plates XXXII-XXXIV).

The misa de rogación is a ceremony to plead for overdue rain. The farmers parade the saints of the church through the village and outlying corn fields.

Before 1900, in times of dryness the people of the lower barrio dressed in their best clothes and climbed to the summit of Cerro Guchibe, a local hill, where they prayed a full day to bring rain. The hilltop ceremony involved candles, copal, and flowers. People of the

upper barrio once performed the same rain ceremony on Yoguezar, another hill of the high wooded ridge west of Ayoquesco. Cerro Guchibe has a small archaeological site at its summit; I have not examined Yoguezar.

Signs and omens are: the owl /dǎm/, whose call in the trees presages a death; the saltaperéd, whose sudden entrance into the house preceeds a visit by relatives; the venturilla /škítwíj/, whose appearance foretells good fortune; the malajuera /nìbyêw/, whose shrill cry forewarns of a fight, malicious gossip, or bad fortune.

Ayoquescans fear lightning and believe that it is attracted to metal objects, such as scissors, or to a mirror.

#### Health And Sickness

1.5.1. Healers. Only female curanderas /mnyè?e/ practice in Ayoquesco. They are self-styled practitioners, who cure sickness with a combination of traditional ritual, an extensive knowledge of the medicinal properties of local flora and fauna, and a partial knowledge of some common patent medicines. Although curanderas show little understanding of the "germ theory" and often attribute disease to supernatural causes, <sup>Such as maliquat áir</sup> their remedies /ròmǎd/, aside from Catholic prayers and attendant ritual, largely concern a direct manipulation of material reality. Ayoquescans consult curanderas many times more frequently than they do doctors, because curanderas

charge less money than doctors, the curanderas' skill and natural medicines are often effective, and there are some psychosomatic diseases, such as espanto 'the fright,' which only curanderas, and not doctors, can cure. Conversely, in cases of extreme illness, such as whooping cough, curanderas take their relatives to doctors and visit doctors themselves.

Curanderas may also be midwives /bžĩs/, although midwifery is a distinct occupation from healing.

Two Ayoguescans are hueseros <sup>/mɔxɔɾe/</sup> 'bone setters'; both are men. *may also cure sick animals.*

Two doctors visit the village almost daily from Zimatlán. They charge between fifty and one hundred pesos for a treatment, including medicine and extended visits. Many people have used government vaccination services in Zimatlán, but others fear this treatment.

1.5.2. Medicinal practices. The medicines of the curanderas are either remedial or preventative or diagnostic.

Concepts of sickness and health are thoroughly developed in Ayoguesco: /jō'odō'on/ 'condition relative to health,' /nàsá'k jō'odō'on/ 'good health,' /náží'i jō'odō'on/ 'bad health,' /gũlgĩj/ 'sickness,' /rakzĩ'in/ 'to be sick,' /nigij/ 'sick' or 'sick person,' /ròmĩd/ 'remedy.' A few of the diseases and remedies known to curanderas are listed here: ingestion of cricket legs dislodges an impediment of the urinary tract /gĩrzyā'w/;



warts /bébzaby/ are eradicated with cemetery dirt or with the yellow juice of the botija /bézuʃ/, a regional beetle; tiperahuite, a patent medicine, purges intestinal parasites; pelejote, huizache peas, heal inflamed eyelids; the sap of the chicalote, a small thistle, cures /b̄l̄l̄o/, another eye inflammation derived from malignant air; a concoction of amole, a mountain sweet <sup>Soap plant</sup> potatoe, removes and prevents dandruff /ḡidḡi/; branches of the sonaze, a pungent bush, placed under the sleeping mat repel fleas; laurel leaf tea allays stomach aches; a bath of water that is boiled with gordolobo, rosa de castillo, enojo, and laurel relieves swelling /ḡi/; desparamo de bilis /bj̄āʔn/, an abdominal <sup>psychosomatic</sup> disruption, is remedied with alcohol rubs and a drink which contains cuanasana, an herb; the leaf of the canser negro serves as an antiseptic to wash wounds; yerba del aire and monasillo are used to treat a swelling abdomen; the leaf of the poton-xihuite cures headaches and counteracts low fevers /ʒ̄lyé/; fever is also mitigated with commercial purges, such as aceite de magnencia; aguardiente, cornstalk liquor, scrubbed into the skin assuages bone pains; cooking cloves are inserted into inflamed tooth cavities; the flower of the florifundio placed on the forehead puts an insomniac to sleep; the poisonous rejagar /ḡikw̄l/, a local weed, provides a means of merciful death for someone, such as a rabies victim, who has no chance to live; a purge of aceite de ricino alleviates dizzy spells /goʔo

yõba?n/; dizzy spells are also treated with alcohol and lemon placed in the nasal; various cathartics are prescribed for congestion /kõnxèstyõn/, combinations of fevers and digestive trouble; to cure el aire maligno /bĩnāzāk/, an aching arm or leg or a headache incurred from malignant air, the curandera washes the patient with beef grease and water of chamisojedo while she begs the air to leave the afflicted body; bee stings and small boils /gĩj/ are soothed with agua oxigenada and alcohol, which is said to kill the stinger or the source of infection; a contagious and deadly fever /žlyédřb; žlyédřš/ is treated with oil purges, and washings with water of palo de mulato and potonxihuite; a tea brewed with amargos de ruda, amargos de maitra, small lemons and cogonos remedies muina /žyân/, a sickness derived from anger; mange /břd/ is anointed with pomada mercurial, lemon juice, and yerbas estiticas; aspirin, Vicks Vapor Rub, alcohol, and mezcal sprayed on the head "loosens" a common cold /žĩ?i/; a salt and lemon mixture relieves itchy skin /nālo?oč/; a person suffering from whooping cough /ró?oya?as/ drinks the milk of a black burro; rudal, casehuate, and alfalfa are integral to a ritual which attempts to cure tristeza /yõb/, brokenheartedness and states of prolonged emotional despair; persons ill with virruela /gĩjbdõ?/, pox with fever, are bathed with water of gordolobo; skin allergies and rashes /ptyá?a/ receive an application of water of

2?

ten

which ritual

verbasanta; blisters /ptyé'nis/ are hardened with water mixed with plaster powder; tonchichi /tyùž škī nīkw/, a skin ailment, is healed with a paste of ground tomatoe mixed with mezcal; the blood of a black rooster dissipates /tátrün/, a blood clot in the eye; bodoque or encordio /brāngw/, a rupture of the groin, is treated by rolling a bottle under the foot; juanetes /téye'ent/, inflamed welts, are broken only when painfully advanced, and, when incipient, the advance is averted with iodine; infants with /g'lgījbyē'e/, a disease of jealousy for a newly arrived sibling, are washed in water in which the new baby was previously washed; fat grease is applied to a sprain /g'ijgi/; a patch of pomada incarnativa, lemon, and canser negro or the mildly poisonous cordobán /ní/, a weed, helps to drain a serious boil /g'ijdōš/; massages /gi'ča'n/ are therepeutic to la cuerda /gib/, a painful disorder of the body ligaments. (*rumatism??*)

Foods are divided into caliente /kós lè/ 'hot' and fresco /kós nyàg/ 'cool,' and this division is crucial in the dietary prescriptions for various sicknesses. Some "cool" foods are beef, fish, white beans, rice, cua-camote, camote, frijol delgado, avocado, milk, lemon, venison, rabbit, chick peas, string beans, grasshoppers, and chilacayotes. Some "hot" foods are goat meat, guas de calabaza, nopal cactus, pork, tortillas, bean broth,

frijol grueso, chicken, salt, coffee, honey, oranges, guayabas, and huamucho. Moreover, foods are classified as indigestos, such as eggs, which are not eaten by people with stomach aches, or as inconosos /b̄l̄góbʔj/, greases, eggs, fish, lamb, and goat, which are avoided by people with unhealed wounds. Some foods of European origin, such as bread /ḡst̄il/, <sup>(literally 'spanish tortilla')</sup> are unclassified since they are "unnatural," being produced in a bakery or a factory. With certain illnesses, such as espanto, patients may receive rubbings of mezcal but not of straight alcohol, the latter being "hot" and the former "cool." Here the hot-cool concept extends to a remedial substance other than food.

*Infectosos*

Villagers contract espanto /j̄t̄b/ 'fright' after a terrifying experience, such as an encounter with a ghost, a snake, a mad bull, or a vicious dog. Such victims proclaim "the devil was with me" and attribute this to a past sin. The devil, whose presence has caused the scare, enters the victim's body and heart through an external orifice in the form of malignant air.

*body  
devil - air - disease - heart*

Inside the body, the devil casts out a victim's spirit /l̄àn/; and this sudden absence of the spirit provokes the dislocation of the person's heart /ãmy/, because the heart embodies the spirit. The dislocated heart palpitates wildly and irregularly; the victim manifests aigriles 'air disease' by which he feels hot and sweaty, because the devil inside the body consists of in-

*body  
cool  
heart*

fernal fire. This fiendish heat withers the flesh and desiccates the bone marrow. The condition may progressively enfeeble a person for several years and can eventually bring death.

The cure for espanto involves rituals designed to return the heart to its proper place, to reunite the estranged spirit with the body, and to counteract the devil's heat. A curandera sprays her patient with soothing mezcal, a "cool" substance which neutralizes the heat of the devil; alcohol rubs are forbidden as a "hot" substance. A "cool" food diet is prescribed; "hot" foods are prohibited.

The spirit is resurrected by a series of ceremonies performed at the scene of the frightful accident where the expelled spirit has fallen to the ground. The curandera dampens and beats the ground while she calls the victim's spirit by name:

/bdē māri; nāt rjībdeI; wə ʃti'ʔi dī/  
vente Maria; no te espantas; levántate de allí.

The curandera spreads the mud of this earth over her patient's heart in an effort to replace the spirit. Meanwhile, she pours melted wax in a plate of water, and she covers this with a second plate. The cause of the fright, a bull or a snake or the like, appears as an image in the water-cooled wax, and this draws the fright from the body. This extracted fright is contained in the

evaporation droplets on the underside of the second plate. During the incantation, a palm cross rests on the plates to drive away the devil. Additionally, "cool" mezcal is sprayed on the patient and on a cross drawn in the dirt to facilitate the return of the spirit. A patient's hair can be singed with pine torches, and a person may be lightly whipped with a branch to expedite the cure.

As a complementary procedure, a badly displaced heart is relocated by lowering the victim, head down, into a well by a rope; this must occur at 6:00 A.M. or at 12:00 noon only. *why these times??*

Fright is curable on all days except Thursday and Friday, because these are the days on which witches customarily practice their evil trade; on other days curanderas do beneficial work. Several treatments can be necessary to cure a severe case of espanto.

In order to prevent sickness by malignant air and to repel "all the bad things of the world" villagers wear an escapulario /lárle?ay/, a cloth patch sewn with a cross, around the neck. They frequently combine this with a rosary /lá?ay/. A faja, a tight abdominal binding, is said to fortify the body and to add to one's health.

Curanderas administer the hallucinogenic seeds of the santamaria /bdō?/ to a sick person to diagnose the

patient's disease and to determine the proper remedy for the ailment. The santamaria is a climbing morning-glory vine with miniature white blossoms; its seeds grow in pods as three-millimeter spheres with coarse greenish-brown skin. The conventional dosage of seeds is one almud, from fifty to seventy seeds or enough to fill the palm of the hand. To prepare for the administration of this diagnostic medicine, an eight-year-old girl must finely grind the seeds with a small mortar and pestle in the late afternoon. The girl must be eight years old to insure that she is a pure virgin who has never sinned. If an impure or immoral woman ground the seeds, the patient would not react to the effects of the seeds in the way that one must to pronounce one's diagnosis, or the patient might go mad.

When the girl finishes grinding, the curandera strains the pulverized seed with water through a cloth into a cup and puts a top over the mixture. At 8:00 P.M., the practitioner takes the seed solution from the girl's house to her own house, carrying a candle and a rosary with her. She places the solution next to the saints on her household altar. With the solution on the altar, the curandera sprinkles holy water arround the altar and burns copal.

The person to be treated sits on a petate while a veladora and a candle light the room. About 9:00 P.M.,

when the village is quiet, the curandera administers the liquid to the patient. Silence is imperative. Throughout the treatment copal smolders near the petate.

By 10:00 P.M., the patient, under the influence of the hallucinogen, talks in a prolonged monologue. While talking, the sick person discloses the precise illness that afflicts him and prescribes the remedy by which the curandera will cure the disease. Some ailments commonly diagnosed in this way are espanto, cuera, and congestión.

Ayoqueskans ingest morning-glory seeds only to diagnose, and to prescribe cures for, sickness; they do not take the seeds on other occasions. The village curanderas use no other hallucinogens or narcotics and know of none in the vicinity.

*pajaro bobo* *matraca* *florifundio* } these are used!

### Life Cycle

1.6. Ayoqueskans divide the life cycle into the following age classes: /ndo'o/ 'child' and 'adolescent,' /bi'in/ 'young man,' /jā'ap/ 'young woman,' señor /dād/ 'mature man,' señora /năn/ 'mature woman,' anciano /nīgōl/ 'old man,' anciana /năn nīgōl/ 'old woman.'

\* /bini aol/

1.6.1. Pregnancy. Women wishing children pray to the Virgin of Moncerato. Pregnancy involves little anxiety by the expectant mother or by her close kin, and the care of a pregnant woman and prescriptions controlling her diet and behavior are minimal. Recommended foods are



corn gruel, milk, wheat cereal, rice with cinnamon, chilaque, and soup. Other prescriptions are a soyate 'waist band,' which is said to strengthen the womb, and massages with alcohol and oil. Within forty days after conception, a mother-to-be may not go outside during a lunar eclipse or her baby might be born with a imperfection similiar to the eclipsed moon, such as crumpled ears, a hairlip, or withered and deformed limbs. The effect of the lunar eclipse combined with the natural forces of the earth /nàtùràlës ští'ï yô/ la naturaleza de la tierra can precipitate a miscarriage. The infant may also emerge deformed if la naturaleza of the father or mother /làn/ is weak; this debility often derives from the "weak blood" of one parent. Other recognized causes of miscarriage are falls, sudden jolts, or the mother's neglect to eat something she craves. Women sometimes abort themselves with concoctions of local herbs to avoid the pain and trouble of raising a child.

1.6.2. Birth. A woman gives birth in a kneeling position on a reed mat aided by a midwife. A midwife may suspend her patient with a rope during a difficult delivery. The father may assist the midwife to deliver the baby if he is present, but his presence is not critical to the well-being of mother and child. Some men suffer báguido /yo'b/ 'dizziness' when their wives are in labor; these men may get nervous and turn yellow as well.

This reaction is well-known but exceptional, and men who suffer dizzy spells are scorned as cowards. No formal couvade exists. Women seldom scream with labor pains; but if one does, the midwife stuffs the woman's mouth with a rag. Laboring women are soothed with agua de cocimiento, a laurel leaf brew.

Babies that are thickly covered with mucus at birth will live a fortunate life and will be rich. The midwife either burns the placenta or buries it in a new pot sealed with a lid. This latter practice is a gesture of sentiment, not belief. The dried umbilical cord is saved, since it will serve as a medicine to cure diseases unrelated to pregnancy and birth.

After delivery, a convalescent mother /bzān/ remains in bed for two weeks and returns to normal work after forty days. When milk does not immediately precipitate, the midwife massages the breasts and anoints them with chamisojedeondo and escopatle, one treatment in the morning and one in the afternoon. The mother must abstain six months from sexual intercourse. The midwife stops excessive bleeding or hemorrhaging of the birth canal by bathing the mother with one quarter liter of a red pharmaceutical wine and inducing the mother to drink another quarter liter.

During convalescence the mother may eat chicken broth, soup, meat, rice, and eggs. Grease is forbidden as an anti-healing food which, in addition, will cause

diarrhea.

Twenty years ago the two-week convalescence ended with a treatment in the temascal /yê/ 'sweat house.' The mother sweated profusely while the midwife bathed her with laurel leaves. Villagers believed this sweat-bath essential to strengthen the mother so that she would not weaken and turn yellow, the color of sickness. Today mothers take the laurel bath without visiting the temascal.

Shortly after the birth, a small celebration occurs in which close friends and family members bring the mother small gifts of food and baby clothes. The celebration is called guelaguetza /g'ïlgüz/ 'a cooperative,' because the recipient will soon attend the gift parties of her guests when they give birth.

1.6.3. Infancy. For the first six months of life infants are bathed only in warm water and cannot eat pork and uncooked fruit. An infant nurses for three years during which it sleeps both with its mother and in a suspended cradle /gištō/. A baby crawls freely and is carried inside the rebozo, a long shawl (Plates XXXV-XXXVIII). Mothers and relatives lull a child when it cries; only the rich hire nursemaids. In its third year a child begins to sleep with its father and plays more with other children. Infants once wore a small huipil 'pullover' and a diaper-like mactle /jög/, but now commercial baby

clothes are common. Young children are not stringently toilet trained, but they merely learn on their own to use the cornfield.

1.6.4. Childhood. Children attend six grades of school between the ages of six and twelve. Although the Ayoquesco school is open to everyone, truancy is high; some parents mistrust the school, especially with their smaller children, and other parents keep some or all of their children home to benefit from the children's labor. Some parents sell their children into servitude by one-year contracts to work as house servants for the village rich; by this arrangement the child receives room and board and the parents receive thirty pesos monthly.

Girls grind corn, make tortillas, and wash clothes and dishes. Boys work in the fields and herd livestock. Both boys and girls feed pigs and chickens, run errands, carry water, collect firewood, gather edible fruit, mushrooms, and grasshoppers, sweep the yard and street, and carry food to field workers (Plates XXXIX-XLIV). Children are lied to and are expected to lie, and parents place little stigma on dishonesty; parents punish their children for disobedience, stealing, neglecting work, working too slowly or ineffectively, breaking something, or hurting another person. Punishment is quick and harsh and does not include moralizing lectures; punishment entails la varra correosa, a flexible whipping stick, la vinsa, a light whip of a dried bull's member,

la horca, a rope by which a child is raised off the ground by the neck. Parents may deny food to their ill-behaved child or they might put chili peppers in a child's mouth if it cries too much. Ayoqueskans consider it barbaric to beat a child with one's bare hand, reasoning that a whip leaves mere lash marks but a hand breaks bones; in the absence of a developed sense of internal "self control," they assume that a light implement must insulate the punished from the punisher.

Children appear meek and respectful toward their parents, and are usually quiet and overtly cooperative among each other. They are much disposed to non-competitive play without supervision, such as /ĵĩnĵĩlāw/ 'whirl-and-get-dizzy' and /ĵàndrō/ La Cebolla and Los Chivos.

1.6.5. Marriage. Before 1900 Ayoqueskan men occasionally brought wives from Santa Cruz Nixila, but currently few men or women marry outside the village. Marriage preferences have not correlated with barrio divisions within anyone's memory.

Girls marry in their late teens. At fifteen a girl becomes a soltera tierna /zdùbrĩn/, newly eligible; from sixteen through eighteen, her most marrigable years, she is simply a soltera /zdùb/. An unwed girl nineteen or older is a soltera maciza /zdùbya?l/, an old maid, and has a reduced chance of securing a normal husband. Such spinsters might marry aged widowers.

Men usually marry between twenty and twenty-five.

An unmarried man over eighteen years old is a soltero /zdùb/ regardless of his age.

Young couples of acceptable ages become novios 'sweethearts' from two weeks to three months until the young man secretly proposes marriage to his novia. If she accepts, then the pair informally become comprometidos, promised to one another.

The man, el comprometido /nibü?/, informs his father, who may prohibit the marriage on grounds that the girl's immediate or extended family would make undesirable in-laws. Conversely, if the father approves of the union, he goes, accompanied by the priest, to the girl's house to ask her hand in marriage for his son. He first consults the girl's father, then her mother, and last the girl herself. Any one of these three individuals may refuse the offer and thwart the engagement, thinking that the suitor is uncouth /natü?ün/, a drunkard /nò rzūj/, lazy /wit/, a gadabout and a woman chaser /žyé?w/, inclined to give beatings /náží?i/, or of general bad character /nāgü?k/. Or the girl and her family may deem the young man humble /nado?o/, soft-spoken /jü?z/, mild-mannered /jüčgâ/, quiet /nājü/, polite /nāsâ?k/, a hard worker /nani?n/, alert /näláč/, and intelligent /gülrün/; and they may accept him for these virtues. Then the pair formally become comprometidos /kwädij/ 'engaged.'

After two or three days el comprometido and his parents visit la comprometida and her parents. Both sets of parents observe the reactions of the young couple to determine if they really love each other or if they were miscounseled by false friends. If one or both of the comprometidos appears angry /naĵt'üč/ or sad /näläzy/, then the parents dissolve the engagement, believing that there is no love between their children and that they would have a quarrelsome marriage and an unstable home.

If the comprometidos react favorably, the parents use the meeting to arrange the plazo, a period of eight to fifteen days in which both families may contemplate the engagement, make formal inquiries or publicatos /zäbnäj/ about one another, and be certain they are acting wisely. The arrangement of a marriage is a delicate matter to be approached with caution and mistrust.

The godparents of the young man will use the plazo to advise the girl of her duties as a wife. They tell her: she must not resist her husband on their first night together and she should submit to her husband on all occasions thereafter regardless of his condition or attitude; she must be attentive in preparing and serving meals on time, keeping a tidy house, and providing clean clothes; she must always care for her children by keeping them bathed, fed, and healthy, by nursing them until three years of age, by bringing them with her wherever she goes, and by enforcing their attendance at masses and

and at religious functions to make them devout Catholics; she must never show jealousy for her husband and must always ask his permission before leaving the house; above all, she must be a faithful wife.

The plazo ends with the representación /čó?odiĵ/, a fiesta of two days at the girl's house in which the man's family presents a complemento /lõždiĵ/ to the girl's family. The complemento is a manifestation of wealth by which the groom-to-be and his family express their esteem for the bride-to-be. The usual complemento includes three or four live turkeys, four or five kilograms of chili for the mole, one hundred pesos worth of chocolate, five candles, one kilogram of copal, tepache, beer, three bottles of wine, one bottle of mezcal, and a pungent branch of ojo de borracho to give the proper aroma. All but the turkeys will be consumed at the fiesta. Without all of these items the guests at the representación will say that the fiesta looks "sad" and will criticize the comprometido and think him stingy /win/.

If the girl's family is snobbishly proud /nyāč/ her elders will demand a larger, more elaborate cumplimiento or even a gift, such as a team of oxen.

Before 1900 a prospective groom paid a crianza /gĩlnado?o/ of one hundred pesos to his intended father-in-law to compensate his in-law's expense of properly raising the girl. The crianza remained as a gift of



gratitude, but it was no longer obligatory. One such common gift was a team of oxen, then worth fifty pesos, which implies that by 1900 the custom had diminished to a voluntary civility. The cumplimiento and the turkeys might be a vestige of the crianza.

The comprometido and his extended family of about seventy people arrive together at the representación at noon. They bring the cumplimiento and musicians. Men carry the alcohol and women carry the rest. The groom-to-be drives the live turkeys, each decorated with colored paper and a cigarette in the beak.

The girl's family supplements the fiesta food by slaughtering a bull, three goats, and a pig; her family also supplies several bottles of mezcal and large pots of beer and tepache which are half buried in the ground. Her relatives present may number two hundred if the family is large. The fiesta progresses with cooking, eating, drinking, talking, and dancing. At five in the afternoon both fathers and both godfathers arrange and publicly announce the wedding date for a Sunday within the next month. On the second day of the representación only the girl's family feasts on the leftovers.

The entire wedding ceremony is la definción; it has three major parts:

La incación /gà?adij/ 'the kneeling' occurs in the church the afternoon before the wedding. Each party appears with parents and matrimonial godparents to con-

fess past sins privately to the priest.

El casamiento /gùšlyātā'n/ 'the marriage ceremony' begins when bride and groom accompanied by extended families meet at 8:00 A.M. at the church door. They kneel at the altar, which is adorned with white flowers, candles, and copal; they are encircled with a lazo /kàdīn/, and they are married in a complex ceremony /mīžró'ò/ la misa solemne. Matrimonial godparents, then parents, then other relatives, kneel in rows behind the couple.

El fandango 'the wedding feast' has three parts:

First, relatives receive the couple at the bride's house with a fiesta even more elaborate than the representación. They accept wedding gifts from both families, which include useful household items.

Second, the transacción occurs /gàčbě/, a ceremonial procession in which the bride takes final leave of her parents' house and the groom takes her and the gifts to his parents' house.

Finally, the newlyweds are received at the groom's parents' house with a fiesta that will last two days normally and three days if the family is wealthy.

On the last night of the fandango, guests depart and the couple beds down on a petate which is covered with a clean white sheet. The man has intercourse with his wife once "to bleed her." At 3:00 A.M., the new wife arises from the wedding bed to grind four almudes (eight kilo-

grams) of corn, which will make a huge pot of atole. At 7:00 A.M., intimate family members, who were invited the night before, gather at the doorstep. The bride's mother-in-law appears before the guests and says, "¡En presencia de ustedes saco la honra!" She displays the blood-stained sheet for about five minutes, and the guests receive the honra with jubilation. At 10:00 A.M., the new wife and guests drink the atole. She is often in pain from the previous night and her hands are bleeding from grinding so much corn.

Within a week, the man and wife begin married life in a small house in a corner of the groom's father's yard. After the first child is born, the young couple move to a neolocal residence anywhere in the village.

With changing times the customs concerning engagement and marriage have modified considerably and the full formal ceremony is increasingly rare. Major modifications are the introduction of a civil ceremony, a rise in the average age of comprometidos, and an increase in the rapto, in which a man simply kidnaps or elopes with his bride.

1.6.6. Domestic life. Most houses in the lower barrio are a single room jacal. The walls are of upright cane lashed with a few cross-caness and sometimes daubed inside or outside with mud. The straw thatch roof is built over a lashed pole frame; the roof slopes steeply upward on four sides to a high ridge which is capped along its

narrow length with a single row of overlapping teja /tĭž/, semi-cylindrical roof tiles (Plates XLV-XLIX).

The jacal has one small door and no windows. Unlike the houses of Valdeflores, thirteen kilometers to the north, the Ayoquesco roof-ridge is not upturned at each end with tufts of thatch topped with over-turned pots. Houses of the upper barrio are either jacales like those of Cal Barrio or are of adobe. One adobe house-type has one room, a slanting roof of teja, one door, and a small ventilation hole high in one wall. A more complex type divides into two rooms by a high central wall from which the teja roof slants downward in opposite directions (Plates I-LI). This two-room house may have a small back door. Either of these house designs, although fashioned for adobe construction, are occasionally constructed of upright cane (Plates LII-LIII). None of the houses have chimneys; smoke from indoor cooking filters through the roof, making its inside black. Any house may have a small cross on the roof; this cross has been blessed personally by the priest and, in turn, blesses the house (Plate LIV). Houses are unpainted, except those on the central plaza where any color may occur.

The furniture of an average house comprises two very small chairs /žilět/, a larger chair /žil/, a small bench /škāyn/, a matrimonial trunk for clothes /gin/, shelves for utensils /rèpĭs/, jars and dishes /trĕst/, a suspended clothes hook /gàrbăt/, a large pot for fresh

water /gîsró'o/, and sometimes a low table of the same small stature as the chairs /mîž/. Most people sleep on a petate /dá'a/ 'reed mat' on the ground; a few individuals use a <sup>welestatel</sup> bed frame /lón/ without a mattress.

Cooking utensils are: one glazed clay pot or olla /gîs/ for beans, a second pot with two handles or olla de asa /gîswàng/ for corn gruel and other liquids, and a third auxiliary pot; a small pot /gîs bìn/; one large pot /gîs nažga/ for tamales; a cazuela /če'e/, a casserole for stew, soup, and rice; a comal /žil/, a broad clay disk to cook tortillas; a metate /gîč/ and mano /yā'gîč/, stone corn-grinding implements; a molcajete /bîžlambîž/ and tejolote /gîrīngī'n/, a small mortar and pestle for making sauce; sometimes a knife /gùčíl/ or scissors /tàžžr/; a huehuate /yàpčín/, a light stirring stick; a palo de nixtamal /yàzōbníl/, a mashing and stirring stick; a pitcher or jarro /žžr/ and miscellaneous empty bottles /bòtěy/. Ayoqueskans use tortillas as eating implements and rarely own silverware. A wife serves her husband first, her children second, and herself last (Plates IV-LVII).

Married couples divide labor. Men work for wages, tend crops, collect heavier wood in the mountains, herd animals, and make repairs on the house and property. Women cook, wash, care for children, collect lighter firewood, and raise pigs and chickens. A man ideally gives half his earnings to his wife for household expen-

ses and buries or hides the other half; however, financial arrangements between man and wife may work differently in each household.

A good husband works hard, provides his wife with necessities, does not beat his wife or force her to work in the hot sun or under other strenuous conditions, and chooses his acquaintances wisely. A good wife loves her husband, works hard, saves money, is obedient and faithful, cares for her children, does not demand excessive luxuries, and shows no jealousy for her husband (see 1.6.5.). A man may support a woman in another village in addition to his established household; however, such a man may have quarrels and difficulties with his legitimate wife, especially if he squanders money on his second woman. <sup>1.6.5.</sup>

Families usually include five or six children. Parents want children and gossiping neighbors criticize childless couples; gossipers especially ridicule a childless husband, who in turn feels his manhood belittled and whose friends call him a "mule." Villagers are ignorant of contraception, but infant mortality counteracts the high birth rate somewhat.

1.6.7. Extended family. The extended family is desirable for financial and physical security. Compadrazco is fictive co-parentship in which a padrino /dámběly/ 'godfather' and a madrina /námwǎly/ 'godmother' take certain responsibilities for their shijado

compadre  
3/3 mbăly

dl > l

/ʒi'imbăly/ 'godchild'; padrinos should care for their ahijado if the child is orphaned, and they must meet various obligations and expenses at the child's baptism, when the child grows and marries, or, if the child dies young, at the funeral. Compadrazco also involves a close respect relationship between the godparents and the real parents of the child, who address each other formally as usted /yubel/ and call one another compadre /mbăly/ and comadre /mwăly/.

The acculturation of the Ayoquescan kinship system is evidenced by a Spanish loanword for 'nephew' and 'niece' /zòbrin-žná/ and a loanword for 'sibling-in-law' /kùnyăd-žná/. That the reciprocal terms for 'nephew' and 'niece,' /dášyèw/ 'uncle' and /nášyèw/ 'aunt,' and the terms for 'sibling-in-law's spouse' /ložiz/ are native, implies that the loanwords have replaced earlier indigenous terms and do not represent a structural addition to the kinship system. Since 1900, most, but not all, Ayoquescans have distinguished direct from collateral relatives of their own generation by borrowing the Spanish word for 'cousin' /prīm-žná/. Commonly used informal terms for 'father' /pà-žná/ and 'mother' /mà-žná/ also appear to be loans, papá, mamá.

Siblings use three native terms of address: one term between brothers, one between sisters, and a third term between the sexes. These siblings terms receive additional modifiers to distinguish specific brothers and

sisters by their order of birth, but these modifications do not inherently denote the relative ages of the speaker and the sibling addressed.

Terms for the siblings of one's children-in-law are descriptive, and the status of these siblings as full-fledged relatives is questionable. Men and women use different sets of terms for 'parents-in-law'; Ayoqueskans consider the parents of their children-in-law as relatives, and one incorporates one's spouse's relatives as one's own.

One distinguishes one's own family /štyé'e-na/ from a family in general /dyè'e/; familia cercana /štyé'egaža'a-ná/ 'close family' is distinct from familia lejana /štyé'ezit-ná/ 'remote family.' These native compounds might be loanshifts, since the components /gaža'a/ 'close' and /zit/ 'distant' correspond semantically to Spanish cercana and lejana.

Beyond the direct and direct affinal relatives of adjacent generations, Ayoqueskans offer many different and conflicting interpretations of their kinship system and are often uncertain of the precise meaning of a native kinship word. This uncertainty and diversity of interpretation might result from an acculturated condition in which villagers are in transition from the Zapotec to the Spanish kinship system and are certain of neither. It is common to construe relatives up to the third degree as cercana and relatives of the fourth and fifth degree as



*→ people beyond this are unrelated.*

lejana; however, there is also considerable disagreement whether the line between lejana and cercana should be drawn between direct or collateral relatives, should include or exclude the spouses of direct and collateral relatives, or should be drawn between certain consanguineal and certain affinal relatives. Moreover, some villagers designate a kinsman as 'close' or 'remote' simply by the degree of familiarity and emotional attachment they feel toward that relative.

Some villagers use /dàtmìgìt/ and its feminine counterpart for any set of distant grandparents and include one's great uncle and great aunt in this category; others reserve these terms for all relatives of the third ascending generation. A reciprocal term /žyāgìt/ indicates that these "great grandparents" can be living contemporaneously with ego.

Some interpretations construe /dàtmìwyâ/, literally 'ancient grandfather,' and its feminine counterpart as any relative past the third ascending generation, who was deceased before one's birth; absence of a reciprocal term supports this view. A second opinion construes 'ancient grandparents' to mean any relative specifically of the fourth ascending generation. *reciprocal form? /žyāgìt/??*

The term /gíčlāg-ná/, literally 'my eyelashes,' refers to one's "distant grandchildren" of an unspecified descending generation and degree of affinity, because these children are numerous and are born in close lineal

succession as the hairs of one's eyelash.

Fictive and partial kin, such as stepparents, <sup>/bžyã'n/</sup>  
stepchildren and half siblings, are denoted by compound- <sup>'steplchild'</sup>  
ing the regular term with /-wyã'n/; full-fledged and <sup>intends</sup>  
legitimate children and parents can be specified by com-  
pounding the regular term with /-žwã/.

The investigator proposes the abstract of the Ayoquescan kintype diagrammed in Figure 2; this diagram attempts to reconcile the different interpretations elicited in the field. The distinctions between close and remote relatives, between real and fictive kin, and those specifying the birth order of siblings are not diagrammed. See 3.3. for a list of kinship terms which correspond to the numbers on the diagram.

Villagers use the roots of, or modifications of, kinship terms, such as "brother" /bĩč/ and "uncle" /dáš/, loosely as an affectionate or respectful address for individuals outside the family; however, the friendship term of address between girls /mã/ does not derive from a kinship term. /ũn/ is a reciprocal term of good natured informality which is used between people of equal status. /dátžwã-ná/ and /nánžwã-ná/ may be used as affection terms for one's parents or as general endearments for anyone. Words denoting non-familial relationships are /ži'in/ '(someone else's) offspring,' /nĩbĩ?/ 'sweet-heart,' /štõ/ 'lover.' The two words for 'friend' /zá'a-na; žgũmyèr-ná/ mi compañero appear not to differ

Cãzã-nã  
classmate (unmarried)

correction:  
/žĩpĩn/ means, in reference to family, 'child,' one's own or someone else's.  
It is a kinship term r.t. has a Romanic domain distinct from the age class word 'child.'

↙  
peñano

AYOQUESCO ZAPOTEC KINSHIP DIAGRAM

	DIRECT	COLLATERAL	COLLATERAL AFFINAL	DIRECT AFFINAL
+∞	Ancient GrFa	(1)		
	Ancient GrMo	(2)		
+3	GraGrFa	(3)		
	GraGrMo	(4)		
+2	GrFa	(5)		
	GrMo	(6)		
+1	Fa (7)	Mo (8)	Un (9)	WiFa (11)   WiMo (12)
			Au (10)	HuFa (13)   HuMo (14)
0	xBr (15)		SpSib, SibSp (18)	ChSpFa (20)
	xSi, oBr (16)		<sup>spouse of Sib</sup>	
	oSi (17)		<sup>spouse of Cousin</sup>	ChSpMo (21)
-1	So (22)	Da (23)	Ne (24)	DaHu (25)   SoWi (28)
			Ni (24)	DaHuSi (26)   SoWiBr (29)
				DaHuBr (27)   PoWiSi (30)
-2	GrCh		(31)	
-3	GraGrCh		(32)	

Figure 2.

*Handwritten notes:*  
 - Grandchild  
 - no place to marry  
 - what is the equivalent  
 - of marriage in the Zapotec  
 - kinship system?  
 - Government of this  
 - (what is the equivalent  
 - of marriage in the Zapotec  
 - kinship system?)  
 - Government of this  
 - (what is the equivalent  
 - of marriage in the Zapotec  
 - kinship system?)  
 - Government of this  
 - (what is the equivalent  
 - of marriage in the Zapotec  
 - kinship system?)

semantically. Some individuals have nicknames, often jestingly <sup>-lully?</sup> derogatory, following their first names, such as Alvin Mange-itch /dàbĭn gōbĭr/, José Dung-beetle /čě žĭ'ngòt/, and Juan the Whip /wán kūtí'i/.

1.6.8. Old age. Ayoquescans greatly respect old people, although the venerable status of the aged has lately slipped somewhat with culture change (see 1.11.). There is little work for old people who can no longer work the fields, and the aged become dependent on their offspring for food, shelter, and company; for this reason it is wise to raise a large family in one's prime. Old people who can still walk make a few pesos a week gathering firewood. Old people with no family to depend on wander about begging handouts /gôn/, which villagers regard as a sad situation. Elderly Ayoquescans appear to accept their coming death without fear as a natural event and discuss it freely and bluntly.

1.6.9. Death. When an adult is about to die, a prayer master or resador /nò rūyn lá'ay; nò rōl lá'ay/ and a priest are summoned to say appropriate prayers and to give the person confession. If this service is not performed before death, the soul will wander about the village as an illusive shape forever estranged from heaven and, therefore, allied with the devil. For this reason sudden death by violence or accident is regarded as a profound tragedy.

The velorio /lá'ay/ 'wake' commences the day that

an individual dies. The corpse is laid out on the floor over a white lime cross, surrounded by four burning candles, face up, hands crossed over the chest, a crucifix /dàtkríst/ on the hands, large toes bound together with blessed palm straw, eyes closed, and dressed in a white tunic with long sleeves and high round collar. The velorio lasts more than twenty-four hours during which extended family and friends come to mourn, drink mezcal, eat, smoke cigarettes, and pray for the dead man's soul. All night the relatives, seated in chairs, keep a vigil /miž bžíl/ around the body. Resadores sing alabanzas, special funeral prayers of praise and commendation.

At noon the following day, musicians arrive to play funeral litanies and the mourners get drunk. They place the corpse on a special table, cover it with a sheet, and four men carry it like this to the cemetery accompanied by the musicians and relatives. Women walk double file on either side of the corpse carrying candles and copal and praying credos and salvos between the litanies of the musicians. The church bell tolls solemnly.

The procession makes only a brief stop outside the church for the priest to bless the body.

At the cemetery the waiting grave is two meters deep with a lime cross at its bottom. The corpse is lowered into the pit with two ropes face-up with a cross of palm over the crossed hands. The sheet is removed but buried with the body. Relatives continue to pray and

sprinkle the first dirt on the dead man in the form of a cross. A mound is left on the grave and this mound is often encased with loza /kàntěr/ 'flat bricks' at a future date.

Possessions of the dead man, such as clothes and money, are interned with the deceased. In the past it was believed that the dead man would walk on a long journey to a ciudad de canillas /laĵ gĭlguty/ 'a charnel city' where he would practice his lifetime occupation. Tortillas, beans, and mole were placed in the grave to assist a man on his journey. Catholic concepts of heaven /làynbē/ and hell /gàbil/ have replaced this earlier creed. Within the last thirty years coffins and grave-stones have come into use.

After the burial the family marks the place where the corpse was laid out with a large cross of ground charcoal, a crucifix on top of the charcoal cross, and four cups of burning oil at its extremities. These remain two days.

On the ninth day la fiesta de los nueve dias occurs, a two-day fiesta in which a marco de arena /krùsyô/, a smooth-surfaced rectangular box filled with sand, is decorated with a background of ground charcoal, a cross of white flowers extending from side to side and end to end, an iron crucifix at the center of the white cross, a red semicircle of ground brick looping from the arms of the cross around its lower portion, two "X" marks

of brick dust below the arch with a spot of charcoal at their centers, eight cups of burning oil, and a frame of yellow tempozuche blossoms. The box is approximately one meter long. Relatives take the marco in a procession to the cemetery where they pray, kiss the crucifix, and bury the contents of the marco in the dirt mound over the grave. The white cross and red semicircle resemble the iconography on the facade of Cal Barrio church in which a cross is draped with a sash.

Relatives observe one year of duelo de muerte 'mourning' during which they avoid merriment and fiestas. The year of mourning ends in a second ceremony involving the marco called el cumpleaños; it is almost identical to the ninth-day ceremony. This time the crucifix is buried in the mound with the sand. These ceremonies prevent the devil from operating in the place where the corpse was laid out.

When a child or adolescent under twenty dies, the godparents must hire musicians, and buy clothes, fireworks and, more recently, a coffin.

The vela de niño /b'ɪl/ 'child's wake' begins immediately after death. Relatives lay the child out on a table and decorate the little body with piles of white flowers, four burning candles, a white or colored silk tunic, a gold paper crown, and a light veil as a cover. Guests and relatives pass the night with a merry fiesta

of dancing, drinking, smoking, and fireworks. The party is gay and happy because the angelito /gítgoldo?o/ has not lived long enough to sin and is guaranteed a place in heaven. Only the child's mother cries.

At 4:00 P.M. the next day, a procession carries the child to the cemetery. Four young boys carry the table of an angelito; four girls carry an angelita. Women walk double file on each side of the table carrying candles and white cacalozuche blossoms. Musicians play gay marches. The procession enters the church for one hour where the priest sings cantos al niño and the women raise their flowers while he sings.

The grave is two meters deep and its floor is matted with white flowers. The women throw their flowers into the grave over the angelito and the dirt is shoveled in.

#### Dress

1.7. Sixty years ago women wore a huipil /bda?asy/, a knee-length pull-over; a faja /dóškí/, a tightly bound cloth belt; a rebozo /lárběy/, a long shawl; a sábana /lársám/, a wrap-around sheet; tlacoyales /dóšlo/, strands of colored wool woven into the braids on top of the head; jewels and earrings /gǎ?/ of shell, semiprecious stone, and silver. Men wore a taparabo /blâj/, a cloth wrapped over the waist, and a cobija /lâč/ 'blanket' was also worn over the waist. A maxtle

what did we  
wear?  
Shirt or  
short-sleeved  
/gǎ? /??



/jög/ was much like a taparabo but could also be a baby's diaper.

Twenty years ago women wore a dark rebozo; a white sleeveless shirt /gãmĩž/ either plain or embroidered with flowers; a refajo /rēfāw/, a white underslip; an enahua /lárlo/, a dress over the refajo; a soyate /bdāb/, a woven palm belt (Plate LVIII); a faja, a red cloth abdominal binding; a zabache /zábáč/, a necklace of black stones; a shell necklace /gãmklá?ay/; earrings of white stones with silver facets; a rebecío, a strip of suede woven into the braids. Women went barefoot.

At this time men wore a white or a bright colored shirt of shiny material <sup>silk??</sup> /gãmĩž/, pants of white cotton cloth tied off around the ankles /kālsōn/, a red faja (Plates LIX-LX), sandals de pie de gallina /gũlgid/ in which the thong fit between the first and second toe, and a straw sombrero /žombrĩl/ with a red handkerchief band and small round mirrors /gĩwā?n/ on the sides or back.

Today men and women wear various combinations of traditional dress and factory-made clothes (Plate LXI). Most people wear shoes or sandals. Only some older residents dress as they did in their youth.

#### Diversion

1.8. There are three musical bands in Ayoquesco of assorted brass, string, and percussion instruments. They play Mexican compositions well known throughout the

Republic. A band collects about one hundred pesos a day plus its food to play at a public fiesta or at a private ceremony or celebration. Chirimiteros /nò rkwĩj/, aboriginal flutists (flauta /bgi/) accompanied by a drummer (tambor /tãmbõr/), have been replaced in Ayoquesco by the Mexican-style bands /nò rõl/; however, chirimiteros come to Ayoquesco from Santa Cruz Nixila to supplement the more popular music. Musicians are integral to any social function, public or private, and are indispensable to the community.

Originally, Ayoquescan dances were la danza de las plumas, el baile enredo, el baile de remolino, la danza de los viejitos, and los incadas, each with its respective masks /žyélo/, costumes, and forms. All but the danza de las plumas 'plume dance' disappeared over twenty-five years ago. In another extinct dance, el baile de los locos /žëžyór/ 'the lunatics' dance,' the dancers /žyõrk/ imitated maniacs; Ayoquescans use a Spanish loanword /lõk/ for real insanity. The plume dance is now frequently called la danza de los Aztecas. Plume dancers /gõyè'e/, like musicians, are fed by their patrons and charge a fee.

The mayordomo is a man chosen to finance a village fiesta, such as Corpos, Semana Santa /žbà'an/, or Carnaval /lánigũj/. He must hire musicians, purchase fireworks and decorations, and provide food for everyone in the village. A large fiesta costs the mayordomo about

three thousand pesos and may leave the man destitute. But, by paying for a fiesta, a mayordomo raises his social status to a permanently higher level.

Alcohol is essential to most fiestas. Beverages and associated traits are aguamiel /nyŭpya?aty/, pulque /bɪ?n/, 'fermented' /nagiĵ/, tepache /nyŭp/, tejate /kôbzù?uy/, mezcal /mèskäl/, aguardiente or chingre - *this can be "pingre"* /čingr/, 'beer' /sèrbês/, and 'hot chocolate' /čùkùlăty/.

Pulque, a white and mildly alcoholic drink, is fermented by adding wood to aguamiel, the white juice of the century plant. The fermentation takes three days, and Ayoquescan pulque is weaker than that of central Mexico. Tepache is produced by adding brown sugar to pulque. Mezcal is a potent, ardent liquor produced from the century plant in a distillery called a palenque. These distilleries disappeared from the village twenty years ago, and presently mezcal is imported. Aguardiente is a strong liquor of distilled cornstalks. At fiestas celebrants drink mezcal, aguardiente, commercial beer, and hot chocolate, none of which have indigenous names, in glasses, cans, and tin cups; the native tepache is always taken with a jícara /žyê/, a half gourd which rests on a ring-stand /tîl/ of woven cane.

Tejate is a native soft drink made from toasted cacao, pixtle, and rosita de cacao mixed in water with corn dough and stirred until a foam rises. It is consum-

~~ed~~ at work projects, such as plantings, harvests, and house buildings, and like tepache, it is taken with a jícara. Commercial soft drinks are also prevalent.

When the corn is freshly harvested, a candy called chileatole /gītkōbzē'e/ is made of squash cooked with corn, cinnamon, and sugar.

A movie house with wooden benches operates three nights weekly; admission is one peso. Men informally entertain themselves by loafing at one of the local stores or a cantina where mezcal and soft drinks are available (Plate LXII). Women, in particular, are convivial conversationalists who may discuss in an amiable manner and at length any minute topic. Older women make sexual jokes which evoke much laughter.

#### Government

1.9. Official taxes, other than land taxes and slaughtering taxes, entail irregular drives for cooperative donations of five or ten pesos to finance village improvements. *Such as...*

Village political officers are elected by ballot; only married people may vote. Casiques are moneyed individuals with vested interests in village politics; although casiques do not exploit with physical force, they have considerable economic strength and are commonly accused of tampering with the ballot box. Villagers deem politicians "two faced" and call them /nò tyòp gič/ 'he

(who plays) two cards.'

Federal health and agricultural agencies seldom visit the village; and when they do come to initiate agricultural and health programs, they encounter polite apathy. Military conscription is compulsory for boys of seventeen, who receive uniforms and march around the town plaza each Sunday for a year. This program is usually neglected.

The local political positions are el presidente, el síndico, two regidores, el secretario de la justicia, el tesorero, el jefe de la policia, el calo, el teniente, el jefe de marcación, and a few auxiliares. A topil /žya'g/ is any village policeman. Police keep watch until midnight and then go home. The jail is seldom occupied, except <sup>on</sup> mornings after fiestas. The procurador resolves disputes over property boundaries. Villagers take their court disputes and larger government business to Zimatlán.

#### Livelihood

1.10.1. The annual cycle. The annual agricultural cycle conforms to the cycle of seasons, the wet season /bèyēw/ roughly from March to October and the dry season /bèbīj/ from October to March. Ayoqueskans grow two crops in the wet season, the tempranero /myá'a gālō/, the first crop of the lighter rains, and the temporal /myá'a yagīt/, the later crop of the heavier rains.

Farmers begin in February with the zacateo /zògiž/, clearing the fields of weeds and grass and storing this fodder in shacks for the animals. The la ralla /rlè?e yô/, the primary plowing, breaks a hardened field into clumps, and the orejera /gĩl/, one or two subsequent plowings, prepares the soil for planting. With the orejera, a minority of farmers plow ox manure into the soil, but this fertilization is not the rule. The corn, maiz temprano or white maize, sprouts with the first March rains. Farmers again pass the plow between the sprouts to deepen the furrows /žörk/ zurco and to pile the soil around the base of the young stalks /ró?s/. During March and April, while the rain makes the crops grow, men employ themselves by gathering wood in the hills, making and repairing tools, or tending the more time-consuming tobacco fields. By early May, men spend many hours patrolling their ripe fields /myá?a/ to prevent damage by animals or theft. At this time the ground fodder is again collected in a second zacateo before the mid-May pisco /gró?o myá?a/ 'harvest.'

In June the fields are replowed and planted with maiz temporal, four types of colored maize, and the cultivation process repeats itself until the October harvest. Maize types are /žöb nэгäty/ white, /žöb bzäč/ yellow-orange, /žöb bıldòb/ reddish purple, /žöb nэгè?e/ greenish black, /žöb bĩnt/ spotted, and tepecente /žóbyado?o/, large, course, mountain maize. Squash and beans grow be-

tween the corn stalks of both the tempranero and the temporal; the two tobacco harvests parallel those of the corn, except that only the early plowing is necessary because tobacco leaves are harvested twice off one plant.

By December, the middle of the dry season, when the harvests are stored or sold and work in Ayoquesco is scarce, men seek wage work in Oaxaca, the Federal District, Veracruz, Tapachula, Loma Bonita, and other parts of the Republic. They return home for the February zacateo.

1.10.2. Soil types. Ayoquescons distinguish six major soil types:

Yocuela /yòkwĩl/ is the rich, black, fecund soil of the valley floor and lower knolls near the river (Plate XXIII). It is choice, first-rate land which yields two carretas (see 1.10.6.) of corn per almud of seed in an average season. It is good for two plantings a year every year; it is never left fallow, and it is always worked with the yunta. Yocuela grows white maize in the <sup>tempranero</sup> spring as well as other species of maize in the <sup>temporal</sup> fall, water melon, other melons, chick peas, most other crops, and recently tobacco. Most of this land is privately owned. Tierra ciéndiga is yocuela that often floods for its proximity to a water source. It is worked with a yunta, and, because of its humidity, yields sugar cane and alfalfa.

Cascajo rocoso /yòbĩžlàn/ or /yógĩ?/ is reddish

rocky soil of the lower hill slopes which is dry and of second-rate productivity. (Plates VI, XXIV, LXIII). It yields one to one and one half carretas of maize per almud of seed. It grows purple, yellow, dark green, and spotted maize, peanuts, gourd squash, and grilla. Cascajo rocoso is planted once yearly in March, and after two years use, it must lie fallow two years. It is usually worked with the yunta, but, if the slope is steep, with the coa /yágiʃ/ 'digging stick.' It is usually communal.

Cascajo lise /yódï/ is thin, arid, ash-colored land of third-rate quality found in some areas of the lowland. It yields one third carreta of corn per almud of seed. It grows colored maize, water melon, chick peas, and grilla. It is worked with the yunta, planted once a year, and is frequently left fallow to replenish itself.

Arenal /yòyuʒ/ is sandy land very close to the river or in gullies and stream beds. It is planted with a shovel or a coa and grows only grilla and chick peas.

Tierra del cerro /yòdāyn/ is black third-grade soil located on high slopes and summits six hours walk from the village. It is planted in the spring and worked only with the coa because of its inaccessibility and steepness. It grows calbaza huiche, chilacayota, frijol chivo, and maiz tepecente. It is planted and left fallow in alternate shifts of two years. Before use, tierra del cerro must be cleared of rozo /giʒ/, brushwood and some-



times trees, by cutting and burning; the resultant ash fertilizes. In order to plant and harvest these remote lands, farmers must camp in the hills for a week at a time.

Tierra delgada /yòlāsý/ is unproductive soil.

A few women tend kitchen gardens of lettuce, radishes, parsley, ruda, cabbage, green chili, and tomatoes; some grow flowers.

Villagers depend on the natural resistance of the local products and not on insecticides to combat pests, which include an extensive variety of native weevils, beetles, ants, and larvae.

1.10.3. Land. No formal ejido system exists in Ayoquesco and communal lands are occupied without regulation or written application. The President of the Communal Lands merely checks periodically to assure that this land tenure system operates smoothly. Communal lands are often of good quality, although they can be situated several hours walk from the village.

Ayoquesco land sells by the yunta, the amount a man plows in half a day (see 1.4.2.) or enough to plant an almud of seed, which costs about one thousand pesos for yocueta. An ample house site near the central plaza, of approximately one thousand square meters, costs roughly six thousand pesos.

1.10.4. Staple. Ayoquescans forty years ago sub-

sisted on tortillas, corn gruel, squash vines, beans, eggs, chick peas, fruit, berries, chili peppers, wild greens and seeds, various types of squash, grasshoppers, and occasionally meat. Today Ayoqueskans eat twice daily with a morning meal of corn gruel, green chili sauce, tortillas, and perhaps an egg, and a late afternoon meal of tortillas, beans, nopal cactus, and greens mixed with corn dough (see 1.4.2.). Other frequent foods are numerous types of plants and vegetables, various fruits and berries, chili peppers, chick peas, mole, beef, chicken, lamb, broth of any meat, squash vines, and grasshoppers. Owners of milk cows sell milk and homemade cheese <sup>/niʃ/</sup> /gĩʔʂ/. The many local stores supply noodles for soup, assorted chilis, crackers, lard, butter, coffee, and canned sardines (Plate LXI).

Tortillas are either white, yellow, grey, or light red, corresponding to the kind of corn they contain; tortillas are eaten blanda /gĩtgùʔuj/, fresh and pliable, tlayuda /gĩtblàdy/, dry and stiff, and tostada /gĩtʂòʂ/, fresh but toasted hard.

Bees, both wild and domestic, are exploited for beeswax, honey, and edible larvae. Beekeepers raise enjambre /bĩsĩr/, the domestic honeybee, in cane baskets /ʃùm/ for high-grade honey /ʃíndoʔo/ miel de castilla and yellow beeswax /sĩr/. A black beeswax /gĩn/ as well as wild honey /ʃĩn/ is obtained from a wild ground bee /kòdli/. The larvae of other species of wild bees are

the cecropia  
cocoon  
yugeros { yugos } arados } adados

fried and eaten in the cone. Bee season is in October; honey sells for three pesos a liter and beeswax for twelve pesos a one-kilogram ball. Hunters dig up or snatch down wild bees nests with a short pole or even bare hands and receive innumerable stings.

Twenty years ago, villagers raised silkworms /b'ilž'ıl/ in a wide bed-like container /lõ'n/ covered with a straw mat and lined with yagazache leaves; silk farmers sold silk /z'ıd/ to merchants from Oaxaca. Wild, black, aboreal worms which hung in silky cradles were roasted and eaten. The use of worms has disappeared.

Hunting may supplement the diet with deer, wild pig, tejon, rabbit, and wild fowl; guns /g'ıb; ešk'öp'ıt/ have replaced earlier weapons. The bow and arrow /bâ'ys/ disappeared about 1920. Cane arrows with a thorn point from the century plant were used to kill birds. The blow gun /g'ırko'o/ disappeared before 1950; it was a long <sup>clay</sup> tube of one and one half meters, manufactured by the cecropia, by which quail and dove were shot with clay pellets.

Leather slings /g'ıbzà'l/ recently went out of use.

Men catch small fish in the river with an ayate /d'òb'ıl/, a casting net, with a tapezco /k'ıbg'ı'/?/, a maze into which fish are driven, or with dynamite and concussion bombs.

Surplus corn and beans are stored in costales /g'ıštâly/, large bags of <sup>cactus fiber</sup> ~~reed~~ matting, or in tabiques /tâb'ık/, brick stalls. Surplus must often be sun dried to prevent mold and weevil damage.

1.10.5. Distribution of goods. Dia de plaza 'market day' is Tuesday. Merchants bring sandals from San Antonino; rope from Tlacolula and Miahuatlán; chili from San Lorenzo; dried fish from Chichahua; vegetables from Sola de Vega; pine firewood from San Miguel Mixtepec; reed mats from San Andrés; onions and lemons from Santa Ana; clothes, shoes, iron pots, and hardware from Oaxaca and distant Puebla. Additional sources are San Martin, Guegovela, Aguablanca, La "Y," Guevara, or potentially any town within reasonable traveling distance. The merchants from San Andres Zabache are typical. They sell their products, which are petates, capotes, tenates, and sopladores, for cash; then they exchange the money for soap, salt, bread, kerosene, and other items (Plates LXIV-LXIX).

Vendors pay a ten centavo tax /pwěst/ impuesto to use the market, and Ayoquesco butchers rent space for themselves under a roof. Many vendors and customers come on foot, often from afar, such as those from San Miguel Mixtepec, an eight hour walk. Since the introduction of the highway and busline, the market has expanded in its variety of goods and wares, but the number of local vendors has decreased by half. Ayoquescons seldomly need to go to Oaxaca for necessities, although some local vendors sell produce in the Oaxaca City market.

Today money is the sole exchange medium, although forty years ago barter and money operated side by side.

1.10.6. Weights and measures. By the older standards of measurement, cloth and rope sell by the codo or cuarta /jít/, the distance from the elbow to the knuckles. The barra, a length slightly less than a meter, once served to measure planks, poles and other objects of length. Corn sells by the almud /ǎlm/, the older quantity of which was enough to fill a yarma /yǎrm/, a standard measuring box; there are twelve almudes of corn to a /yagèn/, an indigenous measurement, two of these measurements to a fanega, and ten fanegas to the carreta /gàříd/, an ox-cart load (Plate LXX). Straw <sup>and flowers</sup> measures by the manejo /giž-mànöž/, <sup>a hand held by two hands</sup> a large bundle gauged by the eye, twelve of which constitute a tercio. Firewood, bananas, pineapples, tomatoes, and chili peppers can sell wholesale by the carga /kǎrgèn/, the burro load. Many small fruits and vegetables as well as cornstalks are or can be quantified by the cargador /jùm/, a large cylindrical basket (Plate XI); these baskets may hold, for example, five to eight almudes of maize, depending on their size. Commodities, such as corn stalks, bananas, pineapples, maméy, melons, coconuts, watermelons, squash, and string beans, may sell wholesale by the netful /giš/; nets and cargadores are convenient units to transport by burro. Chilis, tomatoes, peanuts, and other small items often retail in the market by montoncitos /lǎyn/ or bultitos, small piles or bundles, and wax by the bola 'ball,' called /lǎyn sřr/ in Zopotec. Panela /pànřl/, course brown sugar, sells by the cabeza

*gê/pantle 1gêk/cabeza*

/gîpànĭl/, a compressed elliptical lump, or by the hoja /lápànĭl/, half a cabeza; eight cabezas of panela make a pantle /gížèn/. Liquids, such as tepache and tejate, measure by the jarro /žěr/ or olla /gĭs/ 'clay pots,' or by the jícara /žyê/ 'half gourd.' Clothes sell by the muda 'complete set.' Agricultural land measures by the yunta, the amount a man can plow in half a day, or by hectáreas, enough to plant ten almudes of maize; and village land sells by the entire terreno /yô/ 'lot.' Animals sell by the head or by the team, <sup>or yoke</sup> as /tub nĭz gó'on/ 'one yoke of oxen.' /wĭšén/ means both 'to measure' and 'to weigh.'

The older measurements are being replaced by the metric system. An almud of corn now equals four kilograms, and eleven and one half kilograms equal an arroba. Meat and clothes now sell by the pieza 'piece,' and shoes and sandals by the par 'pair.'

1.10.7. Income and occupations. The major crops are maize and grilla. Maize is either consumed in the village or sells for twenty-five centavos a kilogram off the cob to buyers who come in trucks from Oaxaca. Gri-lla, a nut from which flammable oil is extracted, sells to the Oaxacan buyers for three pesos a kilogram. Fornaleros /ndyüz/ 'field hands' earn a salary of five pesos with food and eight pesos without food for a ten-hour work day. Tobacco, a recent introduction, brings from two to three times as much money as maize per unit

*Castor beans*

of yocuela, but the initial capital investment to plant tobacco is higher than it is to plant maize.

Native crafts as a monetary income are absent in Ayoquesco. There are a few basket-makers, but they recently learned their trade in urban jails. They make and sell cane cargadores 'packing baskets' for eight pesos and chiquihuites 'arm baskets' for six pesos; but, since each cane costs twenty centavos in Ayoquesco and the manufacture of a basket requires several canes, the basket-makers are poor. Some individuals improvise sandals for themselves.

Among other specialists are hog butchers, who pay a municipal tax to practice their trade. Molenderas /nò rkē'e gīt/ 'tortilla makers' are hired by the well-to-do; molenderas earn two pesos for grinding one almud of corn and making fifty tortillas out of it (Plate LXXI). A molendera can process a maximum of one almud of corn in four hours. Some women grind tortillas to sell in the Oaxaca market, but few continue this practice long for the hard work and low profits. Domestic servants earn forty to fifty pesos a month with room and board. Sewing machines are common and a seamstress earns five pesos for making a complete set of clothes. Women embroider by hand at six pesos for a floral pattern over the shoulders and neck-line of a woman's shirt. Part-time specialists are bakers, adobe brick makers, livestock castrators, goat butchers, house builders, and one charcoal maker who

*plow and yoke makers*

works in the hills. Both men and women are store keepers and cantina proprietors. Some men work on the busline as drivers or fare collectors, or they drive trucks for the logging company that hauls logs between Guevara and Oaxaca. The priest /pšūz; dàtkūr/ is an outsider who lives in the village; all but one of the school teachers /mīškwīl/ commute from Oaxaca.

The busline enables Ayoquescan vegetable vendors to bring produce from Sola de Vega to sell at a profit. Full-time livestock dealers make profits on animals, such as goats and oxen, which they purchase cheaply on the coast and drive to Ayoquesco. Oxen also are marketed in Ocotlán at higher prices than on the coast.

Livestock dealers and tobacco planters, to secure initial capital, may borrow up to two thousand pesos from wealthy villagers who make a business of lending money and who charge rédito /gīkdòmī/, an interest of five per cent a month /gaʔay bīz gīk tub gayòyn/ 'five pesos on one hundred.' Less formal borrowing occurs between relatives and close friends in emergencies. Most individuals bury their money for safekeeping; a few rich residents use the banks in Oaxaca.

1.10.8. Wealth and property. Wealth differences are vast in Ayoquesco by its own standards, ranging from rico /nòzīʔn/ 'rich' to reducido /nadīʔī/ 'poor.' Hard poverty /gīlzīʔyaʔas/ la pena negra is associated with suffering /gīlzīʔdōš/ trabajos bravos or mucho mala vida.



The wealthy, who comprise approximately forty households of the upper barrio, conceal their opulence by eating, dressing and living like anyone else; they fear that an open display of affluence will provoke envidia. Their prosperity shows only when they finance a fiesta or a wedding and by the amount of land and livestock they own. All but paupers own burros, mules, oxen, or cattle (Plate LXXII); even the poorest might raise pigs, goats, or poultry. Horses, which do little heavy work and are expensive to feed, are the luxury of the rich.

A few well-to-do own two or three additional house sites in the village and a store. They rent the stores to village merchants and often lend a house site rent-free for the upkeep of the property. Clean, well-built houses with floors occasionally rent for about twenty pesos monthly. The rich allot the tilling privileges of their arable lands to the landless in exchange for half the harvest. Some individuals rent out fuel-powered pumps which convey water from the river to a crop during a dry spell. With the appearance of tobacco, pump rentals have increased greatly. Ayoqueskans are beginning to rent tractors from neighboring villages. Wells are privately owned, but it is bad taste to deny a neighbor free water (Plate LXXIII). Possession is expressed as /ʒnây/ 'it is mine'; /kyê/ means 'debt' as in /gõlgõl kyê kěn/ fuerte droga tiene.

and by  
gõlgõl

1.10.9. Cooperative labor. Cooperative labor is of two types: la guelaguetza /g'ílgiz/ in which five or six families combine equipment and manual labor to systematically work each family's land; el tequio /jínlày/ in which every man is compelled to contribute manual labor, either personally or by hiring a substitute, to each major community project, such as the construction of new rooms for the town hall. A man will usually devote about two days each month to this service.

Although money is tight in Ayoquesco, no one complains about the local economy. Despite increased contact with greater Mexico, the majority of young do not emigrate permanently to other parts of the Republic. The village perimeter is gradually extending as the adult population increases.

#### Change

1.11. Since the construction of the highway in 1945 and the ensuing establishment of hourly bus service to Oaxaca and to points south, Ayoquesco has rapidly changed (Plate LXXIV). Land values and prices have increased many fold; wages have nearly doubled; literacy and education have steadily increased; new and more profitable crops have been adopted; trade has improved; modern implements, such as steel plows, sewing machines, pumps, transistor radios, and guns have become easily ob-

tainable; and many formalities, customs, and the indigenous language have lost esteem and are disappearing; the people are turning their alliances from the village proper to the values and ways of the Mexican nation.

A school has existed in Ayoquesco since the regime of Porfirio Diaz, and many older villagers are semi-literate as a result. But a new school building was constructed in 1963 with four classrooms, six grades, a full faculty, and standard texts (Plate LXXV). Attendance is regular and increasing; young Ayoquescos are far more sophisticated than their elders in literacy and in their knowledge of mathematics, geography, national history, and politics. The world of Ayoquesco no longer stops at the municipal periphery.

Many customs, such as the hand kissing salutation, have disappeared; in general, there is less emphasis on formality, interpersonal familiarity, and cordiality. Adultery, wife abandonment, alcoholism, and homicide have increased. There are a few murders each year in the village, most of which involve drunkenness or an ambush. Men usually commit murder to revenge a past insult, which is often minor or even imaginary. Recently Ayoquesco feuded over property boundaries with San Juan Guegolava, resulting in several deaths in both villages. If a murderer stays away from the village for two years, the authorities overlook his crime; but few murderers return home for fear of vengeance by their victim's rela-

tives (Plate LXXVI).

As a result of the highway, men have tended to seek more outside wage labor; many have worked in the United States as braceros. Although emigration from the village has increased, it has not neutralized the rise in population. There are some Ayoqueskans living in Salina Cruz, in Oaxaca City, and in Mexico City.

The most recent changes are the introduction of tobacco and electric lights (Plates LXXVII-LXXX). The tobacco has brought additional money to the village; the electricity was installed in 1969.

## CHAPTER II

### LINGUISTICS

2. The linguistic data presented here was transcribed in 1969 mainly from the speech of Ofelia Cruz Garcia, born 1932, of the fifth section, Cal Barrio. Other informants from both barrios, male and female, of diverse ages contributed substantially.

The general theoretical background of this study derives from the tegmemic school (Elson and Pickett 1964; Pike, K. 1967), although parts of this description might be eclectic:

1) The phonemic description cites copious examples in order to illustrate the full distribution of each allophone, that is, the description favors "massive detail" (cf. Pickett 1960: 10) rather than a brief representation of the rules of this distribution.

2) This description deviates from conventional phonemic theory (Pike, K. 1947) in attempting a non-empirical explanation of the phonemic system. It attempts the explanation by trying to describe the distribution of allophones in terms of the phonological features which actually condition the allophones, not in terms of phonological features which merely predict the

allophones; and by doing this, it ~~tries~~ to account for the distribution. To accomplish this explanatory description, it is necessary to pose a distinction between "position" and "environment," since the two operate separately to condition, and to explain the occurrence of, allophones. The "position" of a phoneme is its relationship to the syllable, that is, its occurrence in the syllable onset, syllable nucleus, or syllable coda; the "environment" of a phoneme is its <sup>contiguous</sup> contingent phonemes and allophones. Positions in the syllable may also be termed "word-final" or "utterance-medial" and so forth, since the relationship of a phoneme to a syllable may vary, depending on where a syllable occurs within larger units. The following illustrates the use of the distinction between position and environment as an explanatory device:

Voiceless [ɬ] is predictable word-medially in that it occurs before all consonants other than /d/, /n/, and /m/, and according to conventional theory, its distribution could be described by its contingency to these environments. But the presence of these features which predict word-medial [ɬ] is not why /l/ is voiceless here. /l/ is voiceless word-medially because it occurs in the syllable coda. Since the occurrence of /l/ in a syllable-coda position is why /l/ is voiceless, the distribution of voiceless /l/ should be described in terms of this position.

Conversely, /l/ is voiced word-medially before

/d/ and /n/ because /l/ shares a common point of articulation with these succeeding voiced consonants; /l/ is voiced word-medially before /m/ because bilabial /m/ is articulated in the mouth anterior to dental /l/ and, unlike lenis bilabial /b/, the voicing of /m/ is strong enough to "pull" /l/ from the voicing of the previous, more centrally articulated vowel through its dental articulation to the voiced bilabial articulation without losing the voicing. In these cases, the voiced occurrence of word-medial /l/ is explicable by its succeeding environment, and its distribution should be described in terms of this environment.

Two problems arise here:

A) If the distribution of [ɫ] is described purely in terms of position and that of [l] purely in terms of environment, the description does not acknowledge the complementary distribution of the two allophones. In such cases, the solution is to include both position and environment in the description of the distribution of mutually exclusive allophones; that is, one conditioning feature to explain the distribution of a given allophone and another feature to clarify its mutual exclusiveness in a complementarily distributed system:

[ɫ]: in word-medial syllable-coda (position);

[l]: ambisyllabically (position) before /d/,  
/n/, and /m/ (environment).

It is understood here that syllable-onset and syllable-coda positions are the only ones that condition allophones, and that "ambisyllabic" is a pseudo position, which is the result of environmental conditioning and which has no relationship to the syllable; and it is stated only to clarify complementary distribution.

B) The statement that allophones are conditioned by their position in the syllable presupposes an objective method of determining word-medial syllable boundary location; this method is essential in order to distinguish word-medial syllable-coda and word-medial syllable-onset positions. The method involves:

i) a phonological observation of the allophonic differences between an utterance-medial word-initial syllable-onset and an utterance-medial word-final syllable-coda occurrence of a phoneme;

ii) an etymological observation that a word-final syllable-coda allophone does not change when it becomes a word-medial allophone through compounding with certain word-initial consonants. To illustrate:

a) by phonological observation /l/ is voiceless in word-final syllable-coda position:

/b<sup>h</sup>l/ [b<sup>h</sup>l] carne

/n<sup>h</sup>ly/ [n<sup>h</sup>ly] hoy,



and /l/ is voiced in word-initial syllable-onset position:

/lô/ [l̥ô] raiz

/lyúč/ [l̥yúč<sup>h</sup>] bejuco;

b) by etymological observation, syllable-coda /l/ remains voiceless when compounded with certain word-initial consonants:

/b̥il/ + /yò/ = /b̥ilyò/ [b̥i̥.yò]  
carne tierra barbacoa.

It is assumed that /l/, by maintaining its word-final syllable-coda allophone word-medially, has remained part of the syllable coda, that this voicelessness is conditioned by its contingency to a succeeding syllable boundary, and that the voiceless allophone of /l/ indicates the presence of this boundary. *perhaps a mental distinction as well.*

This method, after having been established with words of known etymology, can then be applied to words of obscure etymology. This provides a purely phonological and synchronic method of determining word-medial syllable boundaries without need of a knowledge of the etymologies of all words.

The assumptions are:

a) Unless environmentally conditioned, /l/ will be conditioned by syllable position in the same way word-medially as it is word-finally, and its allophone will thereby indicate a word-medial syllable boundary

location. All etymological evidence substantiates this assumption.

b) Principles established through etymological knowledge of some words will apply consistently to other words of untraceable etymology. That phonemic systems universally tend toward consistency supports this assumption.

The reliability of the method for determining syllable boundary location rests on the two above assumptions; and, moreover, the reliability of phonemic statements asserting that allophones are conditioned by their position in the syllable presupposes an objective method of determining syllable boundary location. To the extent that the validity of this method rests on two assumptions, the phonological description, in attempting to account for as well as to describe the data, is only as defensible as are the assumptions.

3) Word-medial consonant clusters are classified according to the allophones manifested by the constituent phonemes of those clusters. Monosyllabic and bisyllabic\* consonant clusters comprise phonemes with allophones conditioned by their position in the syllable, and which indicate the relation of the consonant cluster to the syllable boundary location. The classification of a consonant cluster as bisyllabic or monosyllabic is always explicable in terms of the allophones that the phonemes of the cluster manifest. Ambisyllabic consonant clusters

\* Throughout the text, the terms "monosyllabic," "bisyllabic," and "ambisyllabic," appear. The Greek prefix "mono-" is etymologically incongruent with the Latin prefixes "bi-" and "ambi-." The term "monosyllabic" should be changed to "monosyllabic" when referring to syllables per se as phonological units; "monosyllabic" should be used only in reference to grammatical words (or lexemes) which are composed of a single syllable. The frequently used term "bisyllabic" is not used in reference to phonological structure in this text for the same reason.

comprise phonemes with environmentally conditioned allophones; these clusters are subclassed according to the kind of environmental conditioning which curtails and offsets the conditioning relationship of syllable position to a phoneme variant. This subclassification of ambisyllabic consonant clusters is explanatory in specifying the particular kind of environmental conditioning which has obliterated the allophonic relationship of certain consonants to the syllable and which makes a given consonant cluster ambisyllabic.

4) The morphophonemic description employs:

A) a distinction between two types of morphemic combinations which may bring phonemes together to precipitate morphophonemic changes: morphological combinations and syntactic combinations (see 2.4.);

B) the invention of a "reduced allophone" (see 2.4.1.);

C) a set of allophones apart from the phonemic system, which are a manifestation of morphophonemically reduced phonemes (see 2.4.4.).

5) The phonemic section describes only native words or loanwords which conform to the native pattern (cf. Wonderly 1946). A separate analysis of the phonological structure of lexical loans is pending. Briefly, the common loan phonemes are /x/, /f/, and /ř/, although in some ideolects /x/ occurs in native words. /h/ occurs in two loanwords before /u/; nasalized /j̃/ and /ỹ/ occur

*examples?*

once each.

Segmental Phonemes

2.1.1. Consonants. The eighteen consonant phonemes are diagrammed in Figure 3, although the points of articulation represented here are not the only ones that some phonemes manifest (see 2.1.1.2.1.).

NON-SYLLABIC PHONEMES

		bilabial	dental	alveolar	alveopalatal	retroflexalveopalatal	palatal	velar
<u>OBSTRUENTS</u>	<u>STOPS</u>							
	fortis	p	t		ç			k
	lenis	b	d		çʰ			g
	<u>FRICATIVES</u>							
	fortis			s		ʂ		
	lenis			z		ʐ		
<u>RESONANTS</u>	<u>NASALS</u>	m	n					
	<u>LATERAL FLAP</u>		l					
	<u>APICAL FLAP-TRILL</u>			r				
	<u>SEMIVOWELS</u>	w					y	

Figure 3.

A degree of psuedo-symmetry has been imposed in Figure 3 by entering the affricates into the stop series

and is further imposed in Figure 4 by ignoring the differences between dental and alveolar articulations and between alveopalatal, alveopalatal retroflexed, and palatal articulations:

p	t	č	k
b	d	ǰ	g
	s	š	
	z	ž	
m	n		
	l		
	r		
w	y		

Figure 4.

Consonant phonemes are listed below with their allophones and illustrations of their occurrence. The examples are given in phonemic transcription with phonetic transcription framed in brackets; Spanish glosses are underlined (see 4.2.).

2.1.1.1. Obstruents. (see 4.3.)

2.1.1.1.1. Stops. Stop phonemes are fortis /p/, /t/, /č/, /k/ and lenis /b/, /d/, /ǰ/, /g/ with bilabial, dental, alveopalatal, and velar points of articulation.

Before silence /p/, /t/, and /k/ manifest voiceless allophones with a voiceless velar fricative off-glide, illustrations: yâ[p<sup>x</sup>] choyote, gî[<sup>x</sup>] caña, zê[k<sup>x</sup>]

como...; and before silence /č/ manifests a voiceless alveopalatal aspirated affricate, illustration: gí[čʰ] metate. /č/ manifests a voiceless retroflexed alveolar stop before syllable-onset fricatives, illustrations: gí[t̪]žil lana, kú[t̪]ze cuchinilla, lá[t̪] zit valle lejos, nā[t̪] ščâ rasposo otra vez. Elsewhere fortis stops are voiceless, illustrations of /p/: [p]it varrita de ixtle, [p]čé'e piojo<sup>1</sup>, šo[p]lèn seis (contado)<sup>2</sup>, rǒ[p]šá los dos, nyǔ[p] zèn tepache pues, illustrations of /t/: [t̪]il sue- da de jícara, [t̪]lyá'a ronchas, p[t̪]lyog gorgojo, rě[t̪]la'n todos, gíl[t̪]îč maméy, gǐš[t̪]ō columpio, jí[t̪]gǐs espin- azo, kú[t̪]ly pégale, gǐ[t̪] žǔb caña chueca, illustrations of /č/: [č]i'i diez, p[č]lín espuma, gǐ[č]â aguja, nān[č]la'ap suegra (del hombre), gǐ[č]nǐj chicalote, bì[č]gi'i chintatlahua, gǐ[č] rǐ ese metate, illustrations of /k/: [k]ǐ'is leon, [k]wt̪ soplador, š[k]ǎ'y nube, nā[k]lǎy oscuro, gǐr[k]lo'o cerbatana, kèš[k]le carro, ra[k]lne dolor, nǐ[k]lw perro, nǐ[k] bě' por eso coyote.

The allophonic distributions of lenis stops are dissimilar to one another, because, firstly, different lenis stops may condition differently in the same environment and position, and, secondly, the lenis stops do

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<sup>1</sup>The fortis quality of /p/ word initially before fortis consonants is inconsistent, and, as an alternative, /p/ in this position could warrant an interpretation as a voiceless allophone of /b/, since /b/ would not otherwise occur here.

<sup>2</sup>/p/ occurs intervocalically only through suffixation of -VC morphs.

not have identical positions and environments. Lenis stops are described individually to accommodate their dissimilar allophonic distributions.

Lenis /b/ is voiced when occurring: 1) ambisyllabically before resonants, illustrations: ză[b]náĵ publicatos, žó[b]llĭw llamafrio, zdù[b]rĭn soltera tierna, gĭ[b]lyāg hacha, ĵúm[b]lyā? chiquihuite; 2) word-finally before word-initial nasals, /l/, and flap allophones of /r/, illustrations: tu[b] mǎ un animal, gĭ[b] nè?e fierro pesado, rô[b] lêy tenate se llama, gĭ[b]#rĭ? ese fierro; 3) in syllable onset, illustrations: [b]it zorroillo, [b]ĵi la tarde, ž[b]ā?n cola, ĵit[b]ā? concha, gĭ[b]ò pedazos de braza, ĵám[b]é luna, gŭlgĭĵ[.b]ye?e chipilez, gĭz[.b]llāč quelite, gŭl[.b]ĵi?il brujería, except before lenis fricatives. /b/ varies freely between voiceless and lightly voiced allophones in unison with the voiced-voiceless variation of a succeeding lenis fricative<sup>3</sup>

1) utterance-initially, illustrations: [bʒ/pʂ]ó?o adobe, [bʒ/pʂ]ù?uyn chino (de pelo), and 2) word-initially utterance-medially after a vowel, illustration: gē?e [bʒ/pʂ]ó?o nueve adobes; and in these positions, but in the environments of a succeeding /ʒi/ or /ʒy/, /b/ varies

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<sup>3</sup>Since /b/ is voiced in the syllable onset when not preceding a lenis fricative, and since lenis fricatives, unlike /b/, are unknown to occur consistently voiced, it is probably the succeeding lenis fricative that conditions /b/ in some positions to a voiced-voiceless variation and in other positions to immutable voicelessness.

between a lightly voiced allophone [b], a voiceless allo-  
phone [p], and a voiceless bilabial ~~un~~rounded semivowel <sup>vocaloid?</sup>  
[W],<sup>4</sup> illustrations: /bžyo/ [Wžyo/Wšyo/bžyo/pšyo] temblor,  
/bžiž/ [Wžiš/Wšiš/bžiš/pšiš] nuera, gē'e [Wžyo/Wšyo/bžyo/  
pšyo] nueve temblores. /b/, before /ži/ or /žy/, occur-  
ring utterance-medially word-initially after a word-final  
consonant, varies freely between [W] and [p], illustra-  
tions: ga'ay [Wšiš/pšiš] cinco nueras. /b/ is consis-  
tently voiceless in unison with succeeding voiceless  
allophones of lenis fricatives 1) utterance-medially  
word-initially after consonants, illustrations: g'ir  
[pš]ya'ay ocote quema, gaž [pš]lù'uyn siete chinos (de  
pelo), and 2) word-medially ambisyllabically, illustra-  
tions: tó[pš]le tapezco, gi[pš]lib pantorilla, jù[pš]lyàyn  
bastante, r'ü[pš]lyšž pichancha; and only the voiceless  
allophone occurs in all utterance-medial syllable coda  
positions, illustrations: žó[p.]gi'n salsa (see 2.3.3.3.,  
footnote<sup>26</sup> ; 4.13), yò[p#r]j'itb pronto se espanta, gi[p]  
göš fierro viejo,<sup>5</sup> except word-finally before word-initial  
nasals, /l/, and flap allophones of /r/. Before silence

<sup>4</sup>Voiced [b] varies with voiceless [p] in unison  
with the voiced-voiceless variation of /ž/; [W] varies  
with both [b] and [p] independently of /ž/.

<sup>5</sup>A bilabial lenis stop is exceptionally weak in  
the word-final syllable coda when preceding a single ob-  
struent, and, when preceding a lenis obstruent in this  
position, /b/ can freely vary in rapid speech from inau-  
dibility to extremely faint voicing; in normal speech and  
slower speech, lenis bilabial stop is always voiceless in  
the foregoing position and environment.



/b/ manifests a voiceless velar fricative offglide, illustration: gi[p<sup>x</sup>] fierro.

Lenis /d/ is voiced when occurring: 1) ambisyllabically before /l/ and /y/ and between consonants, illustrations: gí[ɖ]lla hiel, gílgi[ɖ]lyòb huarache texcacle, ĵàn[ɖ]lrò Los Chivos (juego), rìn[ɖ]lya oigo; 2) utterance-medially word-finally singly before word-initial /n/, /l/, and flap allophones of /r/, illustrations: gí[ɖ] nājè pollo salado, kò[ɖ] lyăy ¿Cuál llave?, dă[ɖ<sup>#</sup>]rìtì ese señor; 3) utterance-medially word-finally after /n/ before a word-initial flap allophone of /r/ and word-initial semivowels, illustrations: bédôn[ɖ<sup>#</sup>]rìtì ese chuparosa, žìkùn[ɖ] yá<sup>?</sup>as ¿Porqué negro?, žìkùn[ɖ] wê ¿Porqué maduro?; 4) in syllable onset, illustrations: [ɖ]á<sup>?</sup>a petate, [ɖ]yà<sup>?</sup>n su oído, bl[ɖ]ò<sup>?</sup>o plátano, n[ɖ]lyuz mozo, na[ɖ]lì<sup>?</sup>tì angosto, žìl[ɖ]ò<sup>?</sup>o cualquier cosa, gìž[ɖ]lìp pasto, except in word-initial syllable onset following word-initial /z/. /d/, in word-initial syllable-onset cluster after /z/, varies between voiceless and lightly voiced allophones in unison with the free voiced-voiceless variation of /z/ when this consonant cluster occurs utterance-initially or utterance-medially after a word-final vowel, illustrations: [zɖ/ʂɖ]ùb soltero, gē<sup>?</sup>e [zɖ/ʂɖ]ùb nueve solteros. In this latter utterance-medial position, but with /z/ succeeding a word-final consonant, /d/ is consistently voiceless in unison with /z/, illustration: gaž [ʂɖ]ùb siete solteros; and the

open transition occurs here  
[ɖ]á<sup>?</sup>a petate

voiceless allophone occurs in the syllable coda, illustrations: blâ[ɬ]y cáscara de palo, gí[ɬ] wíj piel seco, gí[ɬ] yáʔas gallina negra, bèdôn[ɬ] píʔč chuparosa chica, dă[ɬ<sup>#</sup>ř]niʔi el señor habla, žikŭn[ɬ<sup>#</sup>ř]lláʔay ¿Por qué apesta?, except word-finally singly before word-initial /n/, /l/, and flap allophones of /r/ (see above), except utterance-medially word-finally after /n/ before word-initial flap allophones of /r/ and word-initial semi-vowels (see above), and except before silence where a voiceless allophone with a voiceless velar fricative off-glide occurs, illustration: gí[ɬ<sup>x</sup>] gallina.

Lenis /j/ manifests a voiced alveopalatal affricate allophone in syllable onset, illustrations: [j]íl comal, bĭn[.j]làʔáb demonio, b[j]ê hace rato, šop [j]úm seis cargadores, zè[j]ĭl Zaschila, yàb[j]ĭʔ tunillo, except after word-final fricatives where /j/ is voiceless, illustrations: nĭs [ç]ĭg agua entonces, bĭž [ç]ĭʔz pájaro quieto. /j/ manifests a voiceless alveopalatal lenis affricate in syllable coda, illustrations: gĭ[ç.]gév Uchatingo, žĭ[ç] gŭč piña amarilla, except before fricatives where /j/ manifests a voiceless retroflexed alveolar lenis stop, illustrations: gĭ[ɬ] zit pueblo lejos, bĭ[ɬ] žŭb tule chueco, žĭ[ɬ] štĭʔĭl piña tuya, and except before silence where /j/ manifests a voiceless lenis aspirated affricate, illustration: bĭ[ç<sup>h</sup>] tule.

Lenis /g/ is voiced when occurring ambisyllabically before /n/, /l/, and /y/, illustrations: là[g]na punta de capa, g[̣]l[̣]l[̣]l[̣] niño del ojo, ž[̣]ó[g]yeʔe pesuña, and in syllable onset, illustrations: [g]öʔ camote,<sup>6</sup> [g]rě todos, j[̣]t[g]ḷk cuerno, b[g]l[̣]ô nudo, ž[̣]l[̣]ăʔn hijo,<sup>7</sup> g[̣]t r[g]liʔid la tortilla esta pegajosa, zé[g]l[̣]t México, naž[g]la grande, nin[g]lič típula. Single /g/ is voiced word-finally before single word-initial resonants<sup>6</sup> and before /ry/ and /mn/, illustrations: náʔ[g] waʔan ayer se fue, lá[g] lêʔy hoja se llama, yá[g] ryeʔk madera se quema, máž[̣]o[g] mnaʔazy cascarudo agarra...; and /g/ in a word-final consonant cluster is voiced when the cluster precedes the above environments or precedes /d/ or /j/, illustrations: d[̣]n[g]w r[̣] ese serrano, j[̣]n[g] yáʔas chinchegro negro, d[̣]n[g]w mniʔi serrano habla, by[̣]n[g] ryeʔk biongo se quema, d[̣]n[g]w d[̣] serrano allí, j[̣]n[g] joʔo hay chinches. Before silence /g/ manifests a voiceless allophone with a voiceless velar fricative offglide, illustrations: g[̣]t[k<sup>x</sup>] hielo, ž[̣]n[k<sup>x</sup>] tieso. Elsewhere in the syllable coda a voiceless lenis allophone of /g/ occurs, illustrations: d[̣]n[k]w serrano, yá[k] d[̣] palo allí, ptyo[k] joʔo hay gorgojos, yá[k] rláʔa palo apesta, ž[̣]n[k] zèn tieso pues, by[̣]n[k] bz[̣]b biongo estubo puesto.

<sup>6</sup>In this position /g/ is extremely lenis and may vary to inaudibility in some ideolects.

<sup>7</sup>/g/, unlike /d/, is not conditioned to voicelessness by contingent syllable-onset fricatives.

dĩn[k]w zà serrano va..., dĩn[k]w bĵĩn serrano llegó.

2.1.1.1.2. Fricatives. Fricatives are retroflexed alveopalatal fortis /ṣ̌/ and lenis /ẓ̌/ and alveolar fortis /s/ and lenis /z/ (see 4.4.). All fricatives vary freely between slightly aspirated voiceless and unaspirated voiceless allophones before silence, illustrations: gĩ[ṣ̌/ṣ̌<sup>h</sup>] olla, gĩ[ṣ̌/ṣ̌<sup>h</sup>] cigarro, gĩ[ṣ̌/ṣ̌<sup>h</sup>] red, gĩ[ṣ̌/ṣ̌<sup>h</sup>] zacate. The articulation of retroflexed fricatives is less retroflexed before palatal and dental consonants where the overt acoustic impression of retroflexion varies from extreme weakness to inaudibility, illustrations: [ṣ̌]tõ querido, dá[ṣ̌]yèw tio, lyâ[ṣ̌]t cebolla, gĩ[ṣ̌]dĩp zacamatle, [ẓ̌]lyăṣ̌ estornado. Elsewhere fortis fricatives are voiceless, unaspirated, and, if alveopalatal, markedly retroflexed, illustrations: [ṣ̌]čâ otra vez, [ṣ̌]kwa ala, [ṣ̌]onèn ocho (contado), p[ṣ̌]luz sacerdote, nĩ[ṣ̌]ĩn saliva, kè[ṣ̌]keʔe carro, gĩʔ[ṣ̌] zèn queso pues, gĩ[ṣ̌]ĩʔĩn ollita,<sup>8</sup> nĩ[ṣ̌]toʔo mar, gĩ[ṣ̌]lyàg pierna de vieja (flor), kwa[ṣ̌]ly mejilla, kũʔĩ[ṣ̌] dĩ leon allí. Lenis fricatives vary freely between voiceless and weakly voiced allophones: 1) in utterance-initial syllable onset, illustrations: [z/ṣ̌]á frijol, b[z/ṣ̌]aby huérfano, r[z/ṣ̌]lyuy muelle, [z/ṣ̌]dùb soltero, b[ẓ̌/ṣ̌]õnèn júntalo, b[ẓ̌/ṣ̌]lyăṣ̌ lama del rio; 2) utterance-medially word-initially singly af-

<sup>8</sup>/s/ occurs intervocalically only through suffixation of a -VC morph.

ter word-final nasals, semivowels, and vowels, illustrations: ĵúm [ž/š]ūb cargador chueco, gó'on [z/š]á torro va..., nīyēw [z/š]á el hombre va..., ga'ay [ž/š]irǎ'w cinco lagartijas, gē'e [z/š]à nueve frijoles, ge'e [ž/š]aw nueve sapos; 3) intervocalically, illustrations: ní[z/š]íl chogon, ní[ž/š]íl Santa Cruz Nixila; 4) after a vowel before a semivowel, illustrations: ní[z/š]ye aguila, žū[ž/š]wá San Juan Guegolava. Only /ž/ varies freely between voiced and voiceless allophones in word-medial syllable onset singly after syllable-coda /l/ and /n/, illustrations: bìl[.ž/.š]íl gusano de seda, žūn[.ž/.š]án palabra leperada; and in this position and these environments /z/ is voiceless, illustration: gíl[.š]í' pobreza. Elsewhere lenis fricatives are consistently voiceless, illustrations of /ž/: ĵít[ž]bà'má el base de la cola, gír[š]i'i ventana de la nariz, gíb[š]ib pantorilla, rí'üb[š]lyāž pichancha, bí[š]gě mosca, bít[š]kóg tortola, illustrations of /z/: gír[š]lǐj borrachera, gíb[š]là'1 la honda, ĵúb[š]lyàyn bastante, gí[š]bláj verdolaga, nīngíd[.š]līn murciélago, kòd [š]ě ¿Cuál grasa?, yú[š#š]lit arroyo lejos, mna'a[š]ly agarra, wí[š] dǒš víbora brava, gít[š#š]ūb mazorca chueca, tub [š]làw un sapo, gí[š] dērì'üč zacate regado.

2.1.1.2.1. Nasals. Nasal phonemes are bilabial /m/ and /n/; /n/ includes allophones ranging from dental to velar points of articulation.

*post dental*

/m/ is voiceless before silence, illustration: da[M] tecolote. Word-initially before /b/ a very weak voiced allophone [ᵐ] occurs which may vary to inaudibility in some idelects, illustration: [ᵐ]băly compadre. Elsewhere /m/ is voiced, illustrations: [m]ă animal, [m]nyêʔn en juicio, golo[m]aʔs huitlacoche, dát[m]í abuelo, dá[m]băly padrino, ná[m]wăly madrina, jù[m] štíʔil cargador tuyo.

/n/, word-initially before /d/ and /ʃ/, manifests a very weak dental allophone [ᵑ] which may vary to inaudibility in some idelects, illustrations: [ᵑ]doʔo chamaco, [ᵑ]jiʔiz ardilla. /n/ manifests a voiced dental allophone: 1) elsewhere in the syllable onset, illustrations: [n]íl nixtamal, [n]yuy liso, g[n]íʔtaʔn habla de una vez, m[n]yèʔe curandera, kíʔij[n]al te abrazo, bè[n]iʔs neblina; 2) ambisyllabically before /d/, illustrations: ɔ[n]dì ese (persona), rü[n]doʔo bonito. A long voiced dental allophone [n̄] occurs before /d/ in a word-final consonant cluster, illustration: gîjɔ[n̄]d Ayoquesco. /n/ manifests a voiceless alveopalatal allophone [Ñ] after /y/ before silence, illustration: way[Ñ] campo; and a voiced alveopalatal allophone [ñ] occurs both 1) word-medially between /ʒ/ and /y/, illustration: ʒ[ñ]yê rojo, and 2) after /y/ utterance-medially in a syllable coda, illustrations: zyây[ñ].ltəʔn mucha gente, năy[ñ]š ya, laʔay[ñ].len su barriga (see 2.3.3.1.), lèy[ñ] dî este era,

except before word-initial /w/ where /n/ manifests a palatal allophone [ɲ], illustration: brùy[ɲ<sup>#E</sup>w]iɲ coyocano seco. The voiced palatal allophone also occurs in word-medial syllable coda after a vowel before /l/, /y/, and alveopalatal and alveopalatal retroflexed consonants, illustrations: bĩ[ɲ.]llač bendito, gí?[ɲ.]yan coloradito, bĩ[ɲ.]jǎʔáb demonio, nà[ɲ.]čaʔap suegra (del hombre), leʔ[ɲ]š el es, tyá[ɲ.]štĩl yerbabuena, žu[ɲ.]žǎʔanèš Nuestra Virgen. /n/ manifests a voiced velar allophone ambisyllabically before velar stops, illustrations: lá[ŋ]gič tepiche, kĩ[ŋ]kĩt quizá; and a long voiced velar allophone [ŋː] occurs in a word-final consonant cluster before /g/, illustrations: dĩ[ŋː]gw serrano, jǎ[ŋː]lg chinche. Elsewhere a palatal allophone occurs in the syllable coda after front vowels, and a velar allophone occurs in the syllable coda after central and back vowels. Utterance-medially word-finally these palatal and velar allophones are: 1) voiced after simple and interrupted vowels, illustrations: gĩ[ɲ] štĩʔĩl caja tuya, yǎ[ŋ] píʔč olote chico, žiʔi[ɲ] ryōn hijo tercero, góʔo[ŋ] nàgǎty toro blanco; voiced lenis [ɲ] and [ŋ] after glottalized vowels, illustrations: čĩʔ[ɲ] má quince animales, gĩwǎʔ[ŋ] kũb espejo nuevo. Before silence both palatal and velar allophones: 1) vary freely between aspirated and unaspirated after simple vowels, illustrations: ze[ɲ/ɲ<sup>N</sup>] pues, bĩ[ŋ/ŋ<sup>N</sup>] lodo; 2) are consistently aspirated after interrupted vowels, illustrations: čĩʔi[ɲ<sup>N</sup>] caja

chompa, kwá?a[ŋ<sup>N</sup>] yerba; 3) are voiceless and lenis after glottalized vowels, illustrations: čí?[ŋ̥] quince, kwa?[ŋ̥] chilar (see 4.5.).

2.1.1.2.2. Lateral Flap. Dental lateral flap /l/ is voiceless and lightly aspirated before silence, illustration: go[ɬ<sup>h</sup>] yema. /l/ is voiceless in utterance-medial syllable coda, illustrations: gù[ɬ̥].lɣiʃ enfermidad, nǎ?[ɬ̥]y hoy, bya[ɬ̥] yubèn se apagó solo, except where a voiced allophone occurs word-medially ambisyllabically and word-finally before /m/, /n/, and /d/, illustrations: bɬ[ɬ̥]má es culebra, gù[ɬ̥]nàbàyn Mucha vida!, pà[ɬ̥]dî mucho, pà[ɬ̥] mǎ unas animales, gù[ɬ̥] nǎgè?e anona verde, pà[ɬ̥] dá?a unas petates. Elsewhere /l/ is voiced, illustrations: [ɬ̥]lô raíz, [ɬ̥]yúʃ lengua, r[ɬ̥]lá?a apesta, b[ɬ̥]lyá?ay higo, gò[ɬ̥]lǒʃ langosta, gù[n̥].[ɬ̥]ǎ?ay bendición, gɬk[ɬ̥]ǎg seja, gɬʃ[ɬ̥]yo mundo.

2.1.1.2.3. Apical flap-trill. Apical /r/ manifests the following flap and trill allophones:

Free variation between a voiced alveolar flap [ɣ̣] and this with a neutral vocalic onset [°ɣ̣] occurs utterance-initially before /y/ or a vowel, illustrations: [ɣ̣/°ɣ̣]lǎč truenas, [ɣ̣/°ɣ̣]lye?k se quema. A voiced alveolar flap [ɣ̣] occurs: 1) utterance-medially word-initially before /y/, illustration: ʃa?ap [ɣ̣]lye?e muchacha está bailando; 2) utterance-medially before a vowel, illustrations: còn [ɣ̣]ṭ?ṭ tres cántaros, g[ɣ̣]ḷḷ la mitad, dó[ɣ̣]ḷṇ venas,



gìč[ř]òbév espina de nopal. A voiceless alveolar flap [ř̥] occurs: 1) word-medially before bilabial, velar, and semivowel consonants, illustrations: žá[ř̥]bīt chapulin peloncito, gĩ[ř̥]koʔo cerbatana, gĩ[ř̥]gìn vela, bĩ[ř̥]lyēʔe guajolote montés<sup>9</sup>; 2) word-finally before word-initial /k/, /b/, /g/, /ž/, /š/, /m/,<sup>10</sup> /w/, and /y/ (see [ř̥]), illustrations, lá[ř̥] kũb trapo nuevo, bũ[ř̥] bìn guajolote chico, lá[ř̥] gũč trapo amarillo, gĩ[ř̥] žũb ocote chueco, gĩ[ř̥] wĩš ocote seco, bũ[ř̥] yáʔas guajolote negro, gĩ[ř̥] šťĩʔĩl ocote tuyo, bũ[ř̥] mnaʔazy guajolote agarró....

A voiced alveolar trill [ṛ̌] occurs: 1) word-initially before nasals and /l/,<sup>11</sup> illustrations: [ṛ̌]niʔi habla, [ṛ̌]lyáʔn hambre, jaʔap [ṛ̌]niʔi muchacha habla, bīt [ṛ̌]láʔa zorrillo apesta; 2) utterance-initially before lenis stops, illustration: [ṛ̌]dĩl se pelea; 3) after word-final lenis stops, fricatives, nasals, and semivowels before lenis stops, illustrations: dād [ṛ̌]dĩd señor pasa, náš [ṛ̌]gĩʔid fruta (esta) pegajosa,<sup>12</sup> bĩž

<sup>9</sup>Since /r/ is not observed to occur word-medially before /p/, /č/, /j/, and /m/, it is unascertained how these environments would condition /r/ in the foregoing position. Before bilabial, velar, and semivowel consonants, with slow, deliberate speech, [ř̥] varies freely with [ṛ̌].

<sup>10</sup>/r/, in this position before /m/, differs allophonically with [ř̥] occurring after high vowels, as illustrated above, and [ṛ̌] after low vowels, as in žà[ṛ̌]má es chapulin, kō[ṛ̌]má pierna de animal.

<sup>11</sup>In this position /r/ may vary freely from [ṛ̌] to [ř̥] in more rapid speech.

<sup>12</sup>In this position /r/ may vary freely from [ṛ̌] to [ř̥] in more rapid speech and may approach a loose fricative articulation.

[r̄]gib pájaro chifla, dōzàʔn [r̄]j̄fn su hermano llega,<sup>11</sup>  
wǎy [r̄]biʃdoʔo caballo tiene sed. Free variation between  
a voiced alveolar trill [r̄] and a voiceless alveolar  
trill [r̥̄] occurs: 1) after word-final laterals and fortis  
stops before lenis stops, illustrations: ḡil [r̄/r̥̄]ḡid  
anona pegajosa, jaʔap [r̄/r̥̄]j̄āg muchacha se cansa<sup>13</sup>; 2)  
word-finally before /n/, illustration: žà[r̄/r̥̄] nāgèʔe  
chapulin verde; 3) utterance-initially in unison with  
succeeding lenis fricatives, illustrations: [r̄z/r̥̄ʃ]yuy  
muele, [r̄ž/r̥̄ʃ]loʔon corre; 4) after word-final nasals and  
semivowels in unison with succeeding lenis fricatives,<sup>13</sup>  
illustrations: dām [r̄z/r̥̄ʃ]lìʔíl tecolote está temprano...,  
dōzàʔn [r̄ž/r̥̄ʃ]loʔon su hermano corre, niyēw [r̄z/r̥̄ʃ]lìʔíl  
hombre está temprano..., wǎy [r̄ž/r̥̄ʃ]loʔon caballo corre.  
A voiceless alveolar trill [r̥̄] occurs: 1) after word-  
final consonants except nasals and semivowels before  
lenis fricatives,<sup>13</sup> illustrations: jaʔap [r̥̄]zìʔíl muchacha  
está temprana..., ḡid [r̥̄]žoʔon el pollo corre, yáš  
[r̥̄]zōb aguacate está puesta..., ndyūz [r̥̄]žoʔon mozo  
corre, žil [r̥̄]žoʔon borrego corre; 2) word-initially be-  
fore fortis stops, illustrations: [r̥̄]t̄ip está mocho, dād  
[r̥̄]čaʔab señor tiene flojera; 3) word-medially after a  
vowel before dentals and fricatives (see [r̥̄]),<sup>14</sup> illus-

<sup>13</sup>In this environment /r/ may manifest a weak voiceless trill that approaches a loose fricative articulation in rapid speech.

<sup>14</sup>Since /r/ is not observed word-medially after a vowel before the dentals /n/ and /t/ or before the frica-

trations: gĩ[ř]dĩ brazero, lá[ř]lo enagua, gĩ[ř]soʔo cueva; 4) word-finally before word-initial /p/, /t/, /č/, /d/, /j/, /z/, and /l/ (see [ř]), illustrations: gĩ[ř] píʔč ocote chico, bĩ[ř] tĩp guajolote mocho, bĩ[ř] čă (se) va a ir el guajolote, žà[ř] dĩ chapulin allí, lá[ř] jĩg trapo entonces, bĩ[ř] zá guajolote (se) va, škĩ[ř] lêʔn guajolote se llama; 5) before silence, illustration: žà[ř] chapulin.

2.1.1.2.4. Semivowels are rounded bilabial /w/ and palatal /y/.<sup>15</sup>

/w/ manifests a voiced syllabic allophone [w̥] word-initially and word-medially before /y/, illustrations: [w̥]lyēʔe fijate, dətmi[w̥]lyâ abuelo antiguo, gél[w̥]lyăʔ rio arriba, dĩng[w̥]lyáʔas indio machacado. A voiced allophone with a weakly voiced velar onglide [ɛw] occurs after word-final /n/ and velar stops, illustrations: čòn [ɛw]āg tres ratones, žyáʔyn [ɛw]à luz (del sol) se fue, lág [ɛw]ĩj hoja seca, nĩk [ɛw]leʔk por eso quemado. [ɛw] varies freely with a voiced allophone with no onglide [w] after silence and intervocalically,<sup>16</sup> illustrations: [w/ɛw]ê maduro, lá[w/ɛw]a yerbasanta. A voiced allophone [w] occurs: 1) elsewhere in the syllable

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tives /z/, /š/, and /ž/, it is unascertained how these environments would condition /r/ in a word-medial position.

<sup>15</sup>Semivowels are distinct from vowels, because semivowels never carry pitch phonemes and vowels always do.

<sup>16</sup>[ɛw] is more likely to occur in rapid speech and [w] in slower speech.

onset, illustrations: yâp [w]ê choyote maduro, k[w]é?e vano, k[w]rîž col, š[k]w]a ala, gũl[w]a El Campo de Yerba-santa, dâtž[w]â-nà acariñamiento, nám[w]ăly madrina, dyang[w]at sordo; 2) ambisyllabically before consonants other than /y/, illustration: yè[w]ró?o aguacero; 3) word-finally singly before a word-initial consonant, illustrations: bè[w] kũb peine nuevo, žà[w] yá?as sapo negro. A voiceless allophone [W] occurs word-finally after a velar stop before a word-initial consonant,<sup>17</sup> illustrations: nĩk[W] dōš perro bravo, dĩng[W] rni?i serrano habla. A voiceless allophone with a voiceless velar fricative offglide [W<sup>x</sup>] occurs before silence, illustrations: gē[W<sup>x</sup>] rio, brük[W<sup>x</sup>] jorobado, dĩng[W<sup>x</sup>] serrano.

/y/ manifests free variation between a voiced allophone [y] and this with a voiced velar onglide [ɛy] after silence<sup>18</sup> and after a single syllable-coda /n/, illustrations: [y/ɛy]lé?e mañana, nĩn[.y/.ɛy]ùy grillo, bĩn [y/ɛy]lá?as lodo negro. A voiceless allophone [Y] occurs after a consonant before silence, illustration: nàgăt[Y] blanco. A voiced aspirated allophone [y<sup>Y</sup>] occurs after a vowel before silence,<sup>19</sup> illustrations: nā[y<sup>Y</sup>] calor,

<sup>17</sup>In this position and environment /w/ can freely vary to very slight voicing before resonants and lenis consonant clusters and to a slight inaudible bilabial closure before fortis consonants.

<sup>18</sup>After silence [ɛy] is more frequent before front vowels.

<sup>19</sup>[y<sup>Y</sup>] may be alternatively interpreted as /y/ with a voiceless palatal fricative offglide: [y<sup>x</sup>].

See page 124, 23

zù?u[y<sup>Y</sup>] cacao. A voiced allophone [y] occurs elsewhere, illustrations: šop [ylò?o] seis casas, m[ylět] gente, bz[yl]ǎ? capulin, nī[yl]ēw hombre, zyà[ylñ.y]lán mucha gente, gīšl[yl]o mundo, gīč[yl]àč cadillo, rá[yl]žá todos nosotros, la?a[yl]n adentro, ga?a[yl] čé?e cinco cazuelas.

2.1.2. Vowels. The six basic vowel articulations are voiced; they are diagrammed in Figure 5.

SYLLABIC PHONEMES

		FRONT		CENTRAL		BACK	
		unrounded	rounded	unrounded	rounded	unrounded	rounded
HIGH	close	i					u
	open					ɨ	
MID	close	e					o
	open						
LOW	close						
	open			a			

Figure 5.

The inventory of vowel phonemes is tripled (see 4.6.) in that these six basic articulations may be:

- Simple : /V/
- Glottalized : /Vʔ/
- Interrupted : /VʔV/

A degree of symmetry is imposed in Figure 6 by aligning /i̥/, voiced high open back unrounded vowel, with /a/, voiced low open central unrounded vowel, on the basis of their common openess and unroundedness: *ant post central articulation*

i	i̥	u
e	a	o
iʔ	i̥ʔ	uʔ
eʔ	aʔ	oʔ
iʔi	i̥ʔi̥	uʔu
eʔe	aʔa	oʔo

Figure 6.

The eighteen vowels occur singly in the syllable nucleus; no diphthongs occur. The allophonic distributions of these phonemes (see 4.7. and 4.8.) are listed below with illustrations:

2.1.2.1. Simple vowels. Simple vowels are relatively long when: 1) occurring simultaneously with two tone phonemes, illustrations: t[í·]l regar, g[ǐ·]l noche, k[ǔ·]č cochino, z[é·]k como, b[á·]k Tlacolula, d[ǒ·]š bravo; 2) in word-final closed syllable between a resonant and /r/ or between a lenis consonant and /r/, illustrations: l[á·]r tela, g[ǐ·]r ocote, ž[à·]r chapulin; 3) in word-final closed syllable before lenis consonants, illustrations: w[ī·]j seco, z[ǐ·]l tobillo, ž[ū·]b chueco, r[é·]ž todos nosotros, y[á·]g palo, y[ó·]b tuétano; 4) in an utterance-medial word-final open syllable, illustrations: mn[ì·] štǐ·ʔi siembra de..., kw[ǐ·] pí·č soplador chico, b[è·] kǔb mes nuevo, n[a·] rlyan yo tengo hambre, d[ó·] gǒš mecate viejo. Front and back simple vowels which occur in utterance-final word-final open syllable are relatively long,<sup>20</sup> illustrations: mn[ì·] siembra, b[è·] mes, z[ō·] hoyo. Central simple vowels which occur in an utterance-final word-final open syllable are aspirated and relatively long, illustrations: bǵ[ǐ·<sup>h</sup>] la tarde, z[á·<sup>h</sup>] frijol. Simple vowels are relatively short when occurring simultaneously with one tone phoneme: 1) in initial and medial syllables of polysyllabic words, illustrations: b[í]jkak rana (especie chico), g[ǐ]lbg tempozuche, t[ul]ban una persona, kw[el]be pescaguado, kw[ā]ldǐj ya se comprometieron, g[ó]lzā·an bañado; 2) in a

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<sup>20</sup>In this position /u/ is unobserved, and /o/ is slightly aspirated in some idiolects.

closed syllable before fortis consonants or resonants, except between a resonant and /r/ or between a lenis consonant and /r/, illustrations: z[i]t lejos, ž[i]l borre-go, g[ĩ]k cabeza, b[ĩ]l carne, g[ú]č amarillo, ny[u]ly li-so, g[é]w rio, y[á]š aguacate, k[à]yn ¿Donde está?, d[ó]l pecado (see 4.9.).

2.1.2.2. Glottalized vowels. Glottalized vowels (see 4.10.) are relatively long when occurring: 1) simultaneously with two tone phonemes,<sup>21</sup> illustrations: g[ĩʔ·]n chile, br[ĩʔ·]nké aparte, l[êʔ·]n se llama, n[ăʔ·]ly hoy; 2) in a word-final closed syllable before a lenis consonant, illustrations: b[ĩʔ·]j tigre, ny[ũʔ·]z garza, by[èʔ·]ž vemos, y[óʔ·]b nervios; 3) in an utterance-medial word-final open syllable, illustrations: žog[tʔ·] píʔč chintete chico, nĩž[ũʔ·] čă brujo va..., pty[éʔ·] zèn epasote pues, jumby[āʔ·] tĩp chiquihuite mocho, bd[ōʔ·] kũb santo nuevo. Front glottalized vowels are relatively long in an open syllable before silence, illustration: pty[eʔ·] epasote. Central and back glottalized vowels are aspirated and relatively long in an open syllable before silence, illustrations: b[ĩʔ·<sup>h</sup>] aire, m[ũʔ·<sup>h</sup>] "torito" de bejuco, gĩy[àʔ·<sup>h</sup>] mano de me-tate, bd[ōʔ·<sup>h</sup>] santo. Glottalized vowels are relatively

<sup>21</sup>/uʔ/ and /oʔ/ are unobserved in this environment. Throughout the description, illustrations omit vowels which are unobserved in a particular position or environment.



short when occurring simultaneously with one tone phoneme: 1) in word-initial or word-medial syllables of polysyllabic words, illustrations: k[íʔ]jnal te abrazo, b[íʔ]zbič gato montés, pty[éʔ]sün ampollo, kw[áʔ]nlă yerbamarga; 2) in a word-final closed syllable before resonants and fortis consonants, illustrations: d[íʔ]č poco, n[íʔ]n me dijo, b[úʔ]ly pollo, žy[éʔ]w callejero, y[áʔ]l copal, r[óʔ]s milpa tierna.

2.1.2.3. Interrupted vowels. Interrupted vowels may vary freely from a voiced to a voiceless rearticulation in an utterance-final open syllable, illustrations: n[íʔi/iʔI] agrio, z[éʔe/éʔE] elote, r[íʔi/iʔi] cántaro, d[áʔa/áʔA] petate, y[óʔo/óʔO] casa. Interrupted vowels vary freely from a strong to a weak rearticulation: 1) in an utterance-medial word-final open syllable,<sup>22</sup> illustrations: ž[íʔi/iʔi] píʔč catarro chico, r[íʔi/iʔi] ščâ cántarro otra vez, kw[éʔe/éʔe] byàʔl vano abierto, pty[áʔa/áʔa] jtg ronchas entonces, g[oʔo/oʔo] má hubo animal; 2) in a closed syllable before consonants other than semivowels,<sup>22</sup> illustrations: k[íʔi/iʔi]č semilla de huamuche, z[íʔi/iʔi]t mata de calabaza, pš[uʔu/uʔu]č arruga, l[eʔe/eʔe]l tu, y[áʔa/áʔa]s negro, r[óʔo/óʔo]s bostezo. Interrupted vowels manifest an extra weak rear-

<sup>22</sup>In this position or environment laryngealization varies freely with absence of laryngealization and may occur on either or both sides of the "interruption"; laryngealization occurs most frequently on mid and low interrupted vowels.

ticulation with heavy laryngealization on both sides of the "interruption" in a closed syllable before a semi-vowel, illustrations: d[t̪<sup>2</sup>?t̪<sup>2</sup>]yn !Cual?, z[u̯<sup>2</sup>?u̯<sup>2</sup>]y cacao, g[e̯<sup>2</sup>?e̯<sup>2</sup>]w cal, w[a̯<sup>2</sup>?a̯<sup>2</sup>]y escoba, nd[ɔ̯<sup>2</sup>?ɔ̯<sup>2</sup>]yni<sup>2</sup>in niñito (see 4.11.).

Suprasegmental Phonemes

2.2.1. Pitch. Tone carries a relatively light functional load, because relatively few words in the language differ by pitch alone (Pike, K. 1948: 7). Tone occurs on the nucleus of each syllable.

*relative to some other tonal languages such as chinantec - cite source*

Although contrastive pitch has not been fully analyzed and integrated into the phonemic system, five level pitches are observed to contrast in Ayoquesco Zapotec: ['] extra high, [˘] high, ['] mid, [-] low, [ ] extra low (unmarked). Extra high pitch and high pitch may occur together on one vowel giving two additional contrastive pitch combinations: [ˆ] extra high to high, [˘ˆ] high to extra high. These combinations are actualized as glides. The five level pitches and the two pitch combinations are illustrated by the following "contrastive sets" (Pike, E.V. 1948: 161):

extra high:	dí <sup>2</sup> č	<u>poco</u>	bí <sup>2</sup> ?in	<u>lagarto</u>
extra high to high:			b̂il	<u>flama</u>
high to extra high:	gič	<u>pelo</u>	b̂il	<u>velorio</u>
high:	gič	<u>metate</u>	b̂il	<u>carne</u>
mid:	gič	<u>papel</u>		
low:	gīj	<u>menso</u>	b̂il	<u>culebra</u>
extra low:			b̂il	<u>pescado</u>

Extra high pitch ['] is almost in perfect complementary distribution with the extra high to high pitch combination [^], because extra high pitch occurs almost exclusively on glottalized and interrupted vowels and the extra high to high pitch combination occurs almost exclusively on simple vowels. However, this would-be statement of complementary distribution is contradicted by these exceptions:

réž    todos nosotros  
lé'n    se llama

Extra low pitch has a down-gliding allophone in utterance-final position.

Apparently both mechanical tone sandhi and morphonemic classes exist; however, pending a comprehensive analysis of this tone system, pitch is written phonetically throughout this description.

2.2.2. Stress. Stress is non-phonemic within the grammatical word and correlates entirely with tone. Syllables of higher pitch carry heavier phonetic stress than syllables of lower pitch; syllables of equal tone carry equal stress.

### The Syllable

2.3.1. Syllable patterns. The eight common syllable patterns are:

CV  
CVC  
CVCC  
CCV  
CCVC  
CCVCC  
CCCV  
CCVCV

Rare syllable patterns are: VC which occurs in two native words: /iz/ año, /ây/ sí; CVCCC syllable-coda triple consonant clusters which are derived (see 2.2.3. and 2.3.4.); V which only occurs as /a-/ es, as in /aʃùb naʒíʔi/ es muy bravo.

2.3.2. Syllable-initial margin. In the single C syllable-initial position, any consonant may occur either word-initially or word-medially. A single word-medial consonant is always assumed to be an onset of the succeeding vowel nucleus to conform to the common CV pattern, since V and VC patterns are rare and limited in occurrence (see 2.3.1.). The third consonant of initial triple CCC clusters is always a semivowel, with one exception: /kwríʒ/ col. Word-initial syllable-initial consonant clusters are listed individually and are classified under two headings: basic clusters, which are part of the word stem, and derived clusters, the result of

prefixation of a morpheme of a single consonant:

Word Initial Basic Clusters

- pč: /pčîn/ espuma  
pš: /pšūz/ sacerdote  
ty: /tye?ew/ encuerado  
kw: /kwîl/ totomoxtle  
ky: /kyêw/ daño  
bd: /bdò?o/ plátano  
bj: /bjîd/ pinsas  
bg: /bgî/ flauta  
bz: /bzî/ flor de calabaza  
bž: /bžîs/ partera  
bl: /blé?e/ barranca  
br: /brûyn/ coyocana  
by: /byá?/ amole  
dy: /dyè?e/ familia  
gl: /glol/ tu ojo  
gr: /gré/ todos  
šp: /špît/ partes femeninas<sup>23</sup>  
št: /štûb/ otro  
šč: /ščâ/ otra vez

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<sup>23</sup>Some of the initial basic consonant clusters beginning with an alveopalatal retroflexed fricative were originally derived clusters, because the retroflexed phonemes historically functioned as a possessive prefix; the prefix has now lost its meaning and has become part of the word stem.

- šk: /škùč/ ponsoña  
žb: /žbāʔn/ cola  
žg: /žgǎʔn/ hijo  
žn: /žnâž/ sonaze  
žl: /žlōž/ barba  
žw: /žwâ/ antecesor  
žy: /žyê/ jícara  
zd: /zdùb/ soltero  
zy: /zyàyn/ bastante  
mb: /mbēʔer/ bien hecho  
mw: /mwǎly/ comadre  
my: /myáʔa/ milpa  
nd: /ndoʔo/ niño  
nĵ: /nĵīʔiz/ ardilla  
ny: /nyāg/ cacalote  
ly: /lyùč/ bejuco  
wy: /wyâ/ antiguo  
pty: /ptyùš/ jitomate  
kwr: /kwriž/ col  
bzy: /bzyǎʔ/ capulin  
bžy: /bžyo/ temblor  
šty: /štyàn/ chapulin "burrito"  
škwa: /škwa/ ala  
žny: /žnyê/ rojo  
žly: /žlyé/ calentura  
mny: /mnyèʔe/ curandera  
ndy: /ndyūz/ mozo

Word Initial Derived Clusters

- pt: /ptoʔo/ vender  
pč: /pčèʔeyn/ está caliente  
bd: /bdǝ/ cómate  
bǰ: /bǰèʔe/ está cambiando  
bz: /bzīʔiyn/ cómprolo  
bž: /bžoʔon/ corre  
bl: /bla/ baja  
br: /broʔo/ salir  
gn: /gníʔteʔn/ hablan  
gr: /grǝl/ estuvo a mediados  
mn: /mni/ siembra  
ny: /nyaw/ cerrado  
rt: /rtīp/ está mocho  
rč: /rčīʔīb/ espanta  
rk: /rkib/ pegado  
rb: /rbijwtʔin/ quejido  
rd: /rdil/ pelea  
rǰ: /rǰīb/ se espanta  
rg: /rgib/ chifla  
rz: /rzǝʔp/ está puesta  
rž: /ržoʔon/ está corriendo  
rl: /rlǝǰ/ me duele  
rn: /rniʔi/ habla  
ry: /ryeʔk/ quema  
wy: /wyǝʔe/ fíjate

pty: /ptyùžèn/ pélalo  
bzy: /bzyat/ está lavado  
gry: /gryìž/ se dèshoja  
rty: /rtyoʔon/ tiene sed  
rkw: /rkwiž/ tocar (musica)  
rzy: /rzyuy/ lo muele  
rly: /rlyʔn/ tiene hambre

2.3.3. Word-medial consonant clusters. Word-medial consonant clusters are of three types: <sup>uni</sup>monosyllabic, bisyllabic, and ambisyllabic. <sup>uni</sup>Monosyllabic consonant clusters are always contained within a single syllable. Bisyllabic consonant clusters comprise both syllable-coda and syllable-onset consonants and are divided by a syllable break. This analysis does not regard consonants separated by an independent morpheme break to constitute consonant clusters. Ambisyllabic consonant clusters comprise a cluster-final consonant which is always of the onset of the succeeding syllable nucleus, since all syllables, with a few noted rare patterns (see 2.3.1.), must begin with a consonant, and one or two preceding consonants which are ambivalent as to whether they are of the coda of the preceding syllable or part of the onset of the succeeding syllable.

2.3.3.1. <sup>uni</sup>Monosyllabic consonant clusters. /yn/ is the only word-medial <sup>uni</sup>monosyllabic consonant cluster; it is always <sup>uni</sup>monosyllabic, because in all cases /n/ mani-



feats its syllable-coda allophone<sup>24</sup> (see 4.13.1.):

yn: zyà[yñ.d]í bastantes cosas

2.3.3.2. Bisyllabic consonant clusters. The following combinations of consonants can never occur contiguously within a single syllable, and when contiguous, constitute a bisyllabic cluster:

1) a fortis and a lenis consonant, because a lenis consonant occurring contingent to a fortis consonant within a single syllable itself becomes fortis:

b.s: /tubsèš/ uno de los dos

d.č: /dadča?ap/ suegro (del hombre)

d.k: /gìdko?n/ pellejo de su cuerpo

z.k: /nìzkó?orì/ por aquel lado

t.b: /jìtbā?/ concha grande

t.g: /gìtgìč/ calabaza huiche

t.z: /gìtzē?e/ mamela de elote

č.b: /gìčbí?in/ cogoyo de mesquite

č.g: /bìčgì?i/ chintatlahua

č.z: /kúčze/ cuchinito

č.ž: /gìčžôl/ aguante

k.d: /gìkdòmī/ rédito

k.z: /rakzi?in/ enfermo

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<sup>24</sup>When word-final /yn/ becomes contiguous with a syllable-onset /n/ accross a morpheme break, both nasals reduce to a single dental consonant; however, the morpheme break prevents /yn/ from becoming ambisyllabic, as in /yayn-nì/ el cuello de uno.

s.b: /gĩsbĩldòb/ ojito de pájaro (flor)

s.g: /nĩsgop/ <sup>and</sup> rocío;

2) two fricatives, because two fricatives occurring contingently within a syllable reduce to a single consonant (see 2.4.4.,5);

3) /n/ preceding alveopalatal stops, fricatives, and non-nasal resonants, because in these environments /n/ always manifests allophones which are conditioned by, and which thereby indicate, its position in the coda of the preceding syllable:

n.č: /gayončòn/ sesenta y tres

n.ĵ: /bĩnjà?áb/ diablo

n.z: /kwá?nzən/ cuanasana

n.ž: /žunžà?anèš/ La Virgin

n.l: /jĩnlày/ tequic

n.r: /nànró?o/ abuelita

n.w: /žgá?nwyà?ná/ mi entenado

n.y: /gĩnyan/ coloradito;

4) single /j/ preceding all consonants or a single /l/ preceding all consonants other than /d/, /n/, and /m/, because in this environment /j/ and /l/ manifest a voiceless syllable-coda allophone and the succeeding consonant constitutes the onset of the succeeding syllable to complete the prevailing CV pattern<sup>25</sup>:

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<sup>25</sup>Since /j/ and /l/ do not occur before consonants

- ĵ.k: /bĵkak/ rana (chica)  
ĵ.d: /rbĵdoʔo/ tiene sed  
ĵ.g: /bĵgèʔe/ moreton  
ĵ.s: /gĵsoʔo/ Jamixtepec  
ĵ.n: /kĵʔnal/ te abrazo  
ĵ.w: /rbĵwtʔün/ quejido  
ĵ.y: /yàbĵyoʔo/ atravesada de casa  
  
l.b: /galbigě/ veinte nueve  
l.g: /bĵlgĵž/ chicharon  
l.p: /galpĵiʔi/ treinta  
l.t: /lāĵgĵltĵč/ pixtle  
l.č: /galčòn/ veinte tres  
l.k: /bĵlkoʔob/ granitos de infección  
l.z: /rōlzè/ la mitad  
l.ž: /bĵlžĵl/ gusanos de seda  
l.š: /galšòp/ veinte seis  
l.r: /gĵlrün/ inteligencia

word-initially, there is no objective basis by which to ascertain whether the voiceless word-medial allophones of /ĵ/ before all consonants and the voiceless allophones of /l/ before fortis consonants are conditioned by the position of these phonemes in the syllable coda or by the environments of the succeeding consonants. Classification of these clusters as bisyllabic rather than ambisyllabic derives primarily from the voiceless occurrence of /ĵ/ and /l/ in word-final syllable coda and their voiced occurrence in word-initial syllable onset. This contrasts with the ambisyllabic classification of other word-medial consonant clusters, such as those beginning with /r/ or with lenis fricatives, which occur word-initially and which thereby could easily occur as word-medial monosyllabic clusters. That the allophones of these word-medial consonant clusters condition distinctly from identical word-initial clusters, necessitates their ambisyllabic classification.

1.w: /gĩlwa/ El Campo de Yebasanta

1.y: /bĩlyé'e/ toxtle;

5) /d/ preceding obstruents and /r/, because in this position /d/ consistently manifests its voiceless syllable-coda allophone, which disaffiliates /d/ from the voiced allophones of succeeding syllable-onset lenis stops and /r/:

d.g: /gĩdgĩ/ caspa

d.r: /gĩdro'ol/ tu labio.

2.3.3.3. Ambisyllabic clusters. Eleven categories of word-medial consonant clusters are ambisyllabic because the allophones manifested by these consonants do not relate to the position of these consonants within the the syllable, but rather the allophones are conditioned by environmental influences which operate independently of the position of the consonants in the syllable. The following categories of ambisyllabic consonant clusters are classed according to the kind of environmental conditioning which makes the constituent consonants of these clusters unassignable to a syllable onset or coda:

1) /n/ assimilates to the point of articulation of a succeeding dental or velar stop:

nd: /jĩndāp/ chinche campestre

ng: /lángič/ tepiche

nk: /kĩnkĩt/ quízá.

2) /n/ is dental before /m/:

nm: /nànmí/ abuela.

3) /l/ is voiced before /d/, /m/, and /n/:

ld: /pàldì/ mucho

lm: /bīlmá/ es animal

ln: /gīlnàbàyn/ Mucha vida!

4) Word-medial lenis dental and velar stops are voiced before nasals, semivowels and /l/, and word-medial lenis bilabial stops are voiced before all resonants:

by: /gíbyāg/ hacha

dy: /gīlgidyòb/ huarache texcacle

gy: /žógye?e/ pesuña

bl: /žóblīw/ llamafrio

dl: /gídla/ hiel

gl: /gīglōl/ niño del ojo

bn: /zābnáj/ publicatos

gn: /làgna/ punta de capa (flor)

br: /zdùbrīn/ soltera tierna.

5) /b/ varies freely between a voiceless and a lightly voiced allophone word-medially before lenis stops<sup>26</sup>:

bg: /gībgo/ tempozuche

bj: /yàbjī?/ tunal.

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<sup>26</sup>This statement is less precise than, and seems to contradict, the phonemic statement (page 94). There

6) /b/ and /d/ are voiceless in unison with a succeeding lenis fricative word-medially:

bz: /tóbze/ tapezco

bž: /gibžib/ pantorilla

dz: /nīngīdzīn/ murciélago

bzy: /júbzyàyn/ bastante

bžy: /rīʔībžyāž/ pichancha.

7) /r/ is consistently voiceless word-medially before a consonant:

rk: /gīrkoʔo/ cerbatana

rb: /žàrbīt/ chapulin "peloncito"

rg: /gīrgīn/ vela

rz: /gīrzūj/ borrachera

rs: /gīrsoʔo/ cueva

rl: /lárlo/ enagua

ry: /bīryēʔe/ guajolote montés.

restante

8) /m/ and fortis consonants have <sup>only one</sup> no word-medial allophones, and /w/ in all environments and /y/ except after syllable-coda /n/ have no word-medial allophones which determine their relation to the syllable:

a) mb: /žīmbil/ largartija (chica)

mg: /dàngtʔž/ espantajo

is a difference between the consonant clusters of /gībgo/ and /žóbgiʔn/ in that the /b/ of the former illustration is more voiced than that of the latter. This is because the syllable divides differently in the two consonant clusters. Since this difference is negligible, the allophones, contrary to the phonemic statement, are considered here as the same; but for an alternative interpretation, see 4.13.

mn: /lámno/ pájarobobo (planta)<sup>27</sup>

my: /yómyá?a/ tierra de siembra;

- b) wt: /lewta?n/ ellos no más  
wg: /gégít/ rio abajo  
wž: /lewžá/ nosotros no más  
wr: /žàwró?o/ sapo (grande)  
wy: /dàtmìwyâ/ abuelo antiguo  
yž: /ràyžá/ todos nosotros;

- c) pt: /lòptíw/ subidita  
pč: /čī?ipčòn/ trece  
pk: /yàpki?ič/ huamuchal  
pš: /bdàpšá/ los cuatro  
py: /nyüpye?e/ aguamiel  
tč: /gítči?in/ chompa  
tk: /jítko?o/ cadera  
tm: /dàtmí/ abuelo  
tl: /bítlō/ cacomixtle  
tr: /watre?e/ madrugada  
tw: /škitwiĵ/ venturilla  
ty: /gíttye/ caña de mazorca

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<sup>27</sup>An alternative interpretation is that /mn/ is always monosyllabic /.mn/ and /bn/ is always bisyllabic /b.n/. This alternative would necessitate the restriction that /b/ could not occur in the syllable onset before /n/. That /bn/ never occurs word-initially favors this interpretation, but does not prove its validity. The etymological explanation of word-medial /mn/ is probably identical to that of /pk/ in /yàpki?ič/.

čk:	/gǐčkùy/	<u>acietillo</u>
čn:	/gǐčnìj/	<u>chicalote</u>
čl:	/gǐčlag/	<u>párparo</u>
čr:	/gǐčròbèw/	<u>espina de nopal</u>
čy:	/gǐčyàč/	<u>cadillo</u>
kn:	/yàkná/	<u>sanar</u>
kl:	/gǐklàg/	<u>seja</u>
kw:	/nǐkwīj/	<u>perro rabioso</u>
ky:	/žòkyé/	<u>chapulin verde</u>
st:	/nǐstoʔo/	<u>mar</u>
sk:	/nǐskêdoʔo/	<u>ahorrita</u>
sr:	/gǐsróʔo/	<u>olla grande</u>
sy:	/nǐsyāb/	<u>atole</u>
št:	/gǐštō/	<u>columpio</u>
šk:	/kèške/	<u>carro</u>
šl:	/bǐšlān/	<u>molcajete</u>
šy:	/dášyèw/	<u>tio</u>
pty:	/čǐʔiptyòp/	<u>doce</u>
tkw:	/jǐtkwèzǐd/	<u>chirrido del calandrio</u>
skw:	/nǐskwaʔn/	<u>agua de cocimiento.</u>

9) Lenis fricatives are always voiceless before consonants other than semivowels:

zg:	/bǐʔzgǐt/	<u>tejon</u>
zl:	/wǐzłáč/	<u>tarántula</u> <i>Snake spider</i>
zr:	/nǐzrǐ/	<u>por allí</u>
žb:	/gǐžbèw/	<u>camotillo</u>



žd: /lõždij/ cumplimiento

žg: /nažga/ grande

žl: /gõtgĩžlõ/ boca abajo.

10) Lenis fricatives always freely vary between-voiced and voiceless allophones before word-medial semi-vowels:

zw: /wizwát/ culebra sorda

zy: /nízyo/ calle

žw: /žũžwá/ San Juan Guegolava

žy: /nižyé?w/ gurreon.

11) /d/ and /l/ lose their allophonic relation to the syllable and to the word when occurring between consonants, providing one of the other ten types of environmental conditioning operates between /d/ or /l/ and the first consonant in the cluster:

ndr: /jãndrõ/ Los Chivos (juego)

bly: /yáblya?y/ zopotál

šly: /gĩšlyo/ mundo.

In addition to the foregoing eleven categories of ambisyllabic consonant clusters, other ambisyllabic clusters may occur as a result of combinations of any of the basic types of environmental conditioning of these original categories:

pty: (8c+8c) /galpčĩ?iptyòp/ treinta y dos

pwy: (8c+8b) /šča?apwya?na/ mi hijastra

mpt:	(8a+8c)	/čĩ?imptùb/	<u>diesiseis</u>
mpč:	(8a+8c)	/čĩ?impčòn/	<u>diesiocho</u>
mpš:	(8a+8c)	/gayompšòn/	<u>sesenta y ocho</u>
mbž:	(8a+6)	/zàmbžizná/	<u>hermano de mi nuera</u>
mbl:	(8a+4)	/kwá?mblè/	<u>chamizo de hondo</u>
mby:	(8a+4)	/jũmbyā?/	<u>chiquihuite</u>
nty:	(1+8c)	/kwà?ntyõn/	<u>yerbabuena montés</u>
ndy:	(1+4)	/žĩndyùz/	<u>gusano "tiernera"</u>
ngw:	(1+4)	/dyangwat/	<u>sordo</u>
zbl:	(9+4)	/gĩzblâč/	<u>quelite</u>
žby:	(9+4)	/ro?ogóžbye/	<u>La Ciéndiga de Zimatlán</u>
žmy:	(9+8a)	/gĩžmya?a/	<u>zacate de milpa</u>
mpty:	(8a+8c+8c)	/čĩ?imptyòp/	<u>diesisiete</u>
ngwy:	(1+4+8b)	/dĩngwys?as/	<u>indio machacado.</u>

2.3.4. Syllable-final margin. In the single C syllable-final position, any consonant may occur word-finally, or any consonant may word-medially, if the consonant is not of an ambisyllabic cluster. The two double CC syllable final clusters which occur word-finally and which cannot occur word-medially ambisyllabically are the only observed examples of derived word-final consonant clusters: /nč/ derives from the contraction of /nača?anča?an/ to /nača?anč/; /nš/ derives by suffixation of the emphatic /-š/. Of the two triple CCC syllable-final clusters, /ynš/ derives by suffixation of /-š/ and /ngw/ results from the automatic occurrence of /g/ be-\*

tween /n/ and a word-final /w/. Word final consonant clusters are:

py: /waʔpy/ subio  
ty: /guty/ se murio  
by: /bzəby/ huérfano  
dy: /lady/ cuervo  
št: /lyâšt/ cebolla  
sy: /bdaʔasy/ dormir  
zy: /nalazy/ degado  
ly: /năʔly/ hoy  
kw: /nīkw/ perro  
nd: /bēdônd/ chuparosa  
ng: /jäng/ chinche  
nč: /načaʔanč/ tartamudo  
nš: /leʔnš/ es él  
yn: /réyn/ todo  
ys: /běys/ anarenjada gris  
ngw: /dīngw/ serrano  
ynš: /naynš/ ya.

2.3.5. Consonant and vowel restrictions. /y/ never occurs after a consonant before /i/ (see 2.4.1.); /w/ and /u/ are never contingent. Two vowels never occur contiguously within the same grammatical word (see 2.4.6.).

## Morphophonemics

2.4. Morphophonemic alterations of segmental phonemes are automatic and do not concern word classes, although a morphophonemic rule may apply to only one morpheme. Morphemic combinations which precipitate morphophonemic changes are either morphological, in this case the combination of bound with independent morphemes through affixation, or syntactic, the contiguous occurrence of independent morphemes in a grammatical phrase. The morphophonemic processes are elision, reduction, assimilation, intercalation, metathesis, substitution, and combinations of these. The following morphophonemic rules are generally classified by the processes they entail and are specifically distinguished both by the combination of phonemes concerned and by the morphemic combination which unites the phonemes.

Except in the examples which support these rules or where otherwise indicated, independent morphemes which are morphophonemically altered through syntactic combinations are written as they would occur in isolation, regardless of the morphophonemic rules.

### 2.4.1. Elision.

1) Word-initial /nd/ becomes /d/ by the elision of /n/ when /nd/ succeeds a consonant other than /n/ or a dental stop through syntactic combinations:

tub	+	ndo'o	=	tub do'o	<u>un niño</u>
rgib	+	"	=	rgib do'o	<u>chifla el niño</u>
gaĵ	+	"	=	gaĵ do'o	<u>siete niños</u>
nâ'g	+	"	=	nâ'g do'o	<u>ayer el niño...</u>
šop	+	"	=	šop do'o	<u>seis niños</u>
dí'č	+	"	=	dí'č do'o	<u>pocos niños</u>
nĭk	+	"	=	nĭk do'o	<u>por eso niño</u>
ràz	+	"	=	ràz do'o	<u>se baña el niño</u>
byè'ž	+	"	=	byè'ž do'o	<u>vemos al niño</u>
gàzèš	+	"	=	gàzèš do'o	<u>bañamos al niño</u>
gal	+	"	=	gal do'o	<u>veinte niños</u>
tòr	+	"	=	tòr do'o	<u>tal vez el niño...</u>
ga'ay	+	"	=	ga'ay do'o	<u>cinco niños</u>

2) /nd/ becomes /n/ by the elision of /d/ when word-final /nd/ precedes a word-initial /l/ through syntactic combinations:

bèdônd + lê'n = bèdôn lê'n chuparosa se llama

3) Cy becomes C by the elision of /y/

a) when word-final Cy is suffixed by diminutive /-i'in/:

bzaby	+	-i'in	=	bzabi'in	<u>huerfanito</u>
lady	+	"	=	ladi'in	<u>cuerpito</u>
nĭlâty	+	"	=	nĭlâtí'in	<u>zancudito</u>
nalazy	+	"	=	nalazi'in	<u>delgadito</u>
bĭlâsy	+	"	=	bĭlâsi'in	<u>conejito</u>
mbăly	+	"	=	mbăli'in	<u>compadrito</u>

b) when word-final Cy is succeeded by a consonant of a point and manner of articulation other than that of C:

nă?ly	+	tǐž	=	nă?l tǐž	<u>hoy teja</u>
nă?ly	+	gǐl	=	nă?l gǐl	<u>hoy anona</u>
mbăly	+	rlyā?n	=	mbăl rlyā?n	<u>compadre tiene hambre</u>
nīlâty	+	pí?č	=	nīlât pí?č	<u>zancudo chico</u>
nīlâty	+	zá	=	nīlât zá	<u>zancudo se va</u>
nīlâty	+	bro?o	=	nīlât bro?o	<u>zancudo se salio</u>
lădy	+	jǐg	=	lăd jǐg	<u>cuerpo entonces</u>
lădy	+	žüb	=	lăd žüb	<u>chueco del cuerpo</u>
blădy	+	küb	=	blăd küb	<u>corteza nueva</u>
bzaby	+	štǐ?i	=	bzab štǐ?i	<u>huérfano de...</u>
bzaby	+	mni?i	=	bzab mni?i	<u>huérfano habló</u>
bǐlâsy	+	rǐ	=	bǐlâs rǐ	<u>conejo ese</u>
bǐlâsy	+	nažga	=	bǐlâs nažga	<u>conejo grande</u>
kwăsy	+	mă	=	kwăs mă	<u>mejilla de animal</u>
mna?azy	+	lă?a	=	mna?az lă?a	<u>agarra el huaje</u>

4) /-yn/ suffixing to a verb stem ending in /i/ appears to become /n/ by the elision of /y/:

nălǐ + -yn = nălǐn [nă.ǐiñ] es cierto  
cierto verb-obj.

However, although /y/ appears to elide when /-yn/ is suffixed to /i/, the /n/ continues to manifest an alveopalatal allophone (see 2.1.1.2.1.), as if the "elided" /y/ were still present to condition this allophone. To

avoid adding an alveopalatal nasal to the phoneme inventory, an alternative interpretation to the above morphophonemic rule is necessary: the phoneme /y/ manifests a "reduced allophone" after /i/. A "reduced allophone" is an allophone which, although imperceptible in its own right, has a perceptible and significant presence in that it conditions allophones of contingent phonemes. Being readily perceptible by these secondary characteristics, a "reduced allophone" merits the written status of any other phoneme variant in the language. Although superficially /nāli + -yn/ sounds like [na.ĩiñ], it is actually /nāliyn/, and it should be written this way.

5) /tub/ uno preceding a stop or a fricative becomes /tu/ by the elision of final /b/ through syntactic combinations:

tub + gín = tu gín una caja

tub + zà = tu zà un frijol

2.4.2. Elision with substitution. When an interrupted vowel and a glottalized vowel of different articulations are contingent, the glottalized vowel elides and the interrupted vowel is substituted by a glottalized vowel of identical articulation through morphological combinations:

koʔo + -aʔn = koʔn

lado      suyo      su lado de él

2.4.3. Elision with reduction.

1) nd + n becomes single /n/ by the elision of /d/ and the reduction of the two nasals to a single phoneme through syntactic combinations:

bèdônd + nāgè?e = bèdônāgè?e chuparosa verde

2) Dental stop + nd becomes a single dental stop by the elision of /n/ and the reduction of the stops to a single phoneme (see 2.4.4., #5) through syntactic combinations:

kòd + ndo?o = kòdo?o !Cuál niño?

rkít + ndo?o = rkító?o está contento el niño

3) When Cy precedes a consonant of the same point and manner of articulation as C, the cluster becomes a single C by the elision of /y/ and the reduction of the two C consonants to a single consonant through syntactic combinations:

nă?ly + lă?ayn = nă?lă?ayn hoy adentro...

nəgăty + tīč = nəgătīč ...blanco atrás

blady + dá?a = bladá?a quita el petate

bzaby + bro?o = bzabro?o huérfano se salio

bîlâsy + zâ = bîlâsâ el conejo va...

nâlâzy + zâ?n = nâlâzâ?n se va triste

kūty + dá?a = kūtá?a pega el petate

lady + tīč = latīč el cuerpo atrás

bzaby + pí?č = bzapí?č el huérfano chico



2.4.4. Reduction.

1) When /b/ precedes single /m/ or /mb/, /b/ and /m/ reduce to /m/ through:

a) morphological combinations:

yo?b + -mă = yo?mă  
sesos poss. sesos del animal

b) syntactic combinations:

rgib + mbăly = rgimbăly chifla compadre

2) When /b/ precedes /mn/, /b/ and /m/ reduce to /b/ through syntactic combinations:

bžo?ob + mni = bžo?obni sembrar

3) Two contingent phonemes with a common point and manner of articulation reduce to a single phoneme through:

a) morphological combinations:

dōzăn + na = dōzăna mi hermano

b) syntactic combinations:

šop + pīt = šopīt seis varritas de ixtle  
gīt + tūli = gītūli la caña recta  
dí?č + čóta?n = dí?čóta?n pocos van a...  
nīk + kŭb = nīkŭb por eso nuevo  
tub + biĵ = tubiĵ una semilla  
bdīd + dá?a = bdīdá?a pasa el petate  
gàĵ + ĵil = gàĵil siete comales  
yág + gōš = yágōš palo viejo

yáš	+	štĩ'1	=	yáštĩ'1	tu	<u>aguacate</u>
giž	+	žöb	=	gižöb	el	<u>zacate de maiz</u>
gal	+	là'a	=	galà'a	<u>veinte</u>	<u>huajes</u>
gītĩkw	+	wĩj	=	gītĩkwĩj	<u>flor de coquito</u>	<u>seco</u>
dĩngw	+	wa	=	dĩngwa	<u>el serrano</u>	<u>se fue</u>
ga'ay	+	yó'o	=	ga'ayó'o	<u>cinco</u>	<u>casas</u>

4) Two contingent /r/ phonemes reduce to a single phoneme through syntactic combinations according to the above rule 3); however, the resultant single phoneme manifests different allophones, as these allophones are conditioned by the different combinations of environments which can be produced by the syntactic combination of morphemes. Since these allophones are manifestations of morphophonemically reduced phonemes and not of regular phonemes, and since they are conditioned independently of the rules of the phonemic system, these allophones are part of the morphophonemic system, not the phonemic system, and they must be described as such. Hence, when a reduced single /r/ phoneme results from two contingent phonemes, it manifests these allophones in the corresponding environments:

a) a voiceless flap before bilabial and velar stops, semivowels and vowels:

bür	+	rbijdò'o	=	bü[ř]bijdò'o	<u>guajolote</u>	<u>tiene</u>	<u>sed</u>
gür	+	rgĩ'id	=	gü[ř]gĩ'id	<u>el ocote</u>	<u>se pega</u>	
bür	+	rkĩt	=	bü[ř]kĩt	<u>el guajolote</u>	<u>le da</u>	<u>gusto</u>

g<sup>+</sup>tr + rye<sup>?</sup>k = g<sup>+</sup>t[ř]ye<sup>?</sup>k ocote se está quemando

žar + rějë = ža[ř]ějë ...chapulin diario

b) a voiceless trill before dental phonemes:

b<sup>+</sup>ir + rdo<sup>?</sup>o = b<sup>+</sup>i[ř]do<sup>?</sup>o se vende el guajolote

b<sup>+</sup>ir + rtí<sup>?</sup>ičén = b<sup>+</sup>i[ř]tí<sup>?</sup>ičén guajolote lo riega

b<sup>+</sup>ir + rna<sup>?</sup>azy = b<sup>+</sup>i[ř]na<sup>?</sup>azy guajolote lo agarra

b<sup>+</sup>ir + rlya<sup>?</sup>n = b<sup>+</sup>i[ř]lya<sup>?</sup>n guajolote tiene hambre

c) free variation between voiceless flap and voiceless trill before fricatives:

g<sup>+</sup>tr + rzi<sup>?</sup>íl = g<sup>+</sup>t[ř/r]zi<sup>?</sup>íl ...ocote temprano

b<sup>+</sup>ir + ržo<sup>?</sup>on = b<sup>+</sup>i[ř/r]žo<sup>?</sup>on guajolote está corriendo

d) free variation between a weak voiceless trill and a fronted alveopalatal fricative before alveopalatal stops:

b<sup>+</sup>ir + rčè<sup>?</sup>e = b<sup>+</sup>i[ř/š]čè<sup>?</sup>e guajolote se está empollando

b<sup>+</sup>ir + rjè<sup>?</sup>e = b<sup>+</sup>i[ř/š]jè<sup>?</sup>e guajolote se esta calentando...

5) When two contingent phonemes have a common point and manner of articulation, and at least one of these phonemes is fortis, the two phonemes reduce to a single fortis phoneme through syntactic combinations:

šop + bě = šopě seis coyotes

tub + pīt = tupīt una varrita de ixtle

g<sup>+</sup>it + dī = g<sup>+</sup>itī caña allí

gid + tīč = gitīč el piel de la espalda

gič + j<sup>+</sup>tg = gič<sup>+</sup>tg el metate entonces

rye?k + gič = rye?kič se quema el papel  
yáǵ + kǔb = yákǔb el pelo nuevo  
nǐs + zèn = nǐsèn agua pues  
yàyaš + žwă = yàyašwă aguacatal viejo  
bǐž + šti?l = bǐšti?l peso tuyo

6) When a simple vowel and a glottalized vowel of the same articulation become contingent, they reduce to a single glottalized vowel through morphological combinations:

dya + -a?n = dya?n  
oído      suyo      su oído de él

#### 2.4.5. Assimilation.

1) Word-final /n/, when not succeeding /y/, assimilates to the point of articulation of a succeeding bilabial stop through syntactic combinations:

yǎn + bzya?ay = yǎm bzya?ay olote quema  
yǎn + pí?č = yǎm pí?č olote chico  
gǐdzān + bro?o = gǐdzām bro?o gallina salio  
gó?on + pí?č = gó?om pí?č toro chico  
čòn + bě = čòm bě tres coyotes

2) A bilabial verb tense prefix assimilates to the manner or the modification of articulation of a succeeding lenis, fortis, or nasal phoneme through morphological combinations:

BiL. + čti?üb = pčti?üb espántalo  
BiL. + čé?eyn = pché?eyn cámbialo

BiL.	+	ǰè?eyn	=	bǰè?eyn	<u>se cambio</u>
BiL.	+	ǰo?on	=	bǰo?on	<u>corre</u>
BiL.	+	zon	=	bzon	<u>junta</u>
BiL.	+	ni?i	=	mni?i	<u>habló</u>

2.4.6. Intercalation. /yn/ intercalates between two vowels when the open syllable of a noun stem receives a diminutive suffix:

byá?a	+	-i?in	=	byá?ayni?in
<u>nopal</u>		<u>-ito</u>		<u>nopalito</u>

2.4.7. Metathesis with substitution. The constituent phonemes of the word-initial consonant cluster /bǰ/ reverse positions by metathesis and /w/ substitutes /b/ when /bǰ/ precedes /i/ and succeeds a word-final bilabial stop:

tub	+	bǰis	=	tub	ǰwis	<u>una partera</u>
ǰop	+	bǰis	=	ǰop	ǰwis	<u>seis parteras</u>

2.4.8. Substitution.

1) In many ideolects simple vowels are substituted for glottalized vowels when the syllable of which a glottalized vowel is the nucleus receives a suffix:

bě?	+	-mă	=	běmá	<u>es coyote</u>
gǐ?	+	-ǰnă	=	gǐǰnă	<u>mi flor</u>
bī?ǰ	+	-i?in	=	bīǰi?in	<u>tigrito</u>

2) In many ideolects a glottalized vowel is substituted for an interrupted vowel when an interrupted

vowel, as the nucleus of a monosyllabic bound morpheme,  
prefixes to a noun stem:

tāʔa- + biʔin = tāʔbiʔin  
pl.      muchacho   muchachos

roʔo- + géw = roʔgéw  
orilla      rio      el margin del rio

## CHAPTER III

### LEXICON

3. This lexicon comprises slightly over 2000 entries. Items are written phonemically and are alphabetized in the following order: p, t, č, k, b, d, ě, g, s, š, z, ž, m, n, l, r, w, y, x, f, ř, h, i, i', i'i, e, e', e'e, ü, ü', ü'ü, a, a', a'a, u, u', u'u, o, o', o'o.

#### General Vocabulary

3.1. This list largely includes nouns, adjectives, and particles. An extensive listing of verbs is withheld, pending an analysis of verb tense and verb morphology. The few verbs entered here bear only rough translations of tense.

<u>P</u>	<u>ptyùš</u> <u>gîž</u> el miltomate
	<u>ptyog</u> el gorgojo de maíz
	<u>ptây</u> la tuna pelona
<u>ptyé'e</u> el epazote	<u>pto'o</u> vender
<u>ptyé'sin</u> el ampollo (arc.)	<u>pčín</u> la espuma
<u>ptyá'a</u> las ronchas, la alergia	<u>pčé'e</u> el piojo
<u>ptyûĵ</u> la baba	<u>pčé'eyn</u> (está) calentada
<u>ptyùžèn</u> pélalo	<u>pšûz</u> el sacerdote (arc.)
<u>ptyùš</u> el jitomate	<u>pšûz</u> la maya (insecto); un "animal" del río

*manana  
pasado manana  
resolano*

? x pšu?uč la arruga; la  
verruca

püyn el puño

plät la plata; el plato

pörk porque

pri?ž el prisito

T

pwěst el impuesto

pwënt el puente

tríp las tripas

pít el miembro

trínč el trinche

pít la varrita de ixtle

tyënd la tienda

pítlěw pájaro, especie  
negro de cola larga  
con chiflida pare-  
cida a su nombre

tyé?nis el ampollo

tye?ew encuerado

pínti's el torito de ór-  
gano (insecto)

tyánštíl la yerbabuena  
tyónštíl (ideolect)

pí?č chico

tyuž škī níkw el tonchichi

pětkè creo que...

tyòzkè por Dios que...

pátyè?ená la planta de mi  
pie

tyóniĵin la pitiona

pàdrē nwěstr El Padre  
Nuestro

tīč atrás  
tīč yó?o atrás de la  
casa

pà-žná mi papá

tīč-ná mi espalda

pāntyön el panteon

tīčyā?-nì la respalda de  
la mano de uno

pānīt el pañuelo

tīb coser (ropa)

pānĭl la panela

tí?ib la cicatriz

pāl unos; ¿Cuántos?

tīm el timon

pàldímá varios animales

tīl regar

pàldín varias cosas

tê gris claro (gris alto) *descolorido pálido  
blanquecino  
descolorido*

pàldi mucho *muchas?*

tèsòrěr el tesorero

pàlèn varias personas

tīp mocho

pārs el barzon

tīd demasiado

→ pālòm la torcaza, la paloma



zyàyn tìd demasiado  
nažga tìd muy grande

tīž la teja

tīl la rueda de jícara

tàbĭk el tabique

tàbăkw el tabaco

tās la taza

tàžŭr las tijeras *tižer*

tāmbôr el tambor

tālĭr la talera

tà?ayn escarbar

tub părăn un par

tub kărgèn la canasta de carga

tub nĭz-gó?on una yunta

tubsèš uno de los dos

tubsá?an solo

tubna?a uno de nosotros

tūblè?eyn la mitad, un pedazo

tuban una persona

tūnžān una palabra leporada

tūlĭ derecho, recto

tótrĭn el cuajaron

Xtóbze la sábila *yo la usé para los ojos*

tōn de una vez...

Xtōlĭpān la gallarda (flor) *noja*

tó?ob el maguey seco

tór si...

tó?obnyup el maguey de tepache

č

čĭ cuando?

čĭkĭr el chiquero

čĭb el chivo, *la chiva*

čĭbzān la chiva

čĭgĭ?lòrlág el choguirre

čĭgĭ? gŭč la calandria  
cògĭ?- (ideolect)

čĭgo?l avispa, especie grande de cafe oscuro

čĭngr el chingre

čĭnĭj resumido

čĭlāj despacio

čĭ?i quiquiriquí

X čĭ?in la calabaza chompa *de hoja chompa*

čĭ?irkè?en el cantar del gallo

čé José

čé?e la cazuela

čé?e žnye el apaxtle *chocolate*

čáš bá Adios *čáš bá ũ* *calandria*

čay despacio, poco a poco

čŭklăty el chocolate

čòtìn que entre (una persona)

čòtīyn que entre (una cosa)

čòbìn se cae (una persona)

čòbīyn se cae (una cosa)

čò lē?n ¿Como se llama?

čo?n quien; ¿Quién es?

čóná?n ellos tres

čó?odīj la presentación

K

kláb el clavo

kryäd la criada

kréd El Credo

krùsyô el marco de arena

kwriž la col

kwikwi el silbido del malajuero

kwid gidgòl apodo (Porfirio)

kwě el cuello

kwebe pescaguado

kwělg el dia de su santo, el cumpleaños

kwé?e el vano (de cacahuete)

kwe?ezē se carcajio; las carcajadas

kwi el soplador; El Soplador (astr.)

kwič el cuatrero

kwidyà-ná mi oido externo

kwīn el dedo

kwīnyē?e-nī el dedo del pie de uno

kwīnyā?-nī el dedo de la mano de uno

kwīn(ī?īn) el cachorro de perro

kwīl el totemoxtle

kwáč los cuates, los gemelos

kwādij ya se comprometieron; el compromiso

kwasy la mejilla  
kwasyel tus pómulos

X kwá?jit orejita de raton (planta curativa) *medicinal*

X kwá?mblè el chamizojede-hondo

X kwá?mbī? la yerba del aire

kwá?n el chilar

X kwá?ntyōn la yerba buena montés

X kwá?njīb la yerba del espanto

X kwá?nzān la cuanasana

X kwá?nlǎ la yerbamarga

kwá?an la yerba

kwá?ayn cójelo, recójelo

kyê la droga (deuda)

kyêw el daño

<u>kít</u> (está) contento, feliz	<u>kůč</u> el cochino, el coche
<u>kìbgĩ?</u> el tapezco	<u>kúčgĩž</u> el jabalin
✓ <u>kìblònalòl</u> adelate	<u>kúče</u> la cochinita (chapulin)
<u>kí?jnal</u> te abrazo	<u>kùčār</u> la cuchara
<u>kìn</u> Virginia	<u>kůb</u> nuevo
<u>kínkít</u> quizá	<u>kùbět</u> la cubeta, el valde
<u>kí?iě</u> el ejote de huamuche	<u>kůyn</u> la cuña
<u>kětīd</u> (está) muy filoso	X <u>kù?uyn</u> la memela <i>tortilla larga, especial - masan mas Mati'el - fresco, bien mo!</i>
<u>kèbē?</u> se confirma	<u>kők</u> el coco
<u>kèdō</u> amarrado	<u>kōb</u> la masa
<u>kèške</u> carro	<u>kōbzù?uy</u> el tejate
<u>kènàgīka?n</u> colgado de cabeza	<u>kōbr</u> el cobre
<u>kènàl</u> colgado	<u>kóbīw</u> la izquierda
<u>kèlòyn</u> (está) filoso, agudo	<u>kodle</u> la abeja de tierra <i>idèlèr</i>
✓ <u>kī?īs</u> el leon <i>león</i>	<u>kòd</u> cual; ¿Cuál?
<u>kàdīn</u> el lazo de matri- monio; la cadena	<u>kóg</u> la tortola
<u>kàntěr</u> la loza	<u>kós-nyàg</u> la comida o el remedio "fresco"
<u>kāmārōn</u> camaron	<u>kós-lè</u> la comida o el remedio "caliente"
<u>kànīl</u> la canela	<u>kōž</u> cojo
<u>kālsōn</u> calzon	<u>kōžá?ž</u> el cosaze (pájaro)
<u>kārpīntūr</u> el pájaro carpintero	<u>kònxèstyōn</u> la congestión
<u>kāyn</u> donde; ¿Dónde es?	<u>kōlī</u> la derecha, la diestra
<u>kūty</u> pégale	<u>kòlèn</u> échalo
<u>kūtí?i</u> el chicote	<u>kōlōdī</u> a un lado de...
	<u>kòlòyn</u> (está) junto a...

kōlò gín junto a la  
caja

kōr la pierna  
kōr-nī la pierna de  
uno

kòyünd el coyunto

ko?o el lado

ko?n el lado de su cuerpo

ko?o zìdyè?e-ná mi  
tobillo

ko?o ro?ol el lado de tu  
boca

B

bdē? veinte

bdīd (está) pasado

bdī?īd dale

bdāp los cuatro  
(pronombre)

bdāpšá los cuatro  
(pronombre)

bdāb el soyate

bdá?ayn el huipil

bda?asy dormir

bdō cómate

xbdógīj el cuajilote

bdòlày mordido

bdō? el santo; la  
santamaria (flor)

bdò?o el plátano

bdò?oginyě el plátano  
guineo

bdò?oštīl el plátano de  
castillo

bdò?oyág el plátano macho

bjīblō adelante

bjīd las pinzas

bjī? la tuna

bjī?il el hechicero, la  
hechicera

bjē hace rato

*pele* bjè?e (está) cambiado

bjī la tarde

bjīl (está) encontrada

bjīw hasta más tarde

bjāg (está) cansado

bjā?n la bilis; la mal de  
madre  
bjā?n brī?č la?ayna?n  
la bilis se deramó  
adentro

bgi la flauta

bgiyā?l el brasero de  
copal

bgô el nudo (de mecate)

bzyat (está) lavado

bzyal (está) apagado

bzyá? el capulin

bzya?ay quémalo

bzya?ayn (está) alumbrado

bzyená (está) limpia

<u>bzyēw</u> relámpago	<u>bžù?uyn</u> el chino (de pelo)
<u>bzin</u> palma	<u>blyân</u> el carbon
<u>bzil</u> la chispa	<u>blyá?ay</u> el zapote negro; el higo blanco
<u>bzi?iyn</u> cómpralo	<u>blyěw</u> el silbatito <i>pliso blip</i>
<u>bzi?id</u> aprende	<u>bli?i</u> el trenzado
<u>bzi?in</u> el tepalcate	<u>blé?e</u> la barranca
<u>bzè</u> la bajadita	<u>blé?eyn</u> (está) rajado
<u>bzi?'</u> el flor de calabaza	<u>blî</u> escoge
<u>bzaby</u> el huérfano	<u>blîz</u> espérate
<u>bzān</u> la mujer parturienta	<u>bla</u> baja
<u>bzōli</u> (está) parado	<u>blāb</u> contar
<u>bzō?o</u> el adobe; el paréd de adobe	<u>blat</u> vacío
<u>bzō?obni</u> sembrar	<u>blādy</u> la cáscara de árbol
<u>bžyāz</u> el estornudo	<u>blāj</u> el taparabo
<u>bžyāž</u> la lama del río	<u>blá?a</u> apesta
<u>bžyāl</u> el paseo <i>bžyāl paseo</i>	<u>bla?a</u> sóplate
<u>bžyo</u> el temblor	<u>bla?an</u> busca
<u>bžyōr</u> el torromote	<u>bla?č</u> ¡Mira!
<u>bžis</u> la partera	<u>blò</u> sacar
<u>bžin</u> el bagazo de calabaza	<u>blòdi?iynèn</u> préstalo
<u>bžōbdōl</u> la confesión	<u>blo?o</u> echar
<u>bžož</u> estrellado	<u>blo?ob</u> barrer
<u>bžon</u> (está) juntado	<u>brîkw</u> jorobado, chueco
<u>bžo?on</u> corre	<u>brīldō</u> el enredo
<u>bžūjgew</u> el beldelde <i>catina del río</i>	<u>brī?nkè</u> (es) distinto, (es) aparte
<u>bžūži?in</u> huélelo	

<u>brángxw</u> el juanete, el bodoque	<u>byòžü'ín</u> el maiz o los frijoles refinados <u>byùžü'ín</u> (ideolect)
<u>brúp</u> el barco (del mar)	<u>byóng</u> el biongo, la corona de calabaza
xx <u>brùyn</u> el coyocano <i>especie de humitas</i>	<u>bīt</u> el zorrillo
<u>brōg</u> (está) cortado	<u>bītlō</u> el cacomixtle
<u>brōl gīl</u> la media noche	<u>bīč</u> el gato, el biche; biche <i>bīč</i>
<u>bro'o</u> salir	<u>bīčgī'i</u> la chintatlahua
<u>bro'oká</u> boca abajo	<u>bīd</u> el moco, el garrajo
<u>byè'e</u> baila	<u>bīdga</u> el chapulín "catrin," especie cafe sin alas
<u>byē'e</u> que se ve, fíjate	<u>bīj</u> la semilla
<u>byěrn</u> el viernes	<u>bīj</u> la rana
<u>byáj</u> la ciruela criolla	<u>bījlgūy</u> la semilla de grilla
<u>byáj gēw</u> la ciruela colorada <i>melón</i>	<u>bījkek</u> rana, especie chico
* <u>byálă</u> el camote amargo <i>patate amarga para la nopa</i>	<u>bījgè'e</u> el moreton
<u>byăx</u> el viaje	<u>bīg</u> la viga
<u>byăštīl</u> el jabon	<u>bīs</u> el bazo
<u>byá?</u> el amole <i>para la cabeza</i>	<u>bīsyōn</u> el arco iris
<u>byá'a</u> el nopal	<u>bīzyog</u> el gusano del cuerpo
<u>byá'ado</u> el nopal hueve	<u>bīž</u> (la chicharra?) el bixe <i>ideolect / ž.wi/</i>
<u>byā'asèn</u> pégale	<u>bīžgīd</u> el nanacate (de comer)
<u>byá'alāj</u> el nopal carnoso	<u>bīžgē</u> la mosca
<u>byá'ayn</u> el nopalito	<u>rīžgē</u> (ideolect)
<u>byùj</u> la golondrina	<u>gīžgē</u> (ideolect)
<u>byüş</u> el chicharoncito (de puerco)	<u>īžgē</u> (ideolect)
* <u>byūž</u> la yerba de biuxito <i>planta</i>	<u>bīžgégīb</u> el moscon azul brillante
<u>byòž</u> chico, cualquier objeto de miniatura	

bížgé gó'on la mosca de  
ganado

bin chico

bin Alvino

binč pinto

bí? la guayaba

bí'j el tigre

bí'in el muchacho

bè el mes; el nube

bèbīj el tiempo de seco

bébzaby los mesquinos

bédônd la chuparosa

bèzīd el cangrejo del rio

bézuč la botija (insecto)

bēmb el bembo, el juzgon

bē-má la marca de ganado

bènis la neblina; *la campana de  
queroada*

bèlādôr la veladora

bèw el peine

béys anaranjado *gris*

bèyēw el tiempo de lluvia

bèyā'aty el nanacate,  
especie grande y  
blanco

bēxīg la vejiga

bě? el coyote

be'ew la pulga

bīd la sarna, la roña

bīdo'o hormiga, especie  
grande y negro de  
tronco de arbol

bīj el tule

*verde  
que para la  
piel y se hace una  
mucha*

X bīš el arador

büz la abeja, la avispa

büz šti'ï kòdli avispa,  
especie prieto

büz šti'ï nikū'uč-rob el  
abejón de tenate

büz šti'ï nikū'uč-māšīd  
avispa, especie  
colorado *büz žnyš*

bīzbič el abejon pipe

bīsīr el enjambre

büzī'in el gorgojo de  
frijol

bīž el peso

bīž el pájaro; *la torcaza, la paloma*

bīž pālōm la torcaza

bīžlāmbīž el chirmolera,  
el molcajete

bīn el lodo, el barro

bīnjā'áb el diablo, el  
demonio

bīnlač bendito  
bīnlač jāndyòz  
¡Bendito sea Dios!

bīnlā'ay percina; el signo  
de la cruz

bīnāzāk el chaneque, el  
aire maligno, la cosa  
mala

<u>b̂il</u> la llama, la flama	<u>b̂lōč̂ib</u> culebra, especie regional
<u>b̂il</u> la vela de niño	<u>b̂lōž̂ar</u> el totopoxtle
<u>b̂il</u> la carne	<u>b̂lōr̂aw</u> lagartija, especie verde de veinte centímetros
<u>b̂il</u> la culebra	<u>b̂ilo?o</u> la corredora
<u>b̂il</u> el pez, el pescado	<u>b̂l̂asy</u> el conejo
<u>b̂iko?ob</u> granitos de infección de la cara o de los pies de persona o de animal	<u>b̂ilač</u> la sandihuela
<u>b̂ilb̂isyōn</u> el coralillo	<u>b̂ir</u> el chapulin "cabezon"
<u>b̂ildōb</u> el gusano de maguey	<u>b̂ir</u> el guajolote
<u>b̂ilgi</u> el lucero	<u>b̂irgōl</u> el guajolote macho
<u>b̂ilgi kr̂us</u> El Cruz (constelación)	<u>b̂irzān</u> la guajolota
<u>b̂ilgi n̂i?ž</u> El alacran (constelación)	<u>b̂iryē?e</u> el guajolote montés
<u>b̂ilgi š̂č̂i</u> El Lucero Grande (Venus)	<u>b̂ir̂ingāš</u> la chachalaca
<u>b̂ilgiró?o</u> El Lucero Grande	<u>b̂iw</u> la tortuga
<u>b̂ilgi wit</u> El Lucero Flojo (de la mañana)	<u>b̂i?</u> el aire, el viento
<u>b̂ilgiž</u> el chicharon	<u>b̂i?</u> la hormiga colorada
<u>b̂ilĝir</u> la antorcha	<u>b̂i?zb̂ič</u> el gato montés
<u>b̂ilgō?j</u> inconoso	<u>b̂i?zĝit</u> el tejon
<u>b̂ilž̂il</u> el gusano de seda	<u>b̂i?n</u> el pulque de sazon
<u>b̂iln̂is</u> la culebra de agua	<u>b̂i?in</u> el lagarto
<u>b̂ilyé?e</u> el toxtle	<u>b̂á</u> ¿eh?
<u>b̂ilya?ay</u> el popote	<u>b̂ād</u> el pato; la garrapata
<u>b̂ilyò</u> la barbacoa	<u>b̂āg</u> la vaca
<u>b̂ilyo</u> la lombriz	<u>b̂aẑi?l</u> la persona malvada
<u>b̂ilō</u> el mal de ojo (inflamación)	<u>b̂āl</u> el balazo
	<u>b̂ā?</u> la fosa



<u>ba?</u> el huehuero	<u>dištíw</u> el jorobado
<u>bá?ys</u> el arco y la flecha	<u>din</u> más, y pico <i>W. H. H. H.</i>
<u>búč</u> el buche	<u>di</u> no más
<u>būr</u> el burro	<u>dí?čdi</u> poco no más
<u>būr nīgōl</u> el burro macho	<u>dīngw</u> el serrano
<u>būr nōnā?a</u> la burra	<u>dīngwyá?as</u> el indio machacado
<u>bú?y</u> el pollo (gallo o gallina) <i>chico</i>	<u>dédí?č</u> por a caso
	<u>dēzi</u> después
	<u>dē zī?i pār gá?a</u> de allá para acá
	<u>dē zī?i jīg</u> para entonces
	<u>deri?ič</u> regado
	<u>dī</u> la ceniza
	<u>dī</u> allí, ese
	<u>dīgà?áw</u> cerca de aquí (una cuadra de distancia)
	<u>dīž</u> allí (arc.)
	<u>dīwèn</u> eso no más, hasta allí no más
	<u>dī?i</u> este
	<u>dād</u> el señor
	<u>dādgōl</u> el señor viejo
	<u>dātžwá</u> un acariñamiento
	<u>dàdayn</u> el señor del cerro
	<u>dāg</u> la navaja, la puñalada, el cuchillo de encajar
	<u>Xdāgiž</u> el capote - <i>capa de palma para la lluvia</i>
	<u>dáp</u> el pedo
	<u>dàtkūr</u> el sacerdote

D

dwél el duelo, el luto

dyè?e la familia

dya el oído  
dyaná mi oído

dyangwat sordo

díčīj la mentira

díčiž el chisme

dí?č poco

dí?ča?n es chaparro

dide?e más  
wa?py dide?e subio  
más

dīj la palabra

dījbé?lò el compromiso

dījga dījga poco a poco

dīz jīg desde entonces

dīze el idioma (indígena)

dīštīl el castellano

dätmí el santo de la  
iglesia, el image  
dàt làynbē Santo Dios  
dáš čē sāntyǎw "Tio" José  
Santiago  
dām el tecolote  
dàngí'ž el espantajo  
dáràw Braulio  
dàyn el cerro  
dá'a el petate  
düb la pluma  
dübèn (es) todo  
düb jē todo el dia  
düb gīl toda la noche  
düb nārāž toda la naranja  
düb lady todo el cuerpo  
dô la espiga de milpa  
dô el mecate  
döbspàdīn el maguey de  
mezcal  
döbžīj el maguey de piña  
döbyē'e el chipil  
döbīl el ayate  
döbā'n el mecapal  
döbölīt el hilo (de  
bolito)  
död el seno  
döš bravo  
döški la faja (arc.)

dóšlyo el tlacoyal (arc.)  
dösánt Todos Santos  
dómī el dinero  
dömingw el Domingo  
dól el pecado, la culpa  
dölö's la telaraña  
dörin la vena

ĵ

ĵīt la cuarta o el codo de  
medir  
ĵīt el huevo  
ĵītkwèzīd el chirrido de  
la calandria amarilla  
ĵītkör el musculo de la  
pierna  
ĵītkör-má el musculo  
del animal  
ĵītko'o la cadera  
ĵītkó'o-na mi cadera  
ĵītbā' la concha grande  
ĵītgīk el cuerno de toro,  
chivo, o venado  
ĵītgī'z el espinazo  
ĵītgī'z-žná mi  
espinazo  
ĵītzbā'-má el base de la  
cola de animal  
ĵītro'o-má las agarraderas  
de insecto  
ĵičgī fuerte  
ĵičgīlik fuertemente

*revisado?*

ĵibye?e-na mi espinilla

ĵin la miel

ĵindāp el chinche  
campestre

ĵindo?o la miel castilla

ĵinĵilāw un juego de dar  
vuelatas de niños (arc.)

ĵinlày el tequio

ĵil el comal

ĵi?n el trabajo

ĵě el dia (de doce horas)

ĵě-mārt el dia de plaza  
(martes)

ĵě-gĭl dia y noche

ĵénik hace rato

ĵé?e se calienta  
(liquido)

ĵi el silencio

ĵičgā cuidadoso, callado,  
despacio

ĵib el espanto, el susto;  
el fantasma

ĵig entonces

ĵiz apenas

ĵin el humo

ĵi?z despacito, quieto

ĵámbé la luna

ĵámbé tūli la luna  
derecha

ĵámbé nāžūb la luna de  
lado

ĵámbé narĭ?n la luna  
tierna

ĵáandrō Los Chivos (juego)

ĵándyóž Dios

ĵāng el chinche picudo

ĵāngwiĵ el sol

ĵā?ap la muchacha

ĵe?ap kŭyn la primeriza

ĵŭč la vieja

ĵŭčgōš la viejita

ĵūb mucho, muy

ĵúbzyàyn bastante

ĵum el cargador; la  
abejera; *el diez milite*

ĵumbyā? el chiquihuite

ĵumgtz el cargador para  
mazorca

ĵög el maxtle

ĵo?o hay, está, existe

ĵō?odō?on su estado de  
salud

nasá?k ĵō?odō?on está  
de buena salud

naži?i ĵō?odō?on está  
mal de salud

G

gní?ta?n hablan, dicen

glé?eyn aflojado

glol tu ojo

<u>gryiž</u> se pela, se deshoja	X <u>gibžib</u> la pantorilla
<u>gré</u> todos	<u>gibžūbyá?</u> el rallo (de rallar amole)
<u>grētā?n</u> todos ellos	<u>gibla?ay</u> la campanada de la doctrina <i>el repiqueteo</i>
<u>grēžā</u> todos nosotros	<u>gibyāg</u> la hacha
<u>grēnì</u> todos	<u>gibò</u> los pedazos de brasa
<u>grélò</u> todos ustedes	<u>gid</u> el piel
<u>gról</u> la mitad	<u>gid</u> la gallina, el pollo
<u>gróldīdin</u> la mitad y pico	<u>gidko?n</u> el pelljo de su cuerpo
<u>gróldīwèn</u> la mitad exacto	<u>gidgī</u> la caspa
<u>gróldi?i</u> a mediados	<u>gidgīk</u> el copete de pollo
<u>gról gīl</u> media noche	<u>gidgōl</u> el gallo
<u>gról nārāž</u> media naranja	<u>gidzān</u> la gallina
<u>gró?o myá?a</u> pisca; la pisca	<u>gidla</u> la hiel de gallina
<u>gī</u> la lumbre; la inflamación, el <i>AM</i> wenchazon	<u>gidlāg-ná</u> mi párparo
<u>gīč</u> el pelo	<u>gidro?ol</u> tu labio
<u>gīč</u> el metate	<u>gidāyn</u> la gallina montés
<u>gīč</u> el papel	<u>gīj</u> menso, tonto
<u>gīčgīk</u> el pelo de la cabeza	X <u>gījgī</u> el empeine <i>de callos (kallus)</i>
<u>gīčžil</u> la lana	<u>giš</u> la red <i>de yéram</i>
<u>gīčlāg-ná</u> mi pestaña; mi bisnieto lejano	<u>gištō</u> el columpio
<u>gīčó</u> La Escritura	<u>giž</u> el zacate; el bozal; la paja de arbol, la basurita
<u>gīb</u> el fierro; la campana, la arma, el hieramiento	<u>giž</u> el rozo <i>rozar</i>
<u>gib</u> el cuerdo del cuerpo	<u>gižbèw</u> el camotillo
<u>gibzà?l</u> la honda	<u>gižbūr</u> el zacamatle

<u>gižgīr</u> el zacate de ocotal	<u>geř</u> la guerra
<u>gižnyol</u> la yerba lisa, el pasto fino	<u>gēw</u> el rio
<u>gižmya?a</u> el zacate de la milpa	<u>gè?e</u> la plaza
<u>gižmànōž</u> el manojito de zacate	<u>gè?ew</u> el cal
<u>gižwāyn</u> la yerba del campo	<u>gī</u> la piedra
<u>gižyo?o</u> el zacate del techo	<u>giptò?oč</u> el flor de zompantele
<u>giždīp</u> el zacamatle, el matorral	<u>giṗànīl</u> la cabeza de panela
<u>gižèn</u> el pantle	<u>gīt</u> la caña; abajo
<u>gimbyan</u> el coloradito	<u>gīt</u> la calabaza
<u>gimūsky</u> el organ de boca; instrumentos de los músicos	<u>gīt</u> la tortilla
<u>gin</u> la caja, el baúl; la confradía	<u>gītkōbzē?e</u> el chileatole
<u>gin</u> la cera negra	<u>gītgič</u> la calabaza huiche
<u>ginye?e</u> el chile verde	<u>gītgu?uǰ</u> la tortilla blanda
<u>ginyāg</u> el chile de agua	<u>gītgo</u> la calabaza tambola
<u>ginyá?as</u> el chilehuacle	<u>gītḡól</u> el difunto <u>gītḡól če</u> el difunto José
<u>ginānč</u> el chile tusto	<u>gītḡoldo?o</u> el angelito
<u>gilgil</u> luego luego, rápido	<u>gītḡò?o</u> el tōmal (de la masa)
<u>gi?n</u> el chile	<u>gītčī?in</u> la calabaza chompa
<u>gi?ča?n</u> que se asobe	<u>gītblādy</u> la tortilla tlayuda
<u>gi?i</u> la mierda	X <u>gītšē?e</u> la māmela de elote
<u>gi?ibžo?on</u> la diarrea	<u>gītžòž</u> la tortilla tostada
	<u>gītye</u> la caña de mazorca

(el māmela es la māmela de elote)

<u>gìtye?e</u> la tortilla cruda	<u>gìkdöd-žná</u> mi pezon
<u>gìtin</u> la santacatarina	<u>gìkdòmī</u> el rédito
<u>gìtìkw</u> el flor de coquito	<u>gìklàg-ná</u> mi seja
<u>gìto?o</u> la chilacayota	<u>gìkla?ay</u> el collar <
<u>gìto?o</u> el muerto, la muerta	<u>gìkwīl</u> el rejagar
<u>gìč</u> la espina	<u>gìk-yàràd</u> la cabeza del arado
<u>gìčkùy</u> el acietillo	<u>gìkyó?o</u> el techo
<u>gìčbžyèw</u> el bichebixillo	<u>gìjbdō?</u> la viruela
<u>gìčbī?</u> el mesquite	<u>gìbgo</u> el tempozuche
<u>gìčbī?in</u> el cogollo de mesquite <i>para lavar los ojos para mal de ojo</i>	<u>gìbyà?l</u> el cacalozuche
<u>gìčdōb</u> la espina de maguey	<u>gìdō?d</u> el flor de florefundio
<u>gìčgīknyōb</u> el abrojo	<u>gìdūb</u> la plumita (planta)
<u>gìčgā</u> de quedito, de escondidas, en secreto	<u>gìj</u> el pueblo
<u>gìčgō?ž</u> la aguja	<u>gìj</u> el grano
<u>gìčžōl</u> el aguante	<u>gìj</u> el ixtle, el estropajo
<u>gìčnīj</u> el chicalote	<u>gìjbdō?</u> el sarampión
<u>gìčròbéw</u> la espina de nopāl	<u>gìjdōš</u> el tumor, el clavillo, la llaga
<u>gìčyàč</u> el cadillo	<u>gìj nīk</u> ese pueblo
<u>gìčyàč nīgōl</u> el cadillo macho	<u>gìj rō?o</u> la ciudad
<u>gìčyāg</u> la espina de huizache	<u>gìg</u> el hielo
<u>gìčīlbè</u> la azucena montés	<u>gìglōbū?y</u> el ojo de pollo (flor)
<u>gìčā</u> cállate	<u>gìglōl</u> el niño de tu ojo
<u>gìk</u> la cabeza; encima de...	<u>gìgīč</u> la muela; el metate chico (arc.)
	<u>gìgi?n</u> el monacillo

<u>gǐgàmbil</u> la bogambilia	<u>gǐžá?ayn</u> jálalo
<u>gǐs</u> la olla	<u>gǐnǒž</u> el enojo
<u>gǐs bin</u> la olla chica	<u>gǐl</u> la noche; la oscuridad; el báguido
<u>gǐs nažga</u> la olla grande	<u>gǐl</u> la anona
<u>gǐstǐl</u> el pan	<u>gǐl</u> la orejera
<u>gǐstǐlāwā?n</u> el pan amarillo	<u>gǐltǐč</u> el mamey
<u>gǐsbǐldòb</u> el ojo de pájaro (planta)	<u>gǐlbǐi?il</u> la brujería
<u>gǐsró?o</u> la olla grande de agua	<u>gǐlbǐi?ila?n</u> embrujar
<u>gǐswàng</u> la olla de asa (de manga)	<u>gǐlbžyo</u> el temblor
<u>gǐsyàg</u> la pierna de vieja (yerba)	<u>gǐlbžin</u> el esco
<u>gǐštǐl</u> las costillas <u>gǐštǐl-žná</u> mis costillas	<u>gǐlgid</u> el huarache de pie de gallo
<u>gǐštály</u> el costal	<u>gǐlgidyò?o</u> el huarache texcacle
<u>gǐšlyo</u> el mundo	<u>gǐlgǐj</u> la enfermedad
<u>gǐšlyo rlǒž</u> el terremoto	<u>gǐlgǐjbye?e</u> el chipilez
<u>ǐgǐšǐš</u> el chapil <i>yerba que se come</i>	<u>gǐlgiz</u> la guelaguetza
<u>gǐz</u> el cigarro	<u>gǐlguty</u> la muerte
<u>gǐz</u> la guia de calabaza; la verdura, la yerba comestible	<u>gǐlzi?</u> la pobreza
<u>gǐz</u> la mazorca	<u>gǐlzi?dǒš</u> los "trabajos" bravos, mucha mala vida, el sufrimiento
<u>ǐgǐzbláč</u> el quelite	<u>gǐlzi?ya?as</u> la pena negra, la miseria, la pobreza
<u>ǐgǐzlǒzi?it</u> el cogollo	<u>gǐlnàbàyn</u> ¡Mucha vida!
<u>gǐzǐt</u> la piedra salada de ganado	<u>gǐlnàdip</u> ¡Mucha salud!
<u>gǐž</u> el cogollo de calabaza	<u>gǐlnado?o</u> la crianza
	<u>gǐlnàgǐj</u> ¡Mucho valor (para seguir)!

- gïlrïn la inteligencia  
gïla la peña  
gïlätýé?e el culandrio  
(yerba)  
gïlàzy el colmillo  
gïlày los dientes de  
enfrente  
gïlönigïn el monacillo  
blanco  
{ gïr el ocote, la antorcha;  
el agujero  
gïrko?o la cerbatana  
gïrdü el brasero, *el agujero donde  
hacer el humo, la parte de la casa*  
gïrgïn la vela *donde preparan la  
cerca*  
gïrgïnpür la vela de cera  
legítima  
gïrso?o la cueva  
gïrzyä?w el tapezon  
gïrzüj la borrachera  
gïrži?i las ventanas de  
la nariz  
gïrži?i-nï las  
ventanas de la nariz  
de uno  
gïrlijwäg el agujero de  
raton  
gïrläj el dolor, el  
cólico  
*una de curar*  
gïrwäg la nalbaca *donde se  
alacran*  
gïryè?e el baile  
gïryäg el palo de ocote  
gïringi?n el tejolote
- gïwï? el flor de  
San Francisco  
gïwà?s la rosa de  
fandango, la rosa de  
borracho  
gïwä?n el espejo  
gïyà?al el cacalozuche  
(medio abierto)  
gï? el flor  
gï?j el estropajo  
gï?š el queso  
gàčbě la transacción  
gàkla?ay se bendice; la  
bendición  
gàbil el infierno  
gà?adij la incación  
xà?adij (ideolect)  
gäj mojar  
gaj bïlgi Las Cabrillas  
(Pleiades)  
gàz bañarse  
gaža?a cerca  
gäštgij profano  
gämijž la camisa  
gäl el parto; nace  
gälö primero  
gälö?n el primero (la  
persona)  
gälö tïd primeramente  
gälödi el primero (cosa)



gālómá el primero  
(animal)

gàrbăt el garabato

gārīč garrocha

gàrīl la carrera de  
caballo

gàrīd la carreta

gàwèndó que comen (arc.)

gǎ? los arretes

gá?a aquí

gā?asy dormir

gá?ayn es aquí

ga?aya?n ellos cinco

guty se murio

gùčīl el cuchillo

gùč amarillo *gùje*

gùj la pus

gùstīsy la justicia, la  
autoridad

gùšlyātā?n se casan; el  
casamiento

gùrǎly el corral

gò comer

gòkèn ¿Cuándo?  
gòk cuando...

gòtkè recargado

gòtgūt (acostado) de  
cabeza

gòtgīžlō (acostado) boca  
abajo

gòtzè (acostado) boca  
arriba

gòtyǎ? (acostado) boca  
arriba

gòtōbīl la campamocha  
ōtōbīl (ideolect)

goč reventado

✓ gòd agujerear

✓ gobīl la caída

gōbīr la gobera; la sarna

gòzā?an bañado

gōš viejo

gôn la limosna

gòl la yema

✓ gōl macizo de vejez  
(personas y animales)

gòlčīkó?on insecto, espe-  
cie negro, brillante, y  
cascarudo

gòlčó la bendición

gòlgōl fuerte (de cantidad  
o tamaño)

gòlgōl kyé kěn fuerte  
droga tiene

gòlō el zinzontle, *el huitlacoche*

gòlōj la langosta

gòlōštīl el zinzontle  
aparte del huitlacoche

goloma?s el huitlacoche

gòrdòlōb la gordoloba

gòyé?e el danzante

*gòb* *no sé*  
*Acereño*

*gòk*  
*Acereño*

gōyè?edùb el danzante de  
pluma  
\*gòyní?in la araña pelona  
góyàg el cuacamote *camote blanco*  
gǒ? el camote  
gǒ?ǐ podrido  
gó?n beber, tomar  
gó?on el toro, el ganado  
*el buey*

S

stād la estaca  
syēr el serrucho  
sèrly el cerillo  
sābd el sábado  
sàltàpàdēr la saltapared  
sālb El Salvo  
sūgr la azucar  
sôp la sopa

š

*špāy* el ceridor  
špīt las partes femeninas  
*la "conciencia"*  
štyé?ena mi familia  
štyān el chapulin  
*"burrito"*  
štyòpšīna escupir  
(ideolect)  
štyózel Gracias (por la  
comida)

štij la promesa, la  
palabra de promesa  
štija?n su palabra de  
promesa

ští?in para que...  
ští?in zí?ida?n  
...para que se aprenda

ští?i de...

štúbèn el otro  
štúb otro...

štō el querido, la querida

ščī las nalgas

šče mucho tiempo; delata

ščī al tardecer; la cena

ščâ otra vez  
ščâ ži ¿Otra vez, no?

ščandyôzel Gracias

škwij tocar (chirimiría)  
(ideolect)

škwil la escuela

škwa la ala  
škwa-mé su ala de  
animal

škitwij la venturilla

škičyē?e-nī el talon de  
uno

škičrò?o-ná mi barbilla

škičyā?a-nī el codo de uno

škip el ombligo  
škip-nī el ombligo de  
uno

škipyàg el nudo de madera

ški-má el miembro de  
animal

*škič*  
*la pata*  
*de metal*

*piquete*

škīr el duende, el enanito

škā'y el nube

škāyn el banquito (de sentarse)

šká'al la sombra

škùč la ponzoña  
škùč-má la ponzoña de insecto

škóp la humedad *humedad qōp*

Z

zdùb el soltero, la soltera

zdùbrīn la soltera tierna

zdùbya'1 la soltera maciza

zyàyn bastante

zyàyntā'n bastante gente

zyàyndí bastantes cosas

zyàynmá bastantes animales

zyàynyèn bastantes cosas

zyàynyá'n bastante gente  
*zyoy lombriz de tierra*

zit lejos

\*zij la verdolaga *zula de p como*

zi'il la mañana temprana; el almuerzo

zě la grasa

✓ zēk como  
zék zàzē como antes

zègīrgīn la vela de grasa

zen pues

zèyô el cacahuete

zèyòb el tuétano

zè'e el elote

zīt la sal

zītgi la marquesana

zītlaзы la sal vidriosa

zīk así, en este modo

zīkó así no más  
zīkó nīl lónaš así me dijiste

zīd la seda

zīdī'in el capullo

zī'tīt la mata de calabaza

zī'ī allí

zà se va

zà el frijol

zàčīb el frijol grueso

zābnāj los publicatos

zābāč las perlas negras y brillosas (arc.)

zāglō la canica del ojo  
zāglō'n la canica de su ojo

zāgrād ✓ sagrado

zāgīč el ejote de huizache

zàzē antes, tiempos pasados

zāndī así

zāndī gá?w así no más

zāndī nàkán así es siempre  
(intrínsecamente)

zānx la zanja

zādīw así no más

zàlazy el frijol delgado

zànāt el zanate

zàye?e el ejote, el  
pelejote

zá?a-na mi compañero

zúrt zurdo

zùvín el color de  
chocolate

zù?uy el cacao

zù?uyó el cacahuete  
(ideolect)

zò el poso; el hoyo,  
el hueco

zòp sentado, puesto

zògíž el zacateo

zògíl la soga, *la sogilla*

zòlà?a suelto (de animal)

ž

žbā?n la cola

žbà?an La Semana Santa

žgǎ?na mi hijo

žgūmyèr-ná mi compañero

žmǎn la semana

žnyé rojo

žnâž el sonaze

žnây es mio

žlyé la calentura

žlyédīb la fiebre  
contajiosa de la mala

žlyédōš la fiebre  
contajiosa de la mala

žlyâč el cabellito de  
mazorca

žláč-má la molleja *gigant  
fluffy  
chico*

žlōž la barba, el bigote  
žlōžel tus barbas

žlōžgòl la enredadera  
(planta)

žwâ antecesores

žyê la jícara

žyélo la máscara

žyé?w el callejero, el  
vago

žyǎj el estornudo

žyân la muina, el corraje

žya?g el topil

žyá?yn la luz (del sol o de  
la luna *de foco o de vela*)

žyôrk los loquitos (del  
baile de los locos)

žít el gusano cortador;  
una especie de yerba  
medicinal

žičin un animal que camina  
hacia atrás que vive en  
la arena seca de la  
orilla del río

<u>žikw</u> el brazo	<u>žil</u> el algodón
<u>žikw-na</u> mi brazo	<u>žilžil</u> cualquier cosa
<u>žikünd</u> ¿Por qué?	<u>žilžildó'o</u> cualquier cosa
<u>žib</u> la rodilla	<u>žilžilo</u> cualquier cosa
<u>žido</u> cualquier	<u>žilět</u> la sillita
<u>žido giž</u> cualquier	<u>žilag-ná</u> mi seja
<u>yerba</u>	<u>žiră'w</u> la legertija
<u>žido žido</u> cualquier cosa	<u>žirú'už</u> el mosquito (mosca)
<u>žij</u> la piña	<u>ží'i</u> el catarro
<u>žij</u> la risa	<u>ží'i</u> la nariz
<u>žijgtr</u> la piña de ocote	<u>ží'il</u> tu nariz
<u>žige</u> el bule de agua	<u>ží'in</u> el hijo (no de
<u>žigenyăj</u> (ideolect)	familia)
<u>žigėw</u> la bretónica	<u>ží'inirayn</u> el huevo de
<u>žis</u> la mollera	hormiga
<u>žisa'n</u> su mollera	<u>ží'iyn</u> apretado
<u>žiš</u> la leche de las	<u>žėžyór</u> el baile de los
plantas	locos
<u>žiž</u> ¿Que más?	<u>žėžôg</u> rascar
<u>žiž gŭyn</u> ¿Que más	<u>žì'inš</u> se riega el agua
hacemos?	<u>žì'irîn</u> se riega la sangre;
<u>žimbil</u> lagartija, especie	la hemorajia
chico	<u>žâ</u> nosotros
<u>žin</u> ¿Qué?; que	<u>žâb</u> la cáscara (vegetal)
<u>žij gŭyn?</u> ¿Que hacemos?	<u>žâbnărăž</u> la cáscara de
<u>žindyùz</u> el gusano tienera	naranja
<u>žindo'o</u> el asco	<u>žâbyég</u> la cáscara de arbol
<u>žingā?</u> el cerebro, el nuco	<u>žâž</u> el cacareo
<u>žingā'n</u> su cerebro	<u>žànèn</u> ¿Cómo?; como
<u>žingò't</u> la ruedacaca	<u>žân</u> como...
(insecto)	
<u>žil</u> la silla	
<u>žil</u> el borrego	

<u>žandyé</u> la sandía	<u>žöb nāgé?e</u> el maiz negrito
<u>žàn díd ĵě ští?l</u> ¡Buenas noches!	<u>žóbgi?n</u> la salsa
<u>žàn díd ĵl ští?l</u> ¡Buenas días!	<u>žòblěw</u> águila, especie pinto de tamaño mediano
<u>žàn rnáyn</u> ¿Que color es?	<u>žóblĭw</u> la llamafria
<u>žālžāl</u> comoquiera	<u>žóbyado?o</u> el maiz tepecente
<u>žār</u> el jarro	<u>žóbyá?al</u> el pozole
<u>žār</u> el chapulin	<u>žòbye</u> el caldo de guajolote
<u>žàrbĭt</u> chapulin, especie verde hasta barroso sin alas	<u>žóg</u> la cáscara (de calcio); la concha
<u>žàrbĭžā</u> el chapulin pinto	<u>žógĭit</u> la cáscara de huevo
<u>žàw</u> el sapo	<u>žógye?e-nĭ</u> la uña de pie de uno
<u>žàwró?o</u> sapo, especie grande	<u>žógye?e-má</u> la pesuña posterior
<u>žúp</u> la leche de palo	<u>žogyā?-má</u> la pesuña anterior
<u>žūb</u> chueco	<u>žogyā?-nĭ</u> la uña de la mano de uno
<u>žūnžwá-na</u> mi madre (con cariño)	<u>žógĭk</u> el craneo <i>žogit fino</i>
<u>žūnžán</u> una palabra leperada	<u>žógĭ?</u> el chintete
<u>žunžā?aněš</u> La Virgin (Nuestra Madre)	<u>žòž</u> tostado
<u>žókyé</u> chapulin, especie verde hasta barroso con alas	<u>žóžó</u> bien <u>žóžó bĭnèn</u> hazlo bien
<u>žòb</u> el caldo	<u>žóžólik</u> muy bien
<u>žöb</u> el maiz	<u>žól</u> la llovizna; fino <i>(de textura)</i>
<u>žöb bzāč</u> el maiz amarillo	<u>žólĭgi?i</u> chapulin, especie medio blanco con alas
<u>žöb bĭnt</u> el maiz pinto	<u>žóláž</u> el solaze
<u>žöb bĭldòb</u> el maiz morado, el velatobe	<u>žombrĭl</u> el sombrero
	<u>žong</u> tieso

žörk el surco  
žòrgǎl la hora pesada  
žörèn ¿Que hora es?  
žò'ob žòb desgranar  
žo'on la carrera

M

mbäly el compadre  
mbē'er bien puesto, bien hecho  
mnyê'n en juicio  
mnyè'e la curandera, *el curandero y hermanero*  
mni siembra  
mni'i hablado, habló  
mni visto, vio  
mna'ap pedido  
mna'azy agarra  
myět la gente, la persona  
myërkw el miercoles  
myá'a la milpa  
myá'a gälö el tempranero  
myá'a yagüt el temporal  
mǐž la misa  
mǐž bzil šti'ín (le pagan) su vegilia  
mǐžró'ò cualquier misa grande  
mèskäl el mezcal

mēziyá águila, especie grande con pecho blanco y cuerpo pinto

mǐž la mesa *mǐž la mesa, la buera*  
mǐškwǐl el maestro (escolástico)

mâ "hermana," amiga, prójima (entre muchachas)

mă el animal

măčĭn el chango

mădr la huevera

mádöš el animal del mar

măjĭd el machete

măsě más sea, aunque

măž mansito

măžog el cascarudo; el "padrecito" (insecto)

māntēkĭ la mantequilla

māngw el mango

mānzānilštĭl la manzanilla

mărt el martes

mărcě la marcha

mū? el "torito" de bejuco

mòrĭl la viga, el morillo

N

ndyüz el mozo, el peon

ndo'o el niño, el chamaco, la niña, la chamaca

<u>nji'iz</u> chapulin, especie azul, amarillo y verde con alas rojas y negras	<u>nyōb</u> la arriera
<u>nji'iz</u> la ardilla	<u>nyol</u> suelto (de arena)
<u>nyēb</u> la nieve	<u>nī</u> el cordobán (planta tóxica)
<u>nyēč</u> el orgullo; presumido, exagerado, orgulloso	<u>nitub</u> ningun
<u>nyà'j</u> la chibatana, la arriera con alas	<u>ničit</u> el gusano que corta la milpa
<u>nyaĵ</u> Los Siete Principes (astr.)	<u>ničà'n</u> el gusano de abono
<u>nyàg</u> hace frio	<u>ničòn</u> Las Tres Marias (astr.)
<u>nyāg</u> el cacalote	<u>nīkw</u> el perro
<u>nyālō</u> desde que... <u>nyālō bidá'n</u> desde que vino	<u>nikwyá'es</u> el perro negro
<u>nyaw</u> cerrado	<u>nikwīĵ</u> el perro rabioso
<u>nya'aty</u> blanco (arc.)	<u>nikyě</u> el liendre (de piojo)
<u>nyà'á</u> el tono <u>nyá'a-nī</u> el tono de uno	<u>nika'al</u> el sueño, el bostezo <u>nika'alró'o</u> mucho sueño
<u>nyŭp</u> el tepache	<u>niku'uč rob</u> el panal de tenate
<u>nyŭpya'aty</u> el pulque (medio fermentado) <u>nyŭpye't</u> (ideolect)	<u>nibyēw</u> el pájaro de malajuro
<u>nyŭpye'e</u> el aguamiel	<u>nībī?</u> el novio, el novio comprometido
<u>nyŭp nya'aty</u> el pulque blanco (no con panela)	<u>nīd</u> el nido
<u>nyuy</u> liso	<u>nidon</u> el remolino del diablo
<u>nyŭ'z</u> la garza	<u>nīĵ</u> la leche
<u>nyók</u> águila, especie grande de color de chocolate	<u>nīĵin</u> el venado
	<u>nīgīĵ</u> el enfermo; enfermo
	<u>nīgup</u> el armadillo

nigaj?  
pleyades



<u>nīgōl</u> anciano, uno de los mayores del pueblo; la confradía; macho	x <u>nīl</u> el nixtamal <i>más, mejor o peor</i>
<u>nīgōlbīč</u> el zopilote	<u>nīlyùš</u> la culebra escorpión
<u>nīs</u> grande	<u>niláty</u> el zancudo, el mollote
<u>nīsdí</u> más grande	<u>nilač</u> el gusano de cañuela
<u>nizye</u> el águila; el águila de la moneda	<u>nilan</u> el liebre
<u>nízyo</u> la calle	<u>nilay</u> el gavilan pinto
<u>nizīn</u> el raton <i>nizīn?</i>	<u>nīlà?a</u> insecto, especie chico de color cafe con alas que sale en cantidad antes de llover
<u>nizil</u> el chogon	<u>nilo?o</u> la corredora
<u>nīž</u> sabroso	<u>nirayn</u> hormiga, especie chico y colorado
<u>nīž</u> el alacran	<u>nirayngi?i</u> hormiga, especie chico y negro
<u>nīžgév</u> el alacran del rio	<u>nīw</u> la nihua; <i>apestoso -hīw insupportable</i>
<u>nīžyé?w</u> el gorrón	<u>nīyēw</u> el hombre
<u>nīžī</u> el zorro	<u>nīyē?e-má</u> la coyuntura del pie de animal (de pesuña)
<u>nīžū?</u> el brujo, la bruja	<u>nī?i</u> agrio
<u>nīžo</u> el correcamino	<u>né?e</u> ahora
<u>nimbīdàràyn</u> la araña babosa <i>→ el capullo (araña)</i>	<u>nè?e</u> pesa
<u>ningič</u> la túpula, <i>araxa</i> (de patas largas).	<u>nè?eyn</u> pesado
<u>nīngīd</u> la mariposa, la palomita nocturna	<u>nī</u> uno (persona)
<u>nīngīdzīn</u> el murciélago	<u>nīk</u> por eso
<i>nīngās</i> <u>ningas</u> el cientopies <i>(nīngās)</i>	<u>nīkó?o</u> eso nada más
<u>nīngā?</u> la tijerilla	<u>nīs</u> el agua
<u>nīngòz</u> la lucerna	<u>nīsgop</u> el rocío
<u>nīngòzyô</u> la lucerna (gusano)	
<u>nīnyùy</u> el grillo	

AC APPELLO

nĭsto?o el mar  
nĭskwa?n el agua de  
 cocimiento  
nĭs bžōbdōl el agua  
 bendita  
nĭsla?ay el agua bendita  
nĭsyāb el atole  
nĭsyāpčĭn el champurrado,  
 el chocolateatole  
nĭsyābjē?e la honra  
 ("atole caliente")  
nĭsĭn la saliva  
nĭz el camino  
nĭzkado?o ahorita  
nĭzkó?orĭ por aquel lado  
nĭzkó?orĭ?ĭ por este lado  
nāzġĭt Barrio Abajo, Cal  
 Barrio; el camino abajo  
*nĭz ġōdon - má el ġođōđō (orras)*  
nĭzyā? Barrio Arriba; el  
 camino arriba  
nĭzrĭ por allí  
nĭzrĭđĭ por allí (muy  
 retirado)  
nĭzrĭ?ĭ por aquí mismo  
nĭzrĭ?ĭđĭ por aquí (poco  
 retirado)  
nĭn la gente extraña *[E?MI]*  
nĭn wa?azan echar ojo  
nĭ?n me dijo  
nĭl Manuel

nĭwel ¡Verás!  
na yo  
nāty pegajoso  
nātyàġ la persona seria  
natya?a grueso  
natyuĭ resbaloso  
natič rasposo  
nati?ĭn el lépero, el  
 braverero, el grosero  
nata?am sin filo  
nāč rasposo  
nača?anča?an es muy tosco  
nača?anč el tartamudo *zangoso*  
nákè recostado *se zangoso*  
nake?e ciego, tuerto  
nākāy oscuro  
nākōčó?n no hay nadie  
nākōžĭn no es nada  
nākō?o chueco (del cuerpo)  
nako?op húmĭdo *de un... ch...?*  
nabiĭ seco  
nàbàyn vivo  
nadi?ĭ reducido, pobre;  
 angosto  
ĭub nadi?ĭ ĭo?ota?n  
 muy reducidos viven  
nadab la pantana; la arena  
 movediza  
nadop corto

nadip ??

*nesio*

*no se sabe*

nado'o calmado, sencillo,  
humilde

nado?došán es muy  
(demasiado) humilde

nādūyn alto, estirado,  
largo

naǰ mojado

naǰit flaco

nāǰil travieso

nāǰè salado

nāǰè'e tibio

nāǰè'eyol regular (dicho  
de líquido)

nāǰi suave, calmado,  
callado

naǰi'ič enojado

nagiǰ fuerte, saludable;  
de sazón

nāgè'e verde; verde oscuro  
hasta azul bajo

nāgì'k de mal carácter

nāgāty me muero

nāgāty blanco

nāgānd difícil

nāgá'al fresco

nāgù'uǰ suave, blando

nāsy anteyer; pasado *maxana*

nāsá'k refinado, afable;  
bueno

nāš la fruta

naš dulce

nazá'a me voy; Adios

naza'k chulo, bonito

nažga grande

nažit hondo

nāží'i bravo, malo

nažá'al abierto

nāžūb chueco

nažož roto

nažo'o grave

nān Señora; la señora

nan la abuelita, la  
viejita; la nana, *la niñera, la pilmana.*

nāngopiǰ La Virgin de la  
Natividad, la santa  
patrona del pueblo

nānmi la virgin de la  
iglesia (cualquiera)

nānigòl la anciana

nani'n muy trabajador

nal frio (de clima)

nā'ly hoy, ahora

nālné'e ahora; hoy mismo

nālib amarrado

nāliyn es cierto

nālé caliente

nālā amargo

nālā todavía

nālāč abusado, listo

*chue*

*chue*

náláč-gílřin listo de  
inteligencia

nālédē todavía no

nālazy delgado; *mostro*

nālāy triste

nālo?oč comezonudo

narī?in tierno

nārāž la naranja

naró?o gordo

naw yo no más

nāwāl el nahual

nāy el calor

nāyè limpio

nāyèyn es limpio

naye?e crudo

nāyān picoso *nāyazaty?*

nāynš ya  
nā-rūyndè?e-nāynš no  
lo hago ya

nā? acostado

nā?atèn no hay

nā?g ayer

na?k ¡No!

nò el (los) que..., el  
(los) con..., el (los)  
de...

nò rkwīj el chirimitero

nò rzūj el borracho; el  
que emborracha

nò rō?l el músico

nò y con...

nò tyòp gič el político;  
el con dos barajas

nò wyá el antecesor; el  
de antigüedad

nok eso (persona)  
čò nok ¿Quién es eso?

nòzī?n el rico

nònázāk el diablo, el  
demonio *chert ton*

nònály ahora también

nona?a la mujer

nòle?e también *nāzāk*

nòrāy cosido

I

lyāšt la cebolla

lyāy la llave de puerta

lyuč el bejuco

lyūj la lengua  
lyūjā?n su lengua  
de él

lyūž el lunes

lib atado, amarrado

lij las secundinas, la  
placenta *lij-má*

lij-nirayn el hormiguero

lijel tu hogar, tu casa

lijā?l ¡La mano!  
(salutación)

lē la luz de relámpago

*lijtib el canal*

<u>lètànyě</u> la letanía funeral	<u>làĵ-ná</u> mi pueblo, mi tierra
<u>ležá</u> nosotros	X <u>lāĵgiltič</u> el pixtle <i>semilla de maney</i>
<u>lewta?n</u> ellos no más	<u>laĵgiltity</u> La Ciudad de Canillas
<u>lewžá</u> nosotros no más	<u>lág</u> la hoja
<u>lēwèž</u> nosotros no más	X <u>lāgna</u> la punta de capa
<u>lewa?n</u> él, ella no más	<u>lāgyá?as</u> el cancer negro (yerba)
<u>lê?n</u> se llama	<u>lāgitzē?e</u> la hoja de memela de elote
<u>le?n</u> ese, él, ella	X <u>lāgida?an</u> el escapadle
<u>le?nkle?e</u> él, ella no más	<u>lāgigīs</u> la hoja de laurel
<u>le?nš</u> él es...	X <u>lāgā?</u> el frutillo
<u>le?nle?e</u> el también	<u>lāgūn</u> el lago, la laguna
<u>lè?età?n</u> ellos, ellas	<u>lāguy</u> el grillal
<u>lē?ežá</u> nosotros	<i>check</i> <u>lasy</u> delgado
<u>lé?enjīb</u> tendido	<u>lāš</u> el gusano de elote, el lase; el quebramaíz (pájaro azul)
<u>le?ena</u> yo	<u>lāmno</u> el pájaro bobo (hoja)
<u>le?l</u> tu	<u>lān</u> la naturaleza de persona; el espíritu
<u>lē?eló</u> ustedes	<u>lān</u> el tizne
<u>lè?eyn</u> eso (pronombre)	X <u>lāngič</u> el tepiche <i>? yeha en se corte</i>
<u>lápànĭl</u> la hoja de panela	<u>lāni</u> la fiesta
<u>lāč</u> el llano, el valle	<u>lāni-giĭ</u> El Carnaval
<u>lāč</u> la cobija	<u>lār</u> la tela, el trapo
<u>lāčtubla</u> el jorongo, la bocamanga	<u>lārbāy</u> el rebozo
<u>lākānštĭl</u> el cancer de castilla (yerba)	
<u>lady</u> el cuerpo	
<u>lado?o</u> el pecho, el hígado <u>ladò?ó-na</u> mi pecho	

<u>lârbâybyá'ab</u> el rebozo blanco de las Villaltecas	<u>lā'ayn žlâčyè'e-ná</u> la corva de mi pierna
<u>lârgit</u> la servieta	<u>lā'ayn žikw-na</u> mi axila
<u>lârgoš</u> el trajo viejo, el andrajo	<u>lā'ayn ló'o-žná</u> mi terreno (donde vivo)
<u>lârsám</u> el sábano	<u>la'ayn ro?l</u> tu paladar
<u>lârlâg</u> cualquier cosa (arc.)	<u>lā'ayn yă?-na</u> la palma de mi mano
<u>lârla'ay</u> el escapulario	<u>lā'ayn yò'o</u> el techo adentro
<u>lârlo</u> la enagua	<u>lô</u> la raíz
<u>lâryož</u> el cacho de ropa	<u>lô</u> la cara <u>lô?l</u> tu cara
<u>lâwa</u> la yerbasanta	<u>lô</u> al..., en..., entre... <u>lô wayn</u> en el campo
<u>lây</u> el chichicaxtle	<u>lôptiw</u> la subidita <span style="float: right;">b2c distaw</span>
<u>lâyn</u> un cantidad (de gente, de animales, de arboles, de cerros, de arena, de rocas); un monton, un montoncito (de medir)	<u>lôpkó'og</u> el altar de la iglesia
<u>lâyn sîr</u> una bola de cera	<u>lôk</u> loco
<u>lâyâš</u> la hoja de aguacate	<u>loke'e</u> el ciego, el tuerto
<u>lâyôl</u> la taragontin	<u>lôbdô'</u> el altar de la casa
<u>lâ'a</u> el huaje	<u>lôdî</u> enfrente de eso
<u>lâ'ay</u> el collar de perlas, el rosario; la doctrina; el velorio	<u>lôjib</u> la espinilla <u>lôjib-žná</u> mi espinilla
<u>la'ayn</u> adentro de...	<u>logidôš</u> la lumbre del infierno
<u>lâ'áyn-na</u> mi barriga	<u>loge</u> la frente <u>logě-ná</u> mi frente
<u>lâ'aynbē</u> el cielo; La Gloria <u>lâmbē</u> (ideolect)	<u>lôgé'e</u> la plaza, el mercado
<u>lā'ayn yâštîl</u> el carrizal	<u>lôzi'tit</u> la guia de calabaza
<u>lā'ayn yûž</u> el arroyo	<u>lôždîj</u> el cumplimiento
	<u>lô'n</u> la cama

lòyn filosofo

lòyn en frente de...  
lò gin enfrente de  
la caja

lòyág la raíz y el tronco  
de árbol

lòyô el piso

lòyó'o enfrente de la  
casa

ló'o la cerca

ló'odöb la cerca de  
maguey

R

rtyo'on tiene prisa

rtip está mocho

rtô veragüenza

rčt'ib espanta

rča'ab tengo flojera

rkib pegado

rbijdò'o tiene sed

rbijwt'in quejido *se queja*

rdin matar

rdil pelea

rdt'id se da

rda'w se angosta

rda'w jámbé se angosta la  
luna; el eclipse

rjib se espanta

rgib chiflar

rgöb fumar

rzyä'w está tapado; el  
tapezon

rzyuy lo muele

rzi'il (está) temprano

rzi'il-bji temprano y tarde

rzö'p (está) puesta

rzùj gika'n se le marea  
la cabeza; el báguido

rnin desconsartar

rläj me duele

rlya'n tiene hambre

rlè'e yô se quebra la  
tierra; la ralla

rlè'eyn quebrarse

rlá'a apestoso

rlá'a nïw huele apestoso

ryap subir

ryâl el peso

ryä'zèn le pega

rya'yn se alumbra

rya'a vámonos

ryudo'o me gusta

ryuydo'o está triste

ryob rápido, luego luego

rye'k se quema; quemazon

ryè'e está bailando

<u>rèpìs</u> la repisa	<u>rakne</u> me duele
<u>rèta?n</u> todos ellos	<u>rač</u> la truenas <i>Muerta</i>
<u>rèta?a</u> todos (pronombre)	<u>rač kwīt</u> la truenas de cuete
<u>rétā?a jě</u> diario	<u>ragišlo?n</u> boca abajo (persona)
<u>rėgīl</u> todas las noches	<u>ragišloy</u> boca abajo (cosa)
<u>rěje</u> diario	<u>rūynya?nš</u> hace pues <u>rūynya?n zèn</u> (opción)
<u>rėž</u> todos nosotros	<u>rôp</u> el tenate
<u>rěžá</u> todos nosotros	<u>rôp</u> los dos
<u>rézòta?n</u> todos ellos	<u>rôpšá</u> los dos
<u>rėžòž</u> todos nosotros	<u>rôbnis</u> se bautiza
<u>rėžòžá</u> todos nosotros	<u>rôšpäy-nī</u> la cintura de uno
<u>rén</u> todos (personas)	<u>rôlzè</u> la mitad <u>rôlzè gīj</u> la mitad del pueblo
<u>rèlô</u> el reloj	<u>rolé?e</u> el patio
<u>réyn</u> todo (cosas)	<u>rôl</u> canta
<u>rēfāw</u> el refajo	<u>rôn</u> llorar <i>rô</i>
<u>rīč</u> está regado	<u>ró?yn</u> sale
<u>rīd</u> viene <u>gīd</u> va a venir <u>zīd</u> ya viene	<u>rô?gôj</u> la ciéndiga
<u>rīj</u> el pláto	<u>ró?s</u> la milpa tierna
<u>rīn</u> la sangre	<u>-ró?o</u> el sufijo aumentativo
<u>rīndya</u> oigo	<u>rò?ó</u> la tos
<u>rīndo?o</u> bonito	<u>ro?o</u> la boca <u>ro?ol</u> tu boca <u>ro?y</u> la boca de un objeto
<u>rī?ü</u> el cántaro	<u>rô?okūrād</u> el cuarto del padre
<u>rī?übžyāž</u> la pichancha	
<u>rakbè-žná</u> mi regla	
<u>rakzī?in</u> enfermo	
<u>rakmbīdy</u> se ataranta	



rō'obā? el sepulcro

wîlè extendido

rō'odàyn encima del cerro

wê maduro

ro'odo'o el estómago  
ro'odo'ol tu estómago

wěn bueno

ro'ogî la lumbre del  
infierno

wëndi mejor

ro'ogídlo-nì el pellejo de  
los ojos de uno

we'k quemado

rō'ogéw el margen del río

wé'es el hueso

ro'ogírdi el brasero

wîšén medir, pesar

ró'os el bostezo

wî'in se hirió

ró'oya'as la tos ferina

watre'e la madrugada

rō'oyó'o la puerta

wāč la iguana

waj la matlacihua; la  
llorona

wāg la rata

*wāgštil la rata miteja*

W

wàzèdö me acorde

wyē'e fíjate

wāw el gubao

le'ena zà'a wāw voy  
al gubao

wyá de antigüedad

wāy el caballo

wit flojo

wāyn ¿Donde está?

wij seco

wāyn el campo

wij el calor del sol,  
donde pega el sol; el  
día (de veinte cuatro  
horas)

wa'py subio

júb rke wij pega  
mucho sol

wā'n el ladron, el "Juan"

wá'ay la escoba

wiz la víbora

wizláč la tarántula<sup>??</sup>

Y

wizwát la culebra sorda

yê el temascal

wín la hambre, la escacez  
(disastre)

yék la jaula (o prisión), *100%*

-win codo, mezquino

yéw la lluvia

*pasado mañana  
mañana  
mañana en la noche  
pasado mañana en la noche*

- yéwbī? la lluvia con aire; yádōb el maguey  
tempestad
- yéwró'o el aguacero
- yé'e mañana
- ye'e el pie; la pata  
posterior
- ye'eyn abajo de  
ye'e gin abajo de  
la caja
- ye'edyà-ná el nopalito  
de mi oído
- yē'edàyn el pie del  
cerro
- \*yâp el chayote *verdura que se  
come*
- yâptăy el pitayal *chick lone*
- yâptăy bîl el órgano *arbol*
- \*yâptò'oč el zompantle *los ramos de  
comest*
- yâpčîn el huehuete
- yâpki'ič el huamuchal
- yáte la mostaza montés
- yâkná sanar *yâgha??  
yerba de  
color de  
cabeza*
- \*yâkwá'ngi'i el potonxihuite
- yâbĵĭ? el tunillo
- yabzin el palmar
- chick* \*yâbzil el otate
- yâbžĭl el moral
- yâblya'ay el zopotal;  
el higal
- yâbĭĵyo'o la atravesada  
de la casa
- yâbĭ? el guayabal
- yádōb el maguey
- yádo'o la iglesia
- yág el árbol, el palo,  
la madera, la lleña
- yágiĵ la coa
- yagèn doce almudes, media  
fanega
- yâgĭčyâg el huizache
- yâgĭgĭs el laurel
- yâgĭs el sauzal
- yâgĭl el pirul
- yâgĭr el ocotal
- yâgĭ'yâ'al el cacalozuche
- yagal el cuarentamanos
- \*yâgō? el bejuco de camote
- yâ'gič la mano de metate
- yâžĭ'i el chamizo (yerba)
- yâžĭ'i dâyn la jarilla
- yâžĭ'i gĕw el chamizo,  
especie del río *Same species?*
- yâš el aguacate
- yâštĭl el carrizo
- yâžĭd el roble
- yâžâč el yagazache
- yâžōb el caballito de  
diablo
- yâžōbnĭl el palo de mover  
el nixtamal; *(walking stick) insect*
- yâž el ajo *zacaton??*

<u>yāžī'ín</u> el ajito (pájaro)	<u>yūž</u> la arena
<u>yážuy</u> el encino	<u>yô</u> la tierra; el terreno
<u>yàmnīl</u> el acahual	<u>yòkwīl</u> la yocuela, la tierra bronca
<u>yàmnīl gič</u> acahual, especie enagutado	<u>yôb</u> pronto
<u>yàmnīl nyuy</u> acahual, especie liso	<u>yôb gāzèl</u> pronto te bañas
<u>yān</u> el olote	<u>yôb</u> la tristeza, el sentimiento
<u>yānīl</u> el anillo	<u>yòbla</u> la hiel (de persona)
<u>yārm</u> la yarma, la caja de almūd	<u>yòbla-žná</u> mi hiel
<u>yārm tub ālm</u> la yarma de un almūd	<u>yôbīžlàn</u> el cascajo rocoso y rojo (el color de molcajete)
<u>yārād</u> el arado	<u>yódi</u> el cascajo liso
<u>yáro'o</u> el horcon	<u>yòdāyn</u> la tierra del cerro; tierras comunales
<u>yayn</u> el cuello, el pescuezo, la garganta	<u>yógü</u> el cascajo rocoso, la simarrona
<u>yāyn-ná</u> mi cuello	<u>yógī'z</u> la polvora de escopeta
<u>yāyā'l</u> el árbol de copal	<u>yómya'a</u> la tierra buena
<u>yā?</u> arriba	<u>yónyol</u> la tierra suelta, la tierra fina o lisa
<u>yā?</u> la mano	<u>yòlāsy</u> la tierra delgada
<u>ya'l</u> tu mano	<u>yòlāy</u> el juzgado
<u>yā?-má</u> las garras de animal	<u>yòwī'īj</u> el polvo (de tierra)
<u>yā'l</u> el copal	<u>yóyuž</u> el arenal
<u>ya'a</u> vamos	<u>yó'b</u> los sesos; la chinguifa; el báguido, el mareo
<u>yā'ač</u> el color de coyuche	<u>gō'o yóba'n</u> le dio báguido
<u>yā'as</u> negro	
<u>yub</u> usted	
<u>yubel zīd</u> usted viene	
<u>yubgá'an</u> usted mismo	
<u>yubo'n</u> ella o él mismo	

*colorado*

*alboratado  
Culud*

*(gris oscuro, etc.)*

yó?o la casa

yó?obzó?o la casa de  
adobe

yó?ogiž el jacal

I

íz el año

i?i ¿Verdad?

-i?in sufijo diminutivo

*maybe /yiz/*

X

xèsù kríst Jesus Cristo

xá?al regar (ideolect)  
xá?al myá?a se riega  
la milpa

xūdyěw el diablo, el  
demonio

xōsk bonito

E

ětkè es que...

ěškālřr la escalera

ěškōpřt la escopeta

èniměw el diablo, el  
demonio

F

frěs la fresa

fāndāngw el fandango

İ

-i?in sufijo diminutivo

Ř

řèdōnd redondo

řūd la rueda

řòmřd el remedio, la  
medicina, la curación

A

àpàrěw la montura, el  
aparejo

àbēmāri Ave Maria

a- es  
ažùb nažři?i es muy  
bravo

H

hūb el jueves

hūz el juez

àmy el corazon  
àym (ideolect)

àlm el almud

àlàbānz la alabanza

*dash  
1952*

àrtàmís la artemisa

U

àrín štî?î màysěn la  
harina

ûn ¡Hombre!

àràyn la araña

ũl el hule

ây ¡Sí!; Por nada

ây žì ¡Sí pues!

O

ày ûn ¡Sí, hombre!

ōndî este (persona)

a?a entonces (sin tono  
afuera de contexto)  
žîg â?a entonces

ōr el oro

ōrn el horno

### Numbers

3.2. This section presents the essential components of cardinal numbers to one thousand. Beyond one thousand Zapotec numbers derive from Spanish, as well as all numbers between seventy and ninety nine. Ordinal numbers are poorly developed, and the apparent remnants of an ordinal system are seen in items 66-69 of section 3.3.

1. tub, tubèn

9. gè?e, gè?eyn

2. tyòp, tyòpèn

10. čì?i, čì?in

3. čòn, čònèn

11. čì?itub, čì?itubèn

4. tap, tapèn

12. čì?ityòp, čì?ityòpèn

5. ga?ay, ga?ayèn

13. čì?ityòpčì?in,  
čì?ityòpčì?inen

6. šop, šopèn

14. čì?ida, čì?idayn

7. gāj, gājèn

15. čī?in, čī?inyèn

8. žon, žonèn

- |                     |                       |
|---------------------|-----------------------|
| 16. čĩ'ĩmptùb       | 43. tyo'opčòn         |
| 17. čĩ'ĩmptyòp      | 44. tyo'optàp         |
| 18. čĩ'ĩmpčòn       | 45. tyo'obigà'áy      |
| 19. čĩ'ĩmptàp       | 46. tyo'opšòp         |
| 20. gal, galèn      | 47. tyo'obigàĵ        |
| 21. galtùb          | 48. tyo'opšòn         |
| 22. galtyòp         | 49. tyo'obigě         |
| 23. galčòn          | 50. tyo'opčĩ'i        |
| 24. galtàp          | 51. tyo'opčĩ'itùb     |
| 25. galbigà'áy      | 52. tyo'opčĩ'iptyòp   |
| 26. galšòp          | 53. tyo'opčĩ'ipčòn    |
| 27. galbigàĵ        | 54. tyo'opčĩ'itàp     |
| 28. galžòn          | 55. tyo'opčĩ'ibigà'áy |
| 29. galbigě         | 56. tyo'opčĩ'ipšòp    |
| 30. galpčĩ'i        | 57. tyo'opčĩ'ibigàĵ   |
| 31. galpčĩ'itub     | 58. tyo'opčĩ'ipšòn    |
| 32. galpčĩ'iptyòp   | 59. tyo'opčĩ'ibigě    |
| 33. galpčĩ'ipčòn    | 60. gayon, gayonèn    |
| 34. galpčĩ'itap     | 61. gayontùb          |
| 35. galpčĩ'ibigà'áy | 62. gayontyòp         |
| 36. galpčĩ'ipšòp    | 63. gayončòn          |
| 37. galpčĩ'ibigàĵ   | 64. gayontàp          |
| 38. galpčĩ'ipšòn    | 65. gayombigà'áy      |
| 39. galpčĩ'ibigě    | 66. gayonšòp          |
| 40. tyò'o, tyò'oyn  | 67. gayombigàĵ        |
| 41. tyo'optub       | 68. gayompšòn         |
| 42. tyo'optyòp      | 69. gayombigě         |

70. sètěnt	170. tub gayo?o kon sètěnt
80. òčěnt	180. tub gayo?o kon òčěnt
90. nòběnt	190. tub gayo?o kon nòběnt
100. tub gayo?o	200. tyòp gayo?o
101. tub gayo?o tub	300. čòn gayo?o
105. tub gayo?o ga?ay	400. tap gayo?o
110. tub gayo?o čì?i	500. ga?ay gayo?o
120. tub gayo?o gal	600. šop gayo?o
130. tub gayo?o galpčì?i	700. gāj gayo?o
140. tub gayo?o tyo?o	800. žon gayo?o
150. tub gayo?o tyo?opčì?i	900. gè?e gayo?o
160. tub gayo?o gayon	1000. tub míl, tub mílèn

### Terms Of Affinity

3.3. This section attempts to list and to define all Ayoquescan kinship terms. The meanings of items numbers 1-32 are diagrammed in Figure 2 (see 1.6.7.). Other terms designating personal relationships, which are peripheral to, or apart from, the kinship system, are also listed and defined.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>1. <u>dàtmìwyâ-žná</u> "my ancient grandfather"; any male relative, direct, collateral, collateral affinal, or direct affinal, of the forth ascending generation or beyond, who has died before one's birth, or the spouse</p> | <p>of such a female relative (No. 2); [Sp. abuelo antiguo, tatarabuelo]</p> |
| <p>2. <u>nàmìwyâ-žná</u> "my ancient grandmother," the feminine counterpart of No. 1; [Sp. abuela antigua, tatarabuela]</p>   |   |

3. dàtmígit-žná "my great grandfather"; any male relative of the third ascending generation and, according to some opinions, one's "great uncle" as well; the spouse of any such female relative (No. 4); [Sp. bisabuelo]
4. nàmígit-žná "my great grandmother," the feminine counterpart of No. 3; [Sp. bisabuela]
5. dàtmí-žná "my grandfather"; any male relative of the second ascending generation; according to some opinions, the term is limited to direct and direct affinal relatives (cf. No. 3); the spouse of any such female relatives (No. 6); [Sp. abuelo]  
*abuelo*
6. nàmí-žná "my grandmother," the feminine counterpart of No. 5; [Sp. abuela]  
*abuela*
7. dàd-žná my father (formal); [Sp. padre]
8. nèn-žná my mother (formal); [Sp. madre]
9. dášyèw-žná "my uncle"; any male collateral or collateral affinal relative of the first ascending generation, or the spouse of such a female relative (No. 10); [Sp. tío]
10. nášyèw-žná "my aunt," the feminine counterpart of No. 9; [Sp. tia]
11. dádča'ap-žná my wife's father; [Sp. suegro]
12. nánča'ap-žná my wife's mother; [Sp. suegra]
13. dáke'ew-žná my husband's father; [Sp. suegro]
14. náke'ew-žná my husband's mother; [Sp. suegra]
15. dōbíč-na "my brother," male speaker; this term is used by some to mean a "cousin" as well as a sibling (the same applies to Nos. 16 and 17); [Sp. hermano]
16. dōžán-na "my brother," female speaker; "my sister," male speaker; [Sp. hermano, hermana]
17. dōbíl-ná "my sister," female speaker; [Sp. hermana]
18. kùnyád-žná my spouse's sibling; my sibling's spouse; [Sp. cuñado, cuñada]
19. ložiž-ná my spouse's sibling's spouse; my sibling's spouse's sibling; [Sp. concuño, concuña]
20. dásàgòl-žná my child-in-law's father; [Sp. consuegro]
21. násàgòl-žná my child-in-law's mother; [Sp. consuegra]
22. žgá'na my son; [Sp. hijo]



23. ščá?ap-na my daughter;  
[Sp. hija] descending generation;  
[Sp. bisnieto, bis-  
nieta]
24. zòbrin-žná "my niece";  
"my nephew"; any col-  
lateral or collateral  
affinal relative of  
the first descending  
generation; [Sp. so-  
brino, sobrina]
25. nīgīj-žná my son-in-  
law; [Sp. yerno]
26. zànīgīj-žná my son-  
in-law's sister;  
[Sp. hermana de mi  
yerno]
27. bìčnīgīj-žná my son-  
in-law's brother;  
[Sp. hermano de mi  
yerno]
28. bžičž-ná my daughter-  
in-law; [Sp. nuera]
29. zàmbžičž-ná my daugh-  
ter-in-law's brother;  
[Sp. hermano de mi  
nuera]
30. bìlbžičž-ná my daugh-  
ter-in-law's sister;  
[Sp. hermana de mi  
nuera]
31. žyàg-ná "my grand-  
child"; all relatives,  
direct, collateral,  
direct affinal, and  
collateral affinal,  
of the second descend-  
ing generation; [Sp.  
nieto, nieta]
32. žyāgīt-ná "my great  
grandchild"; all rel-  
atives, direct, col-  
lateral, direct af-  
final, and collateral  
affinal, of the third
33. čī?l-na my spouse
34. mbály "co-father";  
[Sp. compadre]
35. mwály "co-mother";  
[Sp. comadre]
36. dámbály "godfather";  
[Sp. padrino]
37. námwály "godmother";  
[Sp. madrina]
38. ži?imbály "godchild";  
[Sp. ahijado]
39. štyé?e-na my family  
(extended)
40. dyè?e a family  
(extended)
41. štyé?egaža?a-ná my  
close family
42. štyé?ezit-ná my distant  
family
43. gaža?a close, near;  
[Sp. cerca, cercana]
44. zit distant, remote;  
[Sp. lejos, lejana]
45. prīm-žná my cousin; a  
term used by many to  
distinguish cousins  
from siblings; [Sp.  
primo, prima]
46. pà-žná my father  
(informal); [Sp. papá]
47. mà-žná my mother  
(informal); [Sp. mamá]

b432n  
1971  
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48. gíčlàng-ná my eyelashes; a term for distant "grandchildren" of an unspecified descending generation and degree of affinity
49. náwya?n-žná my step-mother
50. dáwya?n-žná my step-father
51. žgá?nwyà?ná my half son; my stepson
52. ščá?apwyà?ná my half daughter; my step-daughter
53. dōbīčwya?ná "my half or stepbrother," male speaker
54. dōzānwya?ná "my half or stepsister," male speaker; "my half or stepbrother," female speaker
55. dōbīlwya?ná "my half or stepsister," female speaker
56. ži?in offspring (*non-kin*) *šm is a kinship*
57. ži?inwya?n stepchild (*non-kin*)
58. ži?inžwá legitimate child (*non-kin*)
59. nánžwá-ná "my mother," a special idiomatic endearment
60. dádžwá-ná "my father," an endearment; a general endearment for any male
61. žgá?nžwá-ná my legitimate or full son; an endearment for one's son
62. ščá?apžwá-ná my legitimate or full daughter; an endearment for one's daughter
63. dōbīčžwá-ná "my full brother," male speaker; an endearment
64. dōzānžwá-ná "my full brother," female speaker; "my full sister," male speaker
65. dōbīlžwá-ná "my full sister," female speaker; an endearment
66. žūnžwá a special endearment for one's mother, as is No. 59
67. ndo?o gālò first child; (The ordinal modifiers of Nos. 67-71 can be combined with any word for 'son,' 'daughter,' or 'sibling.')
68. ndo?o rōp second child
69. ndo?o ryōn third child
70. ndo?o táp fourth child
71. ndo?o gá?ay fifth child
72. má a term of friendship and familiarity used between girls
73. ūn an informal term of address used between friends
74. nībī? sweetheart, boy friend, engaged man

Čá?á-ná

el malserrado  
da malserrada

los que se casan  
juntos sin  
casarse

\* /dō/ ???

*Not a true relative  
relationship  
of differential status*

75. štō mistress, lover

77. žgūmyèr-ná my friend;  
[Sp. compañero]

76. zá?a-na my friend;  
[Sp. compañero]

*aque note  
(parallel upbringing)*

*loan word*  
-gum m'er  
ž- possessive prefix  
-mpañ->  
-mžā->  
-mā->  
-mž->

Toponyms

3.4. This section identifies some placenames and includes etymological comments.

1. tyané San Carlos  
Quiéne; etymology  
untraceable

8. bīzā Ejutla; etymology  
untraceable (see No.  
13)

2. tèxèbân La Tejabana;  
a Spanish loanword

*Kwido  
San Pablo  
Honduras*

9. bâk Tlacolula; etymol-  
ogy untraceable

*bizāzay  
Quelidān  
see nos. 70  
/bōzāzay/  
"Loy"*

3. ko?ogīgīn the side of  
Cerro Rocosó; etymol-  
ogy: /ko?o/ 'side,'  
/gī/ 'rock,' /gīn/  
'box,' /gīn/ 'bees-  
wax'

10. dàyn gījōnd El Cerro  
Antiguo, El Cerro de  
Ayoquesco; etymology:  
/dàyn/ 'hill,'  
/gījōnd/ (see 1.3. and  
4.1.)

4. blé?e bīnya?aty La  
Barranca Prieta; ety-  
mology: /blé?e/  
'gully,' /bīn/ 'wine,  
(Spanish loanword),'  
/nya?aty/ 'white  
(arc.)'

11. dàynró?o El Cerro  
Grande (Plate VI); et-  
ymology: /dàyn/ 'hill,'  
/-ró?o/ 'large'

5. byê Zimatlán; etymol-  
ogy untraceable

*yê = ...*

12. gīzī?i Tehuantepec; et-  
ymology nebulous: /gī/  
'rock,' /zé?e/ 'bean  
pod'

6. byâlt La Villa Alta;  
Spanish loanword

13. gīžāž Ejutla (arc.);  
etymology nebulous:  
/gī/ 'rock,' /žāž/ 'a  
clucking sound,' /gīž/  
'straw,' /gīž/ 'brush-  
wood'

7. bīgá?ay Vigallo; /bi-/  
is also the first syl-  
lable of the indige-  
nous toponym No. 8;  
etymology speculative:  
/ga?ay/ 'five,'  
/galbigà?áy/ 'twenty  
five,' as is the form  
of several numbers  
(see 3.2.)

14. gèžār or gīžār El Cerro  
de Yoguezār; etymology:  
/gév/ 'river,' /žār/  
'jug,' 'jar'

*\* /bini/ 'people'*

*Jan ...*

*bini + yê > ...*

15. gėw kát rdíd nī El Rio del Paso; loan-shift; literally, 'the river where one passes'
16. gėw bzyėw El Rio de la Peña; etymology: /gėw/ 'river,' /bzyėw/ 'lightening'
17. gėwgít el rio abajo; etymology: /gėw/ 'river,' /gít/ 'below'
18. gėwyǎ? el rio arriba; etymology: /gėw/ 'river,' /yǎ?/ 'above'
19. gėwyűž El Rio del Arroyo; etymology: /gėw/ 'river,' /yűž/ 'sand' or 'stream bed'
20. gėwyűžgi?n El Rio de Yuxigue; etymology: /gėw/ 'river,' /yűž/ 'sand' or 'stream bed,' /gi?n/ 'chili pepper'
21. gėkgíbyàg El Cabo de Hacha; etymology: /gėk/ 'head,' /gíb/ 'iron,' /yàg/ 'wood'; identical to the Spanish meaning
22. gėbžijj La Loma de Guziche; etymology speculative: /gė?/ 'flower,' /žijj/ 'agave pineapple'; /b/ could be a historical vestige of a syllable, as are the bilabials in /yėmnīl/ 'sunflower plant,' /yàpki?ič/ 'huamuche tree'
23. gėbīl El Rancho Guegovela; /gė-/ is perhaps an historical change from /ge-/ 'river'; the etymology of the final syllable has two options: /bīl/ 'fish,' /bīl/ 'snake'
24. gėbī?i or gėbī?i El Cerro de Aguafría; etymology untraceable; /gė-/ or /gė-/ could derive from 'river' or 'flower'
25. gėjdo?o Miahuatlán; etymology: /gėj/ 'town,' /-do?o/ probably 'temple,' as in /yádo?o/ 'church' (see 4.1.1.)
26. gėjgėw Uchatengo; etymology: /gėj/ 'town,' /gėw/ 'river'
27. gėjgá?a este pueblo, el pueblo aquí
28. gėjso?o Jamixtepec; etymology speculative: /gėj/ 'town,' /-so?o/ possibly 'tunnel,' as in /gėrso?o/ 'cave' (/gėr/ 'hole')
29. gėjīb El Cerro Guchibe; etymology nebulous: /jībye?e/ 'shin bone'
30. gėjīk El Cerro Pando; etymology untraceable
31. gėjōnd Ayoquesco; etymology: (see 4.1.)
32. gėzīd La Barranca de Yogozeta; etymology nebulous: /zīt/ 'salt'

33. gìzič El Cerro de Yogo-ziche; etymology untraceable
34. gìžij La Loma de Topoziche; etymology: /gì-/ 'flower' or 'river,' /žij/ 'agave pineapple'
35. gìžì?in El Cerro Guezena; etymology speculative: /gìž/ 'squash tip,' /-t?in/ a diminutive suffix
36. gìžär La Cañada del Jarro; etymology: /gì-/ 'river' or 'flower,' /žär/ 'jar'
37. gìžog La Cañadita de Guxoge; /gì-/ 'river,' /žog/ 'shell' or 'cranium'
38. gîmiž La Piedra de la Mesa; a Spanish loan-shift
39. gînjò?ó La Cañada de Guengate; etymology untraceable
40. gînyuy La Piedra Lisa; a Spanish loanshift
41. gîlto?o El Cerro de Ejutla; etymology nebulous: /gîl/ 'night,' /gîl/ 'a regional fruit,' /gîl/ 'primary plowing'; /gîl-/ appears as the first syllable in several words of the lexicon; /-to?o/ resembles the final syllable of /nîsto?o/ 'sea,' /gîto?o/ 'corpse,' and /gîto?o/ 'bottlegourd'
42. gîlwa El Campo de Yervasanta; etymology incomplete: /gîl-/ see No. 41, /-wa/ 'yervasanta'
43. gîlāč Ocotlán; etymology speculative: /gî-/ 'river,' /lāč/ 'plain' or 'valley floor'
44. gîlasy La Cañada de Gulase; etymology: /gî-/ 'river,' /lasy/ 'narrow'
45. gîrîndál La Cañada del Coquito; etymology nebulous: /gî-/ 'river,' /rîl/ 'blood'
46. gîyasy La Barranca de Gullase; etymology untraceable
47. gîltoba Guelatová; etymology nebulous: /tó?ob/ 'agave'
48. sàn pābl nîtl Mitla
49. sān mātēw San Mateo Mixtepec
50. sàn mägîl San Miguel Mixtepec, San Miguel Perras
51. sān lōrēnz San Lorenzo Mixtepec
52. sāntā krúz Santa Cruz Mixtepec
53. sāntā xērtrūd Santa Gertrudis
54. zèjîl Zaachila; etymology nebulous: /zè-/ (cf. No. 55), /zè/ 'grease,' /jîl/ 'tortilla skillet'

zàzè  
"ancient times past"  
> dij "word"  
dîzè "zapotec language" (idioma)  
dîžlî "castellano" (the Spanish language)

55. zègIt <sup>la</sup> Ciudad de Mexico; etymology untraceable
56. žàn mǎrtín San Martin Lachila
57. žāndriž San Andres Zabache; in San Andres the indigenous toponym is /zabaʔač/; in Ayoquesco /zábáč/ means a type of black bead necklace
58. žāndēmāt Santa Marta
59. žāndām Santa Ana Tlapacoya, Santa Ana Yazeche, Santa Ana Zagache
60. žūžwā San Juan Guegolava (Logolava); etymology nebulous: /žwā/ 'of times past,' /-žwā/ an endearing suffix
61. nīžil Santa Cruz Nixila; etymology nebulous: /ni-/ often a marker for animal names, /žil/ 'chair,' /žil/ 'sheep,' /žil/ 'cotton'
62. nīsyeʔet Aguablanca; etymology: /nīs/ 'water,' /-yeʔet/ 'white (arc.)'
63. nīzgīt Barrio Abajo; etymology: /nīz/ 'road,' /gīt/ 'below'
64. nīzyāʔ Barrio Arriba; etymology: /nīz/ 'road,' /yāʔ/ 'above'
65. nòčistlān Nochixtlán
66. lájgèʔe Lachigué; etymology: /láj/ 'town,' /gèʔe/ 'nine'
67. lājgīlguty La Ciudad de Canillas (mythological); etymology: /láj/ 'town,' /gīlguty/ 'death'
68. lāspěyn Etla; etymology: La Fiesta de las Peñas
69. lāʔayn gībžij El Campo de Guziche; etymology: /lāʔayn/ 'in side,' /gībžij/ (see No. 22)
70. lōzàʔay La "Y"; etymology nebulous: /lō/ 'place of,' /-zàʔay/ no traceable meaning
71. lōlàʔa Oaxaca; etymology: /lō/ 'place of,' /làʔa/ 'huaje tree'
72. rìnkòn tràpíč Rincón de Tlapacoyan
73. rolo Roalo
74. rōʔočòk El Choque; etymology: /rōʔo-/ 'in' or 'at the edge of,' /-čòk/ probably a Spanish loanword
75. rōʔogôj La Ciéndiga; etymology nebulous: /rōʔo-/ 'in' or 'at the edge of,' /gôj/ 'rotten'
76. roʔogójbye La Ciéndiga de Zimatlán; etymology: see Nos. 75 and 5
77. rōʔoyéʔe el frente del Cerro Grande; etymology: /rōʔo-/ 'at the edge of,' /yeʔe/ 'foot'

bizáay  
Zimatlán

78. wáč Sola de Vega; etymology nebulous: /wáč/ 'iguana'
79. ye'egigib La Barranca de Fierro; etymology: /ye'e/ 'foot,' /gi-/ perhaps derived from 'river,' /gib/ 'iron'
80. yùžbya'a El Arroyo del Nopal; etymology: /yùž/ 'stream bed,' /bya'a/ 'nopal'
81. yùžgin El Arroyo de Yuxgin; etymology nebulous: /yùž/ 'stream bed,' /gin/ 'beeswax,' /gin/ 'box'
82. yùžgibě? El Arroyo del Coyote; etymology: /yùž/ 'stream bed,' /gi-/ perhaps derived from 'river,' /bě?/ 'coyote'
83. yùžgibtł El Arroyo de Yogovela; etymology: /yùž/ 'stream bed,' /-gibtł/ see No. 23
84. yùžgĩ? La Barranca de Yuxgué; etymology: /yùž/ 'stream bed,' /gĩ?/ 'flower'
85. yùžluž El Arroyo de Yuxlize; etymology nebulous: /yùž/ 'stream bed,' /-luž/ no traceable meaning
86. yöl Yoltepec; etymology: perhaps a Spanish loanword
87. xūkıl Juquila
88. řānc tĩž Rancho Agua de Toro; etymology: /tĩž/ 'semicylindrical roofing tile (a Spanish loanword)'

### Basic Vocabulary

3.5. This section includes the standard two-hundred item list of non-cultural words for glottochronological computation. Footnotes explain semantic inconsistencies between English and Zapotec glosses.

1. 'all' *řetāca mā animal* dūbèn / rěn / réyn<sup>1</sup> 2. 'and' nó / ět<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>/dūbèn/ 'all (things)'; /rěn/ 'all (people)'; /réyn/ 'all (things as a pronoun).'

<sup>2</sup>/nó/ 'and,' 'with'; /ět/ 'and,' a loanword usually occurring as /ět kè/ y que....

*- all animals?*

*pork zón diwen  
porque así no mas es*

*yà léze yàg rì mnis  
ya crecio ese arbol grande*

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 3. 'animal' mǎ   | 14. 'black' yá'as  |
| 4. 'ashes' dī  | 15. 'blood' rîn  |
| 5. 'at' lō <sup>3</sup>  | 16. 'blow' bla'a <i>Sopló / trancézo qōlp</i>  |
| 6. 'back' tīč <sup>4</sup>   | 17. 'bone' wé'es <sup>9</sup>  |
| 7. 'bad' náží'i / mǎl <sup>5</sup>                                   | 18. 'breathe' bzībī' <i>aprendelo</i>  |
| 8. 'bark' blády <i>zōg yaq</i>                                       | 19. 'burn' bzya'ay / rye'k <sup>10</sup> <i>esto quemado quemar - ver quemado quemar</i> |
| 9. 'because' pōrk <sup>6</sup> <i>add nothing nick por eso</i>       | 20. 'child' ndo'o <sup>11</sup> / ži'in  |
| 10. 'belly' là'áyn-nī <sup>7</sup> / ro'odo'o                        | 21. 'cloud' škǎ'y / bè <sup>12</sup> <i>in multiple difference to cloud</i>              |
| 11. 'big' nažga / (nis <sup>8</sup> <i>grows big check in oyo!</i> ) | 22. 'cold' nyàg <i>health cold - ice cold - water cold temperature</i>                   |
| 12. 'bird' biž   | 23. 'come' zīd <sup>13</sup>   |
| 13. 'bite' bdòlày <i>vult mordid bdu lay</i>                         | 24. 'count' blǎb   |

<sup>3</sup>/lō/ 'at,' 'place of,' 'in,' 'among,' 'near,' 'by.'

<sup>4</sup>/tīč/ 'in back of'; /tīč-nī/ 'someone's back.'

<sup>5</sup>The native words /náží'i/ 'fierce,' 'foul,' 'evil,' and /nasa'k/ 'kind,' 'refined,' 'affable,' usually denote attributes of people or sometimes of animals and may refer also to the weather or to one's state of health. The loanwords /mǎl/ malo and /wěn/ bueno express the idea that goodness and badness can extend to anything.

*can be compounded with some other words to indicate that the state of the latter is particularly grave, undesirable or 'bad'*

<sup>6</sup>/pōrk/ porque is added to Zapotec from Spanish, but it does not replace a native word, since causation and explanation can be expressed in Zapotec by syntactic relationships; /žikūnd/ 'Why?'

*as in 'cough' /tō'ō' / plus /-yá'as/ 'whooping cough'*

<sup>7</sup>/là'áyn/ 'inside'; /là'áyn-nī/ 'someone's belly (inside or outside)'; /ro'odo'o/ 'belly,' 'stomach.'

*- dōš / bravo has a similar function, as in /žlyédōš / fiebre de la mala naž'o'o / 'grave'*

<sup>8</sup>/nažga/ and /nis/ *grows big* are perfect synonyms meaning 'big (in size)'; /gōlgōl/ 'big (in fame, age, power, or amount)'; /-ro'o/ is an augmentative suffix.

<sup>9</sup>/wé'es/ hueso.

<sup>10</sup>/bzya'ayn/ 'burns (as cooking coals)'; /rye'k/ 'burns (with flames).'

<sup>11</sup>/ndo'o/ 'infant,' 'child,' 'young adolescent.' *age-class term ži'in kinterm*

<sup>12</sup>/škǎ'y/ 'cloud'; /bè/ 'cloud,' 'month.'

<sup>13</sup>/rīd/ 'comes'; /zīd/ 'coming (incipiently)';



- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 25. 'cut' ptyōg <sup>verb</sup>                              | 43. 'father' dād-žná <sup>16</sup> /<br>pā-žná           |
| 26. 'day' wij / jě <sup>14</sup>                             | 44. 'fear' rjīb <sup>verb</sup> rjīb- <sup>verb</sup>    |
| 27. 'die' gaty   | 45. 'feather' dūb  |
| 28. 'dig' tà'ayn <sup>verb</sup>                             | 46. 'few' dí'č   |
| 29. 'dirty' mīkw / rnáyn <sup>15</sup> <sup>(perucido)</sup> | 47. 'fight' rīj <sup>← noun verb → r dīl verb</sup>      |
| 30. 'dog' nīkw   | 48. 'fire' bīl / gī <sup>17</sup> <sup>coals?</sup>      |
| 31. 'drink' gó'ō <sup>noun verb (trākw)</sup>                | 49. 'fish' bīl <sup>← noun (verb) m n atasy - aqan</sup> |
| 32. 'dry' wīj / nabijš <sup>peco medroso</sup>               | 50. 'five' ga'ay   |
| 33. 'dull' nata'am <sup>verb</sup>                           | 51. 'float' rji'ib- <sup>18</sup>                        |
| 34. 'dust' yòwī'īj <sup>noun</sup>                           | 52. 'flow' žo'on <sup>19</sup> <sup>verb</sup>           |
| 35. 'ear' dya  | 53. 'flower' gī'   |
| 36. 'earth' yō   | 54. 'fly' rzāby <sup>← noun verb → biž 9c</sup>          |
| 37. 'eat' bdō <sup>bdō má</sup>                              | 55. 'fog' bènīs <sup>verb → Dmpañar</sup>                |
| 38. 'egg' jīt  | 56. 'foot' ye'e  |
| 39. 'eye' glo  | 57. 'four' tap   |
| 40. 'fall' čòbī <sup>qòbēn</sup>                             | 58. 'freeze' bla gīg <sup>20</sup>                       |
| 41. 'far' zit  | 59. 'fruit' nāš  |
| 42. 'fat-grease' zě  | 60. 'give' bdi'id  |

/gīd/ 'coming (potentially).'

<sup>14</sup>/jě/ 'the time of daylight'; /wij/ 'a twenty-four hour cycle.'

<sup>15</sup>/mīkw/ mugroso; /rnáyn/ 'is dirty.'

<sup>16</sup>/dād/ 'Mr.', 'Sir,' 'gentleman' <sup>Saītor</sup>; /dād-žná/ 'my father (formal)'; /pā-žná/ mi papá, 'my father (informal).'

<sup>17</sup>/bīl/ 'flames,' 'bonfire,' 'brush fire'; /gī/ 'cooking fire.'

<sup>18</sup>/rji'ib-nīs/ 'float on water'; /rji'ib-bī'/?/ 'float on air.'

<sup>19</sup>/žo'on/ 'run,' 'flow.'

<sup>20</sup>/bla gīg/ 'ice comes down (in the night),' in reference to rare occasions when frozen puddles occur.

61. 'good' nasa?k / wěn<sup>21</sup> 75. 'how' žān<sup>24</sup> ... žān byēp  
... como veas
62. 'grass' gīž<sup>22</sup> 76. 'hunt' gōz
63. 'green' nāgè?e<sup>23</sup> 77. 'husband' čī?l-na
64. 'guts' trīp<sup>24</sup> 78. 'I' ná
65. 'hair' gīč 79. 'ice' gīg
66. 'hand' yā? 80. 'if' tór
67. 'he' le?n 81. 'in' là?áyn<sup>27</sup>
68. 'head' gīk<sup>25</sup> 82. 'kill' rdin
69. 'hear' rīndya 83. 'know' rak / rumbě<sup>28</sup>
70. 'heart' àmy<sup>26</sup> 84. 'lake' làgūn<sup>29</sup>
71. 'heavy' nè?e 85. 'laugh' žīj
72. 'here' gá?a 86. 'leaf' lág
73. 'hit' byā?as 87. 'left side' kóbīw
74. 'take hold' rna?azy 88. 'leg' kōr

<sup>21</sup>See 'bad' and footnote 5.

<sup>22</sup>/gīž/ 'straw,' 'dry grass'; /gīždīp/ 'green or fresh grass'; yerba, which in elite Spanish means 'grass,' in Oaxacan Campesino Spanish translates as /kwá?an/ 'weeds,' 'wild plants.'

<sup>23</sup>/nāgè?e/ 'blackish green' to 'blue' in less acculturated ideolects.

<sup>24</sup>/trīp/ tripa

<sup>25</sup>/gīk/ 'over,' 'tip of,' 'top,' 'summit'; /gīk-nī/ 'someone's head.'

<sup>26</sup>/àmy/ and /àym/ represent alternative ideolects.

<sup>27</sup>/là?áyn/ 'in (a container, a sand-lot, a thick-et)'; /lō/ 'in (a location).'

<sup>28</sup>/rak/ 'to know (as to have knowledge about)'; /rumbě/ 'to know (as to be familiar with a person or a place).'

<sup>29</sup>/làgūn/ laguna, 'a swollen segment of the river'; true lakes are unknown in the region.

*dičij*  
*dičij* *ničij-*  
*ničij-*  
*ničij-*

- |  |                                    |
|--|------------------------------------|
| 89. 'lie' gōt / nǎ? <sup>30</sup>              | 101. 'narrow' nadī'ï               |
| 90. 'live' nàbàyn <sup>31</sup>                | 102. 'near' gaž'a'a                |
| 91. 'liver' lado'o                             | 103. 'neck' yayn                   |
| 92. 'long' nàdüyn <sup>32</sup>                | 104. 'new' kũb                     |
| 93. 'louse' pčé'e                              | 105. 'night' g'íl                  |
| 94. 'man-male' nīyēw <sup>33</sup> /<br>nīgōl  | 106. 'nose' ži'i                   |
| 95. 'many' zyàyn / lǎyn <sup>34</sup>          | 107. 'not' na'k <sup>39</sup>      |
| 96. 'meat-flesh' bìl                           | 108. 'old' gōš / gōl <sup>40</sup> |
| 97. 'mother' nèn-žná <sup>35</sup> /<br>mǎ-žná | 109. 'one' tub                     |
| 98. 'mountain' dàynro'o <sup>36</sup>          | 110. 'other' štúbèn                |
| 99. 'mouth' ro'o <sup>37</sup>                 | 111. 'person' myět                 |
| 100. 'name' lê'n <sup>38</sup>                 | 112. 'play' rgít                   |
|  | 113. 'pull' bdùzá'a                |

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<sup>30</sup>/gōt/ 'lie down'; /nǎ?/ 'lying down.' *check*

<sup>31</sup>/nàbàyn/ 'live,' 'alive,' 'life.'

<sup>32</sup>/nàdüyn/ 'long,' 'stretched,' 'tall.'

<sup>33</sup>/nīyēw/ 'man'; /nīgōl/ 'male,' 'village elder.'

<sup>34</sup>/zyàyn/ 'many (discreet entities)'; /lǎyn/ 'many (as a bunch, clump, <sup>pile</sup> cluster, or herd).'

<sup>35</sup>/nǎn/ 'Mrs.,' 'lady'; /nèn-žná/ 'my mother (formal)'; /mǎ-žná/ mi mamá, 'my mother (informal)'; /žūnžwâ-na/ 'my mother (affectionately).'

<sup>36</sup>/dàyn/ 'knoll,' 'hill,' 'high hill,' 'ridge'; /-ro'o/ an augmentative suffix; /dàynro'o/ the Zapotec placename for El Cerro Grande, a point in the ridge about 1500 m. above the valley floor (Plate VI).

<sup>37</sup>/ro'o-/ 'edge of'; /ro'o-nĭ/ 'someone's mouth.'

<sup>38</sup>/lê'n/ 'he is called'; /lêy/ 'it is called.'

<sup>39</sup>/na'k/ 'No,' when affixed as /na?- -de?/ 'negative,' could translate as 'not'; this affix has several allomorphs.

<sup>40</sup>/gōš/ 'old (usually a thing)'; /gōl/ 'senior,' 'aged,' 'old (usually a person).'

*See below*

*11024*

- |   |                                       |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| 114. 'push' bzin                        | 131. 'seed' bíj                       |
| 115. 'rain' yéw                         | 132. 'sew' ptíp                       |
| 116. 'red' žnyě                         | 133. 'sharp' kèlòyn                   |
| 117. 'right-correct' nāli <sup>41</sup> | 134. 'short' nadop                    |
| 118. 'right side' kōli                  | 135. 'sing' rōl                       |
| 119. 'river' géw                        | 136. 'sit' žō?ob                      |
| 120. 'road' nīz / nízyo <sup>42</sup>   | 137. 'skin' gid                       |
| 121. 'root' lō                          | 138. 'sky' làynbē                     |
| 122. 'rope' dō                          | 139. 'sleep' bda?asy                  |
| 123. 'rotten' gō?j                      | 140. 'small' pí?č / bìn <sup>43</sup> |
| 124. 'rub' pta?aby                      | 141. 'smell' bžūžī?in / rlá?a         |
| 125. 'salt' zīt                         | 142. 'smoke' jīn                      |
| 126. 'sand' yūž                         | 143. 'smooth' nyuy                    |
| 127. 'say' rni?i                        | 144. 'snake' bīl                      |
| 128. 'scratch' bžežog                   | 145. 'snow' nyěb <sup>44</sup>        |
| 129. 'sea' nīsto?o                      | 146. 'some' pāl                       |
| 130. 'see' byē?e                        | 147. 'spit' ptošīn                    |

<sup>41</sup>/nāli/ 'clear,' 'correct,' 'unequivocal';  
/nāliyn/ 'it is true.'

<sup>42</sup>/nīz/ 'long-distance country road'; /nízyo/  
'road in or near town,' 'street.'

<sup>43</sup>/pí?č/ and /bìn/ are perfect synonyms meaning  
'small (in size)'; /byōž/ 'the miniature thing,' 'minia-  
ture'; /dí?č/ 'few' can also mean 'small,' but only in  
reference to quantity or to things which involve quantity,  
such as crockery; and in this latter sense /dí?č/ overlaps  
in meaning with /pí?č/ and /bìn/; /-i?in/ and /-i?in/ are  
diminutive suffixes which also can express affection or  
respect. *as well as smallness.*

<sup>44</sup>/nyěb/ nieve; snow is practically unknown to  
the region.

- 148. 'split' blé?e *partita*
- 149. 'squeeze' bzi?i
- 150. 'stab-pierce' bdìbè
- 151. 'stand' bzōlí
- 152. 'star' bülgi
- 153. 'stick' yág<sup>45</sup>
- 154. 'stone' gî *apetlan byas gî b'lo gî*
- 155. 'straight' tūlí
- 156. 'suck' pšup *chupete*
- 157. 'sun' jángwiĵ
- 158. 'swell' gî / bro?o gî<sup>46</sup> *swollen*
- 159. 'swim' tìda?n nĭs<sup>47</sup> / ptyōg nĭs
- 160. 'tail' žbā?n
- 161. 'that' dī *alternativa*
- 162. 'there' nĭzrĭ / zĭ?i *fronth closer*
- 163. 'they' lè?età?n
- 164. 'thick' natya?a
- 165. 'thin' nalasy *delgado (žogit??)*
- 166. 'think' le?n rùyn<sup>48</sup> pènsār
- 167. 'this' dĭ?i *alternativa*
- 168. 'thou' le?l / yubel<sup>49</sup>
- 169. 'three' čon
- 170. 'throw' blobĭ *throw*
- 171. 'tie' blĭb / kwēdō<sup>50</sup>
- 172. 'tongue' lyùĵ
- 173. 'tooth' gĭlày<sup>51</sup> *quemado*
- 174. 'tree' yág<sup>45</sup> *fuercelo*
- 175. 'turn' bzyē?k *turn a key*
- 176. 'two' tyop *ye?k de*
- 177. 'vomit' rĵi?ib *vomit*
- 178. 'walk' bze *passo comido - bžyal*
- 179. 'warm' nājè?e<sup>52</sup> *heat water + bio*

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<sup>45</sup>/yág/ 'wood,' 'tree,' 'log,' 'stump,' 'stick.'  
<sup>46</sup>/bro?o gî/ *Wood (wood like morning glory, c.g. cactus)* salir inflamación o enchazon, 'to get an inflammation'; /gî/ 'inflammation,' 'cooking fire.'  
<sup>47</sup>/tìda?n nĭs/ 'he passes through water'; /ptyōg nĭs/ 'to cut water'; unimpeded swimming is infrequent in the absence of deep, still water.  
<sup>48</sup>/le?n rùyn pènsār/ hacerse pensar, 'he makes thinking'; the Spanish word was added to Zapotec, but apparently it did not replace an indigenous word.  
<sup>49</sup>/le?l/ 'thou (informal)'; /yubel/ 'thou (formal).'  
<sup>50</sup>/blĭb/ 'to tie (a knot)'; /kwēdō/ 'to tie (an animal).'  
<sup>51</sup>/gĭlày/ 'incisor'; /gĭlàyz/ 'eyetooth'; /gĭgĭč/ 'molar,' 'lesser cuspid.'  
<sup>52</sup>/nājè?e/ 'warm'; /nālè/ 'hot.'

*brókā'an (s)*  
*anda*  
*da vueta si el mismo luzn*  
*hale caliente*

903. *banana*  
*bathe*  
*wash clothes*

- 180. 'wash' bya?at
- 181. 'water' n̄s *nyon HX 903al*
- 182. 'we' ležá<sup>53</sup> *ležá*
- 183. 'wet' naj *mojado*
- 184. 'What?' žin *903 - nojan*
- 185. 'When?' gōkèn *alternativa*
- 186. 'Where?' kàyn
- 187. 'white' nàgāty
- 188. 'Who?' čō?n
- 189. 'wide' nážt̄?n
- 190. 'wife' čt̄?l-na
- 191. 'wind' b̄t̄?
- 192. 'wing' škwa
- 193. 'wipe' bzyè / ptyè<sup>54</sup> *'impia' with wip projection*
- 194. 'with' nò / kón<sup>55</sup>
- 195. 'woman' nona?a
- 196. 'woods' t̄a?a yág<sup>56</sup> / là?áyn dàyn *like areal arazjel*
- 197. 'worm' zyog / b̄l̄i?in<sup>57</sup>
- 198. 'ye' lē?eló<sup>58</sup> *formal informal* *yūbló*
- 199. 'year' íz
- 200. 'yellow' gūč<sup>59</sup>

<sup>53</sup>/ležá/ 'we'; /lēwèž/ 'we (exclusive)'; /rěžá/ 'we (inclusive)'; /rěžōž/ and /rěžōžá/ are additional forms of the first person plural inclusive.

<sup>54</sup>/bzyè/ and /ptyè/ are alternative forms of 'to wipe.'

<sup>55</sup>/nò/ 'and,' 'with'; /kón/ con, 'with.'

<sup>56</sup>/t̄a?a yág/ 'trees (plural)'; /là?áyn yág/ 'among trees'; /là?áyn dàyn/ 'in the hills (which are wooded).'

<sup>57</sup>Some ideolects construe /b̄l̄i?in/ 'worm' by suffixing diminutive /-i?in/ to /b̄l/ 'snake.' Other ideolects deem /zyog/ 'intestinal worm,' 'white larva,' as the best approximation to a generic term for 'worm.' All ideolects give specific denotations for each species of worm, larva, or worm-like insect: /bizyog/ 'maggot'; /b̄l̄žt̄l/ 'silkworm'; /b̄l̄dòb/ 'century-plant worm'; /b̄l̄yo/ 'earthworm'; /žit/ 'leaf-cutter worm'; /ž̄indyùz/ 'caterpillar'; /niča?n/ 'dung-bettle larva'; /ničit/ 'corn-leaf worm'; /ningas/ 'millipede'; /n̄ngōzyô/ 'fire-fly larva'; /niláč/ 'cornstalk worm'; /l̄š/ 'cornear worm'; /yagal/ 'centipede.'

<sup>58</sup>/lē?eló/ 'ye'; /réló/ 'ye (inclusive)'; /lē?wló/ 'ye (exclusive).'

<sup>59</sup>/gūč/ 'yellow' to 'light tan.' *brown* *light orange*

## NOTES

4.1. Zapotec speakers of Ayoquesco call their village /g<sup>ì</sup>j<sup>ō</sup>nd/. Etymologically, /g<sup>ì</sup>j/ means 'town,' 'village,' or pueblo, the tone glide becoming level when compounding with a second syllable. The significance of /-ōnd/ is obscure, although this latter syllable may have originally begun with /j/ or may have lost an initial lenis consonant when compounded with /g<sup>ì</sup>j/. The only words thus far observed in Ayoquesco Zapotec which simulate /-ōnd/ are /ōnd<sup>ì</sup>/ 'this person' and /bēdōnd/ 'hummingbird.' Bradomin (1955: 235) gives Guegozunñi 'river of the turtle' as the indigenous placename for Ayoquesco; in Ayoquesco Zapotec the first syllable of /g<sup>ì</sup>j<sup>ō</sup>nd/ resembles /g<sup>è</sup>w/ 'river,' but the last syllable has no resemblance to /b<sup>ĩ</sup>w/ 'turtle.'

People of Santa Cruz, San Martín, and San Andrés use /gejond/ as the name for Ayoquesco. The /e/ might represent a more conservative pronunciation, in which the first syllable of this placename meant 'river' and the /j/ pertains to the succeeding syllable. In this case, the meaning of the syllable /-jōnd/ remains unknown. Conversely, since /i/ occurs as a common vowel in all village dialects, the /e/ may recently have replaced /i/ in some placenames, an example of analogous change,

to simulate the Spanish pronunciation of other local placenames, such as Guegovela and Guevara. People of Santa Cruz also refer to Ayoquesco as /gîj̥ yă? rî/ pueblo allá arriba.

4.1.1. /doʔo/ currently means 'temple' in Tlacolula Zapotec (a personal inquiry); in the 16th century Fray Juan de Córdova (1942: 396) recorded 'templo de Dios' as Lichi pitòo somewhere in the valley, although the latter word is as similar to Ayoquescan /bdōʔ/ 'saint' as to the 'temple' cognate.

4.2. The glosses for all examples are written in local Campesino Spanish rather than in English or in Urban Spanish, because the local Spanish has a closer semantic correlation to the meanings of Zapotec words.

4.3. Lenis and fortis consonants word-finally are distinguishable mainly by a secondary characteristic of lenisness: a lenis consonant in the ultimate syllable of words lengthens the preceding vowel. These word-final fortis-lenis contrasts are best observed by attaching a diminutive suffix.

4.4. Fortis and lenis fricatives contrast in identical environments word-finally only, illustrations: /gîs/ 'olla,' /gîz/ 'el cigarro,' /gîš/ 'red,' /gîž/ 'zacate'; word-initially fortis and lenis fricatives are almost in perfect complementary distribution, with a few exceptions: /ʒon/ 'ocho,' /ʒonèn/ 'ocho (contado),' /gîrsoʔo/ 'cueva,' /bîrzān/ 'la guajolota.' In a prac-



tical orthography pairs of fortis and lenis fricatives could be written with the same symbol word-initially and word-medially, and perhaps even word-finally, without confusion. In this sense it is likely that the fortis-lenis contrast between fricatives carries at most a light functional load and might be nearly vestigial.

This weak functional load of the contrast between fortis and lenis fricatives in Ayoquesco Zapotec appears intermediary to the abundant fortis-lenis contrasts in Mitla Zapotec (Instituto... 1968: 2) which pervade all consonants other than semivowels, and to San Antonino Zapotec in which fortis /š/ and /č/ have no lenis counterparts and resonants are neutral (Raymundo and Olson 1956: 2-3).

That the aforementioned features of Ayoquesco phonology are "intermediary" to comparable features of two other Zapotec languages resembles notions of geographic dislectology in which "focal areas," zones that are relatively free of major isoglosses, differ from "transitional zones," those that are cut by large bundles of isoglosses. "Phonemic contrasts tend to show a decrease in functional load and phonetic distinctiveness as one approaches an isogloss (Gumpertz 1964: 419)."

In a purely spatial perspective, it is difficult to interpret Ayoquesco as a "transitional zone" between a heavy and a non-existent functional load of a fortis-lenis contrast between fricatives, because the disruptive

*This is to suggest that fortis-lenis contrast within the fricative series has deteriorated in Ayoquesco to the point of being almost "subphonemic." At what point does this deterioration over time cause the F-L contrast to lose its "phonemicity?"*  
*are certain differences maintained by habit even after their contrastive value is lost?*  
*Gumpertz, is cited and other Zapotec languages are referred to here to show that loss in the phonemicity of contrasts has occurred in the fortis-lenis distinction to greater and lesser degrees within other languages in Oaxaca, and it has occurred on a spatial continuum with other types of contrasts in the world.*

precolumbian history of the Valley of Oaxaca (Barlow 1962; Paddock 1966) has created abrupt isogloss bundles and has not allowed a smooth and gradual dialect continuum to develop between speech areas. Nevertheless, the notion that some phonemic characteristics of one language are intermediate to the characteristics of other closely related languages could apply temporally, if not spatially, if the relative "functional loads" of phonological features common to different Zapotec languages could provide an index to help to determine whether two languages have separated from one another relatively late or early in their histories.

Also, the weak functional load of the fortis-lenis fricative contrast in Ayoquesco is comparable to "subdialectal" differences between Juchitan, where lenis /ž/ and fortis /š/ contrast, and Tehuantepec, where only /š/ exists (Pickett 1967: 293).

4.5. Most of the data underlying this description is recorded from informants in the lower part of Cal Barrio. Many ideolects from the upper barrio substitute voiced dental nasal [ŋ] in an utterance-medial syllable coda and a voiceless dental nasal [N] utterance-finally for all palatal and velar allophones of /n/ preferred by some speakers of Cal Barrio. This preference of the upper barrio for dental instead of velar and palatal allophones is probably diagnostic of a slight, undelineated dialectical difference within the town of Ayoquesco.

The upper barrio and the Cal Barrio dialects overlap slightly in that those speakers of Cal Barrio, who normally prefer palatal and velar articulations for single syllable-final allophones of /n/, use a syllable-final dental nasal in one native word: /n̄n/ [n̄N] 'outsider.' This one anomalic use of a dental allophone syllable-finally in Cal Barrio is reinforced by an influx of Spanish loanwords which also manifest dental /n/ syllable-finally in close approximation of the Spanish phonemic system, illustration: /nan/ [n̄N] 'nana.'

Despite this contradiction to the phonemic statement that single syllable-final allophones of /n/ are either palatal or velar except when otherwise conditioned, the analyst does not consider this one exception sufficient to pose two nasal phonemes, one dental and one with palatal and velar variants, for the Cal Barrio dialect described in this phonemic statement. Rather, the analyst considers this exception to be an example of a fragment of one allophonic system coexisting within another slightly different allophonic system. This one contradictory example of a syllable-final dental allophone of /n/ is probably either a vestige of an older Cal Barrio dialect or the result of a recent influence from the upper barrio. For a theoretical discussion of phonemic systems, or of fragments of phonemic systems, coexisting within other phonemic systems, see Fries and Fike (1949) and Haugen (1950: 230-31).

4.6. This interpretation is unfavorable in posing eighteen vowels instead of six; however, the eighteen-vowel interpretation is favored over posing six vowels and a glottal stop consonant because: 1) it avoids the occurrence of more than one vowel in the syllable nucleus, 2) it avoids tripling the number of syllable types, and 3) simple, glottalized, and interrupted vowels work identically as units in that they manifest tone phonemes in an identical manner, that is, interrupted vowels do not manifest tone combinations other than the /<sup>^</sup>/ and /<sup>v</sup>/ patterns manifested by glottalized and simple vowels.

4.7. The morphophonemic relationship of phonemes to upper level phonological units is inadequately investigated; however, both glottalized and interrupted vowels seem to vary freely with simple vowels when occurring within a non-nuclear syllable of a rapidly spoken upper level phonological unit which is roughly equivalent to a phonological phrase or a phonological clause. Full comment here pends a thorough analysis and precise definition of these higher units.

4.8. Some restrictions governing long and short vowel allophones are omitted from this description in that the nuclear syllables of upper level phonological units manifest various degrees of vowel length; however, comment is withheld until these upper level units are analyzed. Also, vowels with higher tones tend to be shorter.

4.9. In some ideolects simple vowels manifest a high close front unrounded offglide before word-final consonant clusters which end in /y/, illustrations: nàg[ǎ<sup>i</sup>]ty blanco, gũlg[u<sup>i</sup>]ty calaca; but this offglide only appeared in the speech of two elderly informants. The majority of ideolects omit the offglide.

4.10. The glottalization of glottalized vowels is extremely weak, and in many ideolects it is barely perceptible; therefore, one could justifiably interpret glottalized vowels as laryngealized vowels.

Some ideolects restrict glottalized vowels to the final syllable of grammatical words (see 2.4.8.). In other ideolects glottalized vowels, in positions other than word-final syllable, vary freely with simple vowels.

4.11. In some ideolects, the rearticulation of interrupted vowels may be so weak before semivowels that an interrupted vowel could be interpreted as a glottalized vowel. This alternative interpretation would require a subsequent morphophonemic rule that word-final interrupted vowels, when receiving a suffix beginning with a semivowel, become glottalized vowels.

4.12. This statement applies even when a -VC suffix is attached to the final single consonant of a word stem (see 4.13.1.):

pí'č	+	-i'in	=	pí'či'in
<u>chico</u>		<u>-ito</u>		<u>chiquito</u>

4.13. As an alternative interpretation of /bg/ and /bj/ as <sup>aw</sup>bisyllabic clusters, /bg/ and /bj/ may be classified as <sup>uni</sup>monosyllabic-bisyllabic clusters. The consonant clusters of this category may be either <sup>uni</sup>monosyllabic or bisyllabic depending on whether the first consonant manifests a syllable-onset or a syllable-coda allophone. In this case, a syllable-coda /b/, which precedes a syllable-onset consonant is voiceless, whereas the onset consonant is voiced; conversely, when both consonants of the cluster are of the onset of the succeeding syllable, both are voiced.

Monosyllabic Consonant Clusters

.bg: /gí.bgo/ tempozuche

.bj: /yà.bjí?/ tunillo

Bisyllabic Consonant Clusters

b.g: /kìbgí?/ tapezco

Since /b/ is voiceless in word-medial syllable coda before lenis stops and voiced in word-medial syllable onset before lenis stops, the location of a syllable boundary, occurring either immediately before or immediately after /b/, determines the phonological quality of a consonant cluster and of the word in which the cluster occurs.

In conformity with the interpretation posing

<sup>uni</sup>~~monosyllabic~~-bisyllabic consonant clusters, the location of a syllable boundary is a potentially contrastive suprasegmental phoneme, because two words with identical segmental phonemes may manifest different allophones and may, thereby, sound differently if their syllables divide differently.

The suprasegmental phoneme of syllable boundary location is symbolized by a dot /./ . The dot is written only in front of <sup>uni</sup>~~monosyllabic~~-bisyllabic consonant clusters which manifest monosyllabic allophones:

/g<sup>˙</sup>.bgo/ tempozuche

/yà.bjī<sup>˙</sup>?/ tunillo

A consonant cluster which is classified as <sup>uni</sup>~~monosyllabic~~-bisyllabic and which is written without the dot is understood to manifest bisyllabic allophones:

/žóbgi<sup>˙</sup>?n/ salsa

This asserts that only <sup>uni</sup>~~monosyllabic~~-bisyllabic consonant clusters can have one of two syllable boundary locations which condition allophones; and these are the only syllable boundary locations which may be indicated with the contrastive presence or absence of /./ .

This alternative interpretation, which poses <sup>uni</sup>~~monosyllabic~~-bisyllabic consonant clusters and an additional suprasegmental phoneme of syllable boundary location, has the advantage of being in full conformity with

the phonemic statement, which does distinguish between word-medial syllable-coda and word-medial syllable-onset allophones of /b/ before lenis stops. In this sense, it is the more "correct" interpretation for more fully acknowledging, and coinciding with, the realities of the sound system. Moreover, if, with additional data, more of these consonant clusters which are now recorded as exclusively <sup>sym</sup>bisyllabic are observed to be <sup>umi</sup>monosyllabic-bisyllabic, then this interpretation could prevail. However, this alternative has disadvantages:

1) The phonological differences which are distinguished by marking syllable boundary location as a suprasegmental phoneme are negligible to begin with, and probably are not strong enough to have "mental" import in distinguishing two words, especially in moderately rapid speech.

2) Syllable boundary location is merely observed to "contrast" in analogous environment and is not noted to contrast in identical environments to distinguish minimal pairs, which leaves the phonemic status of syllable boundary location, that is, the capacity of syllable boundary location to distinguish words, merely an untested potential.

3) The potentially contrastive value of syllable boundary location is further weakened in that /bj/ is not noted to occur bisyllabically, and this cluster is classed as <sup>umi</sup>monosyllabic-bisyllabic under the assumption that



/b.j/ could easily occur.

4) The total of five or six words that comprise <sup>mini</sup>monosyllabic-bisyllabic consonant clusters is miniscule relative to the two thousand words in the lexicon. To pose a special phoneme solely to handle these rare occurrences seems impractical. Also, the very rarity of <sup>mini</sup>monosyllabic-bisyllabic consonant clusters casts doubt upon the real contrastive potential of the attendant syllable boundary location.

5) In general, to pose an extra phoneme of any kind is always undesirable, especially when the validity of that phoneme is dubious.

4.13.1. Use of the dot /./ to show that word-medial /yn/ is a syllable-coda <sup>mini</sup>monosyllabic cluster is unnecessary, because all word-medial examples of /n/ succeeding /y/ manifest the syllable-coda <sup>mini</sup>monosyllabic allophone.

When /yn/ morphophonemically intercalates between a -VC suffix and a noun stem, the consonant cluster does not become ambisyllabic, because a sustained alveopalatal allophone of /n/ indicates that this phoneme is part of a syllable coda and that both consonants, /y/ and /n/, affiliate to the preceding syllable:

/gòyní?in/ [gòyñ.i?iñ<sup>ñ</sup>] araña pelona

/byá?ayni?in/ [byá?ayñ.i?iñ<sup>ñ</sup>] nopalito.

PLATES



Plate I. A panarama of Ayoquesco situated between Highway 131 and the Atoyac.



Plate II. The Atoyac River near Ayoquesco.



Plate III. The landscape east of Ayoquesco.

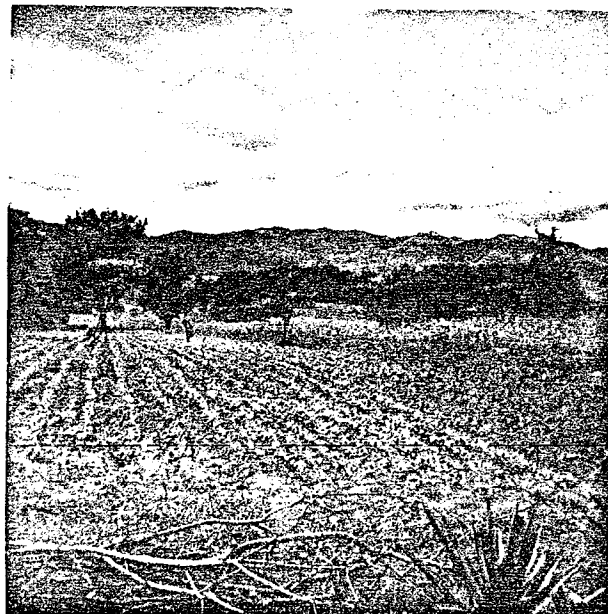


Plate IV. The hills west of Ayoquesco; the soil in the foreground is yocuela.



Plate V. A segment of the western ridge-top.



Plate VI. The highest point in the ridge-top, called /dáynro?o/. The hill in the middleground comprises low-grade farm land.

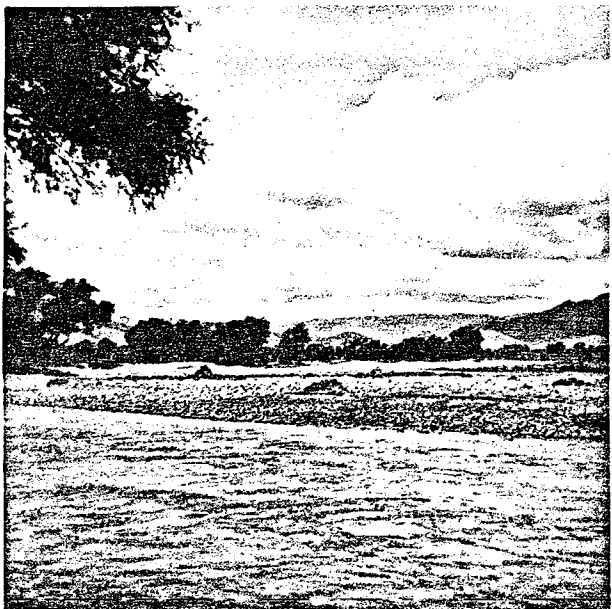


Plate VII. The valley north of Ayoquesco.

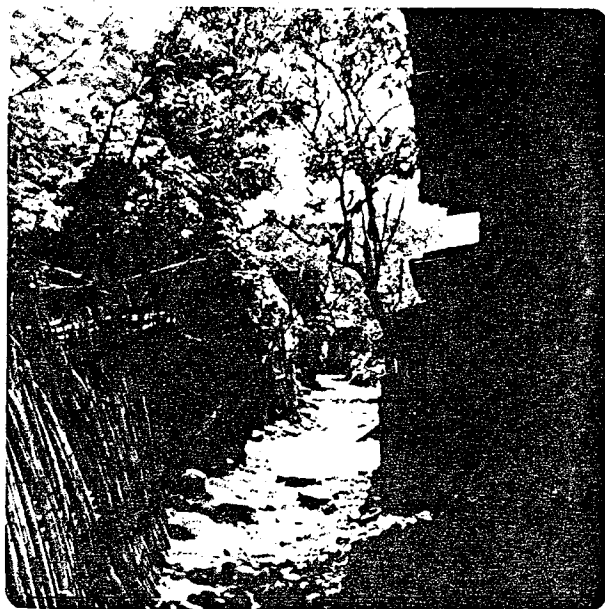


Plate VIII. A lane bordered by fenced yards.



Plate IX. A yard with a cane fence.

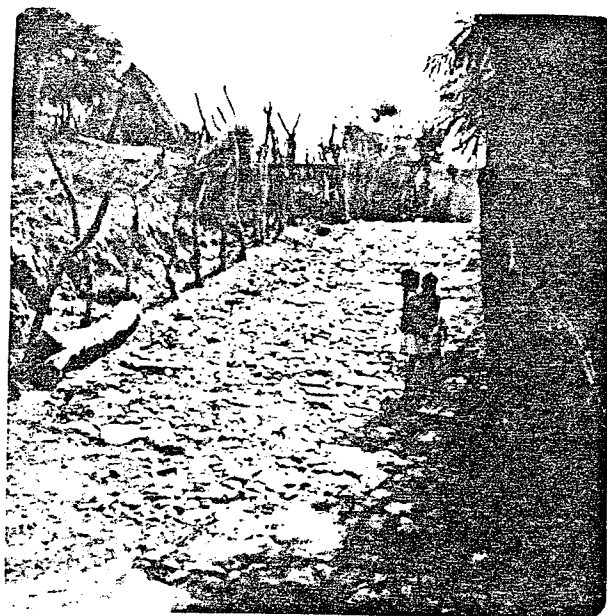


Plate X. A paved street.



Plate XI. A main street. Woman carries cargador.



Plate XII. A sparsely inhabited street on the outer edge of Cal Barrio.

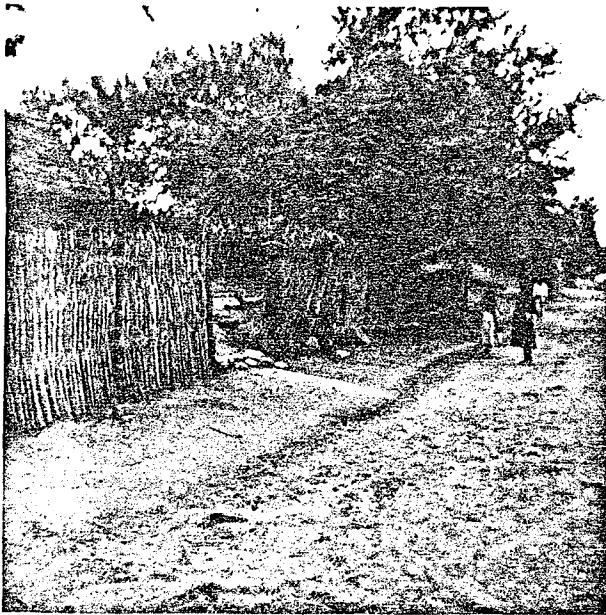


Plate XIII. A house-site and street.

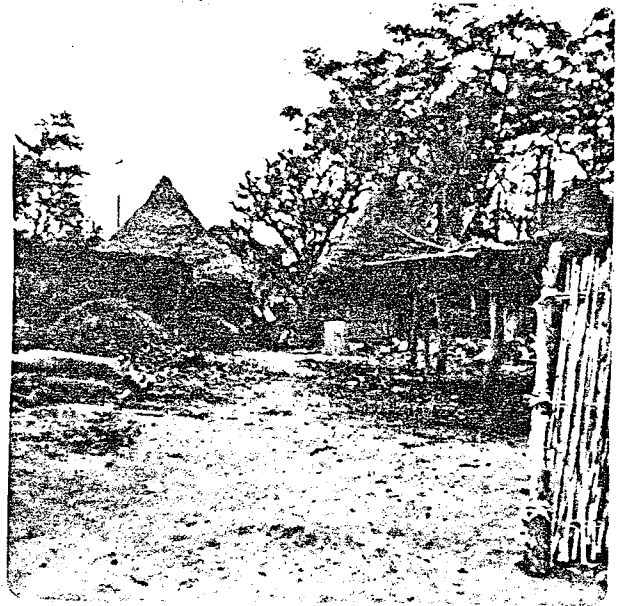


Plate XIV. A large yard.

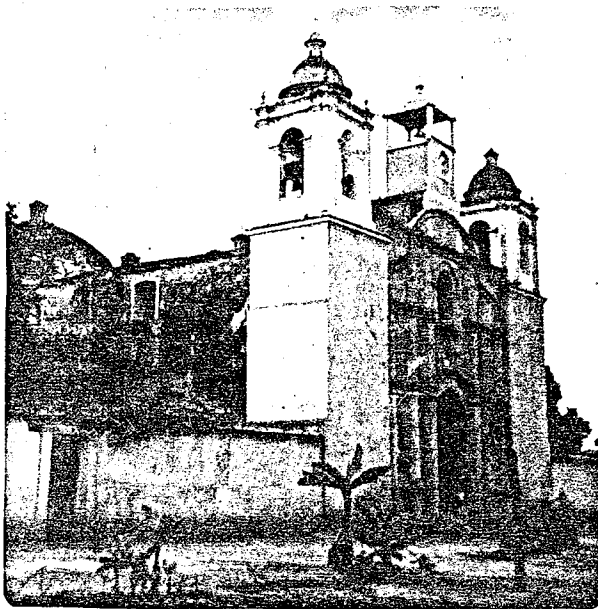


Plate XV. The upper barr-  
io church.



Plate XVI. Cal Barrio church.



Plate XVII. The central plaza with fountain, shade trees, and government buildings in the background.



Plate XVIII. Plaza with market stalls.

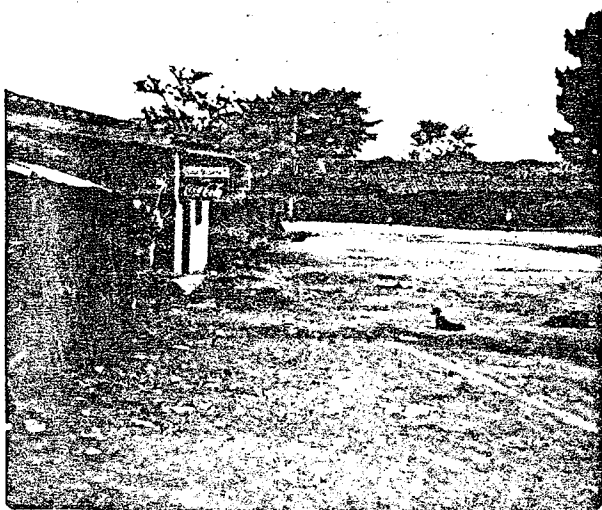


Plate XIX. The central plaza eastward with restaurant.

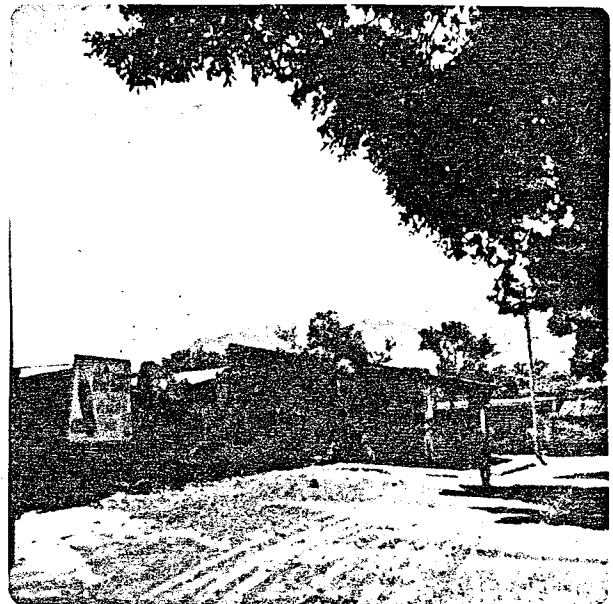


Plate XX. The central plaza northward with store and bus stop. (Photo reversed)

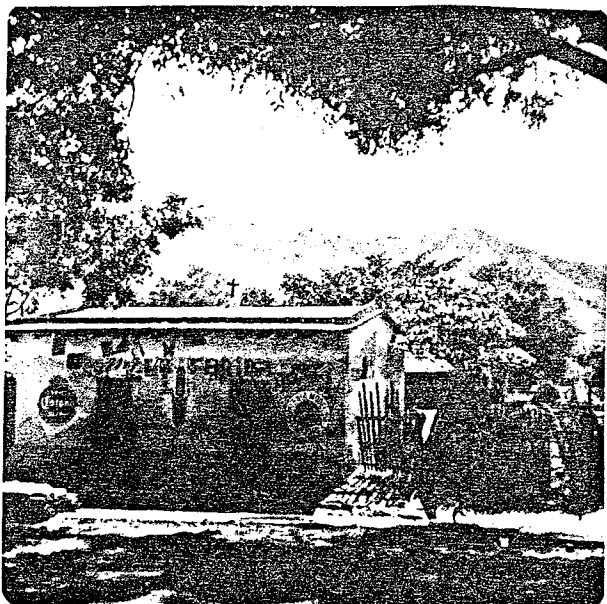


Plate XXI. The central plaza with a store and the western escarpment in the background.

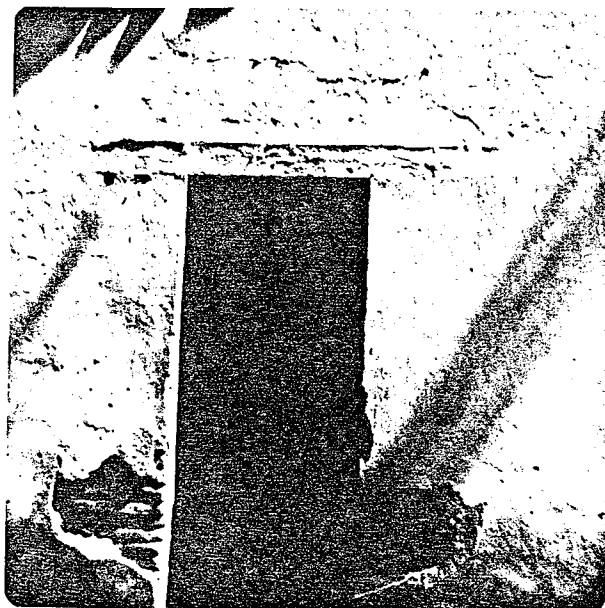


Plate XXII. The jail with wooden bars in shadow.

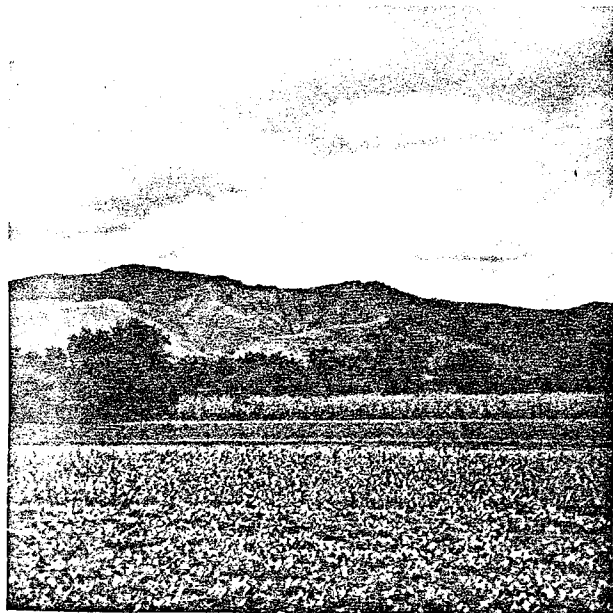


Plate XXIII. The Hill of Ayoquesco looking westward from the village periphery.

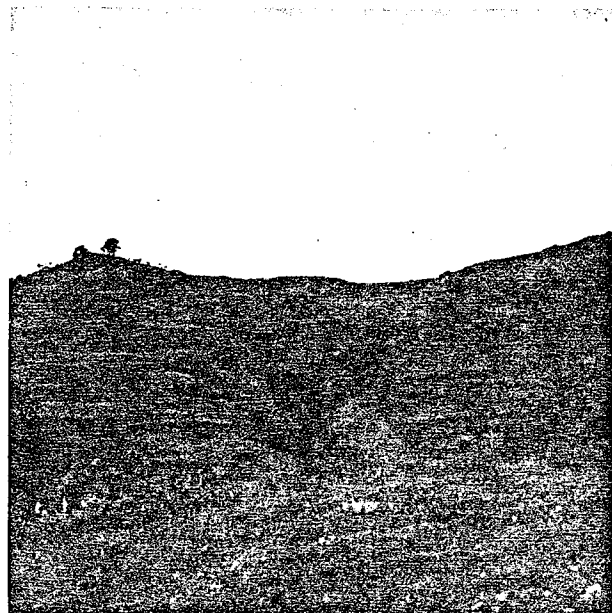


Plate XXIV. Low-grade farm land on the Hill of Ayoquesco. The irregularities at the skyline are temple mounds.



Plate XXV. A terrace on the Hill of Ayoquesco.



Plate XXVI. These temple mounds are the remains of the alleged ancient site of Ayoquesco. The distant hills mark the southern end of the valley



Plate XXVII. Temple mounds and "plaza."

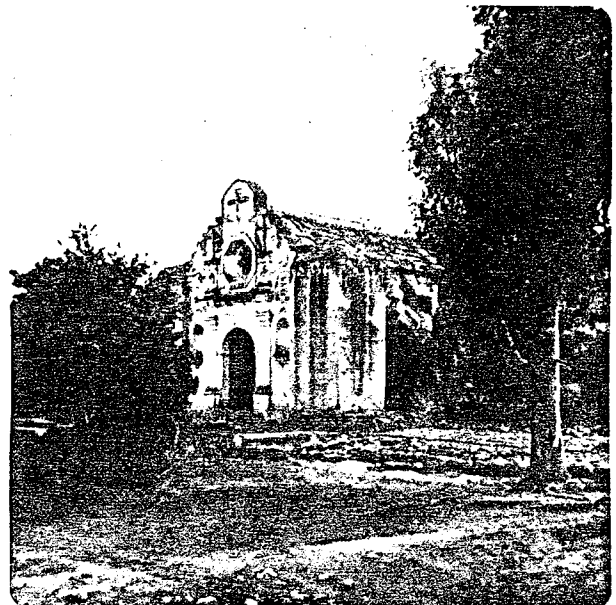


Plate XXVIII. Part of the fallen bellfry of Cal Barrío church rests under a tree.





Plate XXIX. The bells of Cal Barrio church.



Plate XXX. The clock of the upper barrio church.

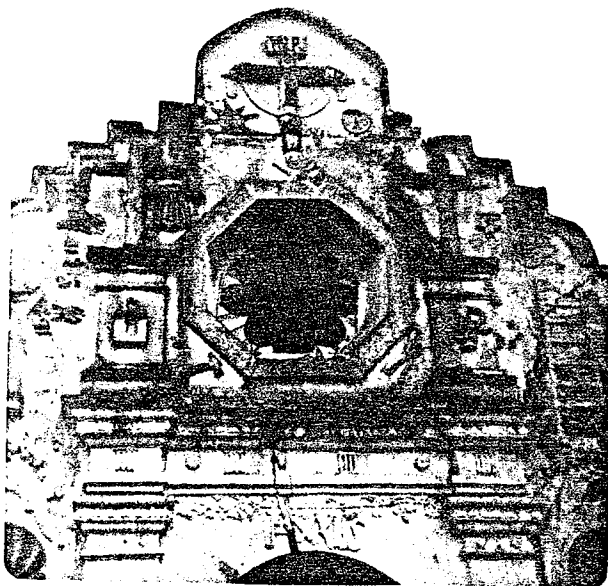


Plate XXXI. The iconography on the face of Cal Barrio church. The destroyed pillar of The Passion on which the cock sat is at the extreme left. Other motifs are clearly visible.

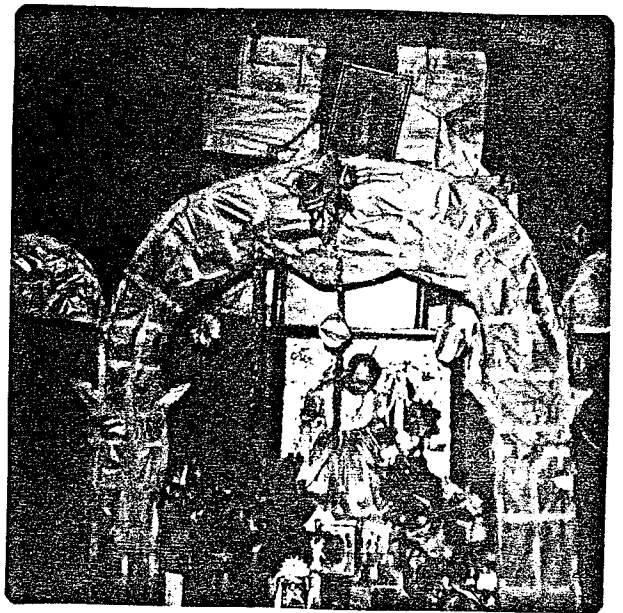


Plate XXXII. A home altar with saints, divinities and decorations.

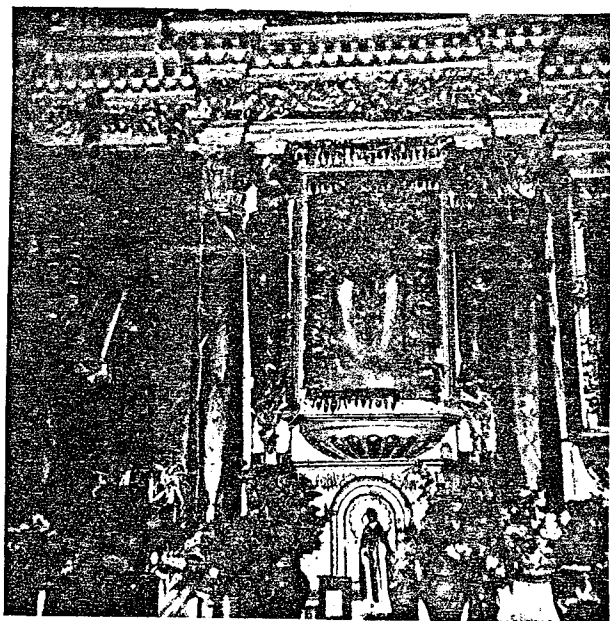


Plate XXXIII. A lower portion of the altar of Cal Barrio church.

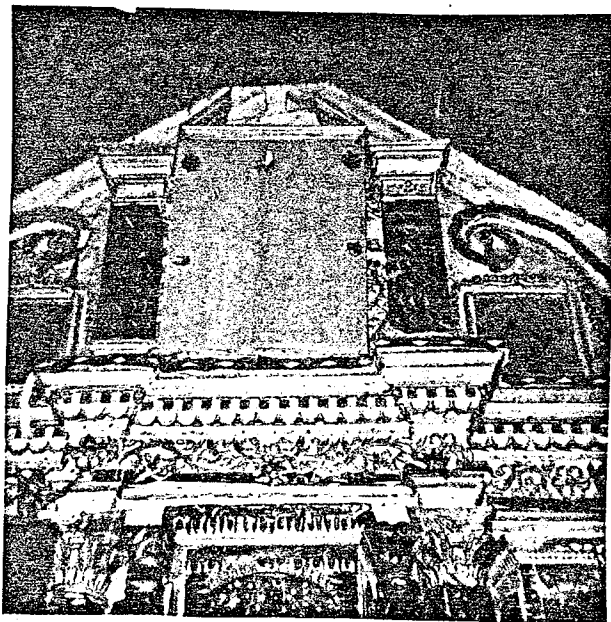


Plate XXXIV. The upper half of the altar of Cal Barrio church.



Plate XXXV. An infant in a suspended cradle.



Plate XXXVI. A baby in her good clothes. She wears medicinal objects around her neck to prevent sickness.



Plate XXXVII. Mothers carry children in a rebozo.



Plate XXXVIII. Children with their mother.



Plate XXXIX. Hauling water.



Plate XL. A mother and daughter with animals.



Plate XLI. Carrying collected firewood.



Plate XLII. House cleaning.



Plate XLIII. Herding animals.



Plate XLIV. Boys stoning mangos from trees.



Plate XLV. Jacales in Cal Barrio.



Plate XLVI. An example of a mud-daubed wall.



Plate XLVII. A jacal.

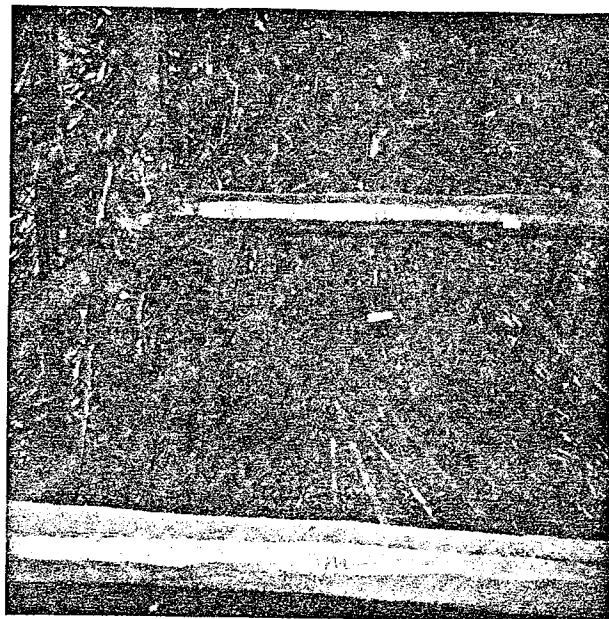


Plate XLVIII. The inner frame of a jacal roof blackened by smoke.



Plate XLIX. Jacal roofs.

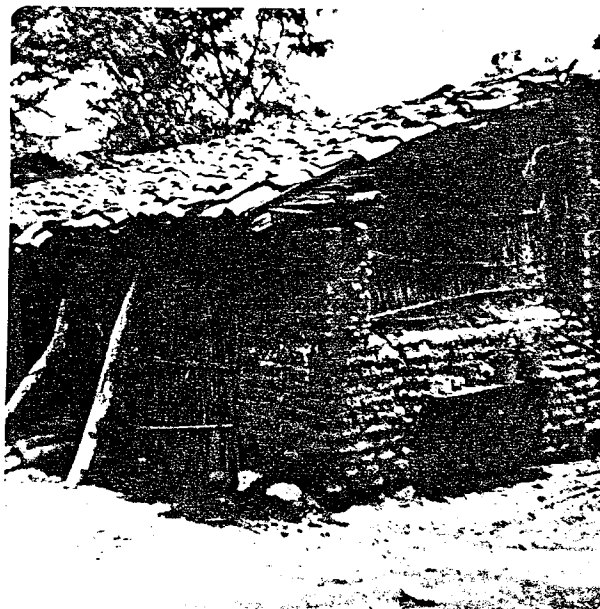


Plate I. A variation of an adobe house-type.



Plate LI. An example of a ventilation hole.



Plate LII. A two-room cane house.

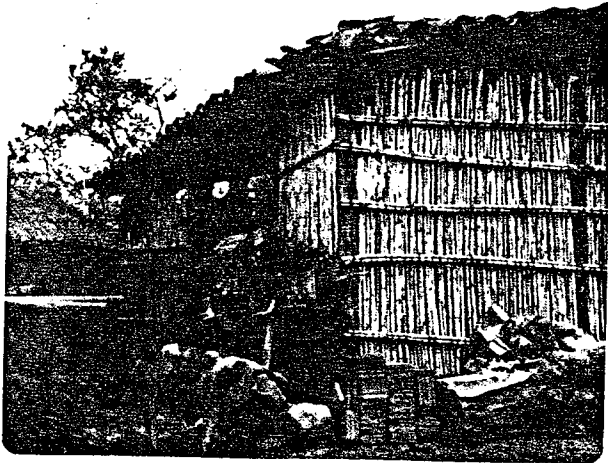


Plate LIII. A cane house and a yard.

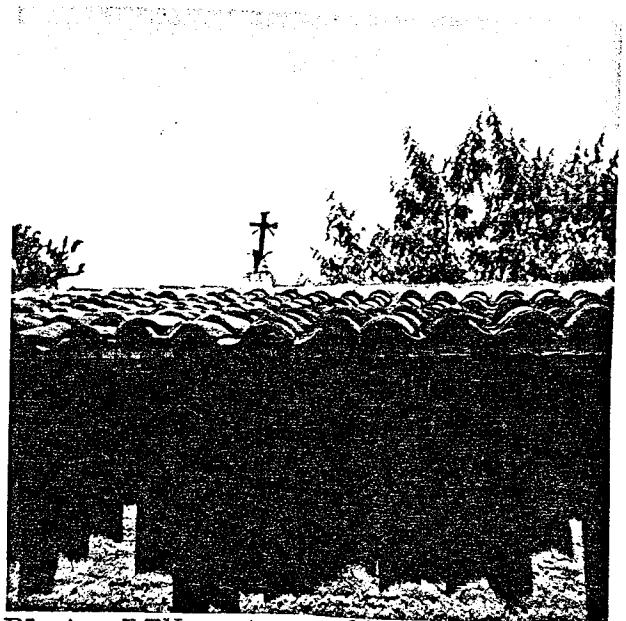


Plate LIV. A rooftop cross.



Plate LV. Cooking implements.



Plate LVI. Indoor cooking.

*gidi*



Plate LVII. A basin for scrubbing clothes.

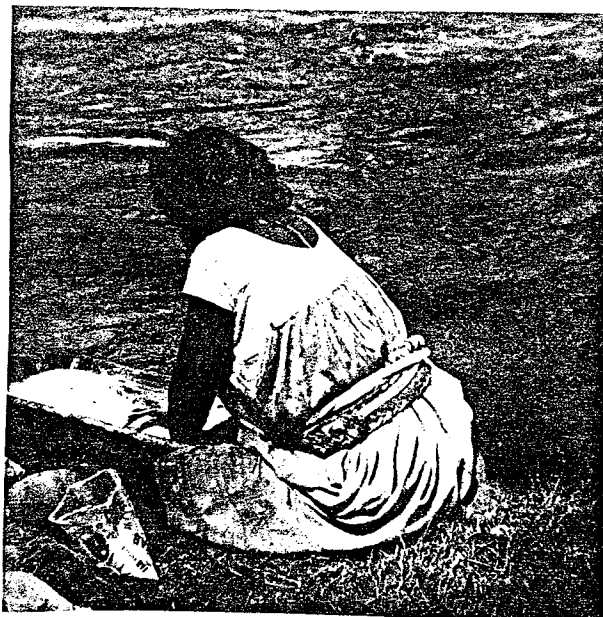


Plate LVIII. A woman washing clothes at the river; note soyate.



Plate LIX. Conservative dress of white cotton calsones.



Plate LX. Ayoqueskans who live in the hills outside the village wear more conservative dress; note faja.





Plate LXI. Woman's present dress. The rebozo protects the head from the sun.



Plate LXII. A store front.

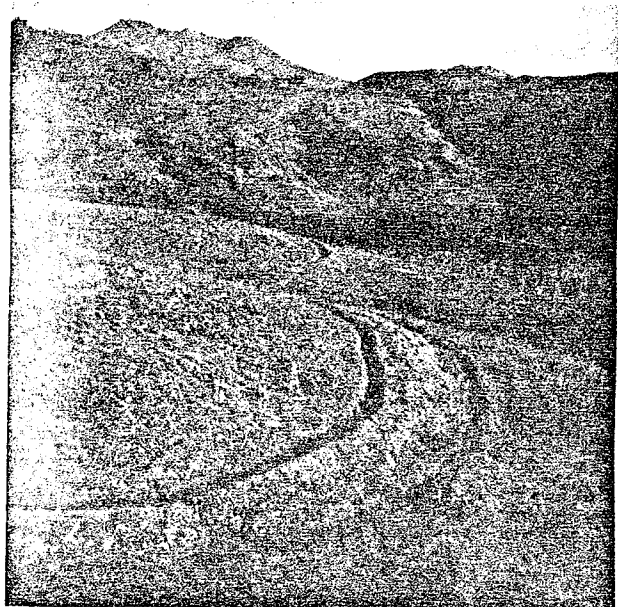


Plate LXIII. Elementary irrigation as it is occasionally used on hillsides to collect rain and to transport water from its source to a field.

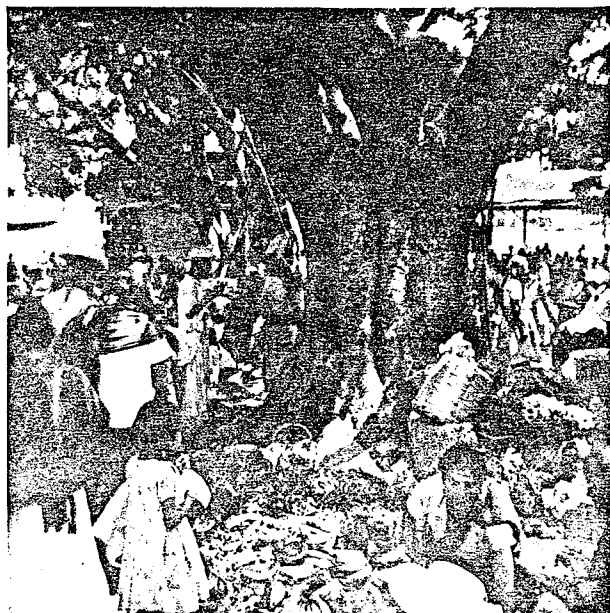


Plate LXIV. Market day under the trees of the plaza.

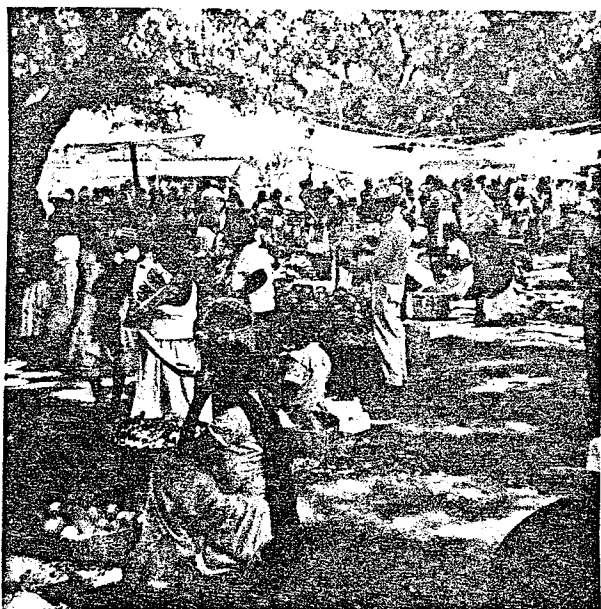


Plate LXV. A general view of the market.



Plate LXVI. An Ayoques-can crockery vendor with imported wares.



Plate LXVII. Vegetable vendors.



Plate LXVIII. Merchants from San Andrés Zabache with sopladores and petates.



Plate LXIX. A blind merchant weaving a tenate.



Plate LXX. An ox-cart or carreta serves to transport and as a unit of measurement.

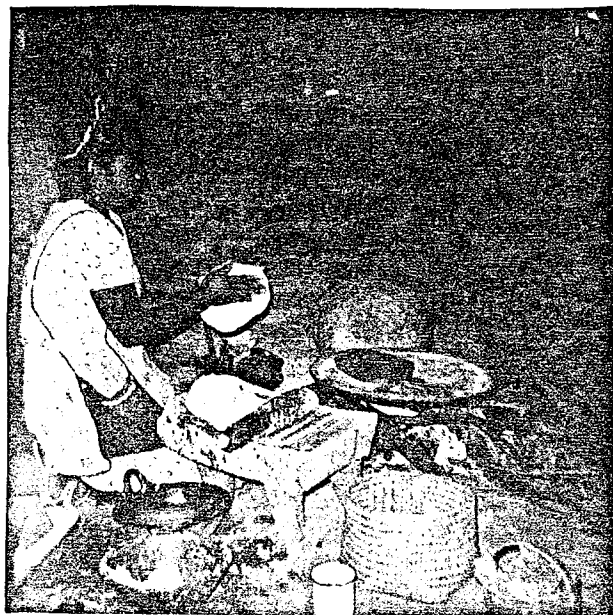


Plate LXXI. A molendera with metate and mano, comal, tenate, pozillo, cazuela, chiquihuite, and masa.



Plate LXXII. Burros.



Plate LXXIII. Drawing water.



Plate LXXIV. The busline.

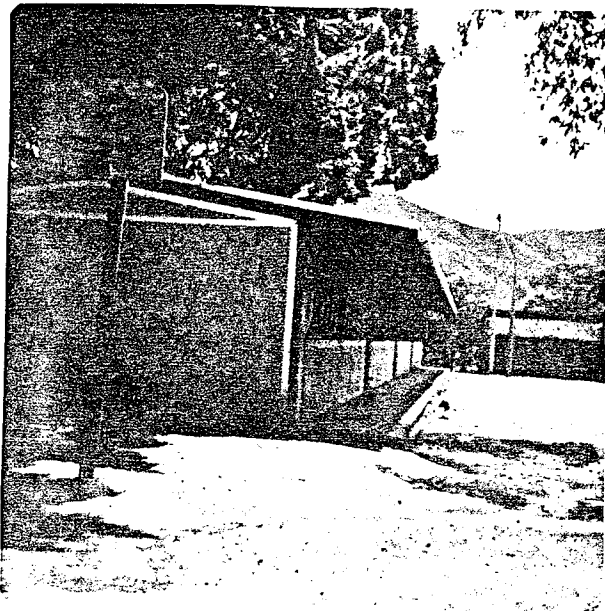


Plate LXXV. The school.



Plate LXXVI. A cross marking the site of a murder; it is inscribed, "Fallecio el 8 de Octubre 1967."

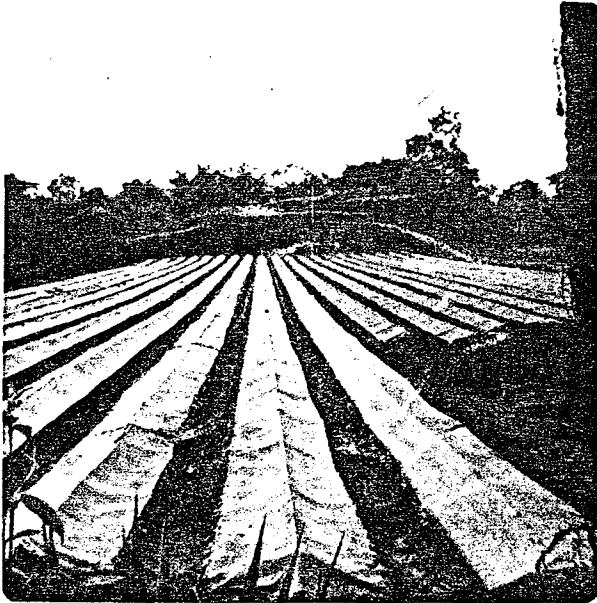


Plate LXXVII. A tobacco field.



Plate LXXVIII. Covered tobacco racks.



Plate LXXIX. Tobacco.

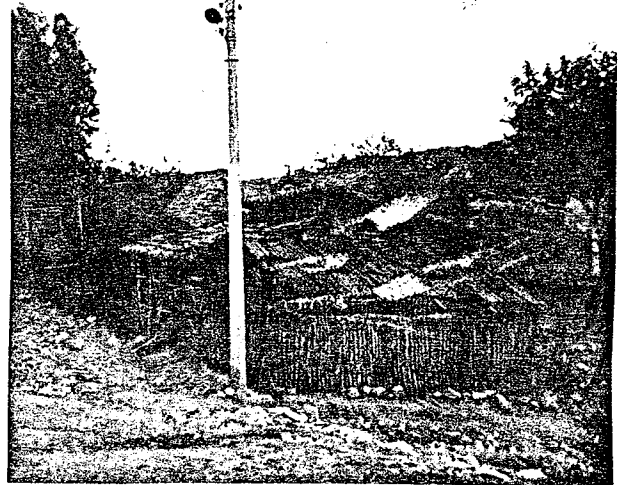


Plate LXXX. An electrical installation.

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