Nouns

Valerie Martínez
Stephen A. Marlett

Contents

1 Introduction[1]

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

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

Compound nouns are discussed briefly in section 5.

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

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

---

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

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

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

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

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

2 Simple nouns

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

(1)   a.   lo^ˈon   re
[zpf]   loˀn   ɾe
             bed   PROX
             'esta cama'
             'this bed'   [Martínez & Martínez (f.n.)]

        b.   *lo^ˈon   Bëd
              loˀn   bæd
              bed   Pedro
             ('cama de Pedro')
             ('Pedro's bed')   [Martínez & Martínez (f.n.)]

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

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

(2)

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

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

---

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

[6]Two systematic exceptions arise. First, some kinship nouns are used as vocatives without a possessor (see Possession, this series). Second, possessed nouns occur in some compounds without a possessor (see section 5.1).

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

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

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

(3)   Body part nouns:

[zpf]   a. *roˈ   re
               ɾoʔ   ɾe
               mouth PROX
             ('esta boca')
             ('this mouth')   [Martínez & Martínez (f.n.)]

        b. roˈ   bëiˈk
           ɾoʔ   bæiʔk
           mouth dog
           'boca del perro'
           'dog's mouth'   [Martínez & Martínez (f.n.)]

(4)   Kinship terms:

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

        b. zhuis   Zhuaj
           ʒuis   ʒuaʰ
           grandmother Juan
           'abuela de Juan'
           'Juan's grandmother'   [Martínez & Martínez (f.n.)]

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

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

[zpf]

	Gloss	Simple	Possessed
a.	*'house, home'*	yuˈ juʔ	lijdx liʰʥ

---

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

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

	Gloss	Simple	Possessed
b.	*'tortilla'*	giët giæt	xku'ñ ʃkuʔn
c.	*'cloth, clothing'*	laijd laiʰd	xajb ʃaʰb
d.	*'town'*	giëjdx giæʰʤ	lajdx laʰʤ
e.	*'footwear, sandal, shoe'*	giël gijd giæl giʰd	lahb laʰb

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

[zav]

	Gloss	Simple	Possessed
a.	*'flower'*	yeq jeχ	lloq lːoχ
b.	*'tortilla'*	yet jet	chizhrɨ' tʃizɨʔ
c.	*'cloth/clothing'* vs. *'clothing'*[10]	ladxɨ' laʤɨʔ	zhra zạ
d.	*'child'* [11]	bi'i biʔ	zhri'inn zịʔnː

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

[zpl]

Gloss	Simple	Possessed
'bone'	zhruka zụka	arta arta

2.1 Count nouns vs. mass nouns

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

(8)   a.   chop   pkis

[zpf]   tʃop   pkis

two   fly

'dos moscas'

'two flies'   [Martínez & Martínez (f.n.)]

---

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

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

b.   tap   benin
     tap   benin
     four   child
     'cuatro niños'
     'four children'   [Martínez & Martínez (f.n.)]

(9)   a.   *chop   yujzh
[zpf]   tʃop   juʰʒ
           two   sand
           ('dos arena')
           ('two sand')   [Martínez & Martínez (f.n.)]

      b.   *tap   xni'i
            tap   ʃniʔ
            four   light
            ('cuatro luz')
            ('four light')   [Martínez & Martínez (f.n.)]

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

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

(10) a.   lak   ngwna'a
[zpo]   lak   ngʷnaʔ
           how.many?   woman
           '¿cuántas mujeres?'
           'how many women?'   [Riggs (1991:23)]

      b.   paro   nizh
           paɾo   niʒ
           how.much?   milk
           '¿cuánta leche?'
           'how much milk?'   [Riggs (1991:23)]

(11) a.   bal   bejn
[zpf]   bal   beʰn
           how.many?   person
           '¿cuántas personas?'
           'how many people?'   [Martínez & Martínez (f.n.)]

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

3 Inherently possessed nouns

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

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

(12) a. zhrna'a bo'o   nɨ'
[zav]   zna̰ʔ   =boʔ nɨʔ
          mother 3INFO AFM
          'su madre'
          'his/her mother'   [Butler (2000:312)]

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

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

(13) xran   bɨ   n'
[zav] s̰an   =bɨ   n(ɨ)ʔ
       owner 3AN AFM
       'su dueño'
       'its owner'   [Butler (2000:354)]

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

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

---

[12]This statement sets aside the zero pronoun issue of Isthmus Zapotec (and perhaps other varieties of Zapotec). See the Personal pronouns: inventory, this series. Also see note 8.

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

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

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

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

(17)   ro'o   yo'o
[zpo]   roˀ   joˀ
        mouth house
        'puerta'
        'door'   [Riggs, unpublished text]

(18)   zhran   yo'o   nɨ'
[zav]   za̰n   joˀ   nɨ̰ˀ
        buttocks house AFM
        'el fondo de la casa'
        'the backside of the house'   [Butler (2000:304)]

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

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

(20)
[zpf]

a.	xajb	ʃaʰb	'ropa'	*'clothing'*
b.	lijdx	liʰʤ	'hogar, casa'	*'home, house'*
c.	xku'ñ	ʃkuˀɲ	'tortilla'	*'tortilla'*
d.	lajdx	laʰʤ	'pueblo'	*'town'*
e.	lajb	laʰb	'calzado'	*'footwear'*
f.	laj	laʰ	'nombre'	*'name'*

g.	ballua'an	bal:ua^ʔn	'dueño'	*'owner'*

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

(21)
[zae]

a.	ladi	ladi	'cargo'	*'town job'*
b.	lixina	liʃina	'sombra'	*'shadow'*
c.	lixu'uni	liʃu^ʔni	'nido'	*'nest'*

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

(22)
[zpf]

xtu'u	laz	n
ʃ-tu^ʔ	laz	n
POSS-rope	thin	1PL

'nuestro mecate delgado'
'our thin rope'   [Martínez & Martínez (f.n.)]

3.1 Unpossessed body parts and kinship terms

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

4 Derived nouns

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

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

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

---

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

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

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

(23)
[zpf]

	Gloss	Simple	Derived Possessed
a.	*'newborn baby'*	pto'o pto^ʔ	x-pto'o ʃ-pto^ʔ
b.	*'bed'*	lo'on lo^ʔn	x-lo'on ʃ-lo^ʔn
c.	*'coparent'*[16] ('compadre')	mbal mbal	x-mbal ʃ-mbal
d.	*'friend'*	amig amiɡ	x-amig ʃ-amiɡ
e.	*'year'*[17]	ijz i^hz	x-ijz ʃ-i^hz
f.	*'comb'*	bëj bæ^h	x-pëj ʃ-pæ^h
g.	*'palm mat'* ('petate')	da' daʔ	x-ta' ʃ-taʔ
h.	*'basket'* ('canasta')	dxujm ʤu^hm	x-chujm ʃ-ʧu^hm
i.	*'hen'*	gid ɡid	x-kid ʃ-kid
j.	*'water jar'* ('cántaro')	re' ɾeʔ	x-te' ʃ-teʔ
k.	*'palm tree'*	zijn zi^hn	x-sijn ʃ-si^hn
l.	*'tree'*[18]	yaj ja^h	x-yaj ʃ-ja^h

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

---

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

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

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

(24)
[zav]

	Gloss	Simple	Derived Possessed
a.	*'grinding stone'* /j/ ~ /l/ (fortis prefix)	yixɨ jiʃɨ	zhrlixɨ ~ llixɨ z̬-liʃɨ ~ l:iʃɨ
b.	*'excrement'* /j/ ~ /tʃ/ (fortis prefix)	ye'e je²	zhrche'e z̬-tʃe²
c.	*'sandal'* /j/ ~ /Ø/ (lenis prefix)	yel jel	zhrel z̬-el
d.	*'water'* /n/ ~ /Ø/ (fortis prefix)	nis nis	xris ṣis
e.	*'woman'* /n/ ~ /Ø/ (lenis prefix)	no'olɨ no²lɨ	zhro'olɨ z̬-o²lɨ
f.	*'comb'* /b/ ~ /l:/ (lenis prefix)	beiqo beiχo	zhrlleiqo z̬-l:eiχo
g.	*'dog'* /be/ ~ /i/ (lenis prefix)	beko' beko²	zhriko' z̬-iko²
h.	*'broom'* /bgʷ/ ~ /p/ (fortis prefix)	bgwe'ey bgʷe²j	zhrpe'ey z̬-pe²j

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

(25)   x-chit   bëi'k
[zpf]   ʃ-tʃit   bæi²k
            POSS-bone dog
            'hueso que tiene el perro'
            'bone that the dog has'   [Martínez & Martínez (f.n.)]

5 Compound nouns

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

---

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

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

5.1 Noun-noun compounds

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

(26)   (compare bejn /beʰn/ *'person'*)
[zpf]   a. ben_gidx
             ben_giʤ
             person_defect
             'enfermo'
             'sick (person)'   [Martínez & Martínez (f.n.)]

         b. bejn   gidx
             beʰn   giʤ
             person defect
             'persona con defectos'
             'person with defects'   [Martínez & Martínez (f.n.)]

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

(27)   zhra_dxel
[zpq]   z̪a_ʤel
         clothing_midnight
         'cobija (de)'
         'blanket (of)'   [Long & Cruz (1999:411)]

(28)   (compare zhi'n /ʒiʔn/ *'offspring'*)
[zpf]   zhin_dxa'p
         ʒin_ʤaʔp
         offspring_female
         'hija'
         'daughter'   [Martínez & Martínez (f.n.)]

(29)   xuzi   gula
[zpc]   ʃuzi   gula
         father old.man
         'abuelo'
         'grandfather'   [H. Lyman (2007:19)]

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

(30)   (compare gi'b /giˀb/ *'metal'*)
[zpf]   xkib_dia**'**a   l
        ʃ-kib_diaˀ   l
        POSS-metal_ear 2SG
        'tu arete'
        'your earring'   [Martínez & Martínez (f.n.)]

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

(31)   xkiech_bë**'**ëdx
[zpf]   ʃ-kietʃ_bæˀʤ
        POSS-thorn_lion
        'zarzamora'
        'zarzamora'   [Martínez & Martínez (f.n.)]

(32)   zhi**'**i   giba
[zpc]   ʒiˀ   giba
        child iron
        'llave'
        'key'   [H. Lyman (2007:19)]

(33)   lidxi   giba
[zpc]   liʤi   giba
        home iron
        'cárcel'
        'jail'   [H. Lyman (2007:19)]

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

(34)   (compare bixujg /biʃuʰg/ *'shell, peel'*)
[zaw]   bixug_nna**'**a
        biʃug_nːaˀ
        shell/peel_hand
        'uña (de la mano)'
        'fingernail'   [Stubblefield & Stubblefield (1991:13)]

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

(35)   [[[ben] in] scuel]
[zpf]   ben_in   scuel
        ben_in   skuel
        person_small school
        'estudiante, alumno'
        'student'   [Martínez & Martínez (f.n.)]

5.2 Noun-adjective compounds

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

(36)   a.   di'idx le
[zpf]   di^{ʔ}ʤ   le
               word   straight
               verdad'
               'truth'   [Martínez & Martínez (f.n.)]

         b.   (compare bejn /be^{h}n/ *'person'*)
               ben_in[20]
               ben_in
               person_small
               'niño'
               'child'   [Martínez & Martínez (f.n.)]

         c.   (compare bejn /be^{h}n/ *'person'*)
               ben_gie'e
               ben-gie^{ʔ}
               person_masculine
               'hombre'
               'man'   [Martínez & Martínez (f.n.)]

         d.   (compare be' /be^{ʔ}/ *'air'*)
               be_dox
               be_doʃ
               air _dangerous
               'viento'
               'wind'   [Martínez & Martínez (f.n.)]

(37)   be_zag
[zpq]   be_zag
         animal_cold
         'tlaconete'
         'a salamander (Pseudoeurycea sp.)'   [Long & Cruz (1999:411)]

5.3 Noun-verb compounds

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

---

[20]This contrasts with the phrase bejn in /be^{h}n in/ which means a small (short) person.

(38) a. nis   yuˈudx
[zpf]   nis   juˀʤ
        water IF.rot
        'pus'
        'pus'

      b. (compare bejn /beʰn/ *'person'*)
         ben_goˈ
         ben_goˀ
         person_C.drink
         'borracho'
         'drunkard'   [Martínez & Martínez (f.n.)]

(39) (compare kwaˈn /kʷaˀn/ *'herb'*)
[zaw] kwan_rajw
      kʷan_ɾ-aʰw
      herb _H-eat
      'verdura(s)'
      'vegetable(s)'   [Stubblefield & Stubblefield (1991:197)]

Appendix A: Various details about nouns

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

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

---

[21]To give some content to the word "relatively" here for the context of column four: it occurs on at least 100 derived words and also occurs on loanwords.
[22]Used with loanwords.

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

---

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

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

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

References

Black, Cheryl A. 2000. *Quiegolani Zapotec syntax: A principles and parameters approach.* Dallas: SIL International and University of Texas at Arlington.

Butler, Inez M. 1980. *Gramática zapoteca: zapoteco de Yatzachi el Bajo.* Mexico City: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

Butler, Inez M., compiler. 2000. *Diccionario zapoteco de Yatzachi: Yatzachi el Bajo, Yatzachi el Alto, Oaxaca.* 2nd Edition. Tucson: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.
http://www.sil.org/mexico/zapoteca/yatzachi/S037a-Diccionario-zav.htm

---

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

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

Dryer, Matthew S. 2008. "Coding of nominal plurality." In Martin Haspelmath, Matthew S. Dryer, David Gil & Bernard Comrie, eds. *The World Atlas of Language Structures Online,* Chapter 33. Munich: Max Planck Digital Library. http://wals.info/feature/33

Galant, Michael R. 1998. Comparative constructions in Spanish and San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec. Los Angeles. University of California at Los Angeles.

Haspelmath, Martin. 2008. "Occurrence of nominal plurality." In Martin Haspelmath, Matthew S. Dryer, David Gil & Bernard Comrie, eds. *The World Atlas of Language Structures Online,* Chapter 34. Munich: Max Planck Digital Library. http://wals.info/feature/34

Hopkins, Mary L. 1995. "Narrative peak in Xanaguía Zapotec." *SIL Mexico Workpapers* 11:17-36. http://www.sil.org/mexico/workpapers/scans/WS11/WS1102-HopkinsM.pdf

Long C., Rebecca & Sofronio Cruz M., compilers. 1999. *Diccionario zapoteco de San Bartolomé Zoogocho Oaxaca.* Coyoacán D.F.: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano. http://www.sil.org/mexico/zapoteca/zoogocho/S038a-Diccionario-zpq.htm

Lyman Boulden, Hilario. 2007. *Gramática popular del zapoteco de Comaltepec, Choapan, Oaxaca.* Mexico City: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

Martínez, Nicasio and Valerie Martínez. f.n. "Field notes on San Pedro Quiatoni Zapotec." SIL.

Nellis, Neil & Jane G. Nellis, compilers. 1983. *Diccionario zapoteco de Juárez: zapoteco-español, español-zapoteco (*Ca titsa' qui' ri'u*).* Mexico City: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

Nichols, Johanna and Balthasar Bickel. 2008a. "Locus of marking in possessive noun phrases." In Martin Haspelmath, Matthew S. Dryer, David Gil & Bernard Comrie, eds. *The World Atlas of Language Structures Online,* Chapter 24. Munich: Max Planck Digital Library. http://wals.info/feature/24

Nichols, Johanna and Balthasar Bickel. 2008b. "Possessive classification." In Martin Haspelmath, Matthew S. Dryer, David Gil & Bernard Comrie, eds. *The World Atlas of Language Structures Online,* Chapter 59. Munich: Max Planck Digital Library. http://wals.info/feature/59

Riggs, David B. 1991. A comparative grammar of English for Zapotec speakers (Gramática comparativa inglés-zapoteco). Universidad de las Américas.

Stubblefield, Morris & Carol Stubblefield. 1991. *Diccionario zapoteco de Mitla, Oaxaca.* Mexico City: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

Thiessen, Grace. f.n. "Field notes on Western Ixtlán Zapotec." SIL.