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PARTICIPANT IDENTIFICATION IN CHOAPAN ZAPOTEC

Rosemary Lyman

0. Introduction
1. General Guidelines
2. Exceptions
3. Text

0. This paper describes some of the more important criteria relevant to participant identification in Choapan Zapotec.¹ The corpus includes seven oral and five written texts. The oral texts are fiction (folktales) given on tape ten years previous to this study, and collected for the initial grammatical study of the language. The written texts are non-fiction (procedural, descriptive, or historical) and are original writings by a native speaker of the language to provide literature in Choapan Zapotec. Both genres are basically similar as to participant identification.

1. In any text, the topic must be introduced in the first sentence, or after an optional opening sentence telling the listeners to pay attention, or some similar statement. This sentence introducing the topic serves as a title.

In non-fiction texts the title sentence is composed of two clauses. The first clause is introduced by *cabë'* *thus, what, how* and is either juxtaposed with a following independent clause or followed by a dependent time clause introduced by *cati* *when*.²

Según cabë' naque lu'u tu beló ga uyondo'.
according how st be in one cave where comp go 1 excl

How it is in a cave where we went.

Cabë' guca quia' cati bla'a lao yedyilayu.
how comp happen of 1s when comp arrive 1s on earth

How it happened to me when I arrived on the earth.

Fiction texts begin with the same optional opening sentence, followed by an obligatory sentence beginning with "I will do a story" or some equivalent wording. This is followed by the preposition *quië* *about, of* and a noun phrase identifying the primary participant. The introduction is usually very general, i.e. "a story about a person who lived long ago", but may be specific (giving the person's name). Once introduced, the primary participant is the topic, and is not referred to with a noun phrase again until the conclusion of the text.

In all texts, the conclusion must include a reference back to the beginning topic or primary participant. Information may be expanded or deleted, but the form is similar.

Pues na' hua' tu cuento quiëdivinador de mierda.
well now int do 1s one story about seer of excrement

Well now I'll do a story about a seer of excrement.

Pues na' ze'lao ga beyudyi tu cuento quië
well now just follow where comp rep end one story about

divinador de mierda.
seer of excrement

Well now this is where the story ends about the seer of excrement.

There may be at least two primary participants, but if so, one of the two will be a lesser primary participant, and will be introduced at the beginning of the text, either in the same sentence with the primary participant, or in the following sentence, without using the quië prepositional phrase. He is not referred to again with a noun phrase until his part in the story is over, which may be at the conclusion of the text or before.

Pues uxëdyigara' cuento quië yaca ben'
well int unravel meanwhile 1s story about pl person

unita' tu tiempo cabë' guca quiëyaquë'. Na' biži
comp live one time how comp happen of 3pl f Now emphasizer

uzu tu compadre quië'.
comp be one friend of 3sf

I will tell a story about what happened to people who lived long ago. Now he had a friend.

Pues na' ga beyudyi cuento quiëyaquë' ca tu
well now where comp rep end story of 3pl f what that which

užaca' compadre len compadre huiziyë'.
comp happen friend and friend inf deceive

Well now the story of what happened to the friend with his deceiving friend is finished.

Secondary participants are introduced with a noun phrase at first mention within a paragraph, and thereafter in the paragraph with a pronoun. A secondary participant may or may not be included in the conclusion.

Pues na' biži nigula uzunë' zi dza como
well now emphasizer woman comp be 3sf many day as

biuži'ně' yě' quië xuzixta'ohuë'. Na'a xquiuhuë'
neg comp deceive 3sf of forefather 3sf Now husband 3sf

ptitoguë'.
comp mock 3sf

Well now the woman, she lived many days as she didn't deceive her forefathers. Now her husband he mocked.

Pues nigula quiënë' rasanë' balara rgapë'
well woman of 3sf cont arise 3sf early more cont pat 3sf

yëta....
tortilla

Well, his wife arises very early to pat out tortillas....

(After being agent in one paragraph, she is re-identified in the next paragraph by a noun phrase):

Biži cati bdyin dza gu'un nigula quiënë'
emphasizer when comp arrive day comp want woman of 3sf

gaonë' bezun yela'....
int eat 3sf corn-tamales

When the day arrived that his woman wanted to eat corn tamales....

Minor participants must be introduced with a noun phrase at first mention in each sentence. They are not included in the conclusion of the text. They often have a very minor role in the plot, and often occur in only one scene or paragraph.

Na'ra udila žgulanë' ben' mozo tzeži'
Now more comp look for wife 3sf person worker int move get

dumi yu'u lu'u yeso'. Na'ra uyo mozo ta
money enter in pot Now more comp go worker in order that

tzeži'ně' dumi. Caora bdyin mozo
int move get 3sf money that hour comp arrive worker

rna'ně' bao' yu'u lu'u yeso'.
cont look at 3sf carbon enter in pot

Now his wife looked for a servant to go get the money in the pot. Now the servant went to get the money. When the servant arrived, he looked at the carbon in the pot.

2. A secondary participant may become a primary participant (become the topic) for up to three paragraphs, and for that domain, he is referred to as a primary participant.

Pues na' bedyin rey na' lënë' yaca ži'inë'
well now comp rep arrive king that with 3sf pl offspring 3sf

nigula....
woman

Well now the king and his daughters arrived....

(new paragraph)

Uyoyaquë' tatula,
comp go 3plf again....

They went again....

A secondary participant is referred to with a pronoun in quotations, when he was the subject in the preceding paragraph and is the first speaker in that sequence of quotations.

In a series of quotations, the last speaker may be referred to with a noun phrase or a pronoun.

In a series of quotations, all speakers other than the first and last one, are referred to with a noun phrase.

Pues udze' na' cati bedyin ben' licenciado.
well comp get late that when comp rep arrive person educated

--Padiux--në' rëbë' rey na'.
hello say 3sf cont say to 3sf king that

*Well it was late when the educated person arrived.
 "Hello," he says saying to the king.*

--Padiux--na rey na'. --Biži raca zao' niga?--
hello say king that emphasizer cont happen just come here

na rey rëbë' licenciado.
say king cont say to 3sf educated one

"Hello," the king says. "Well what are you doing here?" the king says saying to the educated one.

Pues na'ra na licenciado:
well now more say educated one

--Quele bila raca za' niga...--
"neg neg completely cont happen just come is here

na licenciado rēbē' rey na'.
say educated one cont say to 3sf king that

Well now more the educated one says, "Not for nothing I'm here...", the educated one says saying to that king.

(etc., through a long conversation)

Emphasis of emotion (e.g. anger, happiness, etc.) is shown by using short sentences (one verb to each clause), and repeating the noun phrase in each sentence.

Bezēri nita'n la yu, den' quele nezinē' chi
white st be 3s-in on floor but neg st know 3sf that

bdyinan cuinzina. Gabira zēdi tzeži'
comp arrive 3sf alone 3s-in neg neg more difficult int move get

nigula dumi. Redaohuezi nigula babedyina
woman money cont rep happy just woman already comp rep arrive 3s-in

cuinzina.
alone 3s-in

It is just white on the floor, but she doesn't know it arrived alone. The woman isn't difficult about getting the money any more. The woman is just happy it already arrived by itself.

Within a sentence, or within a quote opener or closure,³ a participant is only referred to with a noun phrase at first mention. Thereafter in the sentence a pronoun is used.

Na'ra na nigula quiēnē' rēbinē' lēbē'.
now more say woman of 3sf cont say to 3sf 3sf

Now his woman she says she says to him.

No noun or pronoun is used with the verb after indefinite nouns or pronouns (such as the words meaning *person, child, someone, no-one, nothing, who, etc.*), and such clauses are analyzed as relative clauses.

Pues ni lē'ēti' binezi rey na' nu requē'lē
well not even little neg st know king that who cont rep talk with

criada quiē' di'idza'.
maid of 3sf word

Not even a little the king didn't know who goes(who) talks with his maid.

--Biži raca zao' niga?
emphasizer cont happen just come 2s here

"How does (it) happen you came here?"

Gabira nisa zu ta yo'oyaquë'.
neg neg more water be to int drink 3plf

There isn't any more water to drink.

Ganu xuzibi' zu, ganu žna'bi' zu, den' gabi
neg who father 3sfam be neg who mother 3sfam be and neg neg

žababi' derë.
clothes 3sfam be also

*Her father is no more living, her mother is no more living,
 she doesn't have any clothes either.*

The normal order of a sentence is predicate subject object, with one noun phrase or pronoun as subject or object. Focus is shown by any other order, or the occurrence of more than one pronoun referring to the same person, or a noun and a pronoun both referring to the same person. When the subject noun phrase is placed before the verb, the verb is followed by a pronoun. Objects placed before the verb may also have a pronoun in the usual order, but it is not required.

(subject emphasis--free pronoun may occur before or after the verb)

--Biži ru' rdzelo' dumi ca rdzele nu
emphasis cont do 2s cont find 2s money like cont find 2s some

laga' bidyi, rdzelo' luë'?--
leaf dry cont find 2s 2s

"Well, do you find money like you find trash, like you find dry leaves, you find it you?"

Raca rdilaziyaquë'bi' yaca empleado.
cont happen cont fight 3plf 3sfam pl employees

(It) happens the employees they are fighting over her.

(object emphasis)

Cala biu reguiloga'. Bia reguiloga'.
neg chicken cont rep look for 1s animal cont rep look for 1s

It isn't a chicken I'm looking for. It's a horse I'm looking for.

Emphasis of change is shown by introducing a clause with *biži* followed by the item being changed. When followed by a verb, a change in action is being emphasized, when followed by a subject noun the change from some other subject noun is being emphasized, etc. Focus always accompanies emphasis of change, but not vice versa.

Biži bibdyinë' ga'n parte ga'n zio compadre
emphasis neg comp arrive 3sf where place where just go friend

huiziyë'.
int deceive 3sf

Well he didn't arrive at the place where the deceiving friend went.

Biži nigula quië' bëtoguë' udapë' tu chopa yëta....
emphasis woman of 3sf comp pat 3sf comp pat 3sf one two tortillas

Well his woman patted out a few tortillas....

Nouns are used instead of pronouns when there would be confusion (the pronouns for the participants are the same and the context is not adequate to identify the participants).

Pues uxëdyigara' tu cuento quië tu xcuidi' dao'
well int unravel meanwhile ls one story about one child little

nigula len tu bi'byu. Pues na' biži bi'byu bdyimbi'....
woman and one boy well now emphasis boy comp arrive 3sfam

Well I'm going to unravel a story about a little girl woman (young woman) and a boy. Well now the boy arrived....

(The girl and boy are both primary participants, the girl is the lesser primary participant. The pronoun for either is -bi'.)

Raquenë' chi rio xquiuhuë' gu'una, dechan'
cont think 3sf that cont go husband 3sf clean on the contrary

ben' reguëtazi zan yaga.
person cont rep sit just under tree

She thinks her husband goes to clean, but on the contrary person who just sits under a tree.

(The husband is the primary participant and the wife a secondary participant, and the pronoun for either is -në'.)

3. Pues uzëcara nagale. Hua' tu cuento quië tu
 well imp upright urgent ear 3plf int do 1s a story of a

Pay attention. I'm going to tell a story about a

ben' uzu dza ni'. Caora cati bdyin dza huenë'
 person comp live day far thus hour when comp arrive day int do 3sf

person who lived long ago. When the day arrived for him to do

gu'una', na' rza'në' ru'anë' yëta. Yugu dza
 int clean now cont leave 3sf cont carry 3sf tortilla every day

cleaning, well he goes carrying his tortillas. Every day

rionë' hue dyin. Na' rdyinë' ga zu tu yaga. Na'
 cont go 3sf int do work now cont arrive 3sf where be a tree now

he goes to do work. Now he arrives where there is a tree. Now

reguëtë' rasinë'. Pues bara' dza,
 cont rep lay down 3sf cont sleep 3sf well already cont go day

he lays down and sleeps. Well when it is day,

redyinë' žan yu'u quiënë'.
 cont rep arrive 3sf in house of 3sf

he arrives again in his house.

Pues nigula quiënë' rasanë' balara rgapë'
 well woman of 3sf cont arise 3sf early more cont pat 3sf

Well his woman arises earlier to pat

yëta ta raonë' ta ru'anë'.
 tortillas in order that cont eat 3sf in order that cont carry 3sf

tortillas for him to eat to carry.

Raquenë' chi rio xquiuhuë' gu'una', dechan'
 cont think 3sf that cont go husband 3sf int clean on the contrary

She thinks her husband is working, on the contrary

ben' reguëtazi žan yaga.
 person cont rep lay down just under tree

(he) is just a person who lays down under a tree.

Pues na' bdyin dza chuguë' yaga. Pues gabi na
well now comp arrive day int cut 3sf tree well neg neg cornfield

Well now the day arrived to cut the trees. Well there is no corn-

quiënë' de con redyinzë' rzi'në' nigula quiënë'
of 3sf be as cont rep arrive just 3sf cont deceive 3sf woman of 3sf
field of his, as he just arrives deceiving his wife.

yë'. Na'ra në' rëbë' nigula quië': --Uxe
Now more say 3sf cont say to 3sf woman of 3sf tomorrow

Now more he says to his wife, "Tomorrow

hua' yebandyo. Re'enda' ichuga' tu chopa yaga dya
int make 1s axe cont want 1s int cut 1s one two tree standing

I am going to make an axe. I want to cut a few trees standing

lao na quia'-- në' rëbë' nigula quië'. Na'ra
in cornfield of 1s say 3sf cont say to 3sf woman of 3sf now more

in my cornfield," he says to his wife. Now more

uzë'ë nu'anë' yebandyo, dechan' ta
comp leave 3sf st carry 3sf axe on the contrary in order that

he left carrying the axe, on the contrary

pcha'azë' yaga excusado. Pues na' redyinë'
comp square just 3sf tree outhouse well now cont rep arrive 3sf

he was just shaping outhouse wood. Well now he arrives

rëbë' nigula quië': --Uta, na Ze quia' bade--
cont say to 3sf woman of 3sf wow cornfield big of 1s already be

saying to his wife, "Wow, my cornfield is already big,"

dechan' quele në' lao yaga excusado requianë'
on the contrary neg say 3sf on tree outhouse cont sit 3sf

on the contrary he doesn't say he is sitting on the outhouse

rguichinë' lu'u yeso'.
cont defecate 3sf in pot

defecating in a pot.

Biži caora bdyin dza gazanë', gabi na
well that hour comp arrive day int plant 3sf neg neg cornfield

Well when the day arrived for him to plant, there was no cornfield

quiënë' de gan' gazanë'. Na'ra na nigula quië' rëbinë'
of 3sf be where int plant 3sf now more say woman of 3sf cont say to 3sf
of his where he is to plant. Now more his wife says to

lëbë': --Babdyin dza gazaro na quiëro.
3sf already comp arrive day int plant 1 incl cornfield of 1 incl
him, "The day has already arrived for us to plant our cornfield."

Pues na'ra rzë'ë rionë' ru'ë žuba bini.
well now more cont leave 3sf cont go 3sf cont carry 3sf corn seed

Well now more he leaves and goes carrying the seed corn.

Rdyinë' ga'n zu yaga ruzionë' žuba bini žan
cont arrive 3sf where be tree cont caus sprinkle 3sf corn seed under

He arrives where the tree is and sprinkles the seed corn under

yaga, con ruela'adyinë' rionë' retichinë' lu'u
tree as cont hurry 3sf cont go 3sf cont rep defecate 3sf in

the tree, as he is intent on going to defecate in

yeso' quiënë'.
pot of 3sf

his pot.

Cati bdyin dza bareyudyi raza yaca
when comp arrive day already cont rep finish cont plant pl

When the day arrived that all the people finish planting

benë' na quiëyaquë', na' lëbë' quele reyudyi quiënë'.
person cornfield of 3plf now 3sf neg cont rep finish of 3sf

their cornfields, now he isn't finishing his.

Na'ra na nigula quiënë' rëbinë' lëbë': --Biži yaca
now more say woman of 3sf cont say to 3sf 3sf emphasizer pl

Now more his wife says to him, "Well

benë' babeyudyi guzayaquë' na' luë' nerdalo'--
 person already comp finish comp plant 3plf now 2s still cont walk 2s
the people already finished planting, now you you still go."

na nigula quiëñë' rëhinë' lëbë'. Quele raque nigula chi
 say woman of 3sf cont say to 3sf 3sf neg cont think woman that
his wife says to him. His wife doesn't think that

ten' reque'zi zan yaga.
 person cont rep sit just under tree.

he is a person who just sits under a tree.

Biži cati bdyin dza gu'un nigula quiëñë' gaonë'
 emphasizer when comp arrive day comp want woman of 3sf int eat 3sf

Well the day came when his wife wanted to eat

bezun yela', na'ra rëbinë' xquiuhuë': --Tzeziu'
 tamale now more cont say to 3sf husband 3sf int move get 2s

tamales, now more she says to her husband, "Go get

za'a. Hua' tu chopa bezun yela' gaoro-- në'
 corn int make 1s one two tamale int eat 1 incl say 3sf

the corn. I'll make a few tamales for us to eat," she says

rëbinë' xquiuhuë'. Na'ra na xquiunë' rëbinë'
 cont say to 3sf husband 3sf now more say husband 3sf cont say to 3sf

saying to her husband. Now more her husband says saying to

žgulë': --Binegue'ena. Nenacan za'a re'ene--
 wife 3sf neg still int want 3s-in still st be 3s-in corn young

his wife, "It still doesn't want (isn't ready). It's still young corn,"

në' rëbë' žgulë'. Pues žgulë' ruecažë'
 say 3sf cont say to 3sf wife 3sf well wife 3sf cont make certainly 3sf

he says to his wife. Well his wife makes

žëdi ta guida za'a na'. Na'ra bdza'a
 difficult in order that int come corn that now more comp be angry

trouble for that corn to come. Now more her husband was angry.

xquiunë'. --Uyo yeži'na chi nezo' bagucana--
husband 3sf imp go imp move get 3sf if st know 2s already comp able 3-in

"Go get it if you know it is ready,"

në' rëbë' žgulë'. Na' du rdza' žgulë',
say 3sf cont say to 3sf wife 3sf now being cont be angry wife 3sf

he says to his wife. His wife now being angry,

zionë' lu'u yela quië ben' tula. Guquenë' lu'u yela
just go 3sf in field of person another comp think 3sf in field

she goes in another person's field. She thought she had arrived in

quië xquiuhuë' bdyinë' rzi'në' za'a.
of husband 3sf comp arrive 3sf cont get 3sf corn

her husband's field to get corn.

Bizi cati bdyin xan' yela, në' rëbinë'
emphasizer when comp arrive boss field say 3sf cont say to 3sf

When the boss of the field arrived, he says to the

nigula:--Bixquiëh' rziu' za'a quia'? Birnao' za'a quia'
woman why cont get 2s corn of 1s neg cont see 2s corn of 1s

woman, "Why are you taking my corn? Don't you see that is my corn?"

na'--na xan' yela rëbinë' lebe'. Na'ra na nigula:--Gaži
that say boss field cont say to 3sf 3sf now more say woman where

the boss of the field says to her. Now more the woman says, "Where

mero de yela quië xquiuhua'?-- në' rëbinë' xan' yela.
exactly be field of husband 3sf say 3sf cont say to 3sf boss field

exactly is my husband's field?" she says to the boss of the field.

Pues na'ra na ben' xan' yela: --Chi re'enlo' inezo' gan'
well now more say person boss field if cont want 2s int know 2s where

Well now more the boss of the field says, "If you want to know where

de yela quië xquiulo' ya' tzelu'ena' luë' gan' dena--
be field of husband 2s let's go int move show 1s 3sf where be 3s-in

your husband's field is, let's go and I'll show you where it is,"

në' rëbine' nigula. Na'ra uzë'e yelu'enë'
 say 3sf cont say to 3sf woman now more comp left 3sf comp move show 3sf

he says to the woman. Now he went to show the woman

nigula gan' zu yeso' yu'u ye'. Pues nigula du rdza'anë',
 woman where be pot enter defecation well woman being cont angry 3sf

the woman where the pot of defecation was. Well the woman being angry,

du rbedyinë' zionë' yenë'ë gan' zu yeso'.
 being cont cry 3sf just go 3sf comp move see 3sf where be pot

and crying, she went to see where the pot is.

Cati bdyinë' unë'ë lu'u yeso'. Blancozi
 when comp arrive 3sf comp look 3sf in pot white just

When she arrived she looked in the pot. Just white

rna'n lu'u yeso' nedza'n dumi plata. Na'ra
 cont look 3s-in in pot st change 3s-in money silver now more

it looks in the pot it is changed to silver money. Now more

beza' nigula zeyoguë'. Hora bedyinë'
 comp rep leave woman away go 3sf now comp rep arrive 3sf

the woman went away. Now she arrived

rëbinë' xquiunë': --Caga na'a tzio' tzeziu'
 cont say to 3sf husband 3sf right away now int go 2s int move get 2s

saying to her husband, "Right now go get

dumi nudzu'u lu'u yeso'. Baoya' yena' lu'u
 money st enter in pot already comp go 1s comp move look 1s in

the money in the pot. I already went and looked in

yeso'. Yu'un dumi plata. Raco' loco-- në'
 pot enter 3s-in money silver cont be 2s crazy say 3sf

the pot. It is full of silver money. You are crazy," she says

rëbinë' xquiuhuë'. Na'ra na xquiuhuë':
 cont say to 3sf husband 3sf now more say husband 3sf

saying to her husband. Now more her husband says,

--Bihua'dan' tzeži'an nè' rèbinè'
 neg int do 1s 3s-sp int move 1s 3s-in say 3sf cont say to 3sf

"I'm not going to go get it," he says saying to

žgulè' porque dya'adi nezinè'. xquè'nè'. lu'u yeso'.
 wife 3sf because well st know 3sf defecation 3sf in pot

his wife because he knows well it's his defecation in the pot.

Na'ra bigu'unè' tzeži'nè'n. Na'ra udilo
 now more neg want 3sf int move get 3sf 3s-in now more comp look for

Now more he didn't want to go get it. Now his wife looked for

žgulanè' ben' mozo tzeži' dumi yu'u lu'u yeso'. Na'ra
 wife 3sf person worker int move get money enter in pot now more

a worker to get the money that was in the pot. Now more

uyo mozo ta tzeži'nè' dumi. Caora
 comp go worker in order to int move get 3sf money thus now

the worker went to get the money. When

bdyin mozo rna'nè' bao' yu'u lu'u yeso'.
 comp arrive worker cont look 3sf carbon enter in pot

the worker arrived he saw carbon in the pot.

Rdza' mozo beza'nè' bedyinè'
 cont be angry worker comp rep leave 3sf comp rep arrive 3sf

Being angry, the worker arrived

rèbinè' nigula: --Bixquièn' užu' nè' ye' ?
 cont say to 3sf woman why comp deceive 2s 1s

saying to the woman, "Why did you deceive me?"

Nao' yexi' dumi quièndo' dechan' bao' yu'u lu'u
 say 2s int move get money 1 excl on the contrary carbon enter in

You said 'Go get our money,' on the contrary carbon is in

yeso' -- nè' rèbinè' nigula. Na'ra uza' nigula
 pot say 3sf cont say to 3sf woman now more comp leave woman

the pot," he says to the woman. Now the woman went

tatula tzena'në' gan' zu yeso'. Cati unë' lu'u yeso',
 again int move look 3sf where be pot when comp see 3sf in pot

again to look where the pot is. When she looked in the pot,

yu'ucazin dumi' plata. Na'ra beza' nigula
 enter sure 3s-in money silver now more comp rep leave woman

it surely was full of money. Now the woman left

bedyinë' žan yu'u quiënë'. Na'ra në' rëbinë'
 comp rep arrive 3sf in house of 3sf Now more say 3sf cont say to 3sf

and arrived in her house. Now she says to

xquiuhuë': --Yeži' dumi. Bixquiën' ru' yaladyi'
 husband 3sf imp move get money why cont do difficult

her husband, "Go get the money. Why are you being difficult

bire'enlo' tzežiu' dumi? --në' rëbinë' lëbë'.
 neg cont want 2s int move get 2s money say 3sf cont say to 3sf 3sf

in that you don't want to go get the money?" she says to him.

Bigu'uncazinë' tzaži'në'n. Pues gula rdze'
 neg comp want sure 3sf int move get 3sf 3s-in well old cont put

He surely doesn't want to go get it. Well later now

na' guta' nigula du rdëbinë', raquë' pensari
 now comp lay woman being cont worry 3sf cont think 3sf thoughts

the woman lay worrying, she is thinking

biži gaca yeguida dumi. Caora uya' ni',
 emphasizer int happen come rep come money thus now comp go light

how the money could come. When it was morning,

usalonë' bentan. Cati uyalo bentan, byala
 comp caus open 3sf window when comp open window comp enter

she opened the window. As the window opened,

yëxuyedyi yu'u dumi. Bezëri nita'n la yu, den' quele
 gunnysack enter money white st be 3s-in on floor because neg

a gunnysack full of money entered. It was just white all over the floor,

nezinë' chi bdyinan cuinzina. Gabira
st know 3sf that comp arrive 3s-in alone just 3s-in neg neg more

she didn't know that it arrived alone.

zëdi tzeži' nigula dumi. Redaohuezi nigula
difficult int move get woman money cont happy just woman

The woman is no longer difficult about getting the money. The woman is

babedyina cuinzina. Na'ra
already comp rep arrive 3s-in alone just 3s-in now more

happy that it already arrived alone. Now more

betupanë'n bedze'në'n lu'u baola. Biži
comp rep gather 3sf 3s-in comp rep put 3sf 3s-in in trunk emphasizer

she gathered it and put it in a trunk.

ben' yëchi gula nacayaquë' dza quiëyaquë'. Tu ben' uña'a huala gula
person poor very st be 3plf day of 3plf a person rich very very

They were very poor people in their day. He became a very rich person

gucayaquë', quele ca yaca ben' gun' yaca. Cana' ga
comp become 3plf neg as pl person mud pl thus there

not like common people. That's how

gucalë' suerte quië' lëbë'. Abeyudyi cuento
comp become with luck of 3sf 3sf already comp rep end story

his luck happened with him. The story ends

quië ben' udichi lu'u yeso'.
about person comp defecate in pot

about the person who defecated in a pot.

FOOTNOTES

¹The Choapan dialect of Zapotec is spoken in the district of Choapan in the State of Oaxaca, Mexico. The dialect area forms a small peninsula from the town of Comaltepec in the south to the town of Arenal Grande in the north, and is flanked on the east by speakers of Mixe and on the west by speakers of Chinantec.

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²A few non-fiction texts of description do not begin with the *cabë'* clause. However, several descriptions were written at one sitting and no record kept of the order. Since some begin with "this animal also" or "another animal that", it is suspected that these short descriptions were actually written as units, and that the first one had the required opening.

Phonemic symbols for orthographic symbols are *ë* /*ε*/, *c*, *qu*, *k* /*k*/, *gu*, *g* /*g*/, *j* /*x*/, *ch* /*č*/, *dz* /*ẓ*/, *dy* /*ǰ*/, *r* /*ř*/, *tz* /*ṭ*/, *hu* /*w*/, *x* /*š*/, *y* /*gʸ*/, *ž* /*ẓ̌*/, ' /*ʔ*/. The rest of the orthographic symbols are the same as the phonemic ones.

Abbreviations used for the literal translation are causative (*caus*), continuative (*cont*), completive (*comp*), intentive (*int*), infinitive (*inf*), imperative (*imp*), stative (*st*), repetitive (*rep*), movement (*move*), negative (*neg*); first, second, and third persons (1, 2, and 3), singular (*s*), plural (*pl*), inclusive (*incl*), exclusive (*excl*), formal (*f*), familiar (*fam*), inanimate (*in*), animal (*an*), evil spirit (*sp*).

In the non-causative, there are two intentive forms, one called an independent form, and the other a dependent form because it occurs with negative and in dependent clauses. In the translation these are both called intentive.

The third person evil spirit pronoun can also be used in a pejorative sense to refer to the other person classes.

For more on the phonemes, verbs and pronouns see Studies in Otomanguean Phonology, Merrifield, editor, pp 137-161, and Linguistics, "The Verb Syntagmemes of Choapan Zapotec," Lyman.

³Restrictions on the use of nouns and pronouns between quotation openers and closers have yet to be analyzed. At least 16 different combinations were noted in the texts.