PARTICIPANT IDENTIFICATION IN CHOAPAN ZAPOTEC

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0. Introduction
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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 cabe' thus, what, how and is either juxtaposed with a following independent clause or followed by a dependent time clause introduced by cati when.\(^2\)

\[
\text{Segúon cabe' naque lu'u tu beló ga uyondo'.} \\
\text{according how st be in one cave where comp go I exal}
\]

\[
\text{How it is in a cave where we went.}
\]

\[
\text{Cabē' guca quia' cati bla'a lao yediylayu.} \\
\text{how comp happen of is when comp arrive is on earth}
\]

\[
\text{How it happened to me when I arrived on the earth.}
\]

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 quiē 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 quië divinador de mierda.
well now int do Is one story about seeer of excrement

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

Pues na' ze'lao ga beyudyi tu cuento quië
well now just follow where comp rep end one story about
devinador de mierda.
seeer of excrement

Well now this is where the story ends about the seeer 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 Is story about pl person

unita' tu tiempo cabë' guca quiëyaquë'. Na' biëzi
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' biëzi nigula uzunë' zi dza como
well now emphasizer woman comp be 3sf many day as
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):

Bizi 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
t money enter in  pot  Now more comp go worker in order that
tzeži'në' dumi. Caora bdyin mozo
int move get 3sf money that hour comp arrive worker

rna'në' 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' lēnē' yaca źi'inē'  
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--nē' rēbē' 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 emphaser cont happen just come here
na rey rēbē' 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 1s here
na licenciado rebē' 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.

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

bdynan cuinzina. Gabira zēdi tzeži'

comp arrive 3sf alone 3s-in neg neg more difficult int move get

nigula dumi. Redahuezi 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, 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' rebinē' lebē'.

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'eṯi' binezi rey na' nu requē'lē

well not even little neg st know king that who cont rep talk with

criada quiē' di'idzā'.

maid of 3sf word

Not even a little the king didn't know who goes (who) talks with his maid.
--Biği raca zao' niga?
emphasis cont happen just come 2s here

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

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

There isn't any more water to drink.

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

--Biği ru' rdzelö' dumì ca rdzele nu
emphasis cont do 2s cont find 2s money like cont find 2s some

łaga' bidyi, rdzelö' lué'?--
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 rdilaziyaque'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.

*bizi* bibdyinē*' ga'n parte ga'n zio compadre
*emphasis neg comp arrive 3sf where place where just go friend*

huiziyē*'.
*int deceive 3sf*

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

*bizi* nigula quiē*'. bètoguē* udapē*' tu chopa yēta....
*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 uxēdyigara*'
*tu cuento quiē tu xciuidi' 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'.)

*Raquene*'
*chi ri o xquiuhuí' gu'una, dechan*
*cont think 3sf that cont go husband 3sf clean on the contrary*

*ben' regulētazi  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 -nē'.)
3. Pues uzēcara nagale. Hua' tu cuento quiē tu well imp upright urgent ear 3plf int do is a story of a

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

ben' uzu dza ni'. Caora cati bdyin dza huenē' 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'nē' ru'anē' yēta. Yugu dza int clean now cont leave 3sf cont carry 3sf tortilla every day cleaning, well he goes carrying his tortillas. Every day

rionē' hue dyin. Na' rdyinē' 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

reguētē' rasinē'. 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,

redyinē' żan yu'u quiēnē'. cont rep arrive 3sf in house of 3sf he arrives again in his house.

Pues nigula quiēnē' rasanē' balara rgapē' well woman of 3sf cont arise 3sf early more cont pat 3sf Well his woman arises earlier to pat

yēta ta raonē' ta ru'anē'. tortillas in order that cont eat 3sf in order that cont carry 3sf tortillas for him to eat to carry.

Raquene' chi río xquiuhuē' 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' reguētazi żan 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 gabì 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 redyinizë' rzi'në' nìgula 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' nìgula 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 dyà
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' nìgula 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

uzëë' 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' nìgula 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.
When the day arrived for him to plant, there was no cornfield of his where he is to plant. Now more his wife says to him, "The day has already arrived for us to plant our cornfield.

Well now more he leaves and goes carrying the seed corn. He arrives where the tree is and sprinkles the seed corn under the tree, as he is intent on going to defecate in his pot. When the day arrived that all the people finish planting their cornfields, now he isn't finishing his.

Now more his wife says to him, "Well
benē', babeyudi' guzayaquē' na' luē' nerdalo'--
person already comp finish comm plant 3plf now 2s still cont walk 2s
the people already finished planting, now you you still go."

na nigula quiēnē' rēbinē' lēbē'. Quele raque'ig 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

ben' reque'zi zañ 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 quiēnē' gaonē'
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 rēbinē' xquiuhe': --Teziu'
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-- nē'.
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

rēbinē' xquiuhe'. Na'ra na xquiu内在 rēbinē'
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

Zgulē': --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,"

nē' rēbē' Zgulē'. Pues Zgulē' ruecazē'
say 3sf cont say to 3sf wife 3sf well wife 3sf cont make certainly 3sf
he says to his wife. Well his wife makes

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

nē' rēbē' Zgulē'. Na' du rdza' Zgulē', 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,

zionē' lu'u yela quiē ben' tula. Guquenē' 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

quiē xquiuhue' bdyinē' rzi'nē' za'a. of husband 3sf comp arrive 3sf cont get 3sf corn her husband's field to get corn.

Bizi cati bdyin xan' yela, nē' rēbinē' emphaser when comp arrive boss field say 3sf cont say to 3sf

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

nigula:--Bixquie' nē' rziu' za'a quia'? Birnag' 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 rēbinē' 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 quiē xquiuhue'?--nē' rēbinē' 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 quiē xquiuulo' ya' tzelu'ena' luē' 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' 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' xquiuhue'. Na'ra na xquiuhue': cont say to 3sf husband 3sf now more say husband 3sf saying to her husband. Now more her husband says,
--Bihua'dan' tzezi'an nê' rëbinê'

e now neg do ls 3s-ap int move ls 3s-in say 3sf cont say to 3sf

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

ţgulê' porque dya'adi nezinê' xquê' nê'. 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'unê' tzezi'nê'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

ţgulanê' ben' mozo tzezi' 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 tzezi'nê' 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'nê' 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'nê' bedyinê'

cont be angry worker comp rep leave 3sf comp rep arrive 3sf

Being angry, the worker arrived

rëbinê' nigula: --Bixquiê'n użu' nê' ye'?

cont say to 3sf woman why comp deceive 2s 1s

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

Nao' yexi' dumi quiêndo' dechan' bao' yu'u lu'u

say 2s int move get money 1 exĉ on the contrary carbon enter in

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

yeso'-- nê' rëbinê' 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 dumí 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' Zan yu'u quiënë'. Na'ra në' rébinë'
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
xquihuhec': --Yeži' dumí. 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'énlo' tzeži' dumí? --në' rébinë' 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'
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 rébinë', raquë' pensari
now comp lay woman being cont worry 3sf cont think 3sf thoughts
the woman lay worrying, she is thinking
bizi gaca yeguida dumí. 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 dumí. Bežeri 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 tzeţi' nigula dumi. Redahuezi 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. Bizi 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 qui'éyaquë'. Tu ben' un'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 qui'é' lëbë'. Abeyudyi cuento comp become with luck of 3sf 3sf already comp rep end story his luck happened with him. The story ends qui'é 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 cabē' 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 ɛ /ɛ/, c, qu, k /k/, gu, g /g/, j /x/, ch /ɛ/ /ɛ/, dz /ʒ/, dy /ʒ/, r /ɾ/, tz /tʃ/, hu /w/, x /ʃ/, y /ʒ/, z /z/, ʃ /ʃ/. 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), inteventive (int), infinitive (inf), imperative (imp), stative (st), repetetive (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 intensive 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 intensive.

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.