

San Juan Elotepec Zapotec in written sources

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1. Belmar, Francisco. 1901. *Breve noticia del idioma papabuco del pueblo de Elotepec*. Oaxaca: Imprenta del Comercio.

A.

Vowels: a, e, i, o, u, ã, very short è, vowel length

Consonants: b, t, d, k, g, rg, ch, sh, s, l, m, n, ñ, r, y

B.

Number: *tibi bèse* ‘one bee’, *bichial bese* ‘many bees’

Gender: *beku* ‘dog’, *beku(bi)ña* ‘female dog’, *beku(igieya)* ‘male dog’

Pronouns: *ã* *bikena*
 ru *bikèru*
 iré *bikire*

- *bike* ‘many’: *bike beku(ñi)* ‘these dogs’

- deictic *-ré*

- *ñi* ‘this’, *ye* ‘that’, *bigii* ‘these’, *bigiire* ‘those’

Numerals: *chii(rbiti)tibi* ‘11’ (10+1), *chii(rbi)chopa* ‘12’ (10+2), *chiin(ribi)tibi* ‘16’ (15+1), *chiin(ri)chopa* ‘17’ (15+2) [full form of the connecting element could be *-ribiti-*]

Verbs: (a) Habitual (Belmar’s Present) *ra-/er-/r-/ri-*

Completive (Belmar’s Past): *be-/bí-/ko*

Potential (Belmar’s Future): *i-/ka-*

Continuative (Belmar’s Absolute Present) (no prefix; attested with selected verbs)

shal()a ‘I open’ *shal()na*
shal()ru *shal()ru*
shal()ya *shal()ya*

Habitual: *er()shal()a*
Completive: *be()shal()a*
Potential: *i()shal()a(mi)*
Imperative: *shal()ru, shal()bikeru*

(b) First person forms in selected verbs differ from the second and third person forms:

ertuuya()ã ‘I embrace’ *erduuya()na*
erkuuya()ru *erkuuya()ru*
erkuuya()ya *erkuuya()ya*

Cf. completive *betu<n>ya()ã, gutuuya()ru*, etc.

(c) Causative prefix *-sho-*: *roba* ‘go to bed, lie down’, *rshoba* ‘put to bed, lay down’

(d) “plusquamperfect”: *a()besalo* ‘había acabado’

2. *Vocabulario comparativo*. 1885-1893. Dir. Antonio Peñafiel. Dirección General de Estadística de la República Mexicana.

Peñafiel prompts	Section	Matches in Belmar 1901	Total matches
	Total		
1-3: sacred vocabulary	(3)	1-3	(3)
4-24: names of individuals and kinship terms	(21)	4-5, 9-12, 15-19, 21, 24	(13)
25-51: names of body parts	(27)	25-27, 30-40, 43, 47, 49-50	(18)
52-68: names of instruments and misc.	(17)	57, 63	(2)
69-101: elements of nature, seasons, geography	(33)	69, 71, 73, 77, 81, 84, 86-87 88?, 89-92, 97, 99-101	(15-16)
102-151: plants, animals and foodstuffs	(50)	103, 105, 109-111, 113-115, 123, 126, 132, 136?, 140, 148	(13-14)
152-169: common adjectives	(18)	153-60, 162, 166, 168	(11)
170-180: pronouns	(11)	170-175, 176?, 180	(7-8)
181-189: adverbs	(9)	181?, 183?	(0-2)
190-211: numerals	(22)	190-202	(13)
212-240: verbs	(29)	212-213, 215-218, 221-222, 224?, 226-228, 238-240	(14-15)
241-250: abstract notions (will, memory, truth, etc.)	(10) 250	249	(1) 110-115

Types of correspondences:

- 1) Peñafiel #2 *Uxé* 'priest', #9-10 *Usanré* 'my father' --- Belmar *ussi* 'father'
- 2) Peñafiel #90 *Dó* 'sea' --- Belmar *nis()too* 'id.'
- 3) Peñafiel #33 *Luxná* 'tongue' --- Belmar *luish()guii* 'flame' (lit. 'tongue fire')
- 4) Peñafiel #49 *Riti* 'bone' --- Belmar *uriti* 'flaca cosa'

Phrases as answers:

- #67 *Ni(ersob)ru(ya)* 'pipe' (lit. 'that which is in his mouth')
- #75 *Hersil(óna)* 'morning' (lit. 'we are eating breakfast')

(a) Orthography:

- Last vowel of nearly all words is accented (#1 *Chuyé* 'God', #198 *Gá* 'nine', #215 *Dalná* 'to dance'). Can this be an indication of tone?
- Peñafiel z, s used interchangeably: Belmar s (#21)
- Peñafiel s, x: Belmar ss (#2, 9-10); sh (#3, 26, 195, 197)
- Peñafiel ni: Belmar ñ (#5, 14)
- Peñafiel qu: Belmar g (#4, 26)
- Peñafiel ll: Belmar sh (#73, 123 *Lliná* 'day': *shii* 'id.');
- y (#104 *Lliagá* 'wood')

(b) Word shape is (C)VVCV, but final vowel can be lost before clitics/ in compounds:

- #26 *Quis()iquí* 'hair' (lit. 'hair head') but *Yc(an)()ré* 'head' (lit. 'my head')
- #66 *Quit()labá, Labi()quidé* 'shoe or sandal' (lit. 'skin foot' or 'cover foot')

(c) Final -s in Peñafiel, no final -s in Belmar:

- #114 *Beigide()besinnís* 'bat' [cf. #126 *Bixinñí* 'ratón'] --- Belmar *beguit()biziñe* 'id.'
- #199 *chís* 'ten' [cf. *Chi()bi()tubi* '11'] --- Belmar *chii* 'id.'

(d) Final -c:

- #137 *Guinec* 'scorpio' (Belmar *uñie* 'id.')
- #138 *Esquin()loyec* 'bird'
- #180 *Chum()dec* 'who?' (Belmar: *chuun*)
- (Also #142 *Gansex* 'goose')

(e) *-be*: #187 *Gali()*bé ‘tomorrow/morning’ (Belmar: *kalli* ‘id.’)

(f) Suffix *-eson* in borrowings from Spanish:

#53 *Jefeson* ‘jefe’

#62 *Fleche essón* ‘arrow’

#117 *Tigreson* ‘tiger’

(g) Deictic *-re*: *Us()*an(ré) ‘my father’, *Na()*ré ‘my mother’, *Nia()*ré ‘my husband’, *Binia()*ré ‘my wife’, *Ba()*ré ‘sky’, *Do()*ré ‘sun’, *Cano()*ré ‘canoe’, *Tabaue()*ré ‘tobacco’, etc.

(h) Animate prefix *bei-/be-*: #114 *Beigide()*besinnís ‘bat’ (lit. ‘butterfly mouse’);

- Animate prefix *es-/ez-*: #132 *Ezquiegúé* ‘fly’, #133 *Esquienú* ‘mosquito’, #138 *Esquin()*loyec ‘bird’,

#145 *Ezquin()*cazá ‘raven’ (lit. ‘bird black’);

- Animate prefix *bir-/ber-*: #119 *Birquixé* ‘lion, puma’, #120 *Birquiaxá* ‘wolf’, #130 *Birquidí* ‘lagartija’, *Berlabá* ‘toad’

(i) Pronouns:

Aan Biegnia ã bikenaa (Belmar 1901)

Ruú Bigaaná ru bikèru

Yrsé Bicailié ire bikìre

(j) #6 *Y()*cuené ‘boy’, #162 *Y()*galá ‘old (man)’

- #7 *En()*cuené()biniá ‘girl’, #8 *Em()*bedo ‘child’; also with adjectives: #154 *En()*casa ‘black’, #160 *En()*mihi ‘small’

(k) Verbs:

Potential *Hi-/Hei-/Y-* (##218, 219, 222, 228)

Habitual *Her-* (#234, 236, 240)

Completive *Hu-* (#235)

(l) Numerals: #200 *Chi()*bi()tubi ‘eleven’, #203 *Gal()*rebe()chí ‘thirty’

(m) Questions:

#36 *Nierr()*ieña ‘neck’ vs Belmar *shien* ‘throat’

#42 *Bet()*bal()na ‘body’

#44 *Ticiud()*an ‘belly’

#45 *Lec()*binián ‘female breasts’

#54 *Ygqui*, *eryú* ‘warrior’

#58 *Yuhu dusanguaquié* ‘cabin, hut of straw’

#60 *Serupinieyé* ‘pot’

#78 *Tieom()*errubiy ‘summer’

#80 *Visgraená* ‘winter’

#82 *Herni()*quiuxi ‘thunder’

#83 *Heryilo()*quixi ‘lightening’

#152 *Bilñici* ‘name’

#153 *Quiche()*gucsé ‘white’

#220 *Guitiraguebr()*an()lo()ru ‘to love’

#235 *Yz()*ervez()rrucaom ‘to cackle’

#241 *Hurubrán* ‘will’

3. Rendón, Juan José. 1971. "Relaciones externas del llamado idioma papabuco." *Anales de Antropología* 8:213-31.

Río Espejo (Rendón)
emya 'woman'
epcha7a 'louse'

SJ Elotepec (Peñafilel)
#5 binián, #14 biniaré

SJ Elotepec (Belmar)
biñia
bechia (Rendón #22)