

# First-person plural and the aspect morphology of Zapotec<sup>1</sup>

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**1. The structure and classification of the Zapotec verb.** The structure of the typical Zapotec verb, as summarized in Speck (1984:140), may include the following categories:

(NEG) ASP (PASS) (CAUS) STEM (ADV) SUBJECT PRON. OBJECT PRON.

The second slot in this scheme represents the category which is often referred to as ‘aspect’ in the literature on Zapotec (e.g., Butler 1980:27ff; Munro and Lopez 1999:16), but which, in fact, also incorporates mood and tense. For example, the ‘aspect’ markers of San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec include not only such aspectual categories as habitual, perfective, and progressive, but also such modal categories as subjunctive, definite, and irrealis; the verb form called ‘definite’, moreover, expresses a definite, certain future in simple sentences (Munro and Lopez 1999:16-17).

The Zapotec languages may differ considerably in the number of distinctions they make in the ‘aspect’ category. For instance, Texmelucan and Zaniza Zapotec make five distinctions each (if the imperative is counted as a separate mood), while Quiogolani and Isthmus Zapotec make eight distinctions each (Black 2000:24; Speck 1984:140). However, despite the discrepancies in the overall number of tense/mood/aspect markers, all Zapotec languages seem to agree in distinguishing three basic categories, two of which are aspectual and one modal in nature, namely, the habitual, completive, and potential. This fact allowed Kaufman (1994:63) to suggest a classification of the Zapotec verb based on the markers of the completive aspect and the potential mood. He divides the Zapotec verbs into four classes:

	<u>Class A</u>	<u>Class B</u>	<u>Class C</u>	<u>Class D</u>
potential	*ki=	*ki=	*k=	*k=
completive	*kwe=	*ko=	*ko=	*ko= with replatives

Each of the four classes of verbs is formally defined by (a) the allomorphs of the potential (\*ki ~ \*k) and completive (\*kwe ~ \*ko) markers, and (b) whether there appear replative initial consonants in the completive aspect.<sup>2</sup> The classification proposed by Kaufman has been shown to work for both the diachronic and the synchronic analyses of the Zapotec verb (see Smith Stark 2001:47).

**2. The irregular first-person plural forms.** Some of the Zapotec languages possess a limited set of common everyday verbs whose first-person plural forms show morphological peculiarities as compared with the rest of the forms in their paradigms. Such peculiarities include the following facts:

- (a) the 1p forms take class A mood/aspect markers regardless of the class membership of the verb based on other forms;
- (b) the 1p forms may have a different stem from the rest of the forms in their paradigms;

(c) in Papabuco, the irregular 1p forms take no prefix in the potential mood. This morphological peculiarity is shared by a special verb form in Zoogocho Zapotec (discussed below) that seems to have originated in the same pattern.

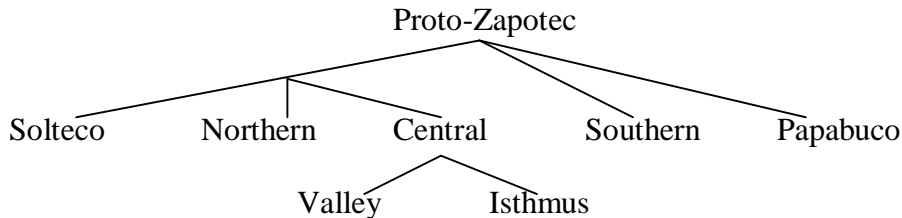
The Class D verb ‘to wash’ in Córdoba’s Zapotec, the earliest recorded form of Zapotec, illustrates this pattern (Smith-Stark 2000a:7):

potential	ca-guibi=a <sup>3</sup> ‘I will wash’	qui- <b>tibi</b> =no ‘we will wash’
habitual	ti-guibi=a ‘I wash’	ti- <b>tibi</b> =no ‘we wash’
completive	co- <b>tibi</b> =a ‘I washed’	pi- <b>tibi</b> =no ‘we washed’

In this verb, the 1p forms have the same stem as the completive, and they use class A mood/aspect markers even though this verb, based on its conjugation in the other persons, belongs to class D. The related verb in Zaniza Zapotec, a Papabuco language, shows the absence of the prefixed marker of the potential mood (the class A marker of the potential mood in Zaniza Zapotec is *gi-*):

potential	kib=y ‘he will wash’	<b>dib</b> =n ‘we will wash’ (not *gi-dib=n)
habitual	ri-gib=y ‘he washes’	ri- <b>dib</b> =n ‘we wash’
completive	u- <b>dib</b> =y ‘he washed’	bi- <b>dib</b> =n ‘we washed’

The irregular 1p forms are attested in three branches of Zapotec, namely, Papabuco, Central, and Southern Zapotec. They are more noticeable in the first two branches than in Southern Zapotec, which seems to have very few of the irregular 1p forms (e.g., Marks 1980:82ff). The following diagram shows the mutual relationship of the three groups within Zapotec:<sup>4</sup>



Given the position of these branches within Zapotec, it is possible that the irregular 1p forms represent the retention of an ancient pattern rather than an innovation.

There are certain differences in the way this pattern is manifested in the current languages, but such differences seem to be mostly due to recent analogical levellings. For example, the irregular 1p forms do not add the potential mood prefix in Papabuco, but they do in Central and Southern Zapotec. The irregular stem formation is confined to the 1p forms in Central and Southern Zapotec, but seems to have secondarily spread to the 1s in Papabuco. In the Central and Southern languages that distinguish between the inclusive and exclusive 1p, both 1p stems seem to be affected. For example, in Córdoba’s dictionary and grammar most 1p verb forms are cited with the 1p excl pronominal subject, but the rarer 1p incl also occasionally gets cited with such forms, cf. *tèchi=na* ‘we (incl.) vomit’ alongside *tèchi=no* ‘we (excl.) say’ (Smith Stark 2000a:10; also see Marks 1980:82 for Guevea de Humboldt Zapotec and Marlett and Pickett 1987:408, n. 13 for Isthmus Zapotec).

Zoogocho Zapotec, a language from the Northern branch, shows two quite different manifestations of what is clearly the same pattern. First, a limited number of common everyday verbs in Zoogocho can form a special modal category by prefixing *d-* to the verbal root; the resulting form expresses the notion ‘to be able to’. The prefix *d-* behaves as a replacive consonant, since it is simply added to the vowel-initial verb roots and replaces the initial consonant of the consonant-initial roots (see note 2). The verbs that add the prefix *d-* take no mood marker in the potential, and take class A prefixes in the habitual and completive aspects, regardless of the class membership of the original verb. The conjugation of the verb ‘to eat’ in Zoogocho illustrates this pattern (Long and Cruz 1999:448):

potential	<i>g-agw</i> ‘to eat’	<i>dagüe</i> ‘to be able to eat’
habitual	<i>ch-agw</i>	<i>ch-dagüe</i>
completive	<i>gw-dagw</i>	<i>b-dagüe</i>

The morphological correspondences between the Zoogocho ‘abiliative’ and the formation of the irregular 1p indicate that they should be regarded as parts of the same phenomenon. The second modal form in Zoogocho that shows the replacive *d* is discussed below in section 4(b).

**3. Types of morphological changes in the irregular 1p forms.** The changes in the irregular 1p verb stems can be reduced to three broad types, each of which may be further subdivided into a number of sub-types.

**Type 1.** The 1p uses the completive stem, with or without additional changes, in all of its forms. This type includes:

1(a). Verbs of class D (Central Zapotec and Papabuco):

Central Zapotec

Córdova’s Zapotec:	ti-báana=ya ‘I steal’ co- <b>laana</b> =ya ‘I stole’	te- <b>laana</b> =no ‘we steal’
	t-ágo=a ‘I eat’ co- <b>ta</b> [go=a] ‘I ate’	te- <b>tágo</b> =no ‘we eat’
Chichicapan:	baa’n ‘to steal’ gu- <b>laa’n</b> =bi=n ‘he stole it’	bi- <b>lá’an</b> =nu ‘we stole it’
	awu ‘to eat’ gu- <b>dawu</b> =bi=n ‘he ate it’	bi- <b>dá’awu</b> =nu’u=n ‘we ate it’
San Pablo Güilá:	r-àaw=bí ‘he eats’ b- <b>dàaw</b> =bí ‘he ate’	r- <b>daa’w</b> =nú ‘we eat’

Papabuco

Zaniza: ri-gib=y 'he washes' ri-**dib**=n 'we wash'  
u-**dib**=y 'he washed'

r-aw=y 'he eats' ri-**daw**=n 'we eat'  
u-**daw**=y 'he ate'

Texmelucan: r-o= 2-3s/p 'eat' b-**daw**= '[I/we] ate'  
b-**do**= 2-3s/p 'ate'

1(b). Verbs of other classes (Central Zapotec):

Chichicapan (A): r-utoo'=bi=n 'he sells it' r-**átoo**'=nu'u=n 'we sell it'  
b-**atoo**'=bi=n 'he sold it'

1(c). Verbs that use a suppletive stem in the completive and 1p (Central Zapotec):

Córdova's Zapotec: t-api=a 'I say' tè-**chi**=no 'we say'  
co-**chi**=a 'I said'

Chichicapan: abi 'to say' bi-di'i-**tsë**=nu? 'we said'  
gu-**dzë**=bi=n 'he said it'

1(d). 1p consists of the completive stem preceded by the prefix *do/u-* (Central Zapotec):

Córdova's Zapotec: t-àa=ya 'I go to bed' te-**tò-ta**=no 'we go to bed'  
cò-**ta**[=ya] '[I] went to bed'

Chichicapan: a'a 'to go to bed' bi-**du-ta**=nu? 'we went to bed'  
gu-**ta**[=bi] '[he] went to bed'

San Pablo Güilá: r-àa'=bi ~ rà-gá'=bí r-**du-t-gá**'=nú 'we go to bed'  
'he goes to bed'  
gù-t=bí 'he went to bed'

**Type 2.** The 1p uses a separate stem which is not based on the completive. This type may be divided into the following sub-types:

2(a). The 1p has a suppletive stem (Papabuco, Central, and Southern Zapotec):

Central Zapotec

Córdova's Zapotec: tèle=a 'I come' teòpe=no 'we come'  
pe[le=a] 'I came'

Guevea Zapotec: riäL=á? 'I come' riö?b=nó 'we come'

Chichicapan:	bi-ǎL=á? ‘I came’ í’i ‘to come’ b-í’i=bi ‘he came’	b- <b>io’opa</b> =nu? ‘we came’
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San Pablo Güilá:	r-yée’d=bí ‘he comes’	r- <b>yo’p</b> =nú ‘we come’
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Papabuco

Zaniza:	yed=y ‘he comes’ bi-yed=y ‘he came’	bi- <b>yap</b> =n ‘we came’
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2(b). The 1p stem consists of the prefix *d-* plus the non-completive stem (Central Zapotec and Papabuco):

Central Zapotec

Córdova’s Zapotec:	t- <b>àaba</b> =ya ‘I weave’ còo[ba=ya] ‘I wove’	te- <b>t-aaba</b> =no ‘we weave’
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Papabuco

Zaniza:	r- <b>un</b> =y ‘he weeps’ bin=y ‘he wept’	bi- <b>d-un</b> =n ‘we wept’
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Texmelucan:	<b>rut</b> = 2-3s/p ‘kills’ bi’it= 2-3s/p ‘killed’	b- <b>d-ut</b> = ‘[I/we] killed’
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2(c). The 1p stem consists of a prefix related to Córdova’s *ch-* plus the regular stem (Central Zapotec):

Córdova’s Zapotec:	t- <b>oo</b> =a ‘I am inside’ c-oo=a ‘I was inside’	ti- <b>ch-oo</b> =no ‘we are inside’
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Chichicapan:	<b>yuu</b> ’=te ‘to enter’ gu-yu’u=te=ba ‘he entered’	bi- <b>dzh-ú</b> ’u=te=nu? ‘we entered’
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2(d). The 1p stem is composed of a prefix *y(e)-* plus the regular stem (with changes in the vocalism of the stem, if applicable) (Central Zapotec):

Córdova’s Zapotec:	t= <b>àpa</b> =ya ‘I keep’ co[pa=ya] ‘I kept’	te- <b>y-àpa</b> =no ‘we keep’
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San Pablo Güilá:	r- <b>ù</b> ’t=bí ‘he grinds’	r- <b>ye</b> ’t=nú ‘we grind’
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2(e). The 1p stem consists of the prefix *d/ru-* plus the regular stem (with the applicable changes in the vocalism of the stem) (Central Zapotec and Papabuco):

Central Zapotec

San Pablo Güilá:	r- <b>àas</b> =bí ‘he bathes’	r- <b>duus</b> =na
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<u>Papabuco</u>	gùus=bí ‘he bathed’	‘we bathed’
Zaniza:	r-an=y ‘he cleans’ gun=y ‘he cleaned’	bi-dun=n ‘we cleaned’
	r-az=y ‘he bathes’ guz=y ‘he bathed’	bi-ruz=n ‘we bathed’
Texmelucan:	r-az= 2-3s/p ‘beats’ guz= 2-3s/p ‘beat’	b-ruz= ‘[I/we] beat’

2(g). The 1p stem differs from the regular stem by its tone (Central Zapotec). In Chichicapan Zapotec, for which a description of this type is available, the tone change in the 1p forms appears to be systematic and identical to that which characterizes the potential (Smith Stark 2000b):

Chichicapan:	ñi’i ‘to speak’ gu-ñi’i=bi ‘he spoke’	bi-ñi’i=nu? ‘we spoke’
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**Type 3.** The 1p stem (with or without its characteristic changes) is preceded by an auxiliary verb (Central Zapotec):

Chichicapan:	u’un ‘to weep’	batshi dx-í’in=nu? ‘we wept’
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**4. A preliminary analysis.** The dialectal distribution of the irregular 1p forms suggests that they represent the survival of an archaic morphological pattern. On the other hand, the small number of the surviving forms seems to suggest that this pattern was no longer productive even at the Proto-Zapotec stage. Therefore, in trying to account for the irregular 1p forms, it is necessary to supplement the comparative data with internal reconstruction.

An analysis of the irregular 1p stems shows that the majority belong to one of the two structural types. The first type consists of the 1p forms based on the stem of the completive: this accounts for the forms cited in 1(a) through 1(c). The second type consists of the 1p stems formed by adding a prefix to either the completive or the non-completive stem: this accounts for the forms in 1(d) and 2(b) through 2(e). In either case, the 1p form is connected with the completive aspect. In the second type, the 1p formation also involves prefixing. An analysis of the synchronic functioning of the completive and that of prefixing in the verb system may provide an explanation for the structure of the irregular 1p forms.

**4(a). The completive.** The completive aspect in Zapotec shows a persistent connection with the imperative mood. The completive stem, typically without the pronominal marker, serves as the unmarked 2s imperative, for example, in Córdoba’s Zapotec, Mitla, San Pablo Güilá, San Lucas Quiaviní, Isthmus Zapotec, Coatlán Zapotec, Quiegolani, Zaniza, Zoogocho, Atepec, Yalálag, and Yatzachi Zapotec. In Southern Zapotec (i.e., Coatlán and Quiegolani), the completive stem can also be used as the 2p imperative. In most Zapotec

languages, however, the 2p imperative is expressed by the potential stem, with or without the pronominal markers. In some languages the potential has begun to invade the sphere of the 2s imperative as well: for example, in Zoogocho and Atepec Zapotec the imperative use of the potential conveys the tone of a polite request. The overall current distribution of the completive and potential in the function of the imperative suggests that the use of the potential in this function is more recent, and that its spread occurs at the expense of the more archaic imperative based on the completive.<sup>5</sup>

The 1p imperative, a form of infrequent use, is expressed in some languages by the verb in the potential (for example, in San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec). More often, however, the lexical verb is preceded by an auxiliary verb or particle. In Córdoba's Zapotec it is either *la* or *cola*,<sup>6</sup> the latter being "un termino que se antepone siempre para mandar o exortar a muchos"<sup>7</sup> (Córdoba 1578:125). In Mitla Zapotec, the corresponding auxiliary is *do'o*; it appears to be cognate with the Yalálag and Yatzachi El Bajo prefix *do-* used in the same function.<sup>8</sup> The 1p imperatives in these languages are formed as follows:

Mitla:	<i>do'o gui-dauu</i> <sup>9</sup> 'let us eat' aux. pot.-'eat'	(Stubblefield and Miller de Stubblefield 1991:225)
Yatzachi El Bajo:	<i>do-yeclen=ch</i> 'let us help' aux.-ven. <sup>10</sup> of 'help'=1p excl	(Butler 1980:106)
Yalálag:	<i>do-kue'e</i> 'let us sit' aux.-pot. of 'do'	(López and Newberg 1990:15)

The form *do'o* that serves as the auxiliary of the 1p imperative in Mitla Zapotec is the irregular 1p imperative of the verb 'to go', which uses a suppletive root for the 1p. It also seems to be the same as the form analyzed in 1(d) as the 1p-forming prefix *do-*. The conjugation of the verb 'to go' in the habitual aspect shows the suppletive root in the 1p (Stubblefield and Miller de Stubblefield 1991:213):<sup>11</sup>

<i>r-i=a'a</i>	'I go'	<i>r-<u>io</u>=<u>n</u>nu</i>	'we go'
<i>r-ij=lu</i>	'you (sg.) go'	<i>r-ij=tu</i>	'you (pl.) go'
<i>r-ij=ni</i>	'he goes'	<i>r-ij=re=ni</i>	'they go'

The irregular 1p imperative *do'o* thus appears to consist of the suppletive 1p root *io* 'go' preceded by the prefix *d-*, which may be identical with the prefix *d-* used in the formation of the irregular 1p forms in 2(b). It is also possible, given the connection between the imperative and the completive, that the frozen 1p imperative *do'o* is ultimately the old completive of the verb 'to go'.

There are numerous other relic forms of the imperative marked by the prefix *d-* in various Zapotec languages. For example, in Zoogocho the synchronically irregular 2s imperative of the verb *choe* 'to give' is *doa'*, and that of the verb *chid* 'to come' is *da* (the productive way to form 2s imperatives in Zoogocho, as in the rest of Zapotec, is to use the completive stem without the pronominal marker, cf. Long and Cruz 1999:449). In San Pablo Güilá, *dàa'* is the 2s imperative of *yéed* 'to come' (López Cruz 1997). The same form is attested in San Lucas Quiaviní, where *dàa'* is the 2s imperative of *rìed* 'to come', and

*da=nèe*, from the same root, is the 2s imperative of *ri'd=nèe* 'to bring'. San Lucas Quiavini also has the form *do'oonn* 'if; to see if', which is analyzable as the lexicalized 2s imperative of *ràann* 'to see'. One of its uses is after an imperative to express a friendly request (Munro and Lopez 1999:109ff).

Based on the preceding discussion, it becomes possible to view the prefix *d-* as a pre-Proto-Zapotec marker of the completive aspect. However, this prefix survives as a perfectivity marker only in class D verbs. In other classes of verbs, it survives only in its extended function as the marker of a non-indicative mood (which, based on typological considerations, must be secondary to its functioning as a marker of perfectivity). In this secondary function the prefix *d-* has survived (a) in the 2s imperatives of certain common verbs, (b) in the verb forms conveying the idea 'to be able to' in Zoogocho Zapotec, and (c) in the irregular 1p forms of certain common verbs. The semantic shift from an oblique mood to a form with the meaning 'to be able to' is easy enough to account for. But the origin of the 1p in a non-indicative mood form does pose a question that needs to be answered. Although not providing an answer, the current situation in Italian furnishes a plausible typological parallel. It is a well-known fact that Italian has innovated by substituting the indicative endings of the 1p by the subjunctive ending *-iamo*. This shift is generally thought to rely on the use of the subjunctives of common everyday verbs 'do', 'have', 'be', 'go', and 'give' as imperatives later bleaching to indicatives (Tuttle 2000:478). Taking into account the formal differences between the Italian and Zapotec verb, it is still possible to imagine a similar development for Zapotec, where a non-indicative form of a verb such as 'to eat', meaning originally something like 'let us eat' or 'we will eat', could have been interpreted as a form of the indicative. As a result, tense/mood/aspect markers began to be added to what originally was the stem of the non-indicative mood. The fact that the irregular first plurals in Papabuco and the parallel forms in Zoogocho do not add the potential marker is the survival of an earlier stage when the modal force of these forms was not yet completely lost.

**4(b). Prefixing.** As mentioned in note 10, Zapotec languages can form secondary 'aspects' by prefixing auxiliary verbs (or other prefixes of less clear origin) to the lexical verb. The most widespread of the secondary aspects are formed using the verbs 'to go' and 'to come'. The auxiliary is in some cases added directly to the root, and in others to one of the primary aspectual stems, typically the potential or completive. The secondary aspect auxiliaries thus occupy the same position in the structure of the Zapotec verb as the prefixes that form some of the irregular 1p forms, and it is possible that some of them may also have a common origin. For example, Zoogocho has a frequentative which is formed by adding prefixes *e-/o-* to the root, e.g.

ch-le'=be' 'he sees'	>	frequentative ch-e-le'e=be'
ch-agw=be' 'he eats'	>	frequentative ch-e-(y)agw=be'

This form is structurally parallel to the irregular 1p type described in 2(d), cf.

Córdova's Zapotec    t-àpa=ya 'I keep',    t-e-(y)àpa=no 'we keep'

Another prefix *e-* is attested in what has been synchronically analyzed in Zoogocho as the prefix *ed-*. This prefix can be added to a limited number of verbs to indicate that the action



has been completed. In the case of vowel-initial roots, this prefix is simply added to the root, but in the case of consonant-initial roots, the *d* of the prefix replaces the initial consonant of the root. The behavior of the *d* as well as the perfective semantics of the resulting form suggest that what is synchronically analyzed as a monomorphemic suffix is, in fact, composed of the morpheme *e-* plus the replacive consonant *d*. The *d* had originally belonged to the stem of the completive, but was reanalyzed as part of the suffix. Examples of these forms in Zoogocho include

ch-ot=be' 'he grinds'	> ch- <b>e-dot</b> =be' 'he finishes grinding'
ch-azj=be' 'he bathes'	> ch- <b>e-dazj</b> =be' 'he finishes bathing'

Cognates of these verbs have irregular first-person plurals in Central Zapotec and Papabuco, which shows that the Zoogocho forms are part of the same pattern; cf. the San Pablo Güilá forms:

'to grind':	r- <b>ù't</b> =bí 'he grinds'
	r- <b>ye't</b> =nú 'we grind'
'to bathe':	r- <b>àas</b> =bí 'he bathes'
	r- <b>duus</b> =na 'we bathe'

The verb 'to grind', in which the Zoogocho frequentative shows a replacive *d* and the San Pablo Güilá 1p the prefix *y(e)-*, illustrates an important fact, namely, that the irregular first plurals of related verbs are sometimes formed using different strategies in different languages. 'To sell' is an example of this kind of verb:

Zaniza Zapotec:	r- <b>ut</b> =y 'he sells'	Chichicapan:	r- <b>utoo'</b> 'he sells'
	bi- <b>dut</b> =n 'we sold'		b- <b>atoo'</b> 'we sold'

Finally, the synchronic use of an auxiliary verb with the 1p in Chichicapan seems to support the idea that at least some of the prefixes that form the irregular 1p forms are parallel to the secondary aspect prefixes that originate in auxiliary verbs, cf. Chichicapan *u'un* 'to weep' > *batshi dxí'in=nu?* 'we wept', where *batshi* is an auxiliary verb.

**5. Conclusion.** In this paper I have tried to show that some of the irregular 1p forms in Papabuco, Central, and Southern Zapotec might have originated in the completive through its use as the imperative. I have also shown that the irregular forms of the 1p find parallels in the relic 2s imperatives of certain common verbs in Central and Northern Zapotec, and in two modal types of forms in Zoogocho Zapotec. I have also tried to show that some of the prefixes encountered in the irregular 1p forms may be parallel to secondary aspect prefixes, while *do-* may be identical with the irregular 2s imperative of the verb 'to go'. The lack of published descriptive materials on Solteco makes it impossible to say whether the irregular 1p forms or parallel formations exist in that branch of Zapotec as well. It is also clear that more descriptive information on the languages from every branch of Zapotec is needed before this pattern can be fully understood.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup>I would like to thank Vyach. Vs. Ivanov for a discussion of verbal morphology, Pam Munro for her valuable comments and suggestions, Thom C. Smith Stark for sharing with me his analysis of the Chichicapan Zapotec verbs, Edward F. Tuttle for sharing with me his work on the origin of first-person plural verb forms in Italian, and Rosemary Beam de Azcona, Craig Hilts, and Mark Sicoli for sharing with me their field data.

<sup>2</sup>The replacive consonants (most often *d*, more rarely *r* or *l*) appear as the initial segment of the completive stem of class D verbs. In the case of verbs that can be synchronically analyzed as vowel-initial, the replacive consonants are added before the initial vowel of the verb root. In the case of verbs that are synchronically analyzable as consonant-initial, the replacive consonants appear *instead of* the initial consonant of the verb root. The verb ‘to eat’ in Chichicapan Zapotec, whose synchronic root is *awu*, is an example of a vowel-initial class D verb, and the verb ‘to play’ in Zaniza Zapotec, whose non-completive synchronic root is *git*, is an example of a consonant-initial class D verb. The replacive consonants are given in each case in bold font:

The verb ‘to eat’ in Chichicapan Zapotec (Smith Stark 2001:40):

habitual:	r-awu
potential:	g-âwu
completive:	gu- <b>d</b> awu

The verb ‘to play’ in Zaniza Zapotec:

habitual:	<i>ri-git</i>
potential:	kit
completive:	u-rit

The class D verbs that are synchronically analyzed as consonant-initial probably go back to vowel-initial roots (Kaufman 1994:60ff).

<sup>3</sup>The sign ‘-’ is used for morpheme boundaries, ‘=’ for clitic boundaries, aux. means ‘auxiliary’, pot. ‘potential’, ven. ‘venitive’, incl ‘inclusive’, excl ‘exclusive’.

<sup>4</sup>This version of the Zapotec genealogical tree is based on my study of the innovations in the system of personal pronouns (Operstein 2003).

<sup>5</sup>The connection between the perfective aspect and non-indicative moods is widely attested cross-linguistically. For example, in Yenisseyan languages the past perfect form coincides with the imperative; comparable facts have also been described for Akkadian, Hittite, and Vedic (cf. Ivanov 1981:31-32). Evidence of the Otomanguan languages other than Zapotec also seems to point to the basic unity of these two categories (cf. Robbins 1968:97 for Chinantec).

<sup>6</sup>Córdova’s *la* seems to be cognate with Isthmus Zapotec *la*, Zoogocho *le*, Atepec *lí*, Yalálag *le*, and Yatzachi El Bajo *le/le’e*, all of which are used with the stem of the potential in the function of the 2p imperative. In Yatzachi El Bajo, however, this particle seems to have spread to the 1p imperative as well, which has resulted in the bi-morphemic prefix *ledo*, which is used interchangeably with *do-*. Córdova’s *cola* corresponds to Mitla Zapotec *col*, San Pablo Güilá *gúl*, and San Lucas Quiavini *ua’ll*, which are also used with the potential as

the 2p imperative. The second of these auxiliaries thus appears to be a specifically Central form, while the first is common to both Central and Northern Zapotec.

<sup>7</sup>“a term which is always preposed in order to command or exhort many”.

<sup>8</sup>In Long and Cruz’ (1999) dictionary of Zoogocho Zapotec there appears a prefix *do-* glossed as the ‘prefix of the exhortative mood’, but no examples of its use are provided.

<sup>9</sup>The variation in the root of this verb is not recorded in the dictionary of Mitla Zapotec. The verb ‘to eat’ appears in the body of the dictionary as *ajw* (the actual forms quoted are the 3s habitual *r-ajw=ni* and potential *g-au=ni*). The stem *dauu* of the 1p potential indicates that Mitla also has irregularly formed 1p forms (cf. the completive forms 3s *gu-dauh=ni* and 1p *bi=dáu=nú* cited in Briggs 1961:46).

<sup>10</sup>‘Venitive’ is one of the so-called secondary verbal aspects, which are mostly formed by prefixing the reduced forms of motion verbs to the lexical verb in one of its ‘primary’ aspect stems or, more rarely, directly to the root (see the discussion in Stubblefield and Miller de Stubblefield 1991:212ff, and in Butler 1980:36ff).

<sup>11</sup>The conjugation of the cognate verb in Guevea de Humboldt Zapotec shows that this pattern is Proto-Zapotec (Marks 1980:83):

r- <b>íá</b> =n ‘I go’	r- <b>íó</b> =nó ‘we go’
r- <b>íá</b> =y ‘you go’	
r- <b>íá</b> =mè ‘he goes’	

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