

P r o t o - S a p o t e k (a n) R e c o n s t r u c t i o n s

T e r r e n c e K a u f m a n

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by Terrence Kaufman

The proto-Sapoteko key file was done 28 March - 4 April, 1993 by going through my card file collection of Sapotekan etymologies. Quite a few more etymologies could be found in the available sources.

I have not counted the reconstructions, but assuming all sub-entries are counted, I imagine there are between 600 and 700, and perhaps 500 roots.

The reconstructions are approximate in some cases. All must be checked, and some will be refined along with the statement of historical phonology.

This database has been a-building since the mid sixties. The biggest share of data was the entry of Ferna*ndez de Miranda's data under some 500 Spanish glosses, which was copied off in 1984, using a 1961 ms. file that Nick Hopkins and Kathryn Josserand had on trust/loan from Doris Bartholomew. F de M's materials include a ms. which reputedly was submitted for publication to the Museo Nacional de Antropologi*a before F de M's death, but was never published because of an editorial decision that the work was not ready for publication. [This work was shepherded through publication by Thomas Cedric Smith-Stark and appeared in 1995]. My work has mainly been the sifting of etymologies proposed earlier, and multiplying of etymologies by splitting up proposed cognate sets. I found a few (less than ten) myself, and Rob MacLaury found a couple.

My phonological analysis is based on (and could be thought of as a refinement of) those of F de M and Swadesh; Joe Benton, whose work I saw after I had worked out my own reconstruction, has had some interesting ideas, adopting, as I did, Swadesh's analysis of the Sap fortis/voiceless obstruents as geminates; but in general I have not adopted his innovations. Benton's cognate sets embody some etymologies not found by F de M, and most importantly, he has data from Western Sapotekoo not found in F de M's sets. Sua*rez's hypotheses have not been particularly helpful. My own reconstruction does not yet account for tone, but segments, including /:/ and /7/, are pretty well worked out.

Over the years I have spent several chunks of time (up to 9 weeks) on Sapoteko description and comparative linguistics. I have probably seen most of the phonology and morphophonology, but a lot of syntax and some derivation undoubtedly have escaped my eye. But I will gradually learn more.

Observations

Most pSap forms with a root-initial geminate can be shown to have a prefix that consists of or ends in a consonant (perhaps only /k/). Very few pSap root morphemes (w/o prefixes) begin with a geminate. This supports the geminate analysis of voiceless fortis stops, and makes it more like Dravidian and Hurrian, which have geminates, but not initially.

About half of the pSap reconstructions contain a glottal stop. Since syllable-final pre-OM stops > /ʔ/, this is not necessarily out of line.

The reconstruction of *o versus *u is not always clear. Some languages lack the contrast; others change *u to /i/ or /e/ under certain conditions.

Notation Conventions

E e or i

V some vowel

\ after a symbol means the reconstruction at that point is uncertain and possibly wrong.

% root

Spanish spelling:

<n*> (not <ny>), <u">, <a*>, <e*>, <i*>, <o*>, <u*>

=====
layout of entries

left margin: **main entry**: proto-Sapotekoo reconstruction

one space: **where found**: (N,C,S,W;Ch)

three spaces: **grammatical class label** (s, RN, adj, adv, v, vi, vt
[v:A,B,C,D])

three spaces: **gloss(es)**: Spanish//English (single slash separates alternate glosses)

new line, indent ten spaces: **NOTES**: source of loans in other MesoAmerican languages; literal translation of compound/complex lexemes; who found the etymology if not Ferna*ndez de Miranda

new line, indent five spaces: subentries

=====
+ clitic boundary

all roots and suspected roots are cross-referenced

all forms not found where expected alphabetically are cross-referenced

Sapotekoo dialects belong to five main divisions, each of which should be considered a separate language:

Northern (N)
Central (C)
Southern (S)
Papabuco (P)
Western (W)

Each of the "languages" has several major dialect groups: but the number of ethnolinguistic groups under Sapoteko reported in Ethnologue is monstrously inflated.

When the reconstructions were being assembled, I thought that Central and Eastern might be separate languages; now I think they are not, though there is considerable internal diversity. ~~Wherever "E" is found in the attestations, C should probably replace it.~~

Chatino (Ch) is cited whenever a cognate is known to exist; Ch cognates that are not fully cognate phonologically are noted by square brackets:[Ch]

Chatino is not a member of the Sapoteko group (15mc); it is coordinate with Sapoteko, and with it forms the Sapotekan family (24mc). Proto-Sapotekan has a somewhat different phonological structure from proto-Sapoteko. Although the forms cited here are mostly proto-Sapoteko and not proto-Sapotekan,

Chatino reflexes of proto-Sapotekan final vowels have occasionally been used to resolve ambiguous vowel reflexes in Sapoteko proper [proto-Sapoteko has root-initial stress, and many descendant Sapoteko varieties have lost some or all unstressed vowels; Chatino has stress on root-final vowels, which are consequently never dropped.] Where Chatino has nasalized vowels, Sapoteko has lost the nasality, and the nasality is reconstructed. In addition, a form found in Chatino and only one form of Sapoteko was surely found in proto-Sapoteko.

lexical distributions:

Northern Fringe

N + C

C + S

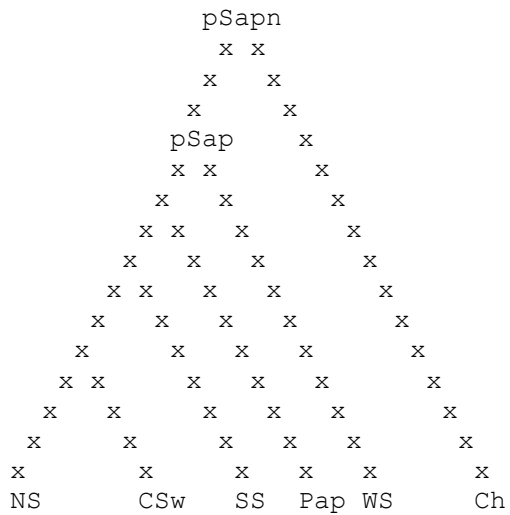
Southern Fringe

S + W

S + Ch

W + Ch

Rough tree diagram of Sapoteko(an) languages



s noun//sustantivo
RN relational noun//sustantivo relacional
adj adjective//adjetivo
adv adverb//adverbio
v verb//verbo
vi intransitive verb//verbo intransitivo
vt transitive verb//verbo transitivo
caus causative verb//verbo causativo (always transitive)
v:A,B,C,D verb classes//clases de verbos

This file is in effect a list of headings under which cleaned-up Sapoteko etymologies should be arrayed.

The reconstructed vocabulary provides data for the analysis of derivational morphology, not only of some regular patterns, but especially of numerous patterns that are only partly regular, and a variety of clitics/affixes of only moderate frequency.

All grammatical morphemes that have definable functions and show cognates within Sapoteko are listed. The relevant section of OMTAM is found at the end of this file.

To be included in this list an item has to be found in at least two divisions of Sap, or in one of them plus Chatino. Some items are limited to C. They were included before it was realized that C is just one division. They are left in, because a C dialect was probably the language being written in the Valley of Oaxaca from 500 AD to 1000 AD. Before that proto-Sapoteko (500 AD), pre-proto-Sapoteko (500 AD to 400 BC), proto-Sapotekan (400 BC) and pre-proto-Sapotekan (400 BC to 1300 BC) were spoken there.

My motive for creating this file was to prepare relevant materials for the possible decipherment of Oaxacan ("Sapoteko") writing. Another conceivable language for the Valley of Oaxaca is Mije-Sokean. I have worked on both these possibilities, Sapoteko seems assured, inasmuch as a sizable number of plausible and interlocking phonetic readings and syntactic parsings have been achieved on the assumption that the language of these inscriptions is Sapoteko(an). [see Kaufman & Justeson 1993-2006ms, The Decipherment of Sapoteko Hieroglyphic Writing]

Examples of Mije-Sokean influence on Sapoteko, but not Chatino, therefore between 400 BC and 500 AD, are:

stem-initial stress (vs. normal final stress in other OM languages)
insertion of preconsonantal /h/ in some forms of Sapoteko
almost total shift of pre-Sap *kw to pSap *p
pSap *mmani7 'animal' < pSokean *mʷ7a 'deer' + pSapn *ni7 'animal'

OTHER TRAITS TO BE ADDED: cited near end of file

Alphabetical order: a a& e i k kw l m n o p s t tz ty u w x y

The spelling used for pSap is a subset of a practical orthography for writing

present-day Sapoteko and Chatino. This orthography is also designed to be used for transcribing the phonetic symbols of Sapoteko (Valley of Oaxaca) writing, as they are deciphered.

The Sapoteko(an) orthography is in turn related to that used for Mije-Sokean languages and the recently-deciphered Epi-Olmec writing system (Justeson & Kaufman 1993, 1997; Kaufman & Justeson 2003) and both of these in turn to the orthography for the Mayan languages developed at the PLFM in the 1970s and officialized in Guatemala in 1987. A variant of this orthography is used by PROCOMITH and the Tzeltal-Tzotzil Writers' Workshop for writing Mayan languages of Chiapas.

Briefly put, these orthographies (as used by TK)

- (a) are phonemic
- (b) write each phoneme in one way only
- (c) use digraphs and overstrikes as needed
- (d) avoid the graphs c, qu, hu, gu
- (e) use tz, not ts
- (f) use j, not h, unless j = [x], h = [h]
- (g) use 7 for glottal stop
- (h) use x for [s^]

Chatino: the primary contribution of Chatino to proto-Sapotekan is vowel nasality. The reconstructions need to be modified to reflect this when relevant.

Proto-Sapoteko sounds

	t	ty	tz	k	kw		
			s	x			
mm	n						
	l						
		y			w		
	i	u					
	e	o					
	a"	a					
	i	e	a"	a	o	u	
V							
V:	6	5+		1	10+		
V7	75+			100+			
V:7	25+	25+		25+	15+		
V7V	10+			12+	10+		

The status of [ʔ] in Sapoteko.

In Sapoteko there is no consonant phoneme /ʔ/

[Vʔ] is a "checked" syllable, symbolizable as /V' /

[V17V1] ~ [V:'] is a "broken" syllable, symbolizable as /V''/

[V17V2] does not occur

It is problematic that *V:7 is much more common than *V:; *V: and *V7V cannot be merged; *V: and *V:7 cannot be merged

relative frequencies are V - V7 - V:7 - V7V - V:

One imagines a possible connexion among V7V, V:7, and V:, whereby all of them could be /V:/ -- it would have to relate to tone differences.

The following alternations are found in different forms of the same root upon addition of derivational morphemes.

V ~ V7

V ~ V:7

V7V ~ V:7

V7 ~ V:7

Thus there exist derivational morphemes/processes of the shape

V => V7

V => V:7

V7 => V:7

V7V => V:7

This shows that V:7 is often derived from something else

Discrepancies of this type should not impede reconstruction.

The vowels *V, *V7 or *V7V should probably be reconstructed in such cases.

Sound correspondences [to be filled out where blank]

pSapn pCht pSap CHO VA R ATP JCH CHI MTL CUI COA TEX ZAN LCH

t	j	t	d	d		t	d							
tt	j	tt	t	t		tt	t							
ty	t	ty	r	dx		r	r							
tty	t	tty	ch	ch		tch	ch		ty			ky		
tz	tz	tz	dz	zh		tz	dx							
ttz	tz	ttz	tz	sh		ttz	ch							
k	k	k	g	g		g	g							
kk	k	kk	k	k		kk	k							
kw	kw	kw	b	b		b	b							
kkw	kw	kkw	p	p		pp	p							
s	t	s	z	z		dh	z							
ss	t	ss	s	s		tth	s							
x	s	x	zh	zx		zx	zh							
xx	s	xx	x	x		xx	x							
mm		mm	b			mm	m							
n	n	n	n	n		n	n							
nn	n	nn	n	nh		n	nn							
l	l,n	l	l	l		l	l							
ll	l,n	ll	l	lh		l	nd							
Y	Y	Y	Y	Y		Y	Y							
w	w	w	w	w		w	w							

pSapn pCht pSap CHO VA R ATP JCH CHI MTL CUI COA TEX ZAN LCH

i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i							
e	e	e	e			e	e,i							
a	a	a	a			a	a							
an	an	a"												
o	u	o	o	o			o,u							
u	u	u	o	o			u,o							
Vn	Vn	V												
ik#	i	ik		gh		Ia	e							
ek#	e	ek		gh		Ia	e							
ak#	a	ak		gh		Ia	e							
ok#	o	ok	oG	ghw		Ia	e							
V				V	V	V	V		V					
V:				V	V	V	V	V	V	V:	V:			
V:7				V	V	V	V7V		V	V:	V7			
V7V				V7V	V7V	V7V	V7V		V7	V:	V:7			
V7				V7	V7	V7	V7	V7	V					

pSapn pCht pSap CHO VA R ATP JCH CHI MTL CUI COA TEX ZAN LCH

A

a (N,C) vi madurarse//to get ripe

a7anna (N,C) vi arar//to plow; escarbar//to dig;
rozar//to clear land

k-a7anna-k (N,C,S) vtD (**k > t**) escarbar(lo)//to dig (it)

ko-7onna(k) {ko+ a7anna(k)} (N,C,S) v
arar//to plow; "buey"//ox

y-aka (N,C,W,S) s fri*o//cold

%aka7

ti+ yaka(7) (C;Ch) s oreja//ear

n-aka(7) (N) s oreja//ear

(na+) laka7 (N,C) adj ancho//broad, wide

llaka7 (N,C,S,W;Ch) s hoja//leaf

akka (N,C,S;Ch) vC poder, ser capaz//to be possible;
suceder, ocurrir, llegar a ser//to happen

y-akka (N,C,S;Ch [y > tz]) v sanar(se)//to get well

na+ s-a:7kka (C) sano, saludable//healthy; bien//well; bonito,
chulo//cute, nice

sakka7 (N,C,S) vi (a) sufrir, enfermarse (N,C);
(b) alegrarse, felicitar, estar feliz (N,C)
[how are these two meanings linked?]

aku (N,W;Ch) vtD (**0 > t**) comer(lo)//to eat (it)
[I originally thought this was part of *awo (C,N,S);
COR <-ago>; ZOO /-agw/; LCH /-ahko/; ZEN /-aku/; YAI /-ku/]

akku (N,C,S;Ch) viC vestirse//to get dressed

%ala7

y-ala ~ y-alok (N,S,W;Ch) adj abierto//open; claro//clear

x-ala ~ x-alok (C,S;Ch) adj abierto//open

ok+ x-ala ~ ok+ x-alok (C,S) caus abrir//to open

n-alla (N,C,S,W; [Ch]) adj fri*o//cold [cf. **%lla** [1]]

y-a:7lla (C; N? w/o y-) vB olvidar//to forget

y-a\llV (C,S) vi venir//to come
alak (N,C,S,W;Ch) viC nacer//to be born
k-a7na (N,C) vtD (**k > t**) tentar(lo), tocar(lo)//to touch (it)
y-a7ana (N[**y > k**],C,S;Ch) vi quedarse, permanecer//to stay, remain
ok+ s-a:7nna (N,C,S) caus dejar//to leave
akwa7 (N,S) viC gotear//to drip
a(k)kwa (N,C;Ch) vt [N:vtC;C:vtD (**k > t**)] tejer(lo)//to weave (it)
akkwa (N,C,S) vtC tener(lo)//to hold (it)
k-akkwa(7) (N,C) vtD (**k > t**) golpearlo/pegarle con la mano, abofetear(lo)//to hit him/it (with the hand)
%a7kkwa
l-a7kkwa (N,[C];Ch) adj plano, aplanado//flat, level
tt-a:7kkwa7 (N,C) vi aplastarse//to get flattened
akwi (C,S;Ch) v decir//to say
akkwi (N,C,S) vi subir//to go up
a:7sa (N,C,S;Ch) vtC sembrar(lo)//to sow (it), plant (it); clavar(lo)//to stick (it) in
(y-)assa (N,C,S,W) vi levantarse//to get up, to rise
a7ssa7 (N,C,S;Ch) vtC mascar(lo)//to chew
assi (N,C,S;Ch) vi dormir//to sleep
asak (N,C,S,W;Ch) viC ban*arse//to take a bath
ok+ asak (N,C,S) caus ban*ar//to bathe, give a bath to
k-assak (N,C,S,W;Ch) [**k- ~ y-** (N,C,W)] adj negro//black
a7tta7 (N,C,S) viC acostarse//to lie down
atti (N,C,S;Ch) viC morir//to die
kella7 ko-tti {ko+ atti} (N,C,S) sv muerte//death
u:7tti (N,C,S;Ch) vtA matar(lo)//to kill him
atyi7 (N,C,S;Ch) vE mamar//to nurse [cf. **%tyi7**]

atza(k) (C;Ch) vi/adj mojarse; mojado//(to get) wet
 [Cord. <-acha>]

ok+ atza(k) (C,S;Ch) caus mojar(lo)//to make (it) wet

y-attzi (N,C,W) ~ **k-attzi** (N,C,W,S;Ch) adj amaril(lo)//yellow

ku-ttzi {?ko+ attzi} (N,C,S;Ch) adj amaril(lo)//yellow

awo (N,C,S) vtD (∅ > t) comer(lo)//to eat (it)

kella7 k-awo (N) ~ **ty-awo** (C) sv comida; alimento//
 meal; food

awo xi+ tze7 (N,C,S,W;[Ch]) vt + s cenar//to eat supper

awo ye7a (N,C) vtD + adv morder(lo)//to bite (it) [lit. EAT RAW]

awo xi+ si:7la (N,C) v + s comer almuerzo/desayuno//
 to eat breakfast/elevenses

A&

y-a:&7kun (E) vi taparse//to get covered; cerrarse//to (get)
close(d)

ok+ s-a:&7kun (C,W;Ch) caus tapar//to cover; cerrar//to
close

[cf. *-a&7yok (N,C,?S)]

--- SAME? ---

y-a&7yok (N,C) vi cerrarse//to get covered

ok+ s-a&7yok (N,C,S) caus cerrar//to close; cubrir,
tapar//to cover [cf. *-a:&7kun (C,S,Ch)]

k-a&kwe (N,C,S;Ch) vD (**k > t**) tragar//to swallow

k-a:&7kwi (???) vtD (**k > t**) sobar(lo), frotar(lo), darle masaje
//to rub him, massage him

t-a&ttzi (N,C,S) adj vaci*o//empty

E

- kw+ e(7)** (N,C,S;[Ch 'bat']) s mariposa//butterfly; polilla//moth
- kw+ e(7)(+ keti7)** s + modif mariposa//butterfly (C,W);
murcie*лаго//bat (N,C,W)
- kwe+ keti7 kwe+ sina7** (C,S) s + modif murcie*лаго//bat
[lit. BUTTERFLY MOUSE]
- kw+ e7** (N;C 'pulga') s liendre(s)//nit(s) [WEAK SET]
- (kw+ ettzu7) kw-e:7** (N,C,S;Ch) s cangrejo//crab, crawfish
- kwe-k** (C) s caracol//snail
- ty-e7** (N,C) adj sentado//sitting, seated
- kw-e7** (N,C) viD (**kw** > **ty**) sentarse//to sit
- ok+ kw-e7** (N,C) causA sentar//to set
- kw+ e:7** (N,C,S,W;Ch) s aire//air; viento//wind; aliento//breath
- e7k** (N,C) vtC beber(lo)//to drink (it)
- kw-e:7k** (N,C) vtD (**kw** ~ **l** ~ **ty**) sacar(lo)//to take (it) out/off
- %eka7**
- xika7** (N,C,S,W;Ch) s ji*cara//gourd (dipper), water gourd
[cf. Nawa xikal-li which is borrowed from Sapoteko]
- k+ eka7** (N,S,W;Ch) [**k** > **kw**:N;**k** > **ty**:C,Ch] s bule//water gourd
- k-eke7** (N,C,S,W;Ch) [**k** > **kw**:N,?Ch] s hielo//ice; helada//frost;
nieve//snow
- kw+ eku** (C,W) s paloma//dove
- l-eku** (N,C;Ch:s < *x) [**l** ~ **kw** ~ **t**] adj jorobado///hunchbacked
- kw+ e7kku7** (N,C,S,W) s perro//dog
- ni=kku** (Ay,L) s perro//dog [lit. ANIMAL DOG]
- [NOTE: not in Ch; > Wasteko pik'o7, Yukateko pe:k']
[cf. pMije-Sokean *7uku 'dog' > Chimalapa Soke 'agouti':
pSap *kw+ e7kku7 < **kwe+ u7kku7 by rule d]
- y-ekkenk** (N,C,S;?Ch) vi regresar//to return; torcerse//
to get twisted

ty-e:7la (N,S,W;Ch) ~ **k-e:7la** (N,C,S) s noche//night

kw+ ela ~ **kw+ elok** (N,C,S,W;Ch) s estrella//star

kw+ ella [1] (C,S,W) s hermana de mujer//woman's sister

kw+ ella [2] (N,C,S;Ch) s pescado//fish

kw+ e:7lla (N,C,S,W;Ch) s culebra//snake; gusano//caterpillar

ty-e7ne (N,C;[Ch]) (**ty** > **k**:some S; **ty** > **kw**:some S,some C;Ch) adj
tierno//very young

kw+ enne7 (N,C,S,W;Ch) s gente//people

kw+ enne7 tzakwa7 (C) s + modif diablo, demonio//devil
[lit. PERSON BAD]

kw+ enne7 lityi (C,S) s of s familia, pariente//kinsman
[lit. PERSON of HOUSE]

kw+ enne7 k-o:la (N,C) s + modif anciano//old person
[lit. PERSON OLD]

(na+) x-e(7)ni (N,C,S;[Ch]) adj amplio//spacious; ancho//wide;
grande//big

xe (N,W;Ch) adj amplio//spacious; ancho//wide; grande//big

ty-eni (N,W) adj grande//big

kw+ e7nak (C,S,W;Ch) s lagarto//cayman

C-esa (N:var., C:t-,S:t-,W:kw-,l-) s tlacuache//possum

kw+ e:7sa7 (N,C,S,W;Ch) s zorra//fox [mid-sized wild animal]

kw+ eson7 (N,C,S,W;Ch) s abeja//bee

kw+ eso7 tyenV (N,S) s + modif avispa (de panal)//wasp

kw+ sok (N,S) s avispo*n, abejo*n, abejorro, mosco*n//
bumblebee [N only?]

kw+ esu7 (C,S) s criatura//baby

kw+ e7tti(k) (N,C,S,W;Ch) [**e** [1] ~ **i**] s zorrillo//skunk
cf. **kwette (ya&7a&)** 'goosefoot']

k-etta7k (N,C,S,W) vi/adj bajarse//to go down; hondo//deep;
abajo//down

l-etta7k (N,C) vi bajarse//to go down

kw+ etya ~ kw+ etyok (N,C,S;Ch) s ave dome*stica; pavo;
gallina//turkey
[cf. Wasteko pi:ta7 (W), kwita7 (C)]

kw+ e:7ttye7 (N,C,some S;?Ch) ~ **kwe+ ttye:7** (W,some S,some N;?Ch)
s piojo//louse

kw+ etyi7 (C,S,W;Ch) s rana//frog; sapo//toad
w-etyi7 (N,C) s "orina" de sapo//toad's venom

kw+ e7ttyi7 (N,C,S,W) s hermano de hombre//man's brother

k-etzi (N,C,S,W) [**k ~ tz:N,C**] adj fuerte//strong; duro//hard

kw-etzi (N,C,S,W) viD (**kw > ty**) gritar//to shout; llamar//to call;
chillar//to squeak, squeal; bramar//to beller; cacarear//to cackle
kw-etzi ya7a (N,C,S;Ch) vD (**kw > ty**) aullar//to howl;
gritar//to shout; bramar//to beller
ok+ kw-etzi (N,C,S) causA tocar flauta, etc.//to play music

kw-e\tzi (C) s cl. de aran*a//spider sp.
kw-e\tzi ki7 (C) s + s:modif viuda negra//(black widow) spider
[lit. SPIDER of FIRE]

kw+ e:7tzi(k) (N,C,S,W;Ch) s tigre, leo*n//large wild feline

kw+ ettzi (N,C,S,W) [**e ~ i**] s zopilote//buzzard
ko:la kw+ ettzi (C,S) s zopilote//buzzard
[lit. OLD.PERSON BUZZARD [1]]

%ettzu7 "arthropod"
kw+ ettzu7 ka7a (N,C) s + modif saltamontes, chapuli*n//
grass-hopper
(kw+ ettzu7) kw-e:7 (N,C,S;Ch) s cangrejo//crab, craw-fish
kw+ ettzu7 su (N,C) s + modif langosta//locust/lobster

y-exxu (N,C,S,W;Ch) [**e > a:C;y > k ~ l:W,S**] s aguacate//avocado

kw+ exV (N,C,S) s paloma, torcaza//dove; "huila, pa*jaro"//"pecker"

kw+ e7wa (N,C,S) s guacamaya//macaw
[cf. pMije-Sokean *7owa 'macaw': pSap *kw+ e7wa
< **kwe+ o7wa by rule d]

kw+ ewe (C;Ch) s puerco, *javali*//peccary

kw+ eya7 (N,C;Ch) s animal, esp. insecto//bug, etc.

kw+ e7ya [1] (N,C,S;Ch) s mosca, mosquito//fly
kw+ e7ya [2] (N,C,S,W;Ch) s hongo//mushroom
kw+ e7yo7 (N,C,S,W;Ch) s luna//moon; mes//month
tza&7 (X) kw+ e7yo7 (N,C,S) "luna llena" //full moon;
lit. llenarse la luna//moon to be full
kw+ e7yu (N,C,W;Ch) s pulga//flea
kw+ eyu7 (C,S;Ch) s aran*a//spider

I

i:7 (E) vi agriarse//to get sour
 na+ y-i:7 (C,S) ~ **s-i:7** (N,W) adj agrio//sour
kw+ i7i (N,C,S) s nin*o//child
i7ita (N,C,S;Ch) [C:i > e] viA venir//to come
s-ina (N,C) ~ **k-ina** (S,W;Ch) s palma//palm tree
k-inVk (N,C,S) vtD (**k** > **t**) golpear(lo), azotar(lo), pegar(le)
 //to hit (it), beat (it)
k-ikwa (C,S;Ch) vD (**k** > **t**) coser//to sew
k-i:7kwE (N,C) vtD (**k** > **t**) lavar(lo)//to wash (it)
%i:7kwi
 kw-i:7kwi (N,C,S;[Ch]) viD (**kw** > **tz**) sacudirse//to shake
 ok+ kw-i:7kwi (N,C,S) causA sacudir(lo)//to shake (it)
 n-i:7kwi (C) vi mover//to move; temblar//to quiver, quake
 --- SAME ROOT? ---
tz~ikwi (???) s lanzadera//weaver's stick, shuttle
kw+ issi (C,S,W) [S:i > e] s fantasma//ghost
k-i:7ssi(k) (N,C,S) vD (**k** > **t**) distribuir, repartir//
 to deal out
kw+ itE (N,C,S;Ch) s chinche//bedbug
k-i:7tok [or **k-itok**] (N,C,S;Ch) vtD (**k** > **t**) agujerar(lo)//to make a
 hole in (it)
k-ittak (N,C,S;Ch) viD (**k** > **t**) jugar//to play
kw+ ittzi (W;Ch) s conejo//rabbit
t-ittzi(k) [i ~ e:C] s/RN espalda//back; atra*s//behind
k-i7ttzi (C,S;W:k > ty) v rajar(?se)//to crack
 ok+ k-i:7ttzi (N,C) caus apretar//to tighten, squeeze;
 sobar//to rub, massage
ki:7ttzi (N,C,S,W;Ch) s metate//quern

k-i:7ttzi7 (N,C) vtD picarlo (insecto)//to sting him
 [NOTE: a TK original]

k-ixok (N,C,S) vtD (**k > t**) pagar(lo)//to pay (it)

laxok s salario//wage [GET SUPPORTING FORMS]

k-ixxe7 (N,C,S;Ch) s orina//piss

ixxi (N,W;Ch) ~ **na&xxi** (C/S) adj dulce//sweet [cf. %**xxi**]

kw-ixxi (N,S) vt (**kw > ty**) pesar(lo)//to weigh (it)
 [NOTE: a Maclaury original]

kw-i7xxi (N:kw ~ ty,C:kw ~ t,S) viD voltearse//to turn over

n-i7ya (N,C,S) ~ **k-i7ya** (W;[Ch]) s pie//foot; pierna//leg

K

- ka** (C) viB rasurarse//to shave self
- kwe+ ka7** (N,C;[Ch]) s collar//necklace; arete//ear-ring,
ear-plug; joya//jewel, bezote//lip-plug, ?nariguera//
nose-plug
- ka7a** (N,C,S) viB estirarse//to stretch; crecer//to grow
- kw+ ettzu7 ka7a** (N,C) s + modif saltamontes, chapuli*n//
grass-hopper [lit. ARTHROPOD X]
- kka7a** (N,C) vtB coger(lo), agarrar(lo)//to seize (it), grab (it)
- kka7a la7tzi7** (N,C) vt + s respirar//to breathe;
suspirar//to sigh [lit. SEIZE HEART]
- kalla7** (N,S) adv/adj cerca//near, close by
- kwa+ ka:7lla** (C,S) ~ **xi+ ka:7lla** (W;Ch) s suen*o, somnolencia//
sleep(iness); sombra//shadow
- kannV** (N,S) v dudar//to doubt
- kka7kwi** (N,C,S;[Ch]) vB contestar//to answer
- kaxxa** ~ **kaxxok** (N,C,S,W) adj/adv cerca//near
- na+ kattye** (C,W;Ch) adj blanco//white
- kuttyi** (???) s cana(s)//gray hair
- ka:7ttyik** (C,S) viB aplastarse, machucarse//to be smashed
- (na+) ka7ttzi7** (N,C,S,W;Ch) adj/vi escondido//hidden;
ser enterrado//to be buried
- o(k)+ ka:7ttzi7** (N,C,S;Ch) caus enterrar//to bury;
esconder//to hide
- xi+ kkawi** (C,S,W) adj oscuro//dark
- (na+) ka&7** (N,C,S,W;Ch) adj verde//green
- kka:&** (C,S) viB subir//to go up
- kka&7** (C,W) adj/s ciego//blind (person)
- ka&yu7** (N,C,S) s mosca//fly

ko+ kke (N,C) s rey//king, sen*or//lord, duen*o//owner
based on Co*rdova <coqui*> and ColNSap <coque>.

keyek (N,C,S;Ch) s piedra//stone, rock
[NOTE: cf. 'flower', 'rain', which are NOT homophonous]

keyek kiyok (N,C;[Ch]) s + modif granizo//hail
[lit: STONE RAIN] [NOTE: Ch reverses order]

keyek lawo (N,C;Ch) s of s ojo//eye [lit. STONE of FACE]

ke+ kwa7 (N,C,S) s cielo//sky [lit. STONE SKY]

keyek sakwa (S) s + modif metlapil, mano de metate//muller
[lit. STONE of MULLER]

(keyek) wana (N,C,S,W;Ch) s espejo//mirror
[lit. (STONE) MIRROR]

ke7yek (N,C,S,W;Ch) s flor//flower
[NOTE: cf. 'stone', 'rain', which are NOT homophonous]

ke7i (C) vi tostarse/to get toasted; asarse//to get broiled

ok+ ke7i (C;Ch) caus tostar//to toast; asar//to broil

ke:7ku (N,C,S,W;Ch) s ri*o//river

kela [1] (N,C,S;Ch) s milpa//corn plant, corn-stalk

kela [2] (N,C,S;Ch) s huarache//sandal

kela [2] kiti (C,S) s + modif huarache//sandal
[lit. SANDAL of SKIN]

ke7la (N,C,S,W) adj (agua) honda//deep (water)

kella7 (N,C,S,W;Ch) s pla*tano//plantain, banana (N); chirimoya,
anona//sour-sop (N,C); mamey (C,S,W;Ch); zapote (C;Ch)

kella7 xono (N,C) s mamey//mammy apple

ke7na (C;Ch) s plato//plate

xi+ ke7kkwi7 (C) s:poss ombligo//navel

ke7sa (N,C,S,W;Ch) s tabaco//tobacco; cigarro//cigar
[NOTE: not 'dust, flour']

kessa (N,C) s rela*mpago//lightning; rayo//thunder

ya&7kkwi kessa (N) v + s relampaguear//lightning to flash
[lit. GO.UP LIGHTNING]

kesso7 (N,C,S,W;Ch) s olla//pot

ke:7sak (N,C,S;Ch) s harina, pinole, po*lvora//flour, pinole,
powder
[NOTE: not `tobacco`]

ke7ssV (C,S) s animal feroz del monte//wild animal

ketta (N,C,S,W;Ch) s tortilla

%keti7
kw+ e(7)(+) **keti7** s + modif mariposa//butterfly (C,W);
murcie*лаго//bat (N,C,W)

kwe+ kiti(7) (N,C,S) s murcie*лаго//bat
[NOTE: a TK original: BUT cf. foregoing, so prob. wrong]

kwe+ keti7 kwe+ sina7 (C,S) s + modif murcie*лаго//bat
[lit. BUTTERFLY MOUSE]

kettu (N,C,S,W;Ch) s calabaza//squash

kettu wetzi (N,C) s chilacayote//winter squash?

ketye (N,C,S,W;Ch) s ocote//pine kindling; antorcha, "vela"//a light

yaka ketye (N,C,S;Ch) s of s ocote, pino//pino tree
[lit. TREE of KINDLING]

xi+ ketyu7 (N,S) s:poss ombligo//navel

ke:7tyu (N,C,S,W;Ch) s agujero, hoyo//hole

ke:tze [1] (N,C,S,W;Ch) s pueblo//town

ke:tze lawo yu (???) s of s of s mundo//world
[lit. TOWN of FACE of EARTH]

ke:tze [2] (N,C,S,W;Ch) s ixtle, fibra de maguey//maguey fiber

kettze7 (N,C,S,W;Ch) s espina//thorn

ke7tzu7 (N,C,S,W;Ch) s grano, barro//pimple; divieso//boil [cf. %tzu7]

kexxok (N,C,S,W;Ch) s red//net

(kwe+) kke:7xu (C,S) s costra//scab

ok+ ke7xxu7 (N,S) vtA tostar(lo)//to toast (it); asar(lo)//to broil (it)

ke7ya [1] (N,C,S;Ch) s cerro//mountain; colina//hill

ke7ya [2] (N,C;Ch) s mercado, plaza//market [from pM *k'aay `sale`]

ke7yo (N,C,S,W;Ch) s cal//quick-lime (CaCO₂)
ke7e (N,C,S;[Ch]) s excremento//shit
tyo7wa ke7e (N,S) s of s ano//anus [lit. MOUTH of SHIT]
kwe+ ke7e(k) (C,S) s liendre(s)//nit(s)
 [lit. SHITlings]
k+ i: [1] (N,C,S;Ch) s carrizo//reed; bambu*//bamboo
ki: [2] (N,C,S,W;Ch) s fuego//fire
kw-e\tzi ki7 (C) s + s:modif (black widow) spider
 [lit. SPIDER of FIRE]
o(+) **ki(7)** (N,S;Ch) vtA cocer(lo), cocinar(lo)//to cook (it);
 asar(lo)//to broil (it), roast (it); tostar(lo)//to toast (it)
a&7ki7 (C) vi cocerse//to get cooked; arder//to burn
(yaka) kila (N,C,S) s fresno//ash tree
kina7 (N,C,S,W;Ch) s cera//wax; chapopote//tar
ki7na [1] (N,C,W;Ch) s bau*1, caja//box, trunk, coffin
ki7na [2] (S;Ch) s cama//bed
ki:7na7 (N,C,S,W;Ch) s chile//chilli pepper
kini7 (N,C) s divieso//boil
kwe+ kinni (N,S,W;Ch) s pa*jaro//bird
ki:7kwa (N,C,S,W;Ch) s metal//metal; fierro, hierro//iron
ki:7kwa yaka (C,S;Ch) s of s hacha//axe [lit. METAL of WOOD]
lityi ki:7kwa (C,S) s + modif ca*rcel//jail
 [lit. HOUSE of METAL]
kikwi (C,S,W;[Ch]) s nervio, tendo*n, cuerda//sinew; vena//blood vessel
kwe+ kitta7 (N,S) s arco iris//rainbow
 --- SAME? ---
se+ kitta7 (N,C,S,W;[Ch]) GN Me*xico DF//Mexico City
 [cf. Ch-T /c^ihya7/]

kiti (N,C,S,W;Ch) s piel//skin; cuero//leather

kwe+ kiti(7) (N,C,S) s murcie*лаго//bat
 [NOTE: a TK original: BUT see %**keti7**]

kela [2] kiti (???) s + modif huarache//sandal
 [lit. SANDAL of SKIN]

kiti X lawo (N,C,S) s of X of s pa*rpado//eye-lid
 [lit. SKIN of X of EYE]

kiti tyo7wa (N,C,S;Ch) s of s labio(s)//lip(s)
 [lit. SKIN of MOUTH]

kiti(k) (N,C,S,W) s "gallina, pollo"//"chicken"; orig. grouse

ki7ttyi (N,C,S,W;Ch) s papel//paper

kitza (N,C,S,W;Ch) adj enfermo//sick

kittza(7) (N,C,S,W;Ch) s cabello//head hair

kittza(7) X lawo (N,C,S;Ch) s of s ceja//eyebrow;
 pestan*a//eyelash
 [lit. HAIR of EYE]

(na+) kkittzi (C,S,W) adj blanco//white

ki:7ttzi (N,C,S,W;Ch) s metate//quern [cf. **k-i7ttzi**]

kixi (N,C,S,W;Ch) s zacate//grass; forraje, pasto//fodder

ki7xxi7 (N,C,S,W;Ch) s hierba, monte//herb, weed, brush

kixxok kwe+/ko+ sa&lla7 (N:ko+,C:kwe+) s honda//sling
 [lit. X X]

ki7ya [1] (N,C,S,W) adv arriba//up

ki7ya [2] (C,S,W;Ch) s pecado//sin; culpa//guilt

ki7ye (W;Ch) v bajarse//to go down; debajo//below, under

kiyok (N,C,S,W;Ch) s lluvia//rain
 [NOTE: cf. 'stone', 'flower', which are NOT homophonous]

kwe+ ki7yu (N,S) ~ **ni+ ki7yu** (C,W;Ch) s hombre//man

ko: (N,C,S,W;Ch) s camote//sweet potato [maybe borrowed from pMS *k@j
 'tuber']

kwe+ kko:7ko (N,C,S) s almohada//pillow; coji*n//cushion;
 altar//altar

ko:la [cf. **y-o7la**]

ko(1)la (N,C) adj/s suave, blando//soft; yema//yolk

kosse7 (S;Ch) s/adj hembra//female; mujer//woman

ko:7(s)sik (C,S) s caza(r)//hunting

kella7 ko-tti {ko+ atti} (N,C,S) sv muerte//death [see **atti**]

kko7tyV(k) (C,S) s pierna, muslo//thigh

kowe (S;Ch) s huevo//egg [NOTE: this is the original word for 'egg']

[S,C:mbe7ya] **ko7wek** (C,S) s alacra*n//scorpion

kwe+ kukwe (N,C,S;Ch) s armadillo

kkukwi (N,C,S,W;Ch) adj nuevo//new

kwe+ kussi (N,C) s malacate, huso//spindle

ku-ttzi (N,C,S;Ch) adj amarillo//yellow [cf. **y-attzi**]

(na+) **ku:7tyu** (N,C,S;Ch) adj suave, blando, tierno, tibio//soft, mild

ku-ttyi (???) s cana(s)//gray hair [cf. **na+ kattye**]

ku:tza7 (N,C,S,W;[Ch:a > u]) s pantano//swamp; lodo//mud;
humedad de la tierra//damp earth

ku:7tze7 (N,C,S;Ch) s pus//pus; moco//snot

kkutzu7 (N;[Ch]) s espalda//back; atra*s//behind

ku7xxu (C) s polvo//dust

ku7xxu7 (N,C) s humo//smoke; vapor//steam

KW

kwa(7) (N,C) v? bramar//to beller; aullar//howl

ko+ kwa (N,C) s vapor//steam

%kwa+ [is this a single morpheme?]

kwa+ llati7 (C,S) s corteza/ca*scara de a*rbol//bark;
astilla//chip

kwa+ ka:7lla (C,S) ~ **xi+ ka:7lla** (W;Ch) s suen*o,
somnia/insomnia//sleep(iness); sombra//shadow

kwa+ l-o:7lla (C,S,W) ~ **kwe+ y-o7la** (N,S) s renacuajo, "bilolo"//
tadpole

(kwa+) kkwela (C,S,W) ~ **kela** (N) s totomoxtle//cornhusk

kwa+ sa (N,C,S) s (zarza)mora//blackberry

kwa+ sso7o (N,C,S,W;Ch) s adobe//mud brick

(kwa+) ku:tzi (C,S,W) ~ **xu7utzi** (N,C,S) s yerno//son-in-law

llo+ kwa7 (N,C) s bejuco//vine; rai*z//root [lit. ROOT X]

ok+ kwa7 (N,C,S) causA levantar//to raise, lift; juntar//
to gather; amontonar//to pile up; colocar//to lay/set out

lawo+ kkwa (C) s of s frente//forehead [lit. FACE/EYE X]

kwa7(a) (N,C) s garganta//throat

kkwalla (N,C) adj torcido//twisted [cf. %lla [2]]

kkwana (N,C,S;Ch) s hierba, usu. comestible// (edible) herb

xu+ kwa:7na (N,C,?S) ~ **xxi+ kwa:7na** (N,C,?S) s cola//tail

to7+ kwa:7na7 (N,C,S;Ch) s mecapal//tump-line [lit. STRING X]

kwani (???) viB despertarse//to wake up

ok+ kwa:7ni (???) caus despertar a*//to wake up

na+ kwani (N,C,S,W) adj vivo//alive; vida//life

kwakwa7 (C,S) s comezo*n, picazo*n//itch

(ko+) kwasa (C,S,W;[Ch]) [ko+:S,W] s flecha//arrow

kkwattzi (N,C) v esconder(se)//to hide

kwawo7 (N,C,S,W) s carbo*n//charcoal
kwa&7 (N,C,S;Ch) s cielo//sky
ke+ kwa7 (N,C,S) s cielo//sky [lit. STONE SKY]
yu=kwa (N) s cielo//sky [lit. EARTH SKY]
xV+ kwa7 (N,C) s cielo//sky [lit. X SKY]
kwe [1] (N,C) vtC; viC escoger(lo)//to choose (it); ser escogido//
to be chosen
o+ k-kwe [or **ok+ kwe**] (N,S) causA escoger(lo)//to choose (it)
kwe [2] (N,C;Ch/k^we/) vi/s (hacer) ruido//(to make) noise
%**kwe**
nya7 kwe (C,W;Ch) s + modif mano derecha//right hand
[lit. HAND STRAIGHT]
nni7 kwe (C,S) v + x mandar//to order [lit. SPEAK STRAIGHT]
kkwe (N:kwekkwe7,C) s soplador//fire fan
kweka (7) (C,S;Ch) adj izquierdo//left(-hand)
kweku (k) (N,C,S,W; [Ch]) s peine//comb
kwettzi (N:kwettzi lla,C,S,W;Ch) s vapor//steam
kwe:7la7 (N,C,S,W;Ch) s carne//flesh, meat
(kwa+) kkwela (C,S,W) ~ **kela** (N) s totomoxtle///cornhusk
kwella (k) (N,C,S) s llama, fuego//flame; luz//light
xu+ kwenE (N) ~ **(kwe+) kkwenE** (C,S) s dedo//finger
kwennok (N,C,S,W) s lodo//mud
kwe:7tu (k) (N,C,S,W) s mugre, suciedad//dirt, filth; moco//snot; pus;
sarna//mange
kwette (N,W) s epazote//goosefoot (Chenopodium sp.)
kwette+ ya&7a& (C,S) s epazote//goosefoot
[cf. **kw+ e7tti** (k) 'skunk'
kwe:7tyi7 (N,C,S,W;Ch) s semilla//seed (in general)
kwetyV (N,C:ko+,S:kwe+) s 'gobera', sarna, erisipela, pinto//
skin disease

kw-etzi ya7a (N,C,S;Ch) vD (**kw** > **ty**) aullar//to howl; gritar//
to shout; bramar//beller

kweya7 (N,C;Ch) s medida//measure; peso//weight

kweya7k (N,C,S,W) s moho//mold; cuitlacoche//corn-smut

kweyok (N,C,S,W;Ch) s/adj nube//cloud; niebla, neblina, vapor//mist, fog;
nublado//cloudy; oscuro//dark

kwi7 (N,C;Ch) vi regresar//to return (home)

kwinni (N,C,S) ~ **kwi+ ni** (C,S) s semilla (de mai*z)//maize seed;
siembra//planting

ko+ kwisE7 (N,C,S) s vi*bora (de cascabel)//rattlesnake

kwityi (N,C;Ch) vi secarse//to get dry;
acabarse -- li*quidos//to dry up

(na+) **kwityi** (N,C,S,W;Ch) adj seco//dry; stale

ok+ **kwi:7tyi** (C,S;Ch) caus secar//to dry (up)

ko+ kwitza [cf. %tza] (N,C,S,W;Ch) s sol//sun; di*a//day

lla&ni **ko+ kwitza** (N,C,S) viB + s amanecer//sun to rise
[lit. ARRIVE SUN]

kwittzi: (C,W) s tuna//prickly-pear fruit [NOTE: *tz or *ty?]

X kwitzu7 (N,C) s + modif chirimoya, anona//soursop

L

- la** (N,C,S) viB bajarse//to go down; caer [esp. lluvia//
to fall (esp. rain)
- la+ ni** (N,C) adj flojo, perezoso//lazy [NOTE: a TK original]
- lla+ ni** (N,C,S) s fiesta//festival, party
- la7** (S;Ch) vt dejar(lo)//to leave (it)
- %lla [1]**
n-alla (N,C,S,W;[Ch]) adj fri*o//cold
silla7 (N;Ch) adj fri*o//cold
- %lla [2]**
olla (N,C,S) vC torcer//to twist
kkwalla (N,C) adj torcido//twisted
- %lla [3]**
alla (???) viC anochecer//to become night; oscurecer//
to get dark
ttyu:7lla (N,C;Ch) adj oscuro//dark
- lla7** (N,C,S) viB oler, apestar//to have a (foul) smell
 --- SAME? ---
- (na+) lla7** (C,S,W) adj amargo//bitter
- yaka lla7** (N,S) s + modif batea//trough
- la7a [1]** (N,C,S,W) [**nV+ :S;Ch**] s huaje
lawo+ la7a (N,C,S;Ch) GN Oaxaca
 [cf. Misteko-SM **nùndùà**, Chatino-T **londa7a**]
- la7a [2]** (N,C) viB soplar//to blow
- la7a [3]** (???) viB ??
- k+ la7a** (N,C) vt partir(lo), dividir(lo)//to split (it);
apartar(lo)//to separate (it)
- (na+) laka(7)** (N,C) adj ancho//broad, wide [cf. **%aka7**]
- llaka7** (N,C,S,W;Ch) s hoja//leaf
- la(k)ku** (N,C) s corteza, ca*scara//bark

lla:7ku (C) s buche//crop, craw
lana (N,C,S,W;Ch) [**ni+**:S;Ch] s holli*n, tizne//soot
kwe+ lana (C,S) s carbo*n//charcoal
kwi+ lana (C,S) s liebre//jackrabbit, hare
lla:7na (C,S) s hambre//hunger
o+ lakkwa (N,C,S;Ch) vt cosechar(lo), pizar(lo)//to harvest (it)
lla:7kwi (N,C,S;Ch) viB hervir(se)//to boil
(na+) lassi(k) (N,C,S,W;Ch) adj delgado//thin; angosto//narrow
nesa lassi (N,C) s + modif vereda//path [lit. ROAD X]
latE(7) (C,S;Ch) vB quitarse, desprenderse//to come off; quitar,
privar//to take away
lati (N,C,S) s cuerpo//body
kwa+ llati7 (C,S) s corteza/ca*scara de a*rbol//bark; astilla//chip
latti (N,C,S;Ch) ~ **la(t)ti-k** (N,C) s/RN lugar//place; entre//among
lattak (N,C,S,W;Ch) adj vaci*o//empty
o(k)+ la:7ttak (N,C,S;Ch) caus vaciar//to empty
latye7 (N,C,S,W;Ch) s tela//cloth
la7tyi7 (N,C) s centro de emociones
la7tyi7 tawo7 (N,C,S,W;Ch) s + modif corazo*n//heart
kka7a la7tyi7 (N,C) vt + s respirar//to breathe;
suspirar//to sigh [lit. SEIZE HEART]
si7i la7tyi7 (N,C) vB + s descansar//to rest
[lit. X HEART]
yu7u la7tyi7 (N,C) viC + s gustar, estar satisfecho//
to be pleased [lit. ENTER HEART]
la7ttyi7 (N,C,S,W;Ch) s llano, llanura, valle//flat land
kwe+ lattyV (N,C,S,W) s mosquito, zancudo//skeeter
ok+ la:7tzi (C,S) caus cuidar, vigilar//to watch (over)
lawe (C;Ch) adj chico//small, little

lawe7 (N,C,[S];Ch) RN/adv en medio (de)//in the middle (of)

(kwe+) la7we (N,C,S;Ch) s zapote (negro)//(black) zapote

lawo (N,C,S,W;Ch) s cara//face
RN encima de//on top of;
enfrente de//in front of

keyek lawo (N,C;Ch) s of s ojo//eye [lit. STONE of FACE]

lawo yo: (C;Ch) s of s terreno//land, territory
[lit. FACE of EARTH]

ke:tze lawo yo: (???) s of s of s mundo//world
[lit. TOWN of FACE of EARTH]

kiti X lawo (N,C,S) s of X of s pa*rpado//eye-lid
[lit. SKIN of X of EYE]

kittza(7) X lawo (N,C,S;Ch) s of s ceja//eye-brow;
pestan*a//eyelash [lit. HAIR of EYE]

lawo+ la7a (N,C,S;Ch) GN Oaxaca
[cf. Misteko-SM **nùndùá**, Chatino-T **londa7a**]

lawo+ kkwa (C) s of s frente//fore-head [lit. FACE/EYE X]

sU lawo (N,C,S) vC + s empezar//to begin [lit. STAND FACE]

la& (N,S) adj afilado//sharp-edged

la:& (N,C,S;Ch) s nombre//name

la&7 (C,W,S;Ch) adj suelto//loose

ok+ la&7 (N,C,S) caus aflojar, soltar//to loosen

lla&7 (N,C,S) vi/adj calentarse; caliente//(to become) hot

xi+ lla&7 (N,C,S) s calor//heat; calentura, fiebre//fever

k+ la&7a& (N,C,S;Ch) vtB romper(lo), quebrar(lo), astillar(lo)//
to break (it)

kwe+ lla&7a& (N,C,S,W) s adobe//adobe/mud brick; alma*cigo//
seed-bed; terro*n//clod
[or **kwe+ lle7a**]

la&ni (N,C,S;[Ch]) viB llegar//to arrive

lla&ni ko+ kwitza (N,C,S) viB + s amanecer//sun to rise
[lit. ARRIVE SUN]

(kwe+) **li7(k)** (N,C,S,W) [**kwe+:**S, some C] s cercado, corral//fence;
 patio//courtyard

lle7a (N;Ch) s barriga, esto*mago, vientre//belly, stomach
 RN (a)dentro//inside

lle7a ni7 or **(l)la:7ni** (C,S,W;[Ch]) RN (a)dentro//inside

lle7aya (N,C,S) s bendicio*n//blessing; rezo, oracio*n//prayer

lle7e (N,C,S;Ch) vtB lamer(lo)//to lick (it)

kwe+ lela (C;Ch) s tlacuache//possum

(l)le7ya (N,C,S,W;Ch) s diente//tooth

lli (N,C,S,W;Ch) adj derecho, recto//straight; verdadero//true

nya7 lli (N,S) s + modif mano derecha//right hand
 [lit. HAND STRAIGHT/TRUE]

so: lli (N,C,W) vi + adv parado//standing
 [lit. STAND UPRIGHT]

lli+ yo7o (N,S) s cueva//cave [lit. UPRIGHT HOUSE]

kwe+ li7i (???) s puerta//door; cerca de carrizo//fence of reeds

llissa7 (N,C,W) [**i ~ e**] vtB levantar(lo)//to lift (it), raise (it)

lityi (N,C,S,W;Ch) s:poss casa//house; hogar//home; placenta//afterbirth

lityi ki:7kwa (C,S) s + modif ca*rcel//jail
 [lit. HOUSE of METAL]

kw+ enne7 lityi (C,S) s of s familia, pariente//kinsman
 [lit. PERSON of HOUSE]

xi+ wa7(+) **litzi7** (N,C) s nuera//daughter-in-law

lo [1] (N,C,S;Ch) vt sacar(lo)//to take (it) out/off

lo [2] (C,S) vi acabarse, terminarse//to get finished

llo (N,C,S,W) s rai*z//root

lo+ kwa7 (N,C) s bejuco//vine; rai*z//root [lit. ROOT X]

lo7o (C,S,W;Ch) s cercado//fence

lo:7na (N,C,S,W) s cama//bed

ok+ lukwi (N,C;Ch) causA soplar, abanicar//to fan

lutyi (C,S;Ch) s bejuco//vine

lu:7tze7 (N,C,S,W;Ch) s lengua//tongue

o+ luwe7 (N,C,S,W;Ch) vt ensen*ar(lo)//to teach (it); mostrar(lo)//
to show (it)

luxu (N,C,S;Ch) s barba//beard; fleco//fringe, bangs

linV7 (S) ~ **lana** (W) s an*o//year

MM

mmani7 (C,S;[Ch]) s animal//animal; pa*jaro//bird; insecto//bug
[cf. pSokean ***mu7a** 'deer']

cf. **tamma7**, **tzummi** [***mm** is always geminate]

N

- na** (N,C) v [uninflected:C] decir//to say
- na7** (N,C;Ch) vt ver(lo)//to see (it)
- na7a** (N,C,S;Ch) s madre//mother
- ko+ na7(a)** (C;Ch) s mujer//woman
- no na7a** [sic!] (N,C) s mujer//woman
- n-aka(7)** (N) s oreja//ear [cf. %aka7]
- nalla** (N;Ch) adj duro//hard; fuerte//strong
- nnakwa(7)** (N,C,S;Ch) vB pedir//to ask for
- xi+ nawo** (S;Ch) s anona, chirimoya//soursop
- na&** (C,S) s dolor, la*stima//hurt, pain
- (na+) xi+ nna&** (N,C,S,W;Ch) [no xi+:S,?W] adj rojo//red
- na&7a&** (C,S) adj pesado//heavy
- na&xxi** (C/S) ~ **ixxi** (N,W;Ch) adj dulce//sweet [cf. %xxi]
- na(+)** **nna:&** (C,S) ~ **nnese** (N) ?s/adj saber//to know
- ko+ ne7** (W,S;Ch) s alacra*n//scorpion
- nesa** (N,C,S) s camino//road
- nesa lassi** (N,C) s + modif vereda//path [lit. ROAD X]
- %ni** 'animal'
- mma=ni7** (C,S;[Ch]) s animal//animal; pa*jaro//bird;
insecto//bug
- ni=kku** (Ay,L) s perro//dog [lit. ANIMAL DOG]
- ni:7** (N,C,S) s luz//light; claro, brillante//bright
- nni7** (N,C,S) vi hablar//to speak, talk
- nni7 kwe** (C,S) v + x mandar//to order [lit. SPEAK STRAIGHT]
[cf. %kwe]

la+ ni (N,C) adj flojo, perezoso//lazy
 [NOTE: a TK original]

lla+ ni (N,C,S) s fiesta//festival, party

k-o7o kwe+ ni (C,S) vtC + s sembrarlo (mai*z)//to plant (it), sow (it)
 [lit. PUT SEED IN]

o+ netzok (N,C) vt dar(lo)//to give (it)

wi (nni) (N,C,S) vB ver(lo)//to see (it)

ni7i (S,W;Ch) s casa//house

nni7lla (N,C,S) s nixtamal//leached corn

o+ ni:7kkwi (N,C;[Ch]) [**i > u:Rinco*n**] vtA oler(lo), olfatear(lo)//
 to smell at (it)

nissa (N,C,S;Ch) s agua//water
 [NOTE: A **inda**, L **inza**; Ch ***7i:ta**]

nissa tawo7 (N,C,S;Ch) s + modif mar//sea;
 lago, laguna//lake [lit. WATER HOLY]

nissa ya:7kwa (C;Ch) s + modif atole//corn gruel
 [lit. WATER X]

nnitti (N,C,S) viB perderse//to be lost

ni:7tyi7 (N,C,S,W;[Ch]) s leche de pecho//mother's milk; latex//sap
 [?contains *nissa 'water'] [cf. **%tyi7**]

we(+) **niya7** (N,C) s curacio*n//curing; curandera [sic!]/curer

nukkwi (N,C,S,W;Ch) s tepache, pulque//fermented juice, "wine", "beer"

na7 (N,C) = **ya7** (S,Ch) s mano//hand; brazo//arm
 (*nya7 is just a conflated representation, not a real reconstruction)

nya7 lli (N,S) s + modif mano derecha//right hand
 [lit. HAND STRAIGHT/TRUE]

nya7 kwe (C,W;Ch) s + modif mano derecha//right hand
 [lit. HAND STRAIGHT] [cf. **%kwe**]

O

- k-o7o** (N,C/[C],S) [**k-** ~ **l-:N**] vtC meter(lo), echarlo dentro//
to put (it) in
- k-o7o kwe+ ni** (C,S) vtC + s sembrar (mai*z)//to plant, sow
[lit. PUT SEED IN]
- ko+ wa7** (N,C) vt llevar(lo), cargar(lo)//to carry (it), bear (it)
- %ola** "long(-lived)"
y-o7la (C,S) adj largo//long; alto//tall
- k-ola** (N,C) [**ni+:N,na+:C**] s hembra//female; mujer//woman
[NOTE: maybe this root means 'grown up']
[**na+** is a reduced form of ***na7a** 'mother']
- (ni+) k-ola** (N,C,S,W;Ch) [**ni+:C;Ch**] s macho//male
[**ni+** may be related to ***ni+ ki7yu** 'man']
- k-o:la** (N,C,S,W;Ch) adj viejo//old -- of people
- k-o:la** (S) s zopilote//buzzard [lit. OLD.PERSON]
- k-o:la kw+ ettzi** (C,S) s zopilote//buzzard
[lit. OLD.PERSON BUZZARD [1]]
- kw+enne7 k-o:la** (N,C) s + modif anciano//old person
[lit. PERSON OLD]
- olla** (N,C,S) vC torcer//to twist [cf. **%lla** [2]]
- o:7lla** (N,C,S;Ch) viA cantar//to sing; tocar mu*sica//
to play music
- kwa+ l-o:7lla** (C,S,W) ~ **kwe+ y-o7la** (N,S) s renacuajo, "bilolo">//
tadpole
- ona** (N,C,S;Ch) vtA oi*r(lo)//to hear (it)
- o:7na7** (C,S;Ch) vi llorar//to cry, weep
- onna** (N,C,S) vtA dar(lo)//to give (it)
- k-okwa** [1] (C,S;Ch) vD (**k > t**) jalar(lo)//to pull (it)
- k-okwa** [2] (N,C,S) vtD (**k > t**) quitar(lo)//to remove (it), take (it) away
- k-o7kwa** (N,C,S) vtD (**k > t**) chupar(lo)//to suck (it); fumar(lo)//
to smoke (it)

%okwa [1]

1-o:7kwa (N,C,S;Ch) viB/adj barrerse; barrido// (to get) swept

ok+ 1-o:7kwa (N,C,S;Ch) caus barrer//to sweep

k-okwa7 (N,C,S,W) s escoba//broom

%okwa [2]

x-okwa7 (N,C,S,W;Ch) s mai*z en grano//dried corn kernels,
shelled corn

te x-okwa7 (N,C) s of s pinole [lit. DUST of MAIZE]

x-o:7kwa (C) v desgranar//to shell corn

kk-okwa (N,C,S,W; [Ch]) s masa/corn dough; atole, pozole, pinole

k-okkwa (C,W) adj mudo//dumb (unable to speak)

%okkwa

(na+) t-okkwa ([N],C,S) adj corto, chaparro, acortado//
short(ened); encogido//shrunk

xx-o (:7) (k)kwa (N,C,W,S) adj corto//short; chueco//crooked;
encogido//shrunk

k-okkwa7 (N,C,S;Ch) s sereno, roci*o//dew

na+ k-okkwa7 (C,S) adj hu*medo//damp

o+ ty-o(7)kwa (N,C,S; [Ch]) causA rociar//to sprinkle, bedew

x-o:7kwa (N,C,S;Ch) viE nadar//to swim

otti7 (N;Ch) vtA vender(lo)//to sell (it)

o7ttza7 (N,C,S) vi lavarse la cara/cabeza//to wash one's face/head

ok+ o:7ttza (C,S) causA mezclar//to mix; revolver//to stir

k-o:7xxo7 (N,C:y-,S,W;Ch) adj viejo//old

S

- sa** (C) s nube//cloud
- kwa+ sa** (N,C,S) s (zarza)mora//blackberry
- %sa**
- nisa** (C,S;[Ch]) ~ **kesa** (N,C,W) s mazorca//ear of corn
- sa7** (S;Ch) vtB dar(lo)//to give {it}
- sa:7** (C,S) vt tejer(lo)//to weave (it)
- (kwe+) sa:7** (N,C,S,W;Ch) [**kwe+:**C,W,S; **nV+:**S,Ch] s frijol//bean;
Ejutla//String-bean Town [NOTE: loan from pMZ *s@k]
- sa7a** (N,C,S;Ch) viB completarse//to get finished
- ok+ sa7a** (N,C,S) caus completar//to finish
- ssa7a [1]** (C;Ch) s pariente//kinsman; familia//family
- ssa7a [2]** (C,W;Ch) s fiesta//festival, party; baile//dance
- sakka7** (N,C,S) vi (a) sufrir, enfermarse (N,C);
(b) alegrarse, felicitar, estar feliz (N,C)
[how are these two meanings linked?]
- na+ sa:7kka** (C) adj bien, bueno, bonito//good, goodly
- kixxok kwe+/ko+ sa&lla7** (N:ko+,C:kwe+) s honda//sling [lit. X X]
- sana** (N,C,S) [**s ~ x**] viD parir//to give birth
- kwi+ sa7na** (N,C,S;[Ch]) s hermana de hombre//man's sister;
hermano de hombre//woman's brother (cross-sex sibling)
- kwe+ sakwa** (N,C) s metlapil, mano de metate//muller
- keyek sakwa** (S) s + modif metlapil, mano de metate//muller
[lit. STONE of MULLER]
- sa:7kwi** (N,C,S,W;Ch) [**a > e:**W,some C] v deber//to owe
- sa& [1]** (N,C,S,W;Ch) viC andar//to walk
- sa& [2]** (C;Ch) s/adj Zapoteco//Sapoteko
- sa:&** (N,C,S,W;Ch) s grasa//fat, manteca//lard

kixxok kwe+/ko+ sa&lla7 (N:ko+,C:kwe+) s honda//sling
 [lit. X X]

kwe+ sa&kwi (C,S) ~ **ko+ sa&kwi** (N,S) s hue*rfano//orphan

ok+ sa&tyi7 (N:s,C:x;Ch) causA desatar//to untie

o+ sa:&7ttyu (N,C) causA torcer//to twist

se (C,S) s/RN lugar//place; a, en//at

se7a& (N,C,S,W;Ch) s elote//roasting ear

sse:7lla7 (N,C,S,W;Ch) vtB mandar(lo), enviar(lo)//to send (it)

seni ~ xeni //y-seni// (N,S) vtC cazar(lo)//to hunt (it); coger(lo),
 agarrar(lo)//to seize (it), grab (it)

sete7 (N,C,S;Ch) s sal//salt

ok+ se:7ti7 (N,C,S,W) vt ensen*ar(lo)//to teach (it); aprender(lo)//to
 learn (it); estudiar(lo)//to study (it)

ko+ se7yu (N,C,S,W;Ch) s trueno//thunder; rela*mpago//lightning
 [NOTE: this is the Sapoteko god "Cociio"]

si7 (N,C,S;[Ch]) vtB comprar(lo)//to buy (it)

si:7 ~ xi:7 //y-si:7// (N,C,S) vi exprimirse, orden*arse//
 to get squeezed out (liquid)

k+ si:7 ~ k+ xi:7 (N,C,S,W) causB exprimir, orden*ar//
 to squeeze out (liquid)

si7i [1] (N;Ch) adj pesado//heavy

si7i [2] (N,C,S,W;Ch) adj pobre//poor; miserable, penoso//wretched
 [same as above?]

kella7 si7i (C,S) abstr pobreza, miseria//poverty, wretchedness

si7i la7tyi7 (N,C) vB + s descansar//to rest [lit. X HEART]

awo xi+ si:7la (N,C) v + s comer almuerzo/desayuno//
 to eat breakfast/elevenses

silla7 (N;Ch) adj fri*o//cold [cf. %lla [1]]

kwe+ sina7 (N,C,S,W;Ch) s rato*n//mouse
(kwe+ sina7) waka (N,C,S) s rata//rat [lit. (MOUSE) ?RAT]
kwe+ keti7 kwe+ sina7 (C,S) s + modif murcie*лаго//bat [lit. BUTTTERFLY MOUSE]
(na+) ssinnak (C,S,W) adj listo//intelligent
sikwi (N;Ch) adj alto//high; largo//long
sittu7 (N,C,S;Ch) adj lejos//far
(kwe+) si7ya (N,C;Ch) s cacao//cocoa-bean
kwe+ ssi7ya (N,C,S,W;[Ch]) s a*guila, gaviola*n//hawk
si7yenk (C,S;Ch) s tripa(s), intestino//gut(s)
so: (N,C,S;Ch) viC pararse//to stand; estar//to be in a place
so: lli (N,C,W) vi + adv parado//standing
[lit. STAND UPRIGHT]
so: nissa (C,S) viC + s sudar//to sweat
so: ti:7tza7 (N,S) v + s conversar, platicar//to talk
[lit. STAND WORD]
so lawo (N,C,S) vC + s empezar//to begin [lit. STAND FACE]
so7o (N,C,S) s pulque, "vino"//fermented drink
kwa+ sso7o (N,C,S,W;Ch) s adobe//mud brick
sokwa (C,S,W;Ch) [s ~ x] vi sentarse//to sit
kwa+ ettzu7 su (N,C) s + modif langosta//locust/lobster
[lit. GRASSHOPPER X]
kwe+ (s)su:7ti (N,C,W) s bolsa//bag; ocho mil//8000
[NOTE: a TK original]

T

- ta** (N,C,S) vi ir, moverse, manar//to move
- (na+) ta** (C,S,W) adj delicate
- ta7a** (N,C) vi clavarse//to get thrust in
- ta:7a** (N,C,S,W;Ch) s petate//mat [> Wasteko **taat**]
- tamma7** (N,C) s lechuza//screech? owl
[borrowed in Cu = Mia; probably diffused generally]
- tani** (C) s cerro//mountain; colina//hill
- tawo** (N,C,S;Ch) s espiga//maize spike
- tawo7** (n,S) adj grande//big
- =tawo7** (N,C,S) adj pequen*o, chico//small, little
- kwe+ tawo7** (N,C) s criatura//baby; nin*o//child
- tzina7 tawo7** (N,C) s + modif ???
- kwe+ tawo7** (N,C,S;Ch) s "i*dolo", "santo"//image of a god
[lit. being HOLY] [cf. Nawa **teo:-tl** 'god']
- nissa tawo7** (N,C,S;Ch) s + modif mar//sea;
lago, laguna//lake [lit. WATER HOLY]
- yo7o tawo7** (N,C) s + modif "iglesia"//temple
[lit. HOUSE HOLY]
- te(k)** (N,C,S) ~ **ti:** (S,W;Ch) s ceniza//ashes; polvo//
dust, powder; caspa//dandruff
- te x-okwa7** (N,C) s of s pinole [lit. DUST of MAIZE]
- te yaka** (N,C) s of s serr*in//sawdust [lit. DUST of WOOD]
- o+ te7e** (N,C) caus dar//to give; entregar//to hand over
- te7ti** (N,C,S,W;Ch) viC pasar//to pass through, to cross

ti:7tza7 (N,C,S,W;Ch:*Citza7,*ke:tza7) s palabra//word;
idioma//language; consejo//advice

o+ tzi7i ti:7tza7 v + s contestar//to answer [lit. RETURN WORD]

so: ti:7tza7 (N,S) v + s conversar, platicar//to talk
[lit. STAND WORD]

o+ we7 (ti:7tza7) (N,C) vt + s conversar//to talk [lit. HIT WORD]

tilla(k) (N,C) viB pelear//to fight

ttinni(k) (N,C) v reventar//to burst; derrumbar//to cave in

tikkwa (N,C) adj duro//hard

titti (N;Ch) vi sentir comezo*n//to itch

to(7) (N,C,S;Ch) s cuerda//string; hilo//thread; mecate//rope

to(7)+ kwa:7na7 (N,C,S;Ch) s mecapal//tump-line [lit. STRING X]

to7o (C,S) viB venderse, ser vendido//to be sold

ok+ to7o (C,S) causA vender//to sell

ttottze7 (N,C) adj filoso, afilado//sharp-edged

tolla7 (N,C,S) s pecado//sin; culpa//guilt

tokwa7 (N,C,S,W) s maguey//agave, century plant

tokkwa (N,C) vi/adj reunirse, juntarse; reunido(s), junto(s)//
(to get) gathered together

ok+ tokkwa (N,C) caus reunir, juntar//to gather together

tto:7kwak (C) s cana(s)//gray hair

toxxo (C) vi ladrar, estar bravo//to bark (angrily)

toxxu (N,C) adj valiente, bravo, feroz//mean
[which is right phonologically?]

kwe+ to7wa (N,C,S,W;Ch) s pla*tano, ?*cuajilote//banana

tto(7)wi (N,C,S;Ch) vi avergonzarse//to be ashamed

tuni (N,C) adj alto//high, tall

tukwi (N,C) vi/adj (ser) envuelto//(to be) wrapped
[TK add A /tũpi/ 'envuelto']

tu:7kwi7 (N,C,S,W) s pluma//feather

%ttak

nittak (C,S;Ch) ~ **kettak** (N,C,W) s can*a//cornstalk

TY

- tya** (N,C,[S]) adj enfermo//sick; cansado, agotado//weary
- tya7a** (N,?E;Ch) adv arriba//up
- tya7a** (C) vi rasparse//to get scraped
- ok+ tya7a** (C) caus raspar//to scrape
- ko+ tyaku** (C,S) s lagartija//lizard
- tya7wo** (N,C,S) vi/adj crecer, engordarse//to get big/fat; gordo, crecido, grande//big/fat
- tya&** (C,S) vi acabarse//to be finished
- tye+ wi:ni7** (N,C,S) vi estar triste/arrepentido//to be sad, rueful; sufrir caresti*a//to be in want
- kwe+ tye** (C,S) s correcamino//roadrunner
- tye7** vi/adj (a)bajo//down (N); juntarse, recogerse, amontonarse//to be gathered (C)
- kwe+ tye7** (N,C,S,W;Ch) s hormiga//ant
- tye7e** (N,C,S,W;Ch) s ca*ntaro, jarro//(water) jug
- ttyekE** (N,C,S) s mento*n//chin; barba//beard
- (kwe+) tyekku7** (N;Ch) adj corto, chaparro//short in height
- tyene** (N,C,S,W;Ch) s sangre//blood
- kw+ eso7 tyenV** (N,S) s + modif avispa (de panal)//wasp
- tyesa** (C) vi rasgarse, romperse; roto//(to get) torn
- k+ tyesa** (N,C,S) causB rasgar, romper//to tear
- kwe+ ttye:7sa** (C,S,W) s nido (de pa*jaro)//(bird's) nest
- ttyessa** (C) viB brincar//jump
- %tyi7**
- atyi7** (N,C,S;Ch) vE mamar//to nurse
- xityi7** (N,C,S,W;Ch) s seno, chiche, teta//breast, udder
- ni:7tyi7** (N,C,S,W;[Ch]) s leche de pecho//mother's milk; latex//sap [?contains *nissa 'water']

ttyi7i (N,S;Ch) s voz//voice
tyi7la (N,C,S,W;Ch) s comal//clay griddle
#kwe+ ttyi7illa (N,C) s caiman//cayman, especially as the "first" day-name
tyina (N,C,S,W) viB llegar//to arrive
tyi:7na (N,C,S,W;Ch) s trabajo//work
kwe+ tyi:7(s)sa (N,C,S,W;[Ch]) [**ty** > **tty**:some C] s
ardilla//squirrel
o(k)+ tyi7xxi (N,S) vtA medir(lo)//to measure (it)
tyitta (N,C,S,W;Ch) s hueso//bone; huevo//egg (N,C)
na+ tyitta (N,C) adj flaco//skinny
tyo:(7) (N,C,S,W;Ch) s tos//cough
kwe+ ttyoka7 (tyitta) (N,C) ~ (**kwe+**) **ttyo:** (C,S;Ch) s
cascaro*n//egg-shell; concha//shell
ok+ tyo:7ko (N,C,S) causA cortar//to cut [also w/o **-ko**]
tyo:7llVk (???) adj baboso//slobery
tyokwa (N,C,S,W) s [cesto], tenate, tompiate//tortilla basket
tyo7kwa (C,S) adj grueso//thick; gordo//(); grande//big
tyo7wa (N,C,S,W;Ch) s boca//mouth
tyo7wa kE7e (N,S) s of s ano//anus [lit. MOUTH of SHIT]
kiti tyo7wa (N,C,S;Ch) s of s labio(s)//lip(s)
[lit. SKIN of MOUTH]
yaka tyo7wa (C) s of s viga//beam; horco*n//house-post
[lit. TREE of ?MOUTH]
ttyu (N,S) adj chico//small, little
ttyu:7lla (N,C;Ch) adj oscuro//dark [cf. %11a
kwe+ ttyu:xxik (N,C,S,W;Ch) s (ji)tomate/tomato
[NOTE: Popolokan cognates exist; cf. Wasteko **tuthay**]

TZ

- tza** (N,C,S;Ch) s di*a//day
- ko+ kwitza** (N,C,S,W;Ch) s sol//sun; di*a//day
- lla&ni ko+ kwitza** (N,C,S) viB + s amanecer//sun to rise
[lit. ARRIVE SUN]
- cf. **witzak** (N,C,S;Ch) adv pasado man*ana//day after
tomorrow
- %ttzok**
- attzok** (N,C,S;Ch) viC reventarse//to burst; quebrarse//
to break/get.broken
- k-ittzok** (N,C,S,W;Ch) vtD (**k > t**) estallar(lo), reventar(lo)//
to burst (it), break (it)
- tza:7ka** (N,C;Ch) adj junto(s)//together
[cf. Cord. <chaga> 'one -- of flat things']
- na+ tzakwa7** (C,S) adj sucio//dirty; malo//bad; feo//ugly
- kw+ enne7 tzakwa7** (C) s + modif diablo, demonio//devil
[lit. PERSON BAD]
- #tza7 tina** (Ch,Sp) s Chatino [This reconstruction is based on Chatino
/tza7 jnya/ and Spanish <chatino>, behind which has to lie a Sapoteko #tza7
tina].
[a TK original]
- tza:7we** (E;Ch) adj adornado//decorated, bien arreglado//well-
dressed
- tza:7wi7** adv lento, despacio//slowly; poco a poco//little by
little
- tza&7** (N,C,S,W;Ch) vi/adj llenarse, lleno//(to get) full
- ok+ tza&7** ([N],C,S;Ch) caus llenar//to fill
- tza&7 (X) kw+ e7yo7** (N,C,S) "luna llena" //full moon;
lit. llenarse la luna//moon to be full
- ttza&7** (N,C,S) s cazuela de barro//casserole, stew-pan
- kw+ tziyok** (N,C,S,W) s flauta de can*a/carrizo//reed flute
[e ~ i]

xi+ tze (C,S,W) adv mucho tiempo//for a long time

kwa+ (t)tze (N,C) adv hace rato//a while ago

tze7 (C,S) s (a) di*a//day (C,S); (b) noche//night (N)

ko+ tze7 (N,C,S,W) vi:completive "la tarde"//afternoon

xi+ tze7 (N,C,S,W;[Ch]) s cena//supper

awo xi+ tze7 (N,C,S,W;[Ch]) vt + s cenar//to eat supper
 [This should be compared to Soke *tza7y+ji and Epi-Olmec <tza-ji> 'late in the day' (a JJ original)]

ttzek (N,C,S;Ch) vi ir//to go

tze7a (N,C,S,W;Ch) viC caliente, tibio; calentarse, estar caliente//(to be/get) hot, warm

ok+ tze7a (N,C,S) caus calentar//to heat

kwe+ tze7a (C) ~ **ko+ tze7a** (N) ~ **we + tze7a** (N,C)
 (N,C,S;Ch) s brujo (, espi*ritu maligno)//witch

tze:7tze (C) adj/vi (estar) enojado//(to be) angry

tzela (N,C,S) vB encontrar//to find

(t)tze:7la (N,C,S;[Ch]) s marido, esposa//spouse

tzeni (N,C,S;Ch) s humo//smoke

tzekwe (N,C,S,W;[Ch]) viB tener miedo//to be afraid

ok+ tzekwe (N,C,S,W) caus espantar//to frighten

tzi (N,C,S,W;?Ch[points to *ty]) adj tranquilo, quieto//peaceful, quiet

%tzi7i

o+ tzi7i (N,C) vtA devolver(lo)//to give (it) back, return (it)

o+ tzi7i ti:7tza7 v + s contestar//to answer [lit. RETURN WORD]

tzila (N,S;[Ch]) s cola, pegamento//glue

(kwe+) tzina7 (N,C,S,W;[Ch:tz > kw]) s miel//honey

tzina7 tawo7 (N,C) s + modif miel//honey

[cf. Sokean *tzinu < pMS *tzi:nu]

kwe+ tzina7 (N,C,S,W[no kwe+];Ch) s venado//deer

kwe+ (t) **tzi:7na7** (N,C,S) s espuma//foam
tzikwa (N,C;Ch) v desplumar//to pluck feathers

tzi:7kwi (N,C) adj liso/smooth
kwe+ **tzittzi** (C) s dinero//money; adorno//decoration

tzo (C,S) v existir//to exist

%7tzu7
ke7tzu7 (N,C,S,W;Ch) s grano, barro//pimple; divieso//boil

(y)u:7tzu7 (N,C;Ch) vi podrirse//to rot

y-u:7tzu7 (N,C/[C]) adj podrido//rotten

tzummi (N,C) s cesto, chiquihuite, cargador//basket
 [borrowed from Matlatzinka(n) *tz3mi]

tzu:7ni7 (N,C,S) vi gotear//to drip; babear//to drool;
 escurrir//to trickle

tzuwi7 (C,S,W) v quemarse, arder//to (be) burn(t)

U

l-utza(k) (N,C) v acabar(se)//to get finished

%utzi

(kwa+) ku:tzi (C,S,W) ~ **xu7utzi** (N,C,S) s yerno//son-in-law

uni (N,C,S;Ch) vtA hacer(lo)//to do (it), make (it)

u:7tti (N,C,S;Ch) vtA matar(lo)//to kill (it) [cf. **atti**]

u:7tto (N,C,S) vtA moler(lo)//to grind (it)

(y)u:7tzu7 (N,C;Ch) vi podrido//to rot [cf. **%tzu7**]

y-u:7tzu7 (N,C/[C]) adj podrido//rotten

y-uwı7 (N,C,S;Ch) vi apagarse//to get doused

ok+ s-uwı7 (C,S;Ch) caus apagar(lo)//to douse (it)

W

ko+ wa7 (N,C) vt llevar(lo), cargar(lo)//to carry (it), bear (it) [lit. ?PUT X]

xi+ wa7(+) **litzi7** (N,C) s nuera//daughter-in-law

(kwe+ sina7) **waka** (N,C,S) s rata//rat [lit. (MOUSE) ?RAT]

(keyek) **wana** (N,C,S,W;Ch) s espejo//mirror [lit. (STONE) MIRROR]

xxu+ wa:7na7 (C,W,S) > **xxana7** (N) s duen*o//owner; sen*or//lord

(ko+) **wattzi7** (N,C:w > **tty**,S,W;Ch) s lagartija//lizard; iguana

wattzi (C) ~ **wittzi** (W) GN Sola de Vega

xu+ we (N,C,S) s comida//food

o+ we7 (ti:7tza7) (N,C) vt + s conversar//to talk [lit. HIT WORD]

we(+) **niya7** (N,C) s curacio*n//curing; curandera [sic!]/curer

we7eni (N,C;[Ch]) adj chico, tierno//very young

kwe+/ko+ we7yo (E:ko+C,S:kwe+,W,Ch:Ø) s coyote

kettu wetzi (N,C) s chilacayote//winter squash?

(na+) **ko+ wE** (N,C,S;Ch) vi/adj madurarse, maduro//(to get) ripe

wi (N,C,S;Ch) s guayaba//guava

wi (nni) (N,C,S) vB ver//to see

tye+ wi:ni7 (N,C,S) vi estar triste/arrepentido//to be sad, rueful; sufrir caresti*a//to be in want

witzak (N,C,S;Ch) adv pasado man*ana//day after tomorrow

X

- xxaka7** (N,C,[W]) s mejilla, cachete//cheek
- xa7na** (N,C,S) s asentaderas, nalga//buttocks; bajo//low
- xa+** (N,C) RN debajo de//below, under
- xakwa** ([N],C,S;Ch) s ca*scara, corteza//bark; ropa//clothing
- X xxakwa** (C,S) s + modif tara*ntula
- xa(t)ta** (C;Ch) adj chaparro, bajo//short in height
- xa:7tta** (E) viB aplastarse//to get flattened/smashed
- ok+ xa:7tta** (N,C) caus aplastar(lo)//to flatten (it)/smash (it)
- ko+ xxatyu7** (N,C,S) s saltamontes//grasshopper
- xa&(k)ka** (C) viB desatarse//to get untied
- ok+ xa&(k)ka** (C,S) caus desatar//to untie
- xxa&ya** (N,C,S) adj a*spero, rasposo//rough [a MacLaury original]
- xe** (N,W;Ch) adj amplio//spacious; ancho//wide; grande//big
[cf. %eni]
- (na+) x-e7ni** (N,C,S;[Ch]) adj ancho [cf. %eni]
- kwe+ xe7 [1]** (N,C,S,W;Ch) s mapache//raccoon
- kwe+ xe7 [2]** (C,S) s fantasma//ghost (E); brujo//witch (S)
- xene** (S,W;Ch) s sapo//toad
- xenE7** (N,C;Ch) s saliva//spittle
- xi** (N,C) viB borrarse; borrado//(to get) rubbed out
- %xxi**
- na&xxi** (C,S) [< na+ ixxi?] ~ **ixxi** (N,W;Ch) adj dulce//sweet
- xi7e** (C,S;Ch) s nariz//nose
- xi7inne** (N,C,S,W;Ch) s hijo, hija//offspring [?possessed
proclitic **xi+**]
- kwe+ xika** (C,S,W) s pin*uelo//pinecone
- xika7** adj apretado//tight, squeezed (N); amarrado//tied (Ch)

xika7 (N,C,S,W;Ch) s ji*cara//gourd dipper, water gourd
 [cf. %eka7]

xikkok (N,C,W;Ch) [i > a:some C;i > e:some C] s hombro//shoulder;
 brazo//arm

xila7 (N,C,S,W;Ch) s algodo*n//cotton

xxila7 (N,C,S) s ala//wing

(x)xinni (N,C,S) s noche; sombra; oscuridad//darkness

xxinni(k) (N,C,S,W) adj oscuro//dark; malo/bad, evil, untrue

xikwi (N,C,S,W) s rodilla//knee

kwe+ xissa(k) (C,S) s cun*ada//sister-in-law; partera//midwife

xisE (N,C,S) vi temblar//to quiver, quake

xitti7 (N,S) vi temblar//to quiver, quake

o+ xityi (N,C,S,W;Ch) vA rei*r//to laugh [formally transitive!]

xityi7 (N,C,S,W;Ch) s seno, chiche, teta//breast, udder
 [cf. %tyi7]

xittyu (N,C,S) s cebolla//onion [OtoManguean: 'leaf' + 'stink']

xitzu7 (C,S,W) s pin*a//pineapple

kwe+ xi:7tzu7 (N,C,S,W;Ch) s tejo*n//coati

kwe+/ko+ xi:xV (C,S) s nuera//daughter-in-law

o(k)+ xiya (kw+ e7kku7) (N,C,S) vtA ladrar(lo), chillar(lo), gritar(lo)//
 to bark (it)

(kwe+) xo: (N,C,S,W;Ch) s temblor//earth-quake [kwe+ > ko+:Cho]

kwe+ (x)xo (C,W) s correcamino//road-runner

(kwe+) (x)oka7 (N,C,S,W) s un*a//finger-nail

kella7 xono (N,C) s mamey//mammy apple

o+ xo:7nna7k [or **o+ xo:7nak**] (N,C,S;Ch) vA correr//to run
 [formally transitive!]

xxosa7 (N,S,W; [Ch]) s rama//branch

(kwe+) xxosi(k) (N,C,S,W;Ch) s padre//father; "padre", cura//priest

xoxak (N,C) vi/adj despadazarse; roto, rasgado, estrellado//
(to get) torn/ripped/broken to pieces

xoxxo (C) adj tostado//toasted

ok+ xoxxo (C) causA tostar(lo)//to toast (it)

{(x)xu+}

xu+ kwa:7na (N,C,?S) ~ **xxi+ kwa:7na** (N,C,?S) s cola//tail

xxu+ wa:7na7 (C,W,S) > **xxana7** (N) s duen*o//owner; sen*or//lord

xu+ we (N,C,S) s comida//food

xxukkwE7 (N,C;[Ch]) vtB frotar(lo)//to rub (it)

xukwi (N,C) viB jalar(se), arrastrar(se)//to get pulled/drag

xukkwi (N,C,S;Ch) vB chupar//to suck

kwe+ xukwi(k) (ni7) (N,C,S) s alacra*n//scorpion
[kwe+ > ni+:C; (k):N only; ni7: N only]

Y

- ya** (N,C) vi acabarse, terminarse//to get finished
- (na+) ya** (N,C,S) adj tejido//woven
- k-iya** (N) vtD (**k** > **t**) tejer(lo)//to weave (it)
- ya7** (S,Ch) = **na7** (N,C) s mano//hand; brazo//arm
- nya7 lli** (N,S) s + modif mano derecha//right hand
[lit. HAND STRAIGHT/TRUE]
- nya7 kwe** (C,W;Ch) s + modif mano derecha//right hand
[lit. HAND STRAIGHT] [cf. **%kwe**]
- yak** (C,S,W;Ch) vi irse//to go away
- kwe+ ya:** (N,C,S,W;Ch) s nopal//prickly pear cactus
- (kwe+) ya7a** (N,C,S;Ch) [**kwe+:**C,S;Ch] s amole//soap-root,
soap-wort
Co*rdova: 'xabo*n d'esta tierra - ray*zes']
- ni+ ya7a** (C,S) s milpa//corn-field
- kw-etzi ya7a** (N,C,S;Ch) vD (**kw** > **ty**) aullar//to howl; gritar//
to shout; bramar//beller
- yaka** (N,C,S,W;Ch) s a*rbol, palo//tree; madera//wood
- yaka ketye** (N,C,S;Ch) s of s ocote, pino//pino tree
[lit. TREE of KINDLING]
- (yaka) kila** (N,C,S) s fresno//ash tree
- yaka lla7** (N,S) s + modif batea//trough
- ki:7kwa yaka** (C,S;Ch) s of s hacha//axe [lit. METAL of WOOD]
- te yaka** (N,C) s of s serr*in//sawdust [lit. DUST of WOOD]
- yaka tyo7wa** (C) s of s viga//beam;; horco*n//house-post
[lit. TREE of ?MOUTH]
- y-aka** (N,C,W,S) s fri*o//cold [listed under **%aka**]
- xi+ yaka** (C, [S],W) s nieto//grand-child
- kwe+ yakki** (C) ~ **kwekkik** (N) s cuervo//crow
- ya:7la7** (N,C,S,W;Ch) s copal//copal incense

yana (C,S) vi/adj escocer//to itch, arder//to burn;
 picante//spicy hot

xi+ yana (C,S) s coraje//anger, wrath

ya:7na (N,C,S;?Ch) s olote//corn-cob

nissa ya:7kwa (C;Ch) s + modif atole//corn gruel [lit. WATER X]

yakkwak (N,C,S,W;[Ch]) s chayote

(kwe+) yatyi (N,C,S;Ch) s cirhuella, jocote, jobo//hog-plum (Spondias sp.)
 [a TK original; *ty or *tz?]
 [cf. pSokean *yati = pMijean *7a:ti 'soursop']

yawo (N,C,S) s ri*o//river

(na+) ya& (N,C,S) adj limpio//clean

ya:& (N,C,S,W;Ch) s temascal//sweat-house

ya&7 (C,S) adj claro, aclarado//clear(ed)

o+ ya&7a& (N,C;Ch) viA bailar//to dance [formally transitive!]

ko+ ya&7a& (N,C) s bailari*n, danzante//dancer

kwette+ ya&7a& (C,S) s epazote//goose-foot

ya&nni (N,C,S,W;Ch) s cuello//neck; garganta//throat

ya&7kkwi (N,C,S;Ch) viC subir//to go up

ya&7kkwi kessa (N) v + s relampaguear//lightning to flash

ya&7tye (N,C) vi/adj lavarse; lavado//(to get) washed

ye: (N,C) s pleito [C], guerra [C], envidia [N]
 [a TK original]

ye7a (N,C,S;Ch) adj crudo//raw; sin madurar//unripe;
 "verde"//"green"

awo ye7a (N,C) vtD + adv morder//to bite [lit. EAT RAW]

yekkek (N,C,S,W;Ch) s cabeza//head

yekkek yo7o (N,C,S) s of s tejado, techo//(tile) roof
 [lit. HEAD of HOUSE]

yenE(k) (N,C) vtB oi*r//to hear

yisa (N,C,S,W) s an*o//year
ko+ tukwV+ yisa (???) adv el an*o pasado//last year
kwe+ yo: (N,C:add +xVk;S) s muchacho//boy
yo: (N,C,S;Ch) s tierra//earth
lawo yo: (C;Ch) s of s terreno//land, territory
 [lit. FACE of EARTH]
ke:tze lawo yo: (???) s of s of s mundo//world
 [lit. TOWN of FACE of EARTH]
yu=kwa (N) s cielo//sky [lit. EARTH SKY]
 [should this be *yo=kwa?]
yu=xi (N,C,S;Ch) s arena//sand [should this be *yoxi?]
yo7o (N,C,S) s:absol casa//house
yo7o tawo7 (N,C) s + modif "iglesia"//temple
 [lit. HOUSE HOLY]
yekkek yo7o (N,C,S) s of s tejado, techo//(tile) roof
 [lit. HEAD of HOUSE]
lli+ yo7o (N,S) s cueva//cave
yokkV (N,S) viB/adj torcerse; torcido//(to get) twisted
kwe+ yo7kwa7 (N,C,S) s hormiga arriera//leaf-cutter ant
yu7u la7tyi7 (N,C) viC + s gustar, estar satisfecho//
 to be pleased [lit. ENTER HEART]
yu=kwa (N) s cielo//sky [lit. EARTH SKY] [cf. %yo:]
(y)u:7tzu7 (N,C;Ch) vi podrido//to rot [cf. %tzu7]
y-u:7tzu7 (N,C/[C]) adj podrido//rotten
yu=xi (N,C,S;Ch) s arena//sand [cf. *yo:; should this be *yoxi?]
kwe+ yuxi7 (C,S) s jeje*n, mosquito//gnat

GRAMMATICAL WORDS AND MORPHEMES

xi+ (N,C,S;Ch) possessed noun prefix/proclitic

DEMONSTRATIVES

(ni+) te7 (N,C,S;Ch) dem este//this

(nV+) tye7 (C,S,W;Ch) dem adv aqui*//here

ni (N,C) dem adv aqui*, este (N); ese (que), uno (que) (C)

(ni+) ka (N) ~ **kka7** (C,S,W) dem adv aqui*//here (elevated!?)

se(+) **kka** (C) dem adv asi*//like that

(ni+) ka (N,C) dem ese, aquel//that

tye(+) **kka7** (C) dem adv alla*//there

le7a (#kwi) (N,C,S) 3rd person pronoun base//e*1

kka7 (N,C ...) pluralizer//aquellos -- cosas

kka (N,C) plural of pronoun

xa (N,C,S;?Ch) indef algu*n, algo//some(thing)

INTERROGATIVES AND RELATIVES

kkwa (C,S) rel adv donde//where

gen interr which

(k)kwa(+) **lla** (N,C,S) interr quant cua*ntos?//how many?

ttyo (S,W) ~ **ttzo** (C) ~ **ttu** (C,W) interr quie*n?//who?

no (N) interr quie*n?//who?

no (N,C) rel el/los que ...//the one(s) that ...

ko (C) interr cua*1?//which?

(k)ka (N,C) interr adv do*nde?//where?

xi (N,C) interr que*?//what?

kwi (N) interr que*?//what?

NEGATIVES

kka (N,C) adv negative

na (M;Ch) adv negative

CONJUNCTIONS

?*nok: no (C,S,W) ~ ne (C) ~ na (N)
 conj y//and
 prep con//with
 adv tambie*n//also, too

ne (C) vtB llevar(lo), cargar(lo)//to carry (it)
 [pCht *lo:7o 'con']

NUMERALS AND QUANTIFIERS

numeral expressions

tukwi (C) ~ tikwa (C,S) ord num primero; so*lo; todos
 k-tukwi (C,W) ~ k-tikwa (C,S) ~ k-tu (N) card num one
 k-ti (C) indef art
 se+ ti (C) num otro
 se+ tukwi (C,S) ~ se+ tikwa (S) num otro
 #tzaka (C,Ch) one

tyokkwa (C) ord num second
 k-tyokkwa (N,C,S,W;Ch) card num two
 <ca-to> < #ka-tyo (Co*rdova) two
 ki+ tyokkwa (C,S) quant ambos, los dos//both

yonna (C) ord num third
 <ca-yo> (Co*rdova) three
 ttzonna //k-yonna// (N,C,S,W;Ch) card num three
 ki+ yonna (C) quant los tres

takkwa (N,C,S) ord num fourth
 k-takkwa (N,C,S,W;Ch) card num four
 <taa> (Co*rdova) four
 ki+ takkwa (C) quant los cuatro

ka:7yu7 (N,C,S,W;Ch) card & ord num five; fifth
 ki+ ka:7yu7 (C) quant (todos) los cinco

xo:7kkwa (N,C) ord num sixth
 k-xo:7kkwa (N,C,S,W;Ch) card num six
 ki+ xo:7kkwa (C) quant (todos) los seis

katyi (k) (N,C,S,W;Ch) card & ord num seven; seventh
 ki+ katyi (C) quant (todos) los siete

xonu7 (C) ord num eighth
 k-xonu7 (N,C,S,W;Ch) card num eight
 ki+ xonu7 (C) quant (todos) los ocho

ka&7 (N,C,S,W;Ch) card num nine

ki+ ka&7 (C) quant (todos) los nueve
tyi:7 (N) ord num de*cimo
k-tyi:7 (N,C,S,W;Ch) card num diez
ki+ tyi:7 (C) quant (todos) los diez
 [or ***(k-)tyi7i**]

k-tyi:7 kwE k-tukwi/k-tikwa (N,C;S;[Ch]) num eleven [lit. 10 plus 1]
 [Ay,Ch:kwE > ∅]
k-tyi=?nnek (N) num once//eleven

k-tyi:7 kwE k-tyokkwa (N,C;Ch) num twelve [lit. 10 plus 2]
 [IZ:kwE > nu;Ay,Ch:kwE > ∅]

k-tyi7nu (N,C;Ch) num thirteen [lit. 10 + 3]
 [Atepec: "12"]

k-tyi ta7 (N,C) num fourteen [lit. 10 + 4]
k-tyi:7 nu k-takkwa (C;Ch) num fourteen [lit. 10 plus 4]

k-tyi:7=nu7 (N,C,S,W;Ch) num quince//fifteen

k-tyi:7=nu7 kwE k-tukwi/k-tikwa/k-tu (N,C;[Ch]) num sixteen
 [lit. 15 plus 1] [Ch,N:kwE > ∅]

k-tyi:7nu7 kwE k-tyokkwa (N,C;Ch) num seventeen [lit. 15 plus 2]
 [Ch,N;kwE > ∅]

k-tyi:7=nu7 kwE k-yonna (N,C) num eighteen [lit. 15 plus 3]
 [N:kwE > ∅]

k-tyi:7=nu7 kwE k-takkwa (C;Ch) num nineteen [lit. 15 plus 4]
 [Ch:kwE > ∅]

kallak (N,C,S,W;Ch) num veinte//twenty [from Mayan *=k'ahl]

 1-19 **(k)e+ tyo7wa** (N) num 21-39

k-tyi:7 (k)e+ tyo7wa (N) num treinta//thirty
 [lit. 10 towards 40] [like older Mayan pattern]
kallak kwE k-tyi:7 (C,S;Ch) num treinta//thirty
 [lit. 20 plus 10]

k-tyo7wa (N,C,S,W;Ch) num cuarenta//forty
k-tyokkwa (la) kallak (C,S) num cuarenta//forty
 [lit. 2 times 20] [innovation]

 1-19 **ka+ yonna** num 41-59

k-tyi:7 ka+ yonna (N) num cincuenta//fifty [lit. 10 towards 60]
 [like older Mayan pattern]

k-tyo7wa kwE k-tyi:7 (N,C,S;Ch) num cincuenta//fifty
 [lit. 40 plus 10]

k-tyokkwa (la) kallak k-tyi:& (C,S) num cincuenta//fifty
 [lit. 2 times 20 plus 10] [innovation]

ka+ yonna (N,C,S) num sesenta//sixty [lit. 20 times 3]
k-yonna kallak (N,C,S;Ch) num sesenta//sixty [lit. 3 times 20]

ta (N,C) num 80
k-takkwa la kallak (N,C,S;Ch) num ochenta//eighty
 [lit. 4 times 20] [S,Ch:la > ∅]

80 + 1-19 (N) num 81-99

(k-ti[kwa]/k-tu) ka+ yo7wa (N,C,S) num cien//one hundred
 [lit. 20 times ?5]

NUM # ella (N,C) num 400

<NUM # coti> (Co*rdova) num 8000
kwe+ (s)su:7ti (N,C,W) s bolsa//bag
 JCH bi-zuudi 'enagua'; suudi 'su enagua'
 cf. Yuk pi:k 'enagua' < *pe:q 'pataxte, madre de cacao'
 [NOTE: a TK original]

grammatical elements in numerical expressions

kwE conj 'plus': in additive numerical expressions
la conj 'times': in multiplicative numerical expressions
ki+ NUM (C,S) (todos) los NUM
se+ NUM (C) otros NUM, NUM ma*s

quantifiers

(ki+) tya7 (C,S) quant todo(s)
nesa (C;Ch) quant par//pair
tyolla7 (C,S) vt dividir, partir//to split
kV+ tyolla7 (N,C) quant mitad//half
(ka+) la7a (N,C) mitad//half
se7ya (N,C,W) ~ **se+ yani** (C,S,W) quant muchos//many
sityo (C,W) quant ma*s//more

(ko+) **xi7(k)** (C,S,W) quant poco//little
latti7(k) (N,C;Ch) quant (un poco) ma*s//(a little) more
tyukwV //Y-tu pV// (N,C;Ch) quant unos cuantos, varios//a few, several

PRONOUNS

na(7) (C,S:inclusive;Ch) pron yo
+a enclitic pronoun yo
(t)tu(7) (N,C) pron nosotros -- exclusivo
nu (C:inclusive,S:exclusive) pron nosotros -- *inclusivo
li7 < lu7wi (N,C,S) free pron tu*
+lu7 (N,C,S,W;Ch) bound/clitic pron tu*
tyu (N,C,W) pron Ustedes
kwi (N,C) pron 3: male person [?*kwE, ?*kwVk < **kwe?]
yu (W;Ch) pron 3: male person
(x)xe (N:xa,C) pron 3: female person
mma(n) < *mman(i7) (C,S) pron 3: animal
ni (N:[na&],C) pron 3: thing, ?animal
ne (N,C) pron 3: sacred, deity, respect
#tin (C; Ch) possessed thing [JCH x+ti.., ZEN ji&i&]

+++++

from TK&JJ Deciphering Sapoteko Hieroglyphic Writing-06

3.2.6. PRONOUNS & DEMONSTRATIVES [2002]

personal pronouns

pSapn *na7(a) '1s' (Cht [no&7]). (In 1993 I had reconstructed pSap *na(7) 'I' and pSap *a 'enclitic')

pSapn *lu&7wi '2s' (Cht [(nu)7wi]). (In 1993 I had reconstructed pSap *li7 < *lu7wi 'you (familiar or free)' and pSap *luN(+i) OR *lu7 'you (polite or clitic)')

pSapn *na 'we (inclusive)' Ch+W+P+S+C

pSap *nu 'we' S+C [this must have been 'exclusive' earlier; it is exclusive

in Co*rdova] (Cht [o&]). (In 1993 I had reconstructed pSap *nu 'we (inclusive)')

pSapn *wE 'plural, including second person' Ch+W+S+C+N (Cht [ba])

pSap *tye7u 'including second person' P+C+N [if P <ru> was originally plural, then *tye7u would be 'plural, including second person'] (≠ Cht [wo&]). (In 1993 I had reconstructed pSap *tyu 'yall')

N&C *tu 'we (exclusive)' [this is an innovation in N and only part of C (including JCH); where this occurs in C, *nu becomes 'we (inclusive)'] (In 1993 I had reconstructed pSap *(t)tu(7) 'we (exclusive)')

In epigraphic Sapoteko, of all the above only *na7(a) 'I', spelled <na>, and *tu 'we (exclusive)', spelled <to>, are found.

[JJ: check for *na 'inclusive']

[C *ttu7 'yall' occurs only in C]

XX

THIRD PERSON (ANAPHORIC) PRONOUNS [2002]

	Ch	W	P	S	C	N
#yu	TAT	LCH	TEX			
'man'	ZEN	{ih}	{yu}			
<p>#yu '3male': Tex /yu/; Cht?</p>						
#nchu7	TAT	LCH				
'woman'	ZEN	{ndxoh}				
#ni7	TAT	LCH				
'animal'		{i"}				


```

+++++
Ch      W      P      S      C      N
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

```

#kwen7 [S,C,N] 'ordinary person': based on pSapn *kw+ enne7 [N,C,S,W;Ch] 'people'; replacing #yu 'man'? [Ch,W,P]

human		x		x		x
ordinary human				x		
adult equal				x		
general		x		x		
impersonal				x		
man				x		
female				x		
familiar				x:V		x

*kwe(?k) '3familiar' [1994]:
 North: A /bi/, R /bo7/, Yal /+be7/ [be] ~ [bi] ~ [ba], Cho /bi(7)/
 Center: I (human) /be/, M (respect) /ba/, Zaa (human) [b(i)]
 South: Lagueche (person) /me/, Coatlan /mE/, Cuixtla (human) /ba/
 (Chatino: Cht /kwa/ does not belong here)
 cf. *kw+ enne7 [N,C,S,W;Ch] 'people'
 (In 1993 I had reconstructed *kwe 'he (male person)' (= Cht [kwa]))

Original meaning of *kwe is probably just '+human'.

This may be present in epigraphic Sapoteko, spelled <kwe>

```

+++++
Ch      W      P      S      C      N
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

```

[ba] 'respected human' some V						
respectful			x		x	Valley [ba]
formal					x	

[2 items? ordinary human [be,bi] vs. respected human [ba,bu]: this latter only in some Valley towns]

(?Southern &) Central Sapoteko
 [ba] 'respected human' some V

respectful		x		x	Valley [ba]
formal				x	

```

+++++
Ch      W      P      S      C      N
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

```

```

#xa [S,C]; (diffused?) innovation after split of W and P (and N?)
  'familiar person' (S,C) => 'among males' (S,C), 'among females' (C)
human                x      x
specific             x
familiar             x
confianza                x
lowly                 x
=====
male                  x
man-to-man           x      x
woman                x

```

```

Southern and Central Sapoteko
XAN[S],QUIe,QUIo[S?],MIX,GUEv[C] {w} inanimate
#xa 'familiar person'

```

```

Ch      W      P      S      C      N
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

```

```

#xa7 [pSap: W,S,C] 'respected person'
unfamiliar                x
=====
respect                   <zxa>      x

```

```

[maybe 2 items 'human, woman' vs. 'respected']
*xe(7) '3' [1994]
  Center: Zaa (3f) [s^], Zaa (derog) /s^e/, M (fam:male spkg) /z^i/,
  I (3f) <xe>, Ocotlan [z^@7(@)] (3)
  South: Cuixtla (human) /s^a7/
  Western: LCH <zxa>

```

In Zaachila and Isthmus, this has female human reference; in Ocotla*n and Cuixtla it has +human reference; in Mitla it is used only by men. It is unclear what the original use of this term might have been.

(In 1993 I had reconstructed *(x)xe 'she (female person)')

```

+++++
Ch      W      P      S      C      N
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
#ne7 'god; high-status human' [pSap: W,C,N]
god, deity                x
sacred                     x
reverential   <ni>   x<no>   x
honorific                x
respect                x      x

```

*ne(7) '3respect' [1994]:
 North: A /ne(e)/, R,Cho /(n)e7/, Yal /+e7(e)/
 Central: Ay (anonymous) /n@/ 'uno', Co*rдова, M (fam/god) /ni/
 'he,she,it', Teo (human) /(a)n/, Ay (human) /(a)7n/,
 I (sacred) /ni/, Zaa (sacred) /ni(7)/
 Western: LCH <no>
 Chatino: (male person) /ni7/

In Valley dialects *ne7 has been shifted to have merely +human reference.

(In 1993 I had reconstructed *ne 'he, she (god, high-status person)')

This is spelled <ne> in epigraphic Sapoteko

```

+++++
Ch      W      P      S      C      N
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
#mman7 [P,S,C,N] 'animal': based on pSap *mma=ni7 < pSapn *ni7
animal                x{ma}   x      x      x

```

LCH {ni7} shows the result of contact with Cht

*mmaN '3animal' [1994]:
 North: A /ba/, Cho,Yal /ba7/, R /(@)b/
 Center: I /me/, Teo /m(in)/, Zaa /m(an)/ ~ /me/, Ay /ma/
 South: Cuixtla /ma(7)/, Lagueche/Coatlan /ma/
 Papabuco: Tex /ma/ (cf. Chatino: (animal) /ni7/)
 cf. pSap *mma=ni7, containing an early loan from (pre-proto-)Sokean
 *m@7a 'deer'
 /mm/, which is extremeley rare in Sapoteko, shifts to [b] in Northern
 Sapoteko.

(In 1993 I had reconstructed *mma(n) 'it (animal)' <= *mmani7 'animal')

```

+++++
Ch      W      P      S      C      N
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

```

```

#ni [pSap:W,P,S,C,N] `thing' => `female' (P); => familiar human (some V)
thing      x{i,ne}      {ya}      x      x
woman      x{nyi}
human      x:V
familiar      x

```

*ni 3inanimate' [1994]:

```

North: A /na/ ~ /i&/, Cho /n(a)/, R (-resp) /(@)n/,
      Yal /n/ ~ [e&]
Center: M /ni/, I /ni/ `it', Teo /(i)n/, Zaa /ni(7i)/,
      Ay /yn/ ~ /en/
Papabuco: Tex (female) /nyi/

```

In A(tepec-Ixtla*n), /na/ refers to things, children, bad people, and foreigners.

(In 1993 I had reconstructed *ni `it (thing)')

This is spelled <ni> in epigraphic Sapoteko

```

+++++
Ch      W      P      S      C      N
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

```

#ni7n [pSap: W,C]

```

<no>
baby, infant      x      x
small      x
diminutive      x

```

[JJ: cf. Zoque 7une7 > Western Mayan 7unen ~ 7unin]

XX
anaphoric pronouns found in one Sapoteko branch only
XX

Papabuco Sapoteko
TEX {mi} woman + respect
#mi `3fresp': Tex /mi/

Southern Sapoteko
COA {ta7} inanimate

COA {ar} human respectful

XAN {ma} thing

#ka `3human': Cuixtla/Coatlan/Lagueche /ka/

QUI {zaa} masculine = CUI {sa} impersonal = COA {sa} human
#sa `human': Coatlan /sa/, Cuixtla (`uno') /sa/

QUI {me} respectful; OCO {m@} reverence

CUI {kwan} thing
`3inan': Cuixtla/Lagueche /kwan/ < *kkwana `plant'

GUE {by} child

Northern Sapoteko

SJB {da&} spirit
#taN `3spirit': Cho /da&/

+++++

Recapitulating:

When Sap writing was being developed, proto-Sapoteko had

- *yu [male adult human];
 - soon after XXX CE it was replaced by
 - S/C/N *kw+enne7 [ordinary adult human]

At this time proto-Sapoteko probably had

- *ni7 [animal];
 - soon after XXX CE it was replaced by
 - P/S/C/N *mma=ni7 [animal] < pSokean *m@7a `deer'
 - + pSapn *ni7 `animal'
- *xa7 [respected human]
- *ne7 [noble, god]
- *ni [thing, bad person, foreigner]
- *ni [baby]

All forms of Sapoteko that have it reduce *kwenne7 in pronominal use to a single syllable, sometimes keeping /7/, /n/, or /&/. I conventionally represent it as #kwen7. None of these final segments would be reflected in epigraphic Sapoteko spelling. <kwe> is found 2-3x apparently spelling this

pronoun. In the attested forms of Sapoteko the vowel of the surviving monosyllable sometimes shifts from the reflex of *e.

All forms of Sapoteko that have it reduce *mma=ni7 in pronominal use to a single syllable, sometimes keeping /7/, /n/, or /&/. I conventionally represent it as #mman7. In the attested forms of Sapoteko the vowel of the surviving monosyllable sometimes shifts from the reflex of *a. The origins of *xa7, *ne7, *ni1, and *ni2 in independent nouns has not yet been established.

In the texts we find <kwe> [S,C,N], <ne>, and <ni>. The use of <kwe> shows that the form of Sapoteko being represented in the hieroglyphic texts is neither Western nor Papabuco.

The above re-examination is based on data in a ms by Rob MacLaury (2001) 'Sapotekan Personal Pronoun Inventories: Data, Typology, and Reconstruction' 50pp.

Natalie Operstein also has a ms on this topic, which she sent to me; I annotated it and gave it back to her but she never got her revised version back to me. Her article appeared in IJAL (2003). On 26 September 2005 I wrote to Natalie Operstein:

I have some problems with your methodology for doing comparative linguistics. It mainly concerns your not touching all the bases, and leaving some issues unmentioned or uncontextualized. My impression of your writings about Sapoteko(an) pronouns is that you did not take any of the advice I offered you about how to improve your presentation. You did not explicitly deal with comparative phonology. Since I disagreed with a number of your conclusions [not all of which I told you about], it clearly would have been profitable if there had been some level of argument between us on several issues about what is probably right, what is merely possible, and what is really shaky or even probably wrong. And, as you may have gathered, in my view "general principles" never get you out of an unclear situation.

+++++

Talk with Jeff Rasch 3 August 2004

YAI Chatino has the following third person pronominal types, all optional:

person	{ne7}	*kw+enne7
man	{yu}	*ki7yu
woman	{cho}	
respected person	{ni}	
family member	{wi}	
baby	{kwi7}	
animal	{in7}	*ni7
thing	{o ~ an}	cf. na 'thing'

xxxxxx

=====

TIME ADVERBS

witza(k) (N,C,S,W;Ch) adv pasado man*ana//
 day after tomorrow
ko+ xxe (N) ~ **ki+ xe7** (C) adv man*ana//tomorrow
ke7 (C,S;Ch) adv man*ana//tomorrow

ssila (N,C,S,W) s man*ana//morning

na: &7ka(k) (N,C,S,W;Ch) adv ayer//yesterday

nna (N,C,S,W) adv ahora//now; hoy//today

nnasse(k) (N,C,S,W) adv antier//day before yesterday

=====

from TK & JJ Deciphering Sapoteko Hieroglyphic Writing-06

Relational nouns and prepositions

*tya7a adv 'up, at' (N:Jua*rez; C:Isthmus; Chatino)
 *se 'at, in the manner of' (N:Rincon; C:Isthmus; S) = 'place'
 *lawo 'on, in front of' (N:Jua*rez, Rincon; C:Mitla, Isthmus; Chatino)
 = 'face'
 *(xi+) ni7ya 'at the foot of, under' (N:Rincon; C:Mitla) = 'foot'
 *yekkek 'on top of, over' (N:Jua*rez, Rincon; C:Mitla, Isthmus)
 = 'head'
 *tyo7wa 'at the edge of, in front of' (N:Rincon; C:Mitla) = 'mouth'
 *tyo7wa lawo 'in front of, around' (N:Jua*rez, Rincon) =
 'mouth + face'
 *xa(7na) 'below, under' (N:Jua*rez, Rincon; C: Mitla, Isthmus; S)
 = 'buttocks'
 *lawe7 'in the middle of' (N:Jua*rez; C:Isthmus [ga lawi7]; S; Ch)
 [J:lani, R:len] 'with, by means of' (N:Jua*rez, Rincon)
 *lati 'on top of' (N:Jua*rez; C; S) = 'body'
 *la(t)tik 'among, between' (N:Rincon; C:Isthmus; S; Ch)
 = 'place'
 *lle7a 'inside, on' (N:Jua*rez, Rincon; Ch) = 'belly'
 cf. [I: nda7ani, M: neN] 'inside'
 *kkwit7a 'beside, next to' (N:Jua*rez, Rincon) = 'side'
 *kkwe7e 'behind, beside' (N:Jua*rez; C:Mitla, Isthmus) = 'back, side'
 [I: deche, M: dejtz] 'behind' = 'back'
 [Ch: lo7o] 'along with'

=====

FROM "OTO-MANGEAN TENSE-ASPECT-MOOD, VOICE, AND NOMINALIZATION MARKERS"
(Kaufman 1988ms)

3.2.1 SAPOTEKO

Sapoteko is not a single language, but a language complex made up at least five language areas or virtual languages, each with considerable internal differentiation. Sapoteko as a whole is calculated to have at least 1400 years time depth. The analysis presented here is based on Kaufman 1987ms ('Aspects of Sapoteko Morphophonology: Verbs'), in which the verb systems of Juchitán and Guevea de Humboldt Sapoteko (Eastern Sapoteko language area), Ixtlán and Yatzachi Sapoteko (Northern Sapoteko language area), and Papabuco (Western Sapoteko language area) are analyzed in depth. Sapoteko is rather well known, and is documented since the 16th century, with Córdova's large dictionary from the Central Sapoteko language area. Sapoteko is spoken in the State of Oaxaca, Mexico.

Sapoteko forms are cited in proto-Sapoteko phonological garb.

Sapoteko verbs fall into four classes, according to the allomorphs of TAM markers they select, and any changes they themselves undergo apart from occurring with TAM markers. Each class contains underived stems that are apparently roots (though further analysis may show some to be analyzable), and two of the classes contain stems that are derived by means of proclitics. The classes are labeled A,B,C,D. Class A "roots" are transitive and begin with /u/ or /e/. Class B roots are transitive and begin with a consonant. Class C roots are either transitive or intransitive and begin with either V or C (except /p/,/k/). Class D roots (or rather "bases") are transitive or intransitive, and take the same TAM allomorphs as class C roots, but they show replacive initial consonants, that are chosen by reference to both TAM categories and voice categories. Practically all verbs of class D show transitive:intransitive pairs, where the transitive member has causative meaning and the intransitive member has versive meaning. One of the pair of replacives is used with transitive verbs in all TAM categories but the completive, while the other of the pair of replacives is used with the intransitive verbs and the completive of the transitives. This distribution of two different markers, one with the completive and one with other aspects, reminds me of certain kinds of split ergativity, for which there is no current evidence in Sap. The replacive pairs found in verbs of class D are given below. Once the replacive prefixes are removed from verbs of class D they all begin with vowels. There is a total of 54 verbs in the kinds of Sapoteko examined for the mentioned study. The data for Eastern and Northern Sapoteko were probably nearly complete.

transitive minus completive alternation	intransitive and transitive completive	number of verbs showing the
ZERO	i-	3
ZERO	t-	9
k-	tz-	2
k-	t-	18
k-	r-	2
kw-	t-	1
kw-	tz-	4
kw-	r-	5
k-,kw-	l-	6
s-	x-	4

Sap *[p] is underlyingly /kw/ and comes from earlier *kw. Since /kw/ cannot occur before rounded vowels, in cases where //kw// is followed by a rounded vowel it becomes /k/. Thus the k-,kw-:l- in the above chart. Sap *[r] is underlyingly /ty/, and represents palatalization of earlier Oto-Mangean *tz and *t.

On the above chart we see that the transitive verb forms begin with ZERO (12x), k- (22x) and *kw- (16x). Note that verbs of class C begin with any consonant except /p/ and /k/. This can hardly be accidental. This fact, however, does not allow us to unite classes C and D, because there are many class C verbs that begin with V. The s-:x- alternation seem clearly due to *s- being palatalized in the intransitive form, so that the original relationship is ZERO:y-.

This being so, the verbs with s-:x- become the only verbs of class D that begin with a consonant. The intransitive verb forms of the above chart begin with t- (28x), tz- (6x), *ty- (7x), l- (6x), i- (3x), and y- (4x). *ty- can be the result of palatalization of both /t/ and /tz/. i- and y- can perhaps both be combined. So the intransitive forms seem to represent two layers of prefixation: nearest the root we have t- and tz-, ZERO, and perhaps l-. Immediately to their left we have i-/y-, and perhaps l-. i-/y- + t-,tz- > ty-; i-/y- + s.. > x..

Most verb roots belonging to classes B and C are intransitive. Class A verbs are transitive, but few in number. Since the intransitive forms of class D verbs are more complex than the transitive forms, it looks like class D is where a large number of originally transitive verb roots found their homes.

The t- of the intransitive pairs may be compared to Mixtec *ta- 'impersonal', for which no other cognate has yet been found. To these we may also compare pOP *t- 'impersonal' (before bases beginning in /h/,/7/). These would all derive from a pOM *ta.. 'impersonal 1' (See 2.9.1).

To the i-/y- that occurs with some class D intransitives we may compare the Ixtlán Sapoteko prefix //Iy+// that derives verbs from adjectives. Both may go back to a pre-Sap *i+, cognate with Pop hi- 'impersonal/passive', and pOP *h- 'impersonal' (with bases beginning with /p/, /t/, /k/, /s/, /m/, /n/). These would all derive from a pOM *hi+ 'impersonal 2' (See 2.9.2).

The OM etymologies *ta+ 'impersonal 1' and *hi+ 'impersonal 2' would never have occurred to me if I had not carried out a detailed analysis of Sapoteko verbs, and as well had detailed information on Poploca, Mixtec, OtoPamean which I also analyzed in great detail. This kind of analysis is absolutely essential for recovering the history of the OM stock and its daughters, but the insights are not merely diachronically relevant; they also in many cases simply show how the languages work in the present era, though in ways that are not obvious when an excessively surface phonetic focus is employed. I wish to explicitly contradict any claim that the kind of analysis I have performed on the Sap data has a purely diachronic relevance. While some of the phenomena may be quite buried under later accretions, they are mostly quite superficial, requiring only a modest amount of subtlety to unravel. What is specifically required is a willingness to view these phonological systems in their own terms and not through the eyes of Spanish speakers or other Europeans.

The ZERO, k-, and *kw- that the transitive members of class D verbs begin with may in fact be frozen variants of *ki+ 'potential' and *kwe+ 'completive', that got phonologically attached to transitive verbs that began with vowels. This is merely a suggestion at the moment, because it would have to be explained how there independently exists a class of transitives that begin with a vowel and do not behave like class D verbs, namely class A (some class C verbs are also transitive); and it would have to be explained why some class D verbs got *ki+ frozen onto them, while others got *kwe+ frozen onto them, and others got nothing (ZERO) frozen onto them. In any case, these would be cases of double marking, because all class D verbs occur with the same TAM proclitics that the rest of the verbs take.

As an initial wedge into the job of explaining away the evidence of class A verbs, we note that they all begin with /u/ or /e/ in Northern, Eastern, and Western Sapoteko. The /u/ could reflect pSap *o+ CAUSativizer, except that it is part of the stem and not a proclitic in class A verbs. If *o+ CAUS is in evidence here, it has changed its morphophonemic behavior in these items.

The four verb classes of Sap are defined by the allomorphs of *ki+ ~ *k+ 'potential' and *kwe+ ~ *ko+ 'completive' they occur with, as well as by whether they show replacive initials on transitive intransitive pairs.

	class A	class B	class C	class D
potential	ki+	ki+	k+	k+
completive	kwe+	ko+	ko+	ko+ with replacive
replacives	NO	NO	NO	YES
begin with	V	C	V,C	V,s

Class A can/could be combined with class B on phonological grounds, since class a begins with V and class B begins with C. Why COMpletive shows the alternation here that it does is however a fact peculiar to this morpheme, and not accountable for by a general phonological process. Class C/D is distinguished from class A/B by the choice of allomorph for POTential.

The structure of the TAMVN string in proto-Sapoteko has been outlined in 2.6 and 2.8, and in the discussion above.

The TAMVN markers of Sapoteko are given on the following chart. On the left are given the names I use, on the right are given names used by others, where they differ. Also given is the distribution in the various Sapoteko language areas.

TK labels	TAMVN markers	Cord	CSap	WSap	NSap	SSap	other labels
POSITION 3							
habitual	*tyi+	+	+	+	+	+	continuative
contra-factual	*niy+	+	+	+	-	-	irrealis
progressive	*kkay+	?	+	-	-	+	continuative
potential	*ki+ ~ *k+	+	+	+	+	+	indefinite future
future	*sa+ ~ *si+	?	+	-	+	-	incompletive
completive	*kwe+ ~ *ko+	+	+	+	+	+	
infinitive	*we+	-	-	-	+	?	
intensive/ affirmative/ interrogative	*wa+	-	+	-	+	?	
AUX POSITION							
causative	*o+ *k+	+	+	+	+	+	
andative	*ya&k *k+	+	+	+	+	?	
venitive	*eta *k+	-	?	-	+	?	
repetitive	*ey	+	?	?	+	?	
frequent- ative	*ese	+	?	?	+	?	
DERIVATIONAL POSITION							
causative	*o+	+	+	+	+	+	
	*o(s)se+	+	+	+	+	+	
intrans- itive/non-active	*t-	+	+	+	+	+	
intrans- itive/versive	*i-	+	+	+	+	+	
stative/ participle	*na+	+	+	+	+	?	

In Eastern Sapoteko *sa+ ~ *si+ means 'definite future', that is that the subject intends that the event occur, or that the speaker asserts that the event will occur. In Northern Sapoteko (Yatzachi) a cognate morpheme [z] occurs in two restricted functions; as an allomorph of the stative {n-}, and in interrogative forms with completive aspect. This TAM marker may derive from the pSap ancestor of IZ /u+ sa7/ tv 'to make, build'.

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3.2.2 CHATINO

Chatino is either a single language with three strongly differentiated dialects, or else a language area with three emergent languages. It is spoken in the State of Oaxaca, Mexico. Cht is not well documented, and only an incomplete characterization of its TAMVN system can be offered here.

The known TAM markers that have cognates in other OM languages are the following:

TK labels	Chatino morphemes	other labels used
potential	ki-	
completive	ngu- ~ ngwi-	
"present"	n-	
habitual	ndV- (ngi-)	
progressive	ndya-	continuative

It seems likely that the COMP, HAB, and PROG markers all have procliticized n+ < pOM *na# 'now'.

DESCRIPTIVE SOURCES FOR CHATINO

to be filled in

3.2.3 PROTO-SAPOTEKAN

In this section are presented all the Sapoteko or Chatino morphemes that have cognates with any TAMVN markers in other OM languages. The proto-Sapotekan form for each etymon is given. In the chart below the relevant data is displayed.

Proto-Sapotekan	Proto-Sapoteko	Chatino
POSITION 3		
*tyi+ HAB	*tyi+ HAB	n-dV- HAB
*niy+ CONTRAF	*niy+ CONTRAF	
*kkay+ PROG	*kkay+ PROG	n-dya- PROG
*ki+ POT	*ki+ ~ *k+ POT	ki- POT
*kwe+ ~ *ko+ COMP	*kwe+ ~ *ko- COMP	n-gwi- ~ n-gu- COMP
DERIVATIONAL		
*se+ CAUS	*o(s)se+ CAUS	
*na+ STAT		
ADVERBS		
*na# 'now'	*nna 'now'	n- "present"; n- on HAB, PROG, COMP
*nwa# 'already'	IZ mma7 'already'	
*sa# 'nothing'	IZ sa7a 'no matter'	

The absence on this chart of a Chatino form means only that a Cht cognate has not yet been found. It does not mean that a cognate form is known or believed to be absent.

loans from Mije-Sokean

JCH **mma7** 'already' can be compared to pMZ ***ma** 'earlier'.
[other forms of Sap have #ba, which goes back to *mma7]

kw+ e7kku7 (N,C,S,W) s perro//dog

ni=kku (Ay,L) s perro//dog [lit. ANIMAL DOG]

[NOTE: not in Ch; > Wasteko pik'o7, Yukateko pe:k'
[cf. pMijejan *7uku 'dog' < pMZ 'agouti': pSap *kw+ e7kku7
< **kwe+ u7kku7 by rule d]

kw+ e7wa (N,C,S) s guacamaya//macaw

[cf. pMZ ***7owa** 'macaw': pSap *kw+ e7wa < **kwe+ o7wa by rule d]

(kwe+) yatyi (N,C,S;Ch) s cirhuela, jocote, jobo//hog-plum
(Spondias sp.)

[a TK original; *ty or *tz?]

[cf. pSokean *yati = pMijejan *7a:ti 'soursop']

mmani7 (C,S;[Ch]) s animal//animal; pa*jaro//bird;
insecto//bug

[cf. pSokean ***mu7a** 'deer']

(kwe+) tzina7 (N,C,S,W;[Ch:tz > kw]) s miel//honey

tzina7 tawo7 (N,C) s + modif miel//honey

[cf. Sokean ***tzinu** 'honey']

tze7 (C,S) s (a) di*a//day (C,S); (b) noche//night (N)

ko+ tze7 (N,C,S,W) vi:completive "la tarde"//afternoon

x-tze7 (N,C,S,W;[Ch]) s cena//supper

awo x-tze7 (N,C,S,W;[Ch]) vt + s cenar//to eat supper

[This should be compared to Soke ***tza7y+ji** and Epi-Olmec <tza-ji> 'late in
the day' (a JJ original)]

Other loans in Sapoteko [found in Co*rdova's dictionary]

ma*ni pe*o papagayo verde grande

ma*ni xiica
pe*o xiica papagayo mas pequen*o verde la cabecza colorada

co*cho
ma*ni co*cho papagayo verde chico

ma*ni quili papagayo chiquito verde

pe*hua
ma*ni pe*hua papagayo grande colorado

que*ye, qui*ya batey, juego de pelota de los yndios el lugar

Sapotekan sound correspondences

	*..ok	*..ak	*..ek	*..ik
JCH	..e	..e		
CHI	..a?	..a?		
<COR>	..e	..e		
CHO	..o(g)	..o(g)		
1700	..og	..ag	..eg	..ig
YTZ	..Rw	..R	..R	..R
ATP	..ia (...a after /x ty tz/)		=>	=>
[COA]	ZERO	ZERO		
[CUI]	ZERO	ZERO		
[ZAN]	ZERO	ZERO		
LCH	..o	..o		
ZEN	..a	..u	..e	..i
YAI				

FdM's *R and *Rw. I used to think these were *+ja and *+ju, but now I think they were *..ak (*..ek, *..ik) and *..ok. I contemplated only *+ja because VA Sapoteko merges *..ak, *..ek, and *..ik as /R/.

Evidence

written <ag>, <eg>, <ig>, and <og> in 1700 N Sap
 CHO has /o/_# ~ /og/_V

*k is the only consonant that may occur preconsonantly in non-word final position, and the only consonant that can end (preposed) morphemes: now *k also appears word finally.

Now we have

\$ (k) CV (k) \$
 \$ (k) CV (k) CV (k) \$

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ADD: words of OM pedigree that survive in only one Sapotek(an) language

distribution: Justeson, MacLaury, Benton, Hopkins & Josserand, Urcid,
LMA, Beam de Azcona

Further vistas.

Still lacking is a reconstruction of pSap tone. Most likely there will be
3 level tones, plus at least one moving tone, perhaps two.

The work that Eric Campbell is engaged in, the reconstruction of proto-
Chatino and its diversification, should materially amplify, and partially
correct, the present work.