

Introduction to Notes on Mixtec Toponyms for Towns

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BACKGROUND

In 2004, William Bright wrote and asked me to serve on the editorial board for a planned volume to be entitled *Toponimia Indígena de México* (TIM). The goal was to compile etymologies for all the officially recognized Mexican placenames, i.e., those listed by INEGI. He and Yolanda Lastra planned to co-edit the volume, which would be patterned after Bright's monumental work on place names in the U.S.A. from indigenous languages, *Native American Placenames of the United States* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004).

I agreed to do this, Bright sent me a list of placenames that he thought were Mixtec, or that might be, and I contacted SIL colleagues to research etymologies. In the process I rejected some of the names he sent me as non-Mixtec, and I added others. I compiled the information I gleaned into tables and sent them off to Bright and Lastra in 2005. I included notes and glosses in Spanish, and also commentaries in a mixture of English and Spanish directed to the volume editors. Unfortunately, however, Bright died in October, 2006, and the project has not yet been brought to completion.

It seems appropriate to make this information about placenames with a Mixtec source available, and so I am posting it in the original format. While the information was as accurate as I could make it in 2005, it contains many gaps, and undoubtedly also a considerable number of errors.

It should perhaps be noted that there are hundreds more placenames in Mexico of Mixtec origin than those on the INEGI list; some are names of mountains, rivers, and other topographic features, and others are names of settlements too small to be listed by INEGI. None of these terms is included in this list.

FONTS AND SPECIAL CHARACTERS

These materials were compiled before Unicode fonts were in use. The official placenames were limited to letters in the Spanish alphabet, and the materials are all presented in the Times New Roman font. In talking about the glosses, however, it was necessary to use some characters not represented in the Spanish alphabet. One is the glottal stop (saltillo), for which I used an apostrophe. Another character is the sixth vowel, usually called barred i, for which I used a plus sign.

ABBREVIATIONS USED FOR DISTRICT NAMES

HUAJ = Huajuapán (de León)
JAM = (Santiago) Jamiltepec
JUQ = Juquila
JUX = Juxtlaahuaca
NOCH = (Asunción) Nochistlán
SdeV = Sola de Vega
SIL = Silacayoapan
TEPOS = (San Pedro y San Pablo) Teposcolula
TLAX = Tlaxiaco

OTHER ABBREVIATIONS USED

ALV	Alvarado (1593)
AP	Peñafiel (1897)
c.p.	comunicación personal
Chay	Chayuco
COM	comentario
cp.	compare
dicc.	diccionario

GG	García García (s.f.)
GP	?
esp.	español
LG	Laura Gittlen
mixt.	mixteco
prob.	probablemente
SJC	San Juan Colorado

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Savi), y explica algunas normas para el uso de las letra mayúsculas y los signos de puntuación. También resume los pronombres independientes y dependientes (llama a éstos marcadores) de varios pueblos, los demostrativos y las maneras de expresar el plural. Además explica algo acerca de los tonos y la nasalización.

APPENDIX

In this part I list the principles I used to determine whether a placename was likely to be Mixtec, and the phonological and semantic principles I used to decide what the pieces of a compound were likely to be. I also give a list of common roots that are found in placenames, especially the first part, which is often the word for a topographic feature.

SOME PRINCIPLES FOR DECIDING WHETHER A NAME IS MIXTEC OR NOT.

Place names that contain a p are not Mixtec because Mixtec did not (and does not) have p, except in loans and onomatopoeic words.

Place names that contain a b may be Mixtec if the b represents the Mixtec v (vd. bilabial fricative), as in Caba-, but v does not occur before back vowels (thus ruling out the boca part of Bocachahue). Likewise, place names that contain a g may be Mixtec if the g is in a gu sequence, which was often used to represent the v, which varied with w. G also occurs following n, and before a front vowel, representing j.

Place names that contain an l (ell) are probably not Mixtec because Colonial Mixtec did not have l, and modern Mixtec has it mainly in diminutives and other rather odd words. It may be a baby-talk variant of nd. Place names with tl are certainly not Mixtec. Place names with ll may be Mixtec, with ll representing the y, usually pronounced zh.

Place names that contain an r are not Mixtec because r occurs in Mixtec only in enclitic pronouns, loans, and onomatopoeic forms. The town of Chicahua is an exception to this because they retroflex nd strongly.

Place names that end in a consonant are highly suspect. Mixtec words never end in a consonant, but it is conceivable that a final vowel may have been lost, or that a Spanish suffix like -s may have been added. An n or m may represent nasalization, but nasalization was usually not marked.

Place names that contain only one or two syllables are suspect. Place names are usually compounds, and compounds have at least three syllables. They start out with four, two from each part, but the first part sometimes gets reduced. Also, a single vowel in the Spanish spelling may represent a VV or V'V sequence, especially if it is written with an accent.

Place names that contain more than four syllables are suspect, but some are valid.

Names for places that are located outside the Mixteca are almost certainly not Mixtec. Mixtec was widely used as a trade language in the Mixteca, but it did not extend outside of the area. I know of no instance of a placename with a clear Mixtec etymology for a place outside of the area that ever made it onto the map. Such names exist within Mixtec, but Aztec and Spanish etymologies won out as the official names. There are, however, some clearly Mixtec names around the edges of the Mixtec area, which probably represent Mixtec influence there at some period.

PHONOLOGICAL PRINCIPLES THAT I FOLLOW IN DECIDING WHAT THE PIECES ARE (WORKING FROM THE SPELLING BACK TO THE ROOT)

Mixtec place names are invariably old. Newer settlements always seem to get Spanish names. It is therefore likely that Mixtec place names date from prehispanic times, certainly no later than the colonial

period. Place names may therefore contain archaic uses and forms, and the etymology tends to be obscured, if not entirely lost, in many cases. The spelling of municipios and larger settlements sometimes reflects the standardized Teposcolula variant found in Alvarado and de los Reyes, or the Tlaxiaco variant of this. But local varieties are also reflected in many place names, especially those for smaller settlements, and also for most settlements in the Mixteca Baja and the Costa, where the influence of the colonial Mixtec literate culture was less strongly felt.

Mixtec has features that are usually not represented in the Spanish orthography. Nasalization was not marked in the colonial sources, and it is likewise usually omitted in the modern spellings of place names. I will mark nasalization, using a morpheme-final *n*, which is the convention approved by the Mixtec Academy.

Tone was usually omitted in the colonial sources, though it was occasionally marked with an accent. And it is not marked in the modern spellings of place names. I will not mark tone because it is so variable from town to town.

Mixtec has CVV sequences. The double vowel was consistently written in the colonial sources, but it is often ignored in place names. It may, however, be represented by either an accented vowel or a double vowel. I will write the double vowel, which is the convention approved by the Mixtec Academy.

Mixtec also has CV'V sequences. These were written CVhV in the colonial sources, but the glottal stop is often not written with an *h* in place names. It may, however, be represented by an accented vowel or a double vowel. I will write the glottal stop using a vertical stroke or apostrophe, which is the convention approved by the Mixtec Academy.

Mixtec also has CV'CV sequences. The glottal stop before the bilabial fricative was written *hu* in the colonial sources, but the glottal stop before *m*, *n*, *ñ*, and *y* was usually ignored in the colonial sources. The glottal stop before a consonant seems to be ignored in the modern spelling of place names. I will write the glottal stop where it occurs in the root.

Mixtec has an *esh* phoneme that was written as *s* in the colonial sources. In modern spellings of place names, it may be written *s*, *z*, *x* or *sh*. I will write it as *x*, which is the convention approved by the Mixtec Academy.

Some varieties of Mixtec have a high central vowel that was written as *e* in the colonial sources. The modern spellings of some place names have an *e* that reflects this vowel. The Mixtec Academy has approved using a barred *i* to write this vowel. Since you do not want to use this symbol, and because I cannot easily get the *i* with diéresis on my keyboard, I will temporarily write a plus sign for this vowel wherever the modern spelling has *e*. This vowel has been lost in many towns, merging with *i*, and I will write an *i* where the modern spelling has *i*.

Because the high central vowel was written with *e*, this letter was not available for the phoneme *e*, and the vowel *a* was used in colonial sources for both *a* and *e*. (I figured this out by comparing colonial homographs with modern Mixtec contrasting pairs, where there is no conceivable factor that could condition a split.) This convention seems to be reflected in the modern spelling of some toponyms, but others reflect the phonetics more closely. Any toponyms with either *e* or *a* need to be looked at carefully because *e* can represent a high central vowel or an *e*, and *a* can represent either *a* or *e*.

(As I think more about this, it is conceivable that in the Teposcolula variant there was no *e* phoneme. The *e* developed historically from either an *a* followed by *i* (*va'i* for house, becoming *ve'e*), or from a palatalized consonant before *a* (*tyaa* for man, becoming *tee*). Maybe in Teposcolula *tyaa* simply lost the palatalization without it affecting the *aa*, giving *taa*, which agrees with the written form in the vocabulary and grammar. Against this, however, is the fact that man is written *taa* in the Tlaxiaco-Achiutla version also, but modern variants have *tee*.)

In that Spanish words are more likely to end in o and e than in u and i, whereas Mixtec words commonly end in u and i, a toponym with o or e at the end may well hark back to a Mixtec word with u or i. Yuco is common at the end of toponyms, and, while it could represent the loanword yugo/ yuco, it is far more likely to represent yucu 'cerro'. This applies only to unstressed syllables.

One interesting thing about Mixtec is that there is a very high degree of stability in roots from town to town. There are relatively few lexical replacements. But in functors there is wild instability, with the pronoun systems and the conjunctions and particles changing from town to town. Fortunately, toponyms tend to use roots from major lexical classes.

These roots do, however, show phonological changes.

One of the most prominent ones is the use of s (x before i) in the southwestern half, and the use of d in the northeastern half of the Mixteca. Found in yoso/yodo 'llano'. A few towns have th or l.

Another is the variation in the phoneme Jossierand reconstructed as a velar fricative (j), but which was probably originally a palatal sibilant (x). This sound is j in the Tlaxiaco area, ch in Zacatepec, s in parts of the coast, ts in other parts of the coast and in Mixtepec, and x in most other places around the edges.

A third is the loss of certain medial consonants:

uvi /uu, umi / uun, -- at least three areas, Peñoles, Yosoñama, SMG area

ixi / ii, exi / ee. --

iyi / ii, iñi iin. Guerrero

A fourth is the different reflexes of the tia sequence: cha, te, ta, tza, s, x (found in river).

There are other minor things.

SEMANTIC PRINCIPLES TO FOLLOW IN DECIDING AMONG POSSIBLE ETYMOLOGIES

The most important one is: how do local Mixtecs pronounce this place name when they are speaking Mixtec? They will say it with the features that are lost in the Spanish orthography, and that should make the etymology clear. Sometimes this can be sleuthed out from a dictionary or other printed material, but if not, one would have to ask a linguist who has worked in that area, or a native speaker. I do not have the energy to travel to survey this, and so I will not be able to use this criterion as thoroughly as it would be possible to do so.

Another important principle is plausibility. The first part of a place name is likely to be some basic topographic feature. The words for metate and llano or vega are a tone pair, but in place names llano is far more plausible. In the second part, which specifies the basic feature, a wider variety of items occurs, and so it is harder to choose among possible roots, but plausibility is still a criterion. Ndivi is more likely to be paloma than egg, for example.

Another criterion is: what do local Mixtecs say that it means? This is interesting, but it often falls in the category of folk etymology, which is a kind of folklore, and not linguistic data. It definitely ranks below the other criteria.

Something that messes up this piece of armchair linguistics happens when the natives of a community for reasons of their own choose to accept a Spanish version of their town name as the official name, rather than their own original pronunciation of it. The people of Magdalena call Teita Te'ita, but the people of Teita call it teyta.

A variant of this is that the people of Nuyoo do not use their pronunciation of cerro de ocote for the neighboring town of Yucuhiti, but give it a Spanish-loan tone pattern. They have a different Mixtec name

for the town, meaning town above (uphill). Both of these things are distancing mechanisms, which accords with the longstanding hostility between them. They also have their own name for Yosonicaje, meaning cumbre. Both of these Nuyoo names have very transparent etymologies, which suggests that they are recent. And perhaps despectivos.

FORMS THAT I WILL GIVE

Orthography: I am using the Academy alphabet, except that I am not marking tone. The Academy accepts both nt and nd, and I am using nd, which is used almost universally in the official map spelling of Mixtec toponyms.

t, ch k, ku, m, n, nd, ñ, s, x, j, v d, w, y, a, e, i, o, u, +, ', final n for nasalization. Tone is omitted.

I make no attempt to subdivide Mixtec into dialects because of the fragmentation, and because of the occasional mixing I have noted.

I give the form that seems to underlie the toponym, which is usually the local form, not what I consider to be the proto-form. Therefore for river I give yute, yuta, yucha, yutsa, yusa, yuxa, itia, ita, not yutia except where the word is truly pronounced yutia. This is a fairly safe way to proceed because it hugs the phonetic ground more closely. In some cases, however, the form in the toponym is different from the current local form, and so I give the form that seems to underlie the toponym instead of the local form. One problem here is the colonial Mixtec use of the letter a, where I believe the sound was e, as in nduta and yuta for ndute and yute. I am trying to give both, separated by a slash, for regions where the toponym is written with a, but the local pronunciation is e.

RASGOS TOPOGRÁFICOS BÁSICOS DEL MIXTECO BASIC TOPOGRAPHICAL FEATURES OF MIXTEC

Las siguientes palabras para rasgos topográficos son frecuentemente el primer elemento de los topónimos. There is a set of names for basic topographic features that frequently serve as the first part of place names.

The most common pattern for forming place names is a topographic feature plus a modifier.

noun + adj/verb

noun + noun

A fairly common pattern is a relational word plus a topographic feature.

noun + noun

A third pattern is a combination of these two. (Chicabaya).

There are other, minor patterns.

verb + subject

?

One problem I have sort of ignored is semantic shift. I have tried to pick the most general term and use it throughout, or to give two glosses for a term to cover some variation. But toto means peña or tepetate sometimes, and ndu'va means joya/hoya. Tinduu varies from a hill to a mountain, and yuu/yuvi varies from a río intermitente to a real river. Mini goes from a pila to a lake. Itun means both loma and partadera

a -- lugar ?

ALV -- nada*

Alavez -- a (lugar), pero no cita ninguna fuente

*ALV da solamente interjecciones y conjunciones:

a ñaha : o no

aa : de manera que

aa : ya, acordándoseme lo que se me había olvidado

Nota: este elemento se encuentra solamente en los topónimos de la región de Nochixtlán. Ya que proto y/ñ a veces se pierde antes de la a inicial en SEN, busqué en ALV palabras con ya y ña, pero no encontré nada que parece ser un rasgo topográfico.

chii / chiin / chiji / chixi / chixin / tichi -- estómago, abajo

Nota: en SEN se usa jiti en vez de chixin.

ALV -- chisi (barriga, debajo de algo)

Alavez -- no se incluye en su lista de elementos básicos, ni en las etimologías; cp. chii 'mogote' en algunas etimologías.

chii -- mogote ?

ALV -- nada

Alavez -- no se incluye en su lista de elementos básicos; en ciertas etimologías da:
chii (mogote), pero no cita ninguna fuente. Dicc. SEN nada

dini / sini / xini -- cabeza, cumbre

ALV -- dzini (cabeza, arriba en los altos)

Alavez -- sini, xini (cabeza, pico, encima)

d+k+ / diki / s+k+ / siki -- cabeza

ALV -- dzeque (cabeza, colodrillo de la cabeza, en la cumbre)

Alavez -- diqui, siqui, d+qu+ (cabeza, punta, encima)

doko / soko -- pozo

ALV -- dzoco (fuente pequeña)

Alavez -- no se incluye en su lista de elementos básicos; en una etimología da:
doco 'pozo'

itnu / itun -- partadero, portezuela, repecho

ALV -- itnu (repecho); itnu naho yucu (loma entre dos cerros)

Alavez -- no se incluye en su lista de elementos básicos; en una etimología da:
itnu 'loma'

Zacatepec grammar notes -- DT dice loma

jiki / xiki -- loma

ALV -- siqui (altozano) = hill
siqui : barrio de pueblo
siqui : cuesta, el mismo lugar
siqui : canto de canto o piedra
siqui : esquina

Alavez -- zero

Nota: (Probablemente se limita a algunas regiones.)

kana -- declive (Yos)

kava / kawa -- peña

ALV -- cavua (peña, abarrancadero, quebrada)
cavua yaa : peña enriscada
cavua yasi : peña enriscada

Alavez -- cava, cahua (peña, peñasco)

kuit+ / kuiti -- mogote

ALV -- cuite (montón, cuesta, el mismo lugar)

Alavez -- nada; Dicc. SEN nada

mini -- hondura

ALV -- mini (lago de agua)

Alavez -- nada; SEN dicc. mini 'pila'

ndika -- pecho, techo, repecho

ALV -- ndica (pecho del cuerpo)

ndica huahi : techo de la casa

ndica saha : planta del pie

Alavez -- nada; Dicc. SEN nchika 'senos'

ndo'yo -- ciénaga

ALV

ndoyo sa ñoho nduta (manantial)

ndoyo ñuhu caa (hontanales)

ndoyo ñuhu vuidza (hontanales)

ndoyo : montón

ndoyo nduta canu : ola grande

Alavez -- ndohyo,. ndoyo (ciénega)

ndu'va -- cañada

ALV -- nduhua indaa, nduhua sica (cañada)

Alavez -- ndua (ladera, cañada, boca arriba)

nuu -- cara, lugar, cumbre

ALV -- nuu (cara, rostro, fisionomía de rostro, gesto, acerca, de fuera o por encima, en, sobre)

NOTA: el uso de nuu para lugar donde, que es muy común en el mixteco actual, no se encuentra en Alvarado, ni en De los Reyes, ni en los catecismos de Hernández, excepto en los topónimos.

Alavez -- nu (lugar)

ñuu -- pueblo

ALV -- ñuu (pueblo, lugar por pueblo)

Alavez -- ñu (pueblo, tierra)

tinduu -- mogote

ALV -- tinduu (ovillo, pelota, redondo)

NOTA: parece que se ha extendido el significado desde tiempos coloniales

Alavez -- nada. Dicc. SEN chinduu 'cerro alto'

toto -- roca

ALV -- toto (peña); toto canu (peñasco); toto yuta canu (roca en la mar)

Alavez -- toto (roca, peña)

xata -- espalda, atrás

ALV -- sata (espalda, detrás de algo)

Alavez -- sata (atrás, espalda)

Yos -- jata

xa'a / ja'a / cha'a / sa'a / tsa'a / xe'e -- pie

ALV -- saha (pie, para, por, por ende, so por debajo)

Alavez -- sa, xa, cha (pie)

yata -- espalda, atrás

ALV -- yata (coa); yata saha (empeine del pie); también adj. anciano

Nota: en la región de Tlaxiaco, yata se usa en vez de xata.

Alavez -- no se incluye en su lista de elementos básicos, pero en una etimología lo usa con el significado 'viejo, antiguo'.

Nota: es una palabra diferente a xata y parece limitado a la región de Tlaxiaco

yodo / yoso -- llano

ALV -- yodzo (valle, vega, campo, tierra llana, llanura de campo)

Alavez -- yoso (llano, plano, metate)

yuku -- cerro

ALV -- yucu (cerro, sierra, monte, montón)

Alavez -- yucu (cerro, montaña)

yute / yuta / yucha / yutza / yutía -- río
también ita, itia (Baja)

ALV -- yuta (arroyo, río)

Alavez -- yuta (río)

yuu / yuvi -- arroyo temporal

ALV -- yuvui (quebrada entre dos montes)

Alavez -- yu (boca, arroyo, piedra)

yuu -- piedra

ALV -- yuu (canto, piedra)

Alavez -- yu (boca, arroyo, piedra)

yu'u -- boca, orilla

ALV -- yuhu (boca, a la orilla)

Alavez -- yu (boca, arroyo, piedra)

Some terms often found in the second half of toponyms are: (THIS PART COULD USE MORE WORK)

ninu -- cuesta arriba

ALV -- nino (alto, o en alto, arriba, soberanamente)

Cp. also

nino (abajo (adverbio), bajo de adverbio, de abajo)

vee -- cuesta abajo; mainly with nuu or ichi nuu

Alv -- nada -- apparently nino was the form used in Teposcolula then

chi'yo -- solar, lugar para casa, cimientto, zanja

ALV

chiyo (altar); chiyo si (solar de casa)

chiyo : sitio por asiento de casa o lugar

chiyo huahi : cimientto

chiyo huahi : zanja para cimientto

ñuti -- arena

ALV -- ñuhu ñute (arena menuda)

Alavez -- ñuti (arena)

ñu'ma -- humo

ALV -- ñuma (humo)

Alavez -- ñuma 'humo'

Some other possibilities

Yosondúa

jika -- pecho

kana -- declive (ALV zero)

kunu -- techo

Atatláhuca

jika -- costilla, al lado

Magdalena

jiyo -- al otro lado de

yika -- pared, lado -- may be related to jika in other towns; cp espalda

nduu -- a lo largo de (modifier)

nuu -- a lo largo de (modifier)

The jika / yika word has nothing in ALV under sica, which is almost exclusively distance, nor under yica, nor yeca, which is almost exclusively culpa.

General terms that are possible, but do not seem to occur in toponyms.

itu -- terreno, sementera

ichi / iti -- camino

kuato -- "slope"

xe'va -- barranca, arroyo

There are also names that do not fit this pattern very well.

Some names have truncated first elements,

te (from yute), as in Teita -- Te Ita, from yute ita

ta from yata 'espalda, atrás'

yos- from yoso (very local -- Magdalena)

Some names have first elements that are nouns, but that are not topographic features, like ita (flor) and inu (tabaco).

ino : beleño piciete
ino : piciete

There are names that seem to be clauses, based on a verb

Een Vaa may be stands below.

Nicananduta seems to be Ni kana nduta (water came out [in an upward direction])
cp. Yucunicoco seems to be yuku ni koko (mountains that burned)

There are place names that use words no longer current in the area

Loma Nujiqui

There are place names that have a form of a word not used in that area

There are names whose etymology is unknown to the inhabitants of the area. A good example is Magdalena Tindyuchocuaa. Our friends from Zaragoza, maybe a mile away, said that in Mixtec it was pronounced Tinduu Chokuaa or Tinduu Chukuaa. Tinduu means hill, but how the y got in there is a mystery, since Magdalena does not palatalize (SEN does). They have no idea what the second word means, and I suggested chakua (cáscara, corteza), which they insisted was not correct. The double vowel probably means that Chocuaa has two morphemes in it. They started being silly and came up with Tinduu Cho'o Kuaan (mogote de la pulga amarilla). One could also propose Tinduu Cho'o Kuaa (mogote de la pulga ciega).

And there are names that have traditional etymologies that seem implausible. These may be folk etymologies.

Cuanana -- se fue mamá; kua'an nana

Yosondúa -- sobre un llano; yoso nduva (tal vez pensando en nduva 'boca arriba')

Back formations from Spanish (arbitrary choice for official names that are based on a Spanish adaptation)

Teita

Nundiche

NOTES ON SPECIFIC ETYMOLOGIES IN THE TABLES

Adéquez

pending. I suspect this to be a combination of the mystery topographic feature a- plus diki (originally d+k+; Alv dzeque), which can mean arriba (en la cumbre), or it can be a noun meaning either cabeza or collar, soguillas (these two are a tone pair in SE Nochixtlán Mixtec). The final z is unexplained. It could be a Spanish plural, which would fit the bead meaning. Or perhaps the whole term is some rare patronymic Spanish apellido.

Añañe

This is surely Mixtec, but I cannot at present identify either part. The second part is probably not coyote (ñaña) because Mixtec a does not get written as e when it is Spanish-ized. It would be more likely to be ñañ+ or ñañe, but I draw a blank both in Alvarado and in the Mixtec vocabulary for the area. Maybe coyote is the best we can do, but let's see what Mixtec speakers in the area say and do.

Andúa

pending on the a, but ndúa is almost certainly nduva (guaje).

Añuma

pending on the a, but ñuma is probably from ñu'ma (humo). Ñuma (without the glottal) is wax, which is less likely.

Añuna

Almost certainly Mixtec, but I cannot at present identify either part. I find nothing in Alvarado to help.

Ayu

I am still working on a- as the initial element of toponyms, but I think that ita (flor) is not very likely. In the first place, t is not the sort of consonant to just drop out, and in the second place, I know of no toponym with ita as the first element. Ita is not a topographic feature. (But ita is found in girls' names -- Itandehui and Itaviví.)

Bari Yutazani

Bari is almost certainly Spanish Barrio, but Yutazani is clearly Mixtec. Yuta is river. zani does not ring a bell as a morpheme offhand. This is surely the same word as a barrio of Copala called Yutasaní, and the accent on the final i means that the ni is probably nii or ni'i, and so the sa may be a separate morpheme. The word for mazorca and sangre (tone pair) in Gro. Mixtec is nii. I draw a blank on the sa.

Cabayua

Bradomín's Mixtec etymology is essentially correct, except that I think peña is a more accurate gloss than cueva for Mx kava. The 1593 Alvarado vocabulary gives peña, but not cueva. Also, Bradomín uses a different spelling. I would write this:

Mixt., 'peña de la helada', de <kava> 'peña' y <yu'va> 'helada, hielo'.

I think his idea about owners of horses is highly implausible. Why go to such lengths when there is a plausible Mixtec etymology?

Cahuayaxi

Mixt., 'peña de la jícara', de <kava> 'peña' y <yaxin> 'jícara'. This is my restatement of Bradomín, and I cannot do any better on the etymology, but jícara does not make a lot of sense at the altitude of Mixtepec.

Coyuchi

Tal vez koo (víbora) + yuchi (cuchillo); o tal vez de la palabra española para algodón café. Is this possibly an Aztec word?

Cuanana

Los habitantes dicen que es kua'an nana (se fue mamá), pero no me parece muy probable. Sin embargo no tengo otra idea.

Cuananchinicha

This is probably not Mixtec. The Aztec may be correct, but note that the name of the nanche is *Byrsonima crassifolia*. (r is left out of first word)

Cuititó

Bradomin says *mogote del señor*. Alv gives *montón* or *cuesta* for *cuite*, which is a plausible topographic feature for the first part of a place name. The second part, *tó*, is probably either *too* or *to'o*. *Too* means *brotar*, as a spring of water, but more drip or ooze than gush. *Too* also means *jeme* (medida -- handspan), and *to'o* is the old word for the Mixtec nobility, *señor* or *principal*. And so Bradomin's etymology is plausible, but I think *mogote que brota (agua)* is equally plausible. Knowing how local Mixtecs pronounce this word in Mixtec would resolve the issue. Let's see what John and Judy Williams say about this; they have studied the Mixtec of this district.

Dinicuiti

Bradomin is probably correct on this; I would give it as:

Mixt., 'cabeza del mogote', de <dini> 'cabeza' y kuiti <mogote> (the only difference is k instead of c in kuiti).

Diquiyú

Bradomin is probably correct on this with *cabeza de piedra*. Another possibility I thought of for this one is *cabeza del arroyo intermitente*, but I find that in this area of the Mixteca, *arroyo* has the older form *yuvi*, not *yu* as it is in many parts. And so that pretty much limits the meaning to stone. Note, however, that *yu* means small loose stones, not boulders or cliffs or rock ledges, which makes the etymology less plausible. There is a word *ndiki* for horn that could also be the first part of this, but head makes a lot more sense than horn for the first part, which is usually a topographic feature. I have no idea where Bradomin got the final u in his *diquiu* for *cacho*.

Diuxi

An SIL colleague who has studied this variety of Mixtec says that it is probably a Mixtecized form of Spanish *Dios*, *Ndiuxi*. The word for God in San Cristóbal Amoltepec is *Iya-ndiuxi*. If the patron saint is really St. John of God, then this would be highly plausible. Bradomin's etymology *pueblo de águilas* is really implausible. It involves a substitution of the final double a of *diuxaa* by i, which is completely unmotivated.

En Baa

This is probably Mixtec, but the pieces are far from clear. One possibility is *una bajada*. The first part could be *++n* (one or nine, depending on the tone), but more likely one. It could also conceivably be some variant of *iñ+* (be standing). It is also unusual to write the final n for nasalization, and so the n may represent some truncated root in the middle of the term. The second part could be *vee* (*cuesta abajo*) or *va'a*

(bueno), or vaa (siempre, solamente). And so on. Note that Alvarado gives <huaa> 'para abajo en caminos o tierras', with a instead of e, whereas modern variants all seem to have e in this word for downhill. I am convinced, however, that the colonial sources wrote a for both a and e because they reserved e for +. And the people who wrote down placenames probably followed this practice, at least in the early colonial period. Still, this term is strange because place names are usually nouns,, and there is no noun head here.

I do not know whether your idea is to include all etymologies that have been proposed, or only the one I think is correct. Nor do I know whether you want to use Bradomín's spelling and cite him since he got there first with the etymology.

I am also not sure what to do when a Mixtec word that is in the place name has various meanings. I have given the most likely meaning for the whole toponym, and included the others as part of the gloss for the root.