

# Mixtec pronoun database

compiled by Barbara E. Hollenbach  
draft begun January 2002  
revised 2011, 2014, 2015

## INTRODUCTION

This database includes a brief description of the pronoun system of Mixtec towns from various parts of the Mixteca, grouped according to the dialect areas recognized by Josserand (1983:470). The data are largely extracted from published sources, but sometimes they were provided in personal interviews with fieldworkers. Most are contemporary, but historical sources were included when they were available.

Each description follows a standard template. Pronouns for first and second persons are covered in the first part, and pronouns for third person are covered in the second part. For first and second persons, both enclitic and independent forms are given for each category. The categories include forms for first person, second person, and inclusive. The first two are typically divided according to either a respect-familiar parameter (highlands), or a singular-plural one (lowlands and coast), though there are many variations on this pattern. For third person, there are no independent pronouns as such, but the enclitic pronouns often appear to be related to full nouns. For each category therefore, the full noun and its meaning are given along with each enclitic form, where this can be traced. There is often a proclitic form of each pronoun, which is used to form compound nouns and/or relative clauses, and this form is also given when it is known.

A third part follows, which gives forms in four categories closely related to pronoun sets: emphatics, usually formed from a word meaning self or same and the enclitic pronoun; the known object, which is used for an animate object that can be supplied from the discourse context; the third person inanimate proclitic, which is often used as a complementizer and/or as a relativizer clause introducer and a classifier in compounds, and plural formation, which is sometimes done by a verb proclitic, or a separate plural word. Following these three parts is a note section where further information about forms can be given, or questions raised. At the end of each language, the source for the information is given.

In order to make the information maximally comparable, the transcription has also been changed to fit the alphabet of the Mixtec Academy. Phonetic detail is ignored to some degree; for example, the letter y can represent a glide/semivowel, a voiced alveopalatal sibilant, or even a voiceless alveopalatal sibilant. All are reflexes of the same proto-phoneme. The letter x represents an alveopalatal sibilant, the letter j is a velar fricative or an h sound, the vertical stroke is a glottal stop, the letter d represents an interdental fricative. and the letter n at the end of a word represents nasalization.

Tone is included when it is marked in the source, but in addition to the accent and underline recognized by the Academy, a grave accent is also used for mid tone, to avoid ambiguity between mid tones, and tones that are not marked because they are unknown. The letter a in parentheses is used for a floating high tone, called perturbing power by Pike in 1948. Numbers are used for four-tone systems when the information is available.

In addition, in order to focus on major similarities and differences for comparative purposes, details about the use of each pronoun, which might be provided in a full reference grammar, have been largely omitted.



## WESTERN HIGHLAND MIXTEC

WESTERN ALTA -- NORTH

### Colonial Tlaxiaco-Achiutla, 16th century

#### First and second person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>independent</i>
1 respect	sa	ñasaña
1 familiar	ndi	ndu'u
2 respect	ni	ndiji (ndijin)
2 familiar	ndo	ndo'o
inclusive	yo	yoo

#### Third person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>full noun</i>	<i>gloss</i>	
3 m adult	te (ta)	tee (taa)	man	--
3 f adult	ña	ña'a	woman	--
3 child	ji	si suchi ?	child, young person	si ?
3 honorific	to	to'o	principal	--
3 animal	ti (te)	kiti (kete)	animal	--
3 deity	ya	iya	deity	--
3 inan				ja

#### Other

emphatic	maa / mai + enclitic
known object	ña'a
3 inan proclitic	ja
plurals	none in verb phrase; none in noun phrase

#### Notes

I have changed ta (3 m) and taa (man) to te, tee, because I believe the letter a was used for two different vowel sounds, both a and e.

The letter e was used to represent i. Though there is no evidence for i in any town in the area at present (the nearest town that has it is, I believe, San Pedro El Alto), it is entirely possible that it occurred in the sixteenth century, and merged with i later.

No data (yet) for wood, water, flower pronouns

No data yet for proclitics

#### Source:

Hernández, Fray Benito. 1567. *Doctrina Christiana en Lengua Mixteca*. México: Casa de Pedro Ocharte. [En la variante de Tlaxiaco y Achiutla.]

### San Miguel Achiutla

#### First and second person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>independent</i>
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1 respect	sa	saña
1 familiar, hombres	ndi	?
1 familiar, mujeres	li	?
2 respect	ni	ndijin
2 familiar, hombres	ndo	ndo'o
2 familiar, mujeres	lo	lo'o
inclusive	yo, o	?

#### Third person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>full noun</i>	<i>gloss</i>
3 m	de	tee	man
3 f	ña		woman
3 child	i, yi		child
3 animal	ti	kiti	animal
3 deity	ya	ia	deity
3 water	?		water
3 wood	?		tree
3 inan			
?			

#### Notes

There is a difference between men's speech and women's speech in second person familiar pronouns.

#### Other

Emphatic	maa + enclitic
Known object	ña'a
3 inan proclitic	ja
plurals	ka en tiempo pasado

#### Source:

Erickson de Hollenbach, Elena. 2015, Apuntes sobre el mixteco de Achiutla: un proyecto de rescate. Manuscrito puesto en el internet:  
[www.barbaraehlenahollenbach.com/PDFs/AchRESC.pdf](http://www.barbaraehlenahollenbach.com/PDFs/AchRESC.pdf)

## San Antonino Monte Verde, Teposcolula

#### First and second person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>independent</i>
1 respect	sa	?
1 familiar	ne	?
2 respect	ni	
2 familiar	nu	
inclusive	yo	

#### Third person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>full noun</i>	<i>gloss</i>
3 m adult	de		
3 f adult	ña		
3 child	jin		
3 person	?		
3 deceased	?		
3 animal	ti		
3 spherical	?		
3 deity	ya		
3 wood	nu		
3 water	?		
3 inan (other)	?		

Other

emphatic	maa
known object	?
3 inan proclitic	?
plurals	v pl ka, kun

Notes:

Source:

a teacher attending a CEDELIO course, June 08

## Yosoñama (including Nduaxico [Nd] )

First and second person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>independent</i>
1 respect	san	sein (Nd: sain)
1 familiar	rin	ru'un
1 intimate	li	lu'un
2 respect	ni	nii (Nd: ni'i)
2 familiar	ron	ro'on, roon
2 intimate	lo	lo'on, loon
inclusive	-o	yoon (Nd: yo'on)

Third person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>full noun</i>	<i>gloss</i>
3 m adult	de	tee	te-
3 f adult	ña	ña'a	ña-
3 child	i	suchi	chi-
3 person		ñayiu	--
3 deceased		ndiyi	ndi
3 animal	ti	kiti	ti-, ndi-, chi-
3 spherical		kiti	ti-, ndi-, chi-
3 deity	ya	ia	ia
3 wood	tnu	yutnu	tnu-
3 water	de	ndute	te-
3 inan (other)	ZERO	--	ja

## Other

emphatic	maa + enclitic
known object	ña
3 inan proclitic	ja
plurals	verb phrase plurals ka (present and past), vi (future) no noun phrase or pronoun plurals

## Notes:

Note the nasalization on the familiar forms and the inclusive form.  
The 2 fam. pronouns loon and roon may be associated with only one of the towns.

## Source:

Gittlen, Laura. n.d. *Gramática popular, mixteco del norte de Tlaxiaco*, manuscrito, 1996.  
(This grammar has been revised, and it is soon to be published.)

Laura Gittlen, personal communication 9/03

Reignaldo Ventura, personal communication, 2/03

## San Cristobal Amoltepec

### First and second person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>independent</i>
1 respect	sá a	sañá / saán
1 familiar	rị m-b, ri b	rù'ũ
2 respect	ní a	ndí'í
2 familiar	ró m(a), rọ b(ba)	ró'ó
inclusive	ó m(a), ọ b(ba)	yó'ó

### Third person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>full noun</i>	<i>gloss</i>	
3 m adult	dẹ b	tẹè	man	
3 f adult	ñạ m(a)	ñạ'à (a)	woman	
3 child	ì m	sũchì (a)	child	
3 animal	tị b(ba)	kìtì (a)	animal	ti- m
3 deity	yạ b	ìya	deity	iya m.b
3 wood	nũ b(ba)	yùtnù (a)	tree	tu m
3 water	dẹ b	ndùtè (a)	water	nde m ?
3 inan	ì m	--		jàa mb(ba)

## Other

emphatic	màa m.m(a) + enclitic
known object	ñạ m(a) / ñà'ạ m.m(a)
3 inan proclitic	jàa mb(ba) (written ja)
plurals	verb phrase plurals kạ (present and past), jị (future)

## Notes

The saán and ndí'í forms may represent the original, without a deictic yá or jiñạ postposed.

Full nouns are often used instead of proclitic pronouns.

Sources:

Hollenbach field notes, based on speech of Maura Zárate (now deceased), daughter of a couple from Amoltepec

Erickson de Hollenbach, Elena. 2013. *Gramática del mixteco de Magdalena Peñasco* (Serie de gramáticas de lenguas indígenas de México, Núm. 13). México, D. F.: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano. Versión electrónica: [www-01.sil.org/acpub/repository/GS13-GramMixtecoMag-xtm.pdf](http://www-01.sil.org/acpub/repository/GS13-GramMixtecoMag-xtm.pdf)

Paradigma del verbo correr, SIL Mexico website

## Magdalena Peñasco

First and second person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>independent</i>
1 respect	sá	sãñá
1 familiar	rĭ / rĭj	ru'u, ru'u yá
2 respect	ní	ndíjín
2 familiar	ró	ro'o
inclusive	ó	yó'ó

Third person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>full noun</i>	<i>gloss</i>	
3 m adult	de	teè	man	--
3 f adult	ñà (a)	ñà'a (a)	woman	--
3 child	ì	sùchì (a) ?	child	si
3 animal	tĭ (a)	kìtì (a)	animal	tì
3 spherical	tĭ (a)	kìtì (a)	animal	tì
3 deity	ya (a)	ìya (a)	deity	ìya
3 wood	tnu (a)	yùtnù (a)	tree	tnù
3 water	de (a)	ndùtè (a)	water	ndè
3 inan	ì	--		jàa

Other

emphatic	màa (a) + enclitic
known object	ñà'a (a)
3 inan proclitic plurals	jàa (ba) (written ja)
verb phrase	ka (present and past) jĭn (future)
noun phrase	none

Notes

no honorific, no flower

Full nouns are often used instead of proclitic pronouns.

Sources:

Hollenbach F., Fernando, y Elena Erickson de Hollenbach. 2000b. *Los pronombres del mixteco de Magdalena Peñasco*. México: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano. [2015. Versión electrónica disponible en <http://www.barbaraelenahollenbach/PDFs/xmPROnLB.pdf>]

Erickson de Hollenbach, Elena. 2013. *Gramática del mixteco de Magdalena Peñasco* (Serie de gramáticas de lenguas indígenas de México, Núm. 13). México, D. F.: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano. Versión electrónica: [www-01.sil.org/acpub/repository/GS13-GramMixtecoMag-xtm.pdf](http://www-01.sil.org/acpub/repository/GS13-GramMixtecoMag-xtm.pdf)

Erickson de Hollenbach, Elena, comp. n. d. Diccionario del mixteco: Mixteco de Magdalena Peñasco, preliminary version 2015

Paradigma del verbo correr. SIL Mexico website

## San Agustín Tlacotepec

### First and second person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>independent</i>
1 respect	sa, san	saña
1 familiar	rri	ru'u / ru'u ya / ru ya
2 respect	ni	ndijin
2 familiar	ro / rro	ro'o / ro'o ya
inclusive	o	yo'o

### Third person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>full noun</i>	<i>gloss</i>
3 m adult	te	teé	
3 f adult	ña	ña'à	
3 general	i		
3 animal	tsi	kitsi	
3 deity	ya	i'ya / iya	
3 wood	nu	yutnu	
3 water	te	ndüté	

### Other

emphatic	maa + enclitic
known object	ña'a / ña
3 inan proclitic plurals	ja
	verb phrase proclitics ka (present and past), ku (future)
	no noun phrase plural

### Notes

### Sources:

Hollenbach field notes  
 Karina Araiza field notes

La Boda: *Relato de niños mixtecos*, segunda edición. 1993. México: Instituto Nacional Indigenista. [Una descripción de una boda tradicional de Magdalena, basada en los



relatos de los niños del albergue escolar de Magdalena. Está escrito en el mixteco de San Agustín Tlacotepec. Explica mucho acerca de la cooperación mutua, del papel del embajador y de los padrinos.]

Erickson de Hollenbach, Elena. 2013. *Gramática del mixteco de Magdalena Peñasco* (Serie de gramáticas de lenguas indígenas de México, Núm. 13). México, D. F.: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano. Versión electrónica: [www-01.sil.org/acpub/repository/GS13-GramMixtecoMag-xtm.pdf](http://www-01.sil.org/acpub/repository/GS13-GramMixtecoMag-xtm.pdf)

## San Mateo Peñasco

### First and second person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>independent</i>
1 respect	sa	saña
1 familiar	li	lu'u
2 respect	ni	nijin
2 familiar	lo	lo'o
inclusive	o	yo'o

### Third person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>full noun</i>	<i>gloss</i>
3 m adult	de	teè	
3 f adult	ña	ña'a	
3 general	i		
3 animal	ti	kítí	
3 deity	ya (a)	ia / iya	
3 wood	nu	yutun	
3 water	de	ndute	

### Other

emphatic	maa + enclitic
known object	ña'a; but they also use specific pronouns
3 inan proclitic	ja
plurals	ka (present and past), ju (future)

### Notes

the l in li and lo is velarized

### Sources:

Global Recordings tape  
Hollenbach field notes  
Karina Araiza field notes  
Survey texts

Erickson de Hollenbach, Elena. 2013. *Gramática del mixteco de Magdalena Peñasco* (Serie de gramáticas de lenguas indígenas de México, Núm. 13). México, D. F.: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano. Versión electrónica: [www-01.sil.org/acpub/repository/GS13-GramMixtecoMag-xtm.pdf](http://www-01.sil.org/acpub/repository/GS13-GramMixtecoMag-xtm.pdf)

## Santa María Yosoyúa

### First and second person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>independent</i>
1 respect	jan, (also sa?)	
1 familiar	li	
2 respect	ni	
2 familiar	ro'o, lo'o	
inclusive	o	

### Third person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>full noun</i>	<i>gloss</i>
3m adult	de		
3f adult	ña		
3 child	i		
3 animal	ti		
3 deity	ya		
3 wood			
3 liquid	de		
3 flower	da		

### Other

emphatic	maa + enclitic
known object	ña'a
3 inan proclitic	ja
plurals	ka (present and past), ji (future)

### Notes

jan (low-mid) seems to replace sa as first person respect. When Lucía used sa, she was probably adapting to my Magdalena speech.

Source: Hollenbach, unpublished field notes, data from Lucía Vásquez, summer-fall 2002

## San Pedro Molinos

### First and second person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>independent</i>	
1 respect	sán	saña	
1 familiar	l̄i	lú'ŭ	
2 respect	ní	níjín	
2 familiar	l̄o (a)	lo'o	changes to lò, ló
inclusive	-o	yó'ó	

### Third person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>full noun</i>	<i>gloss</i>
3 m adult	dè	teè	
3 f adult	ñà (a)	ñà'à (?)	
3 child	yì	sùchì (a) ?	
3 animal	tì (a)	kìtì (a)	
3 deity	yà (a)	iya	
3 wood	?	yútnú (tone raised following xini 'head')	
3 water	dè (?)	ndùtè (a)	
emphatic	màà + enclitic		
known object	none; use specific pronouns; free in 1-2, enclitic in 3		
3 inan proclitic	jà		
plurals	verb phrase plurals kà (present and past), jìn (future)		

#### Notes

no flower probably  
gaps are because there is no list, and I extracted these from examples in two papers.  
ñà does not change to high after a floating high, unless the previous word is high high.

#### Sources

William R. Merrifield y Betty J. Stoudt. 1967. "Molinos Mixtec clause structure",  
*Linguistics* 32:58-78

Hunter, Georgia G., and Eunice V. Pike. 1969. The phonology and tone sandhi of Molinos  
Mixtec. *Linguistics* 47:24-40.

Global Recordings scripts, c. 1970

## Santo Tomás Ocotepec

#### First and second person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>independent</i>
1 respect	sán	sàán
1 familiar	nì	ndù'u
2 respect	ní	ní'ín
2 familiar	nú	ndó'ó
inclusive	ó	yó'ó

#### Third person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>full noun</i>	<i>gloss</i>
3 m adult	dè	teè	man
3 f adult	ñà	ñà'àn	woman
3 child	jìn	sùchí ?	child
3 animal	tì	kìtì	animal
3 deity	yà	yàa	deity
3 wood	tù	ñùtùn	tree
3 water	dè	ndùtè	water
3 inan			

## Other

emphatic	màá + enclitic
known object	none; object often understood from context
3 inan proclitic	ja
plurals	no verb plurals

## Notes

no pronouns for honorific, flower

## Sources:

Mak, Cornelia. 1958. The tonal system of a third Mixtec dialect. *IJAL* 24:61-70.

Alexander, Ruth Mary. 1988. A syntactic sketch of Ocotepéc Mixtec, págs. 151–304 en C. Henry Bradley y Barbara E. Hollenbach, editores, *Studies in the syntax of Mixtecan languages*, Tomo 1 (Summer Institute of Linguistics Publications in Linguistics, Publication 83). Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics y University of Texas at Arlington. See pp. 263-65.

Material reviewed and slightly amplified by RMA 8/2002

## San Esteban Atatlahuca

### First and second person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>independent</i>
1 respect	ná	sañá / sa'án
1 familiar	rì	ru'ù
2 respect	ní	ní'í
2 familiar	ró	ró'ó
inclusive	yó	yó'ó

### Third person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>full noun</i>	<i>gloss</i>
3 m adult	dè	teè	man
3 f adult	ñà	ñà'à	mujer
3 child	ì	suchí	child
3 animal	t̥p̥	k̥p̥t̥p̥	animal
3 deity	yà	yàa	dios
3 water	tè	ndùtè	water

## Other

emphatic	máá (a) + enclitic
known object	none; usually the independent pronoun is used for object
3 inan proclitic	jèe
plurals	verb phrase plural ká (present and past); none for future -koo, ngoo with motion verbs plural word jítná'àn + repeated pronoun

## Notes

There is no wood / flower / honorific pronoun

Sources:

Mak, Cornelia. 1953. A comparison of two Mixtec tonemic systems. IJAL 19:85-100.

Alexander, Ruth María. 1980. Gramática mixteca: mixteco de Atlatlahuca. Serie de gramáticas de lenguas indígenas de México 2. México, D.F.: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano. Tone changes on pages 58-61

Material reviewed by RMA 8/2002 and slightly amplified

## San Juan Teita

### First and second person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>independent</i>
1 respect	da	daña
1 familiar	li	chu'u
1 intimate	ndi	su'u
2 respect	ni	ndijin
2 familiar	lo	
2 intimate	ndo	
inclusive	o	
inclusive familiar	cho	cho'o
inclusive intimate	so	so'o

### Third person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>full noun</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>proclitic</i>
3 m adult	te	tee	man	
3 f adult	ña	ña'a	woman	
3 child	i	duchi	children	
3 mixed	i	ñaxivi	person	
3 animal	ti	kiti	animal	ti-
3 spherical	ti			ti-
3 deity	ya	iya ?	deity	iya
3 wood	nu	xujnu	tree	jnu-
3 water	te	ndute	water	te
3 flower	ta	ita	flower	
3 place where	--	nuu	face	nu
3 inan other	ZERO (foll. kuu 'be')			xe

### Other

emphatic	maa + enclitic, provides a free for lo and ndo
known object	ña
3 inan proclitic plurals	xe verb phrase ka, ki

### Notes

unusual to have special familiar inclusive forms; I would expect cho'o and so'o to go with lo and ndo, and I have no idea where cho and so come from. Maybe they are borrowed from other towns.

the 3 flower form seems to be limited to some speakers

note the reduced form of known object  
 3 inan seems to be zero, at least after kuu (be)  
 for pop, the term is xe vidi with the 3 inan proclitic, rather than \*te vidi, with the 3  
 water form

Sources:

Frantz de Barkley, Leanne. Sin fecha. *Nandede kuu xe ki kiku'un va'a ini o jnu'u dañudavi: Cómo entenderemos bien las palabras mixtecas. Una breve gramática del mixteco de San Juan Teita a base de un cuento tradicional*, manuscrito, 2003.

e-mail message to Dale Barkley from Juan Pérez (a sample text)  
 some additions made by Dale Barkley in Aug. or Sept. 02.

Evaluation: this dialect belongs with Diuxi and other varieties in Nochixtlán: d, i, xe rather than ja

## WESTERN HIGHLAND MIXTEC

WESTERN ALTA -- SOUTHEAST

### Chalcatongo de Hidalgo

First and second person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>independent</i>
1 respect	nà	nà'à
1 familiar	rí	ru'ú
2 respect	ní	ní'í
2 familiar	rò	rò'ò
inclusive	yó	yó'ó

Third person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>full noun</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>proclitic</i>
3 m adult	de	chaa	man	
3 f adult	ñà	ñà'à	woman	
3 honorific	tò	tò'o	older person	
3 human fam	yì	(yìì ?	masculine)	
3 animal	tì	kàtì	animal	
3 deity	yà	í'à, íyà	god	
3 inan other	ZERO			ja

Other

emphatic	máá + enclitic
known object	none -- use indep pronoun for obj
3 inan proclitic	jà
plurals	verb phrase plurals kà (present and past); no future plural word in NP jíná'à

## Notes

no pronouns listed for wood or water  
need to check range of yì and tì

## Sources:

Macauley, Monica. 1996. A grammar of Chalcatongo Mixtec. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press (University of California Publications in Linguistics, Volume 127).

Pérez Jiménez, Gabina Aurora. 1988. Sain sau: introducción al mixteco de Chalcatongo, en *Continuity and identity in native America: essays in honor of Benedikt Hartmann*. Leiden: E. J. Brill. págs. 132–155.

## San Miguel El Grande

### First and second person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>independent</i>	<i>emphatic</i>
1 respect	ná	náá	máá ná
1 familiar	rì	rùu	máá rí
2 respect	ní	níí	máá ní
2 familiar	rò (a*)	róó	máá ró
inclusive	yò (a*)	yóó	máá yó

### Third person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>full noun</i>	<i>emphatic</i>
3 m adult	dè	chàà	máá dè
3 f adult	ñà (a)	ñà'a	máá ñà
3 human	ì	sùchí	máá ì
3 animal	tì (a)	kàtì	máá tí
3 deity	yà (a)	ì'ya, ì'a	máá yá
3 water	chà	ndùchà (a)	?

### Summary of tone changes

The two pronouns with basic high (ná ní) never change their own tone, and never cause changes in following words.

There are two pronouns with basic mid tone (dè, ì). They change to high tone after a.m (a), m.m (a), m.b (a). They do not cause changes in following words.

There is one pronoun with basic mid tone plus a floating high tone (ñà (a)); it become high after a.m (a), m.m (a), m.b (a), and when it does, it loses its power to change the tone of the next word. In other words, it becomes ñá (not ñá (a)). Following a high tone with a floating high, however, the tone of this word is unchanged, and it keeps its floating high.

There is one pronoun with basic low tone (rì). This pronoun becomes high after a floating high.

There are four pronouns with basic low tone plus a floating high tone. Two of these lose their floating tone when they are changed, and the other two do not.

The two pronouns that lose their floating high are (t̥, y̥). These pronouns change from low (high) to low after a.a, and they change to high after any word with a floating high. They raise the next word only when they are not changed themselves.

The two pronouns that keep their floating high are (r̥, y̥). These pronouns become mid plus a floating high (y̥ò, r̥ò) after a.m(a), m.m(a). They become high plus a floating high (y̥ó, r̥ó) after a.m, m.m, b.m; and after a.a (a) and b.a (a). They retain their floating tone even when they are raised themselves.

See table on page 91 of Pike (1948). I probably need a table here, transferred to transcription I use. The info given is very detailed.

#### Other

emphatic	máá + enclitic; máá seems to have a floating (a ); it raises lows, but leaves mid alone.
known object	none given; use independent or dependent pronoun for object
3 inan proclitic	j̥à (a) (reduced to j̥)
plurals	verb phrase -- kà (present and past); future none noun phrase -- jíná'àn + clitic, following full pronoun (= todos)

#### Notes

No wood, honorific, flower

Note that máá raises low pronouns to high, but leaves mid pronouns alone.

If r̥ (a\*) and y̥ (a\*) were reanalyzed as high, the analysis might well be simpler. These are the only pronouns that change tone following a class a word (= no floating tone), except for one oddity that may be a typo with the letter p omitted twice: t̥y̥ and y̥ stay low but lose their floating tone after a.a. It is not mentioned in the text, nor any example given.

#### Sources:

- Pike, Kenneth L. 1944. Analysis of a mixteco text. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 10:113-138. This article shows beginnings of Pike's thinking.
- Pike, Kenneth L. 1948. *Tone languages*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. [Incluye una descripción del sistema tonal de la variante de San Miguel El Grande, pp 77-94.] There is a good description of tone changes on pages 88-92.
- Pike, Kenneth L. 1949. A problem in morphology-syntax division. *Acta Linguistica* 5:125-138. [Repub. in Ruth M. Brend (ed.), *Kenneth L. Pike: Selected writings*, 74-84. The Hague: Mouton (1972).] This gives some variant forms, and some insights into the devel. of Pike's thinking.
- Dyk, Anne. 1959. *Mixteco texts*. Linguistic series, number 3. Norman, Oklahoma: Summer Institute of Linguistics of the University of Oklahoma. [En la variante de San Miguel El Grande.], esp. pp. 221 ff.
- Dyk, Anne, y Betty Stoudt. 1973. *Vocabulario mixteco de San Miguel El Grande*. Serie de vocabularios indígenas "Mariano Silva y Aceves", Número 12. México, D.F.: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano. Includes a list of all emphatic pronouns



## Santiago Yosondua

### First and second person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>independent</i>
1 respect	ná	sáñá
1 familiar	rí	ru'ú
2 respect	ní	ní'í
2 familiar	rá	ró'ó
inclusive	yó	yó'ó

### Third person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>full noun</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>proclitic</i>
3 m adult	dà	chaa	man	rà
3 f adult	ñà	ñà'à	woman	ña
3 child	yì / ì	yìvì	person	
3 animal	tì	kìtì	animal	
3 deity	ya	yaa	god	
3 inan	ZERO			

### Other

emphatic	máá (sg.), naá (pl) + enclitic
known object	none mentioned
3 inan proclitic	jà (inan), jàrà (unspecified)
plurals	kà in present and past; none in future plural specifier náá in noun phrase

Note: no pronoun for honorific, wood, water, flower

Source:

Farris, Edwin R. 1992. A syntactic sketch of Yosondúa Mixtec, págs. 1–171 en C. Henry Bradley y Barbara E. Hollenbach, editores, *Studies in the syntax of Mixtecan languages*, Tomo 4 (Summer Institute of Linguistics and The University of Texas at Arlington Publications in Linguistics, Publication 111). Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics y University of Texas at Arlington. Pp. 134-36, 11, 28, 54-55

Beaty de Farris, Kathryn. 2004. *Diccionario básico del mixteco de Yosondúa, Oaxaca*, segunda edición, versión electrónica. Serie de vocabularios y diccionarios indígenas “Mariano Silva y Aceves”, Número 46. México: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

## WESTERN HIGHLAND MIXTEC

WESTERN ALTA -- SOUTHWEST

## Santiago Nuyoo

First and second person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>independent</i>
1 sg	ni'4 -n'	nu'u'33 (O, IO)
1 pl excl	ra2 ni'1 ran'21	ra2 nu'u'33
2 sg	nu2 -n2	no'o22 (O, IO)
2 pl	ra2 nu2 ran2	ra2 no'o22 (O, IO)
inclusive	o2	yo2 (O, IO)

Third person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>full noun</i>	<i>gloss</i>
3 m human	re'4 (ra2 re'1)		
3 f human	ña3 (ra2 ña3)		
3 animal	ti'4 ra2 ti'1		
person or thing previously established		vowel redupl + tone 3	
3 pl indef		raa23	
3 object, any gender		maa33	

Other

emphatic	maa32 + enclitic
known object	none
3 inan proclitic	ya4 -- causes tone sandhi
plurals	none in verb phrase or noun phrase; pronouns are pluralized

Notes

The 3 human pronouns are used for both adults and children  
 Another emphatic, suvi33 the very one, is used only for subject  
 maa32 is used more for objects  
 Note that there is an incipient case system.  
 ra2 preceding pronoun for plural seems to be an innovation; also for nouns.  
 Yucuhiti has nda instead of ra  
 ni'4 (1 sg) changes to tone 1 after an unchecked 2 (2 is never checked on second syllable)  
 the ni'4 (1 sg) pronoun is cognate with ndi  
 deity pronoun is very rare; reported from Yucunino  
 no wood or water  
 tone 1 is high  
 va2 often at end -- that one; ra va -- that one, those ones

Source: Larry Harris, tone section of unpublished phonology manuscript; material reviewed by LH 8/02

NEED TO CHECK WHAT PRONOUN IS USED FOR DEITY, AND WHAT NOUNS UNDERLIE 2 PRONOUNS

## Santa Catarina Yosonotú

### First and second person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>independent</i>
1 respect		
1 familiar	ri	
2 respect	ni	
2 familiar	ro	
inclusive	yo	

Eberle-Cruz, p.c., my field notes

## Santa Lucía Monteverde

### First and second person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>independent</i>
1 respect	na	saña
1 familiar	li	lu'u
2 respect	ni	ndiji / ndíjín
2 familiar	lo	lo'o
inclusive	yo	yo'o

### Third person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>full noun</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>proclitic</i>
3 m adult	de	tee	man	
3 f adult	ña	ña'a	woman	
3 child	i	landi'i	child	
3 animal	di	kiti	animal	
3 deity	ya	yaa	santo	ya-
3 wood	?	yutnu	tree	tnu / tu
3 water	?	ndute	agua	te-
3 inan				je

### Other

emphatic	maa + enclitic
known object	NONE a kuu chindei li lo ¿Te puedo ayudar?
3 inan proclitic	je
plurals	ka in verb phrase for present and past, but opt.; none for future can be expressed with naa + enclitic following maa + encl. naa can follow either a clitic or a free pronoun: vitna de kani na ndiji na ni. Today I am going to eat

you.

### Notes

need to check more for wood and water as enclitics.  
free pronouns are used only for direct objects.

Source: Martin Eberle and Vivian Cruz de Eberle, grammar sketch. 2005

Note: M&V personal communication Jan 07

yo can be used for generic, and does not necessarily include the speaker  
i is used only for children, not for things, or people in general

## EASTERN HIGHLAND MIXTEC

NORTHERN ALTA

### San Juan Coatzospan

First and second person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>independent</i>
1 sg	ú	xu'ú
1 pl excl	ndí	ndí'í
2 sg	n	xò'õn
2 pl	ndõ	ndò'o
inclusive	ò	xõ'ò

Special object forms of enclitics

1 sg	kó
2 sg	õ
inclusive	kò

Third person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>full noun</i>	<i>gloss</i>
3 m m sp	na	na	
3 m w sp	chí (tí)	chénú	
3 m respect	xta	xta	
3 f	tún	tánù, tá	
3 adult respect	ñã	ñã	
3 animal	tì	kítì	
3 spherical	tì	kítì	
3 unspecified	i, ZERO	é	

Special free pronouns

3 m m sp	na'a
3 m w sp	ché'nù (té'nù)
3 m respect	xta'a
3 f	tá'nù
3 adult respect	ñã'a
3 animal	kítì
3 spherical	kítì

## Other

emphatic	mì + enclitic
known object	none presented
3 inan proclitic	é
plurals	none in verb phrase; none in noun phrase

## Notes

a devoicing sound change has turned the original y, phonetically zh, into x.  
the forms in parentheses are more basic, but women pronounce the palatalized forms, using ch instead of t.

case distinctions are rare, and they seem to be a local development in Coatzospan, not a retention

The n 2 sg enclitic nasalizes the entire preceding word; much has been written about this.

The plural forms are often used for respect, especially in second person (Small 1979:365-66).

Free 3rd person pronouns are rare, and seem to be a local development. The ché'nù and tá'nù forms seem to combine chí and tá with a word meaning big or mature.

The xtā / xtā'a forms may reflect either the old term xito'o for a lord, ruler or noble, or the diffused term tata reduced to taa and then expanded with the glottal stop.

The use of ì vs. zero is complex; see Small 1990:416 for more details.

Even though mì is used with pronouns, kùnú (body) used for reciprocal (which preserves idea, but not form of maa/mee/mii).

Comment: probably because of its geographical separation from other Mixtec towns, this system is very divergent.

## Sources:

Small, Priscilla. 1974. Coatzospan Mixtec Pronouns. SIL Mexico Workpapers 1:9-14.  
Versión electrónica en oai:sil.org:10848

Small, Priscilla C. 1990. A syntactic sketch of Coatzospan Mixtec, págs. 261–479 en C. Henry Bradley y Barbara E. Hollenbach, editores, *Studies in the syntax of Mixtecan languages*, Tomo 2 (Summer Institute of Linguistics and The University of Texas at Arlington Publications in Linguistics, Publication 90). Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics y University of Texas at Arlington. [Versión facsimilar electrónica disponible en <http://www-01.sil.org/acpub/repository/23964.pdf>]  
Pp. 274, 293, 314, 324, 325, 343, 344, 345, 365-66, 413-17

NEED TO GET NOUNS

## EASTERN HIGHLAND MIXTEC

APOALA

## Santiago Apoala

First and second person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>independent</i>
1 sg		
1 pl excl		
2 sg		
2 pl		
inclusive		

Third person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>full noun</i>	<i>gloss</i>
3 m			
3 f			
3 animal	te		

Other

emphatic  
known object  
3 inan proclitic  
plurals

Source: Inga McKendry, personal observation; also myself

NEED TO CHECK SOME OF UBALDO LOPEZ'S WRITINGS TO FILL THIS IN

## EASTERN HIGHLAND MIXTEC

NORTHEASTERN ALTA

### Nochixtlán, 1755

First and second person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>independent</i>
1 respect	da	ñadaña
1 familiar	ndi	
2 respect	ni	
2 familiar	ndo	
inclusive	ndo	

Third person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>full noun</i>	<i>gloss</i>
3 m adult	ta		
3 f adult	?		
3 child	xi		
3 animal	?		
3 deity	ya		

Other

emphatic	mai + enclitic also mai + free	mai ya mai ñadaña
known object	ña'a	
3inan proclitic	xa	
plurals	none in verb phrase; none in noun phrase	

Notes

this variant is very similar to Teposcolula, and we can probably assume that forms I have not yet spotted in the Ripalda catechism are the same as Teposcolula.

ta is used consistently for people in a generic sense -- Hernandez was more careful to specifically include women in his statements.

xi is used for demons

Source:

Gonzales, Antonio. 1755 Catecismo y explicacion de la doctrina christiana, compuesto por el P. Geronymo de Ripalda, de la Sagrada Compañia de Jesus, y traducido en lengua Mixteca. Reimpresso en la Puebla, en la Imprenta de la Viuda de Miguel de Ortega. En el Portal de las flores.

**EASTERN HIGHLAND MIXTEC**

EASTERN ALTA

**Teposcolula, 16th century**

First and second person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>independent</i>
1 respect	da	ñadaña
1 familiar	ndi	ndu'u
2 respect	ni	ndixi
2 familiar	ndo	ndo'o
inclusive	ndoo	NONE?, ndoo?

Third person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>full noun</i>	<i>gloss</i>
3 m adult	ta	tai yukuan	man
3 f adult	ña	ña'a	woman
3 child	xi	?	
3 deceased	xi	?	
3 inan	xi	?	
3 honorific	to	to'o	nobleman
3 animal	te	kete	animal
3 deity	ya	iya	ruler

	3 wood	tnu	yutnu	tree
?	3 water	ta	nduta	ndute

Other

emphatic	mai + enclitic
known object	ña'a
3 inan	xa
plurals	none in verb phrase; none in noun phrase

Notes

None for flower

Reyes says older people use *yu'u* and *yo'o* instead of *ndu'u* and *ndo'o*, and that this is from the Mixteca Baja (19). This probably indicates a recent shift.

He says women sometimes use *ña* for a man.

He gives a number of classifiers *ndo* María, *du* Pedro (woman speaking), *yi* Pedro (man speaking about another man), *di* Alonso (man speaking to another man), *di* Maria (woman speaking to another woman), *ñu* Andrés (about a deceased person). He relates these to *tai yii*, and *ñu'u* (earth).

Principal source:

Reyes, Padre Fray Antonio de los. 1593. *Arte en lengua mixteca*. México: Casa de Pedro Balli. Reimpresión 1890 por Comte H. de Charencey. Reproducción facsimilar de la edición de 1890 publicada en 1976 por Vanderbilt University, Nashville (Vanderbilt University Publications in Anthropology, Núm. 14). [En la variante de Teposcolula.] Pp. 7, 12-20.

See also:

Alvarado, Fray Francisco de. 1593. *Vocabulario en lengua mixteca*. 1962, Reproducción facsimilar con un estudio de Wigberto Jiménez Moreno y un apéndice con un Vocabulario sacado del *Arte en lengua mixteca* de Fray Antonio de los Reyes. México, D.F.: Instituto Nacional Indigenista e Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia. [En la variante de Teposcolula.]

Hernández, Fray Benito. 1568. *Doctrina Christiana*. México: Casa de Pedro Ocharte. [En la variante de Teposcolula.] This gives examples that show usage

Jansen, Maarten E. R. G. N., y Gabina Aurora Pérez Jiménez. 2009. *El vocabulario de dzaha dzavui (mixteco antiguo), versión analítica*. Leiden, versión electrónica. [En la variante de Teposcolula.]

## San Pedro Tidaa

First and second person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>independent</i>
1 respect	na	



1 familiar	?
2 respect	ni
2 fam	un
inclusive	nu

Third person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>full noun</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>proclitic</i>
3 m	sa	chaa		
3 f	ña	cp. ñadi'i		
3 unspecified	i	cp. lucht		
3 animal	ti	?		ti, chi
3 deity	ia	--		ia
3 wood	? tnu	yunu		tnu
3 water	?	ndute		?
3 spherical	? ti	?		ti
3 flower	ta	ita		
3 deceased	ndi			

FIXFIX

Other

emphatic	wen + enclitic (dita wen na mi tortilla)
known object	ña'a -- for all three persons
3 inan proclitic	sa
plurals	no verb or noun phrase plurals except periphrasti iin iin +

pronoun at end

Notes

ni is often used where un might be expected, and no 1sg familiar has yet been gathered.

Perhaps the formal/familiar distinction is going out.

nu (inclusive) is used both in contexts where exclusive might be expected and also where inclusive might be expected. Perhaps the distinction has been lost. It is hard to know if nu is related to ndu'u -- we excl or to yo or ndo, we incl.

no free pronouns were gathered; maybe the wen + enclitic forms are replacing them.

there appears to be no distinction between men's and women's speech

an incorporated tna'a can be used for reciprocal

NOTE, 2015. This system seems to be mixed. The un for second person looks like a lowland form.

Source: Oram, Joy, fieldnotes 2004

## San Juan Diuxi

First and second person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>independent</i>
1 respect	də	dáñ'a
1 familiar	r	rú'u
2 respect	'n	ndixí
2 fam m sp	_n	ndo'ó / ndò
2 fam w sp	ùn	yo'ó / yò
inclusive	rò	ròò

### Third person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>full noun</i>	<i>gloss</i>
3 m m sp	s, si	--	s <sup>ˆ</sup> e
3 m w sp	te	--	t <sup>ˆ</sup> e, t-
3 f	ñā	--	ñā
3 unspecified	i	dìchi	dìch
3 animal	-t, t̄i	k̄it̄i	t̄i, kit
3 deity	íá	--	ya, ía
3 wood	tnu	yùtnu	tnu
3 water	tè	ndùte	ntè
3 spherical	-t, t̄i	--	t-
3 flower	tā	ít <sup>ˆ</sup> a	t <sup>ˆ</sup> a

### Other

emphatic	mèè (plus variants with other tones) + enclitic		
known object	ñá'a for all three persons		
3 inan proclitic	xá, x-; xà		
plurals	kā in present and past; variant x with verbs that have a prefix for the future; no future form; no noun phrase plurals		

### Notes

Tone has been analyzed for Diuxi in two ways, but they are difficult to reconcile either with each other, or with the more common analysis in terms of three or four levels. The tone marked in these examples is therefore rather doubtful.

Kuiper gives a further set of pronouns on page 144 that consist of an unanalyzable element a- followed by reduced forms of pronouns that seem to be related to the proclitic rather than the enclitic forms. These are not treated in this study.

Given to Oram to review 8/02, and returned with no comments. It is possible she did not see it.

This system is more reduced than most, with single consonant enclitics creating closed syllables. Typically, the tone is retained and affects the surrounding material.

### Source:

Kuiper, Albertha, y Joy Oram. 1991. A syntactic sketch of Diuxi-Tilantongo Mixtec, págs. 179–408 en C. Henry Bradley y Barbara E. Hollenbach, editores, *Studies in the syntax of Mixtecan languages*, Tomo 3 (Summer Institute of Linguistics and The University of Texas at Arlington Publications in Linguistics, Publication 105). Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics y University of Texas at Arlington. Pp. 237-38, 249, 341-45.

## Southeastern Nochixtlán

### Southeastern Nochixtlán -- Nuxaa

#### First and second person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>independent</i>
1 respect	da	adaña, adaan

1 familiar	ni	nchu'u
2 respect	ní	
2 familiar m sp	no, so	so'o
2 familiar w sp inclusive	na ndo	nchaa

#### Third person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>full noun</i>	<i>gloss</i>
3 m m sp	de		
3 m w sp	yi		
3 f	nu		
3 respect	ña		
3 general	xi		
3 animal	ti	kiti ?	
3 deity	ya		
3 water	te		

#### Other

emphatic	mee + enclitic
known object	ña'a, for all three persons
3 inan proclitic	ja
plurals	none in verbs; in before a repeated pronoun xexi ti in ti plural animals are eating

#### Notes

where there are no free pronouns, mee + enclitic can be used; this suggests that ní is a recent addition, but both ni and ndo are found in colonial sources.

the nch is by palatalization of nd in ndu'u

the n of ní and no, on the other hand, is by loss of the d.

the use of so / so'o is at present unaccounted for.

the na and nchaa are unaccounted for

the separation between men's and women's speech is an innovation, and probably required the importing of items from outside the pronoun system to fill the slot.

#### NEED NOUNS AND GLOSSES, ALSO PRESTRESSED

Source: Inga McKendry, p.c.,  
Hughhins, Susan, unpublished paper,

Hughhins S., Susana, e Inga McKendry S., recopiladoras. 1997. *Tutu tu'un davi: Minidiccionario del mixteco del sureste de Nochixtlán*, versión preliminar. P. 11.

### Southeastern Nochixtlán -- Nuxiño

#### First and second person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>independent</i>
1 respect	da	
1 familiar	ni	
2 respect	ni	
2 fam, m sp.	no	
2 fam, w sp.	nda	

inclusive                      ndo

### **Southeastern Nochixtlán -- Santa Inés Zaragoza**

First and second person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>independent</i>
1 respect	na	
1 familiar	ni	
2 respect	ni	
2 fam, m. sp	nu	
2 fam, w sp.	nda	
inclusive	ndo	

NEED TO CONFIRM WHETHER THESE TWO ARE THE SAME AS NUXAA IN 3RD PERSON

### **Santiago Mitlatongo**

First and second person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>independent</i>
1 sg	nchi, ncha'a	su'ú
2 sg	ñu	yo'ó
inclusive	so	so'ó

Third person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>full noun</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>proclitic</i>
3 general	i	lii / livi	?	
3 deity	ya	Iya	dios	
3 animal	--	kichii	domestic animal	chi-
3 wood	--	yujnu	tree	jnu-
3 water	--	ndute	water	te-

Other

emphatic	mee + enclitic
known object	ña'a
3 inan proclitic plurals	ye (from an earlier xe, by voicing of the esh) verb plural ka for past; none for future ni ka ikai (they walked) ta (from taka or ta'an) before noun -- conjunto or individual koyo can follow any verb and precede any pronoun
reciprocal	jna'a
interrogative	undu who?

Notes

This is the simplest pronoun system I have seen in any Mixtec variant, with no respect, number, or gender distinctions. The deity pronoun appears to be rare, perhaps used only by older speakers.

the ñu seems to be a variant of -un, the old singular, but the nchi seems to be a variant of ndi, the old plural.

the 3 general pronoun i has been generalized for all third-person referents, and all other enclitic pronouns have disappeared from the language. They do show up, however, in proclitic forms used in compounds. Re animals, chilaa is bird, and chitií is a wild animal. CHECK WHETHER THEY ARE EVER REL CL INTRODUCERS, OR ALWAYS IN A FIXED FORM.

The form livi may be cognate with suvi / suu, and if so, it is not a noun underlying i. (All of the nouns proposed for i / si sound iffy to me, and so this remains an open question.)

the complementizer / 3 inan proclitic is also an article preceding self-locomotive nouns; it is not restricted in reference to inanimates

the ka plural is apparently not used with present tense; the nda- repetitive takes its place CHECK THIS -- maybe nda is a variant of ka, as in Magdalena appear. If so, does ka come from a verb rather than from taka (all) or kaa (together)?

The word ncha'a is apparently a fusion of nchi and ya'a (this). Check for other such pronouns with the appropriate demonstrative.

Whitman says li- is independent pronoun marker, but I would like to see more evidence, since I think livi is from suvi, and lii may be a reduced form of it.

Ña'a is used inside a possessive phrase: xi lo la'a ña'anchi kuuñu. porque eres mi hijo. Need to look into this more.

Source: Leroy Whitman, phonology statement and text in orthography statement, both May, 2005

## Santa María Peñoles

### First and second person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>independent</i>
1 sg	í	yú'ú
1 pl excl	ndi	?
2 sg (usted, tú)	in	yo'ó
2 pl	ndo	?
inclusive	ò	njòò

### Third person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>full noun</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>proclitic</i>
3 m	dé	tée	man	tée
3 f respect	an			tá-
3 f, 3 inan	xì			
3 pl	yù	ñá-yù	people	
3 animal	dì	kìtì	animal	tì-
3 deity	ká	ñà'a kà (mod)	deity	yá-
3 f, 3 inan	xì			

Other

emphatic	mèè (only) ALI 26
known object	ñà'à GS 81, 82
3 inan proclitic	sáá, sá- ALI 92
plurals	no verb plurals except ch̀ì imperative plural kuè before pronoun, kuèè before noun

Notes:

2sg written ngí in 1973  
 x̄ì marker of indirect object, or to explicate ñà'à. This is probably the old word for with; the current word for with is ndì'ì.  
 One plural pronoun in 3rd; perhaps an innovation, perhaps a generic.  
 other pronouns are pluralized with a preceding kuè

No pronoun for wood / water / flower / respect

Sources:

Daly, John P. 1973. A generative Syntax of Peñoles Mixtec. Norman: Summer Institute of Linguistics of the University of Oklahoma. Pp, 69-73.  
 Daly, John and Holland de Daly, Margaret. 1977. Archivo de Lenguas Indígenas del Estado de Oaxaca.

**EASTERN HIGHLAND MIXTEC**

TEOZACOALCO

[[No data yet]]

**LOWLAND MIXTEC**

NORTHERN BAJA

**Mixteca Baja (Acatlán,-Huajuapan) 1834**

First and second person

	<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>independent</i>
	1	ndi	
?	2	ndo	
	inclusive	ndo	

2 respect	ni		
Third person			
<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>full noun</i>	<i>gloss</i>
3 deity	ya		
emphatic	?		
known object	ña'a		
3 inan proclitic	ña		
plurals	?		

Notes

hard to find all of the forms, given the restricted content  
 don't know number of 1 and 2 pronouns

Source: Doctrina christiana en el idioma mixteco (1834)

## Mixteca Baja (Acatlán-Huajuapan) 1892

First and second person

	<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>independent</i>
	1 sg	i	
?	1 pl excl	ndi	
	2 sg		
?	2 pl	ndo	
	inclusive	ndo	

Third person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>full noun</i>	<i>gloss</i>
3 deity	ya	iya	

Other

emphatics	mii + enclitic
known object	ña'a
3 inan proclitic	ña
plurals	

Notes

title of creed gives yoxinindizandi, perhaps a frozen pronoun form  
 The ndi form seems to be used for singulars, maybe a borrowing from the Hernández catechism from Teposcolula

Source:

Catecismo en el idioma mixteco: Mixteca Baja (1892)

## Mixteca Baja, Puebla 1899

First and second person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>independent</i>
1 sg	-yu	yù'ù
1 pl excl	ndí	ndiu <u>h</u>
2 sg	-u, -un, -on	
2 pl	ndo	
inclusive	ndo	
2 respect	ni	

Third person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>full noun</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>proclitic</i>
3 deity	ya			ia
3 general	xi			
3 plural	né			
3 inan	ña			

Other

emphatic	?
known object	none
3 inan proclitic	ña
plurals	none in verb phrase

Notes

no town is identified, but author proclaims himself a Mixtec, and he strongly protests the term dutundo (our father), because that means inclusive, and exclusive is needed. As near as I can tell, the forms are compatible with Xayacatlán data, and his town can't be too far away from there.

xi pronoun seems to be used as a possessor, but né as subject (in Beatitudes on p. 36-37)

form ana perhaps means who? and perhaps also those who, or whoever

Source: Anónimo 1899. Catecismo de la Doctrina Cristiana en la Lengua Mixteca, por un Mixteco. Puebla.

## Xayacatlán de Bravo, Pue.

First and second person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>independent</i>
1 sg	-i	yu'u
1 pl excl	nsi	nsiu'u
2 sg	-u	yo'o
2 pl	nsió	nsio'o
inclusive	ndó	ndo'o
2 respect	ni	
2 pl respect	nsia	

Third person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>full noun</i>	<i>gloss</i>
3 m	te	te	



3 f	ña	ña'a
3 respect	né	
3 pl respect	nda	
3 child	ve	
3 animal	sí	kisi
3 deity	ya	yua ñuu ivi
3 deceased	nda	
3 inan	á	

Other

emphatic	mii + enclitic
known object	none; use free pronouns
3 inan proclitic	ña
plurals	none in verb phrase; none in noun phrase

Notes

Xayacatlán preserves the old xi possessive found in Reyes  
 tatna xi de'e mii ni      medicina del hijo de usted  
 the inanimate pronoun á is used for "el maligno"

Source:

Vázquez Peralta, Rodrigo. 1997. Gramática popular de la lengua mixteca del sur de Puebla.  
*Fojas Étnicas*, Número 11 / 139. Puebla: Secretaría de Cultura.

**LOWLAND MIXTEC**

WESTERN / CENTRAL / SOUTHERN BAJA / TEZOATLÁN

**Mixteca Montañez (Tonalá, Silacayoapan, Tlacotepec) 1892**

First and second person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>independent</i>
1	ndi	
2	ndo	
inclusive	yo	
2 respect	ni	

Third person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>full noun</i>	<i>gloss</i>
3 deity	ya	iya	
emphatic	mee + enclitic		
known object	ña'a		
3 inan proclitic	ña		
plurals	?		

Notes

title of Lord's prayer gives Dzutundo, perhaps a frozen form from another dialect

Source:

Catecismo en el idioma mixteco: Mixteca Montañez (1892)

**LOWLAND MIXTEC**

CENTRAL BAJA

[[No data yet]]

**LOWLAND MIXTEC**

WESTERN BAJA

[[No data yet]]

**LOWLAND MIXTEC**

TEZOATLÁN

**Tezoatlán (San Andrés Yutatío)**

First and second person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>independent</i>
1 sg	-i	yù'ᵁ
1 pl excl	ndu	ndù'ᵁ
2 sg familiar	-on	yɔ'ó / yò'ó
2 pl familiar	ndo	ndɔ'ó / ndò'ó
inclusive	yo	yóó
2 respect	ní	--

Third person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>full noun</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>proclitic</i>
3 m	ra/ta	ṭàà	man	ta
3 f	ña/an	ñá'a	woman	ña
3 respect	na			
3 plural	na			na
3 child	xi			ta
3 animal	ri/ti	kítì	animal	ti/ndi/kiri
3 spherical				
3 water	ro/to/ra/ta			ta/kira/kiro
3 wood	ro/to/ra/ta			ta/kira/kiro
3 inan	ña/an	ña'à	thing	ña

The tones of proclitics are often different from enclitics.

#### Tone changes in enclitics

ní is always high; the other twelve show changes that depend on the preceding word.

Following kò'on (go), all are low

Following yé'é (door), all are high

Following kixì (come), six are mid, and the other six are high

mid: -i, ndu, na, ra (3m), xi ña (inan)

high: yo, -on, ndo, ña (3f), ra (3wood), ri

Following dìnì (head), the six that are mid after come are high, and the six that are high after come are low.

(Judith Williams reviewed these tone changes 8/02 and says they are correct.)

#### Other

emphatic mîí / míí + enclitic

known object ñàà / ñà'á

3 inan proclitic ña

plural none in verb phrase; none in noun phrase (some verbs and

adjectives have special plural forms, but there are no general plural markers)

#### Notes

The ní respect pronoun does not fit the parameters of the system, and it is probably a borrowing from neighboring Teposcolula.

ndu rather than ndi

The liquid and wood pronouns have fallen together

The known object pronoun often reduces to one syllable with a tone upglide.

The demonstrative pronouns ṭayó'ò (he here) and ṭaxàan (he there [near addressee]) are used sometimes instead of yù'u (I) and yo'ó (you-familiar), when speakers (generally younger speakers) are being playful among themselves. These indirect references do not indicate respect.

#### Source:

Ferguson de Williams, Judith. 2006. *Gramática popular del mixteco del municipio de Tezoatlán, San Andrés Yutatío, Oaxaca*. Serie de gramáticas de lenguas indígenas de México, Número 9. México: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano, A.C. [2007. Versión

electrónica disponible en [www01.sil.org/mexico/mixteca/tezoatlan/G009a-GramMixTez-mxb.htm](http://www01.sil.org/mexico/mixteca/tezoatlan/G009a-GramMixTez-mxb.htm)]

Judith Williams, personal communication, August 2002

## LOWLAND MIXTEC

GUERRERO

### Coatzoquitengo, Gro.

First and second person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>independent</i>
1sg	-i	yì'i
1pl excl	-nti	nti'i
2 sg	-un	yo'o
2 pl	-nto	nto'o
inclusive	-yo	(mii yo)

Third person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>full noun</i>	<i>gloss</i>
3 m	-ra	(a) t̄a / t̄à	
3 f	-ña	ñá	
3 respect	-ña	-	
3 pl	-na	-	
3 animal	-ri	tì	
3 wood	-nú	tù / tùn	
3 water	-rá	tá	
3 inan	-ña	ñà	

Other

emphatic	mii + enclitic
known object	none
3 inan proclitic	ña (can't find example as complementizer)
plurals	none in verb phrase, none in noun phrase

Notes

The prestressed 3 m pronoun t̄a, which Casiano Franco calls an "especificado genérico", causes a regressive tone change of a low tone to high, but leaves mid tones unchanged.

xínì + t̄a = xíní t̄a

vè'è + t̄a = vè'è t̄a

Source:

Casiano Franco, Vicente Paulino. 1982. Analisis sintáctico del mixteco de Coatzoquitengo, Gro. *Etnolingüística* 11. México: SEP-INI.

Pp. 108-116; also 97-98 for prestressed (treated as noun classifiers)

## Alacatlalzala, Gro.

### First and second person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>independent</i>
1 sg	<u>i</u>	yí'i
1 pl excl	nd <u>i</u>	ndí'i
2 sg	ún	yó'ó
2 pl	ndó	ndó'ó
inclusive	yó	NONE

### Third person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>full noun</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>proclitic</i>
3 m	rà		tà	
3 f sg	ñá		ñá	
3 f pl	ná		ná	
3 animal	rí		tí	
3 spherical	rí		tí	
3 wood	nó		tón	
3 water	rá		tá	
3 inan	ñà		ñà	
3 previously mentioned	à		--	
3 m pl	nà		nà	
3 human pl	nà		nà	

### CHECK LOW VS. MID TONE NA

#### Tone changes in enclitics with basic high tone

all high tone pronouns become low after a low tone  
ex s̩t̩a tortilla, kue'e brave, violent, n̩k̩is̩in fell asleep/slept

all high tone pronouns become low, or a high-low glide, following nouns with high-high  
ex yé'é door

all high tone pronouns stay high after a verb or adjective that has a final high tone  
ex. nandúkú look for

after some mid-mid nouns, for some speakers, the high tone becomes low, and for others it stays high

#### Tone changes in enclitics with basic mid tone

after some mid-mid nouns, the tone can be either mid or low  
ex ch̩ño work, vè'è house

after a verb with final low tone, the tone changes to low  
ex k̩s̩in sleeps

#### Tone changes in enclitics with basic low tone (nd̩ 1 pl excl, i 1 sg)

after a verb with final high tone, they become high

ex nandúkú look for

after a noun or adjective with final low or high, the tone can be either low or a high low glide

ex s<sub>ì</sub>tà tortilla, yìvá padre, ndá'ví poor, k<sub>u</sub>s<sub>u</sub>n will sleep

Tone changes in enclitics following other enclitics

following a verb with final low, a mid-tone enclitic becomes high before another enclitic

following a verb with final high, a mid-tone enclitic becomes high before another enclitic

following a mid pronoun changed to high, a high-tone pronoun becomes low

Other

emphatic	mì + enclitic
known object	ñá'á (only for 3rd person referents)
3 inan proclitic	ñà
plurals	none in either verb phrase or noun phrase

Notes

in 1991, 3 water enclitic is given as rà, and in the newer version it is given as rá  
3 wood/metal proclitic is given as t<sub>o</sub>n, and in the newer it is given as t<sub>o</sub>n  
3 inan proclitic is given as ñà, and in the newer it is given as ñà  
only one 3 pl nà, and in the newer there are two, ná 3 f pl, and nà (encl) or na  
proclitic 3 m or deity or mixed plural

no deity or flower pronouns; God and angels are treated as masculine; spirits are treated as 3 inan. In one neighboring town God is treated as 3 inan.

Sources:

Zylstra, Carol F. 1991. A syntactic sketch of Alacatlazala Mixtec, págs. 1–177 en C. Henry Bradley y Barbara E. Hollenbach, editores, *Studies in the syntax of Mixtecan languages*, Tomo 3 (Summer Institute of Linguistics and The University of Texas at Arlington Publications in Linguistics, Publication 105). Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics y University of Texas at Arlington. [Versión facsimilar electrónica disponible en <http://www-01.sil.org/acpub/repository/31841.pdf>]  
Pp. 119-121

Zylstra, Carol F. 2012. *Gramática del Tu'un Savi (la lengua mixteca) de Alacatlazala, Guerrero*. México: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano, A.C. [2012. Versión electrónica disponible en <http://www-01.sil.org/mexico/mixteca/alacatlazala/G045-Gramatica-mim.pdf>]

## LOWLAND MIXTEC

SOUTHERN BAJA

## Silacayoapan

### First and second person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>independent</i>
1 sg	-i	ye'e
1 pl excl	nde	nde'e
2 sg fam	-ún	yó'ó
2 sg res	ndó	ndó'ó
2 pl	ndó	ndó'ó
inclusive	-í	yó

### Third person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>full noun</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>proclitic</i>
3 m	da	taà	man	ta
3 f	ñá	ñá'a	woman	ñá
3 respect	na			na
3 plural	na			na
3 unspecified	a			a
3 animal	rí	kítj	animal	tí, ndì
3 spherical	rí	kítj		tí, ndì
3 wood	dó	yító	tree	tó
3 water	dó			dó
3 inan	ña	ña'à	thing	ña

### Other

emphatic	mé, mí + enclitic
known object	none presented
3 inan proclitic	ña
plural	none in verb phrase no plural word

### Notes

No deity / flower / child  
 Unspec. seems to correspond to xi  
 What is plural in other towns is both plural and respect here.  
 unusual to have wood and water be the same; also in Tezoatlán

### Sources:

North W., Juanita y Juliana Shields W. 1978. *Gramática popular del mixteco: mixteco de Silacayoapan*. México, D.F.: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

Shields, Jäna K. 1988. A syntactic sketch of Silacayoapan Mixtec, págs. 305-446 en C. Henry Bradley y Barbara E. Hollenbach, editores, *Studies in the syntax of Mixtecan languages*, Tomo 1 (Summer Institute of Linguistics Publications in Linguistics, Publication 83). Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics y University of Texas at Arlington.

## Coicoyán de las Flores

### First and second person

	<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>independent</i>
1 sg	-i, -yu		yu'u
1 pl	-ndi (C)		
	-ndu (J)		ndu'u ?
2 sg	-un (C)		yo'o
	-on (J)		
2 pl	-ndo		
incl	-yo		

### Third person

	<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>full noun</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>proclitic</i>
3 m		ra	tyaa	man	ra- (J), tyaa- (C)
3 f		ña	ñasi'i	woman	ña
3 child		?		child	
3 plural		na	?		na
3 animal		ri		animal	ndi-
3 wood					tu-
3 liquid					ti-
3 inan					

### Notes

There may be a difference between El Jicaral and Coicoyán Centro in some of these forms, but it may also just be that I did not hear very well.

I did not get all of the independent forms.

### Other

Emphatic	mii
Known object	probably none
3 inan proclitic	ña
plurals	none in verb phrase

### Source:

Hollenbach, field notes, 12 Dec. 2002 in Coicoyán Centro and in El Jicaral

NOTE: Bruce and Candice Beatham can fill this in on the basis of their field work since that time. They have also gathered data on Peras, and that town merits a separate profile.

## Metlatonoc, Gro.

### First and second person

	<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>independent</i>
1 sg		í / yu	



1 pl excl	ndí	ndu'ᵘ		
2 sg	ᵘn	yó'ᵒ		
2 sg	kún/kᵘn			
2 pl	ndó	ndó'ᵒ		
inclusive	yó / ó			
Third person				
<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>full noun</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>proclitic</i>
3 m	rᵘ	tyàà		
3 f	ñá	ñà'á		
3 f young	a			
3 pl	na			na
3 animal	rᵘ	kìtí		
3 wood	nú / nᵘ	yùtᵘn		
3 water	rᵘ	tyakuíí		rᵘ / rá
		ndùtyá kuíí		
3 inan	ñᵘ			
3 inan	è			
Other				
emphatic	mìí + enclitic			
known object	none presented			
3 inan proclitic	ñà			
plurals	none in verb phrase			

#### Notes

no flower pronoun yet noted

#### Sources:

Hillman, George 1987, text collection

Valerie Hillman, draft of practical grammar, 1995

More data are needed, and could probably be obtained from Hillmans.

## Xochapa, Gro.

#### First and second person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>independent</i>
1sg	ì	ye'e
1pl excl	nde	nde'e
2sg	ún	yó'ᵒ
2 pl	ndó	ndó'ᵒ
inclusive	yó	yóó

#### Third person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>full noun</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>proclitic</i>
3 m	rᵘ, tᵘ	tᵘà		
3 f	yá, ñá	ñà'á		
3 m pl	nda			

3 pl masc/mixed	na	
3 f pl	na	
3 animal	rí, tí	kítí
3 round	í, tí	kítí
3 wood	nú, tún	ítún
3 water	rá, tá	
3 inan	ya, ña	ña'a ?

Other

emphatic	mii, but does not seem to be used frequently	
known object	ñà'á (only third person)	
3 inan proclitic	ña-, ya-	
plurals	none in verb phrase	

Source:

Stark C., Sharon (Sara), Audrey (Andrea) Johnson P. y Benita González de Guzmán. 1999. *Diccionario básico del mixteco de Xochapa, Guerrero*, Primera edición. México, D.F.: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano, A.C. [2003. Segunda edición disponible en <http://www01.sil.org/mexico/mixteco/xochapa/P004-DiccXochapa-xta.htm>] Primarily pages 118-119.

## Ayutla, Gro.

First and second person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>independent</i>
1 sg	i	yù'u
1 pl excl	ndu'	ndù'u
2 sg	un'	yò'ó
2 pl	ndò'	ndò'ó
inclusive	e'	yòò'

Third person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>full noun</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>proclitic</i>
3 m fam	ra	tyàà	man	te
3 m res	a			ña
3 f fam	-a'	ña'a'	woman	ña
3 f res	chi			--
3 human pl	nya			ne
3 animal, sph	ri'	kitì'	animal	tì'
3 animal, sph	ri'	kitì'	animal	tì'
3 wood	nu'	itùn'	tree	tùn'
3 water	ra'			tyà'
3 inan	a	ña'a	thing	ña

Other

emphatic	mì' (self); apparently does not commonly go with pronouns, but can go in VP following with to create a reciprocal	
known object	ña'a', only for third-person referents	

3 inan proclitic plurals	ña none in verb phrase; none in noun phrase
--------------------------	--

Notes

The initial ñ (actually a nasalized y) seems to have been lost from the enclitic form of three pronouns, leaving them vowel initial.

The 3 f res form seems to be unique to Ayutla.

Ayutla is one of the towns that has preserved final glottal stop, and the four 3rd person enclitic pronouns that have it are all pronouns that cause tone sandhi in the highlands.

Source:

Hills, Robert A. 1990. A syntactic sketch of Ayutla Mixtec, págs. 1–260 en C. Henry Bradley y Barbara E. Hollenbach, editores, *Studies in the syntax of Mixtecan languages*, Tomo 2 (Summer Institute of Linguistics and The University of Texas at Arlington Publications in Linguistics, Publication 90). Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics y University of Texas at Arlington. [Versión facsimilar electrónica disponible en <http://www-01.sil.org/acpub/repository/23963.pdf>]  
Pp, 83, 209-211, 66, 79, 80

**LOWLAND MIXTEC**

MIXTEPEC

**San Juan Mixtepec 1**

from Hartmut Kursch

First and second person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>independent</i>
1sg	yu / low tone	
1 pl excl	kue	
2 sg	u/gu	
2 pl	goyu/kueyo	
inclusive	o/go/a	
2 sg respect	ni	
2 pl respect	kueni	

Third person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>full noun</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>proclitic</i>
3 m respect sg	ra			
3 m respect pl	kuera			
3 f respect sg	ña			
3 f respect pl	kueña			
3 human familiar sg	i/a/ña			
3 human familiar pl	kui/goyi			

3 child sg	tsi
3 child pl	kuetsi
3 human general sg	na
3 human general pl	kuena
3 animal sg	ti
3 spherical sg	
3 animal pl	kueti
3 spherical pl	
3 deity sg	ya
3 deity pl	kueya
3 wood sg	tu
3 wood pl	kuetu
3 water sg	ra
3 water pl	kuera
3 inan sg	i/a/ña
3 inan pl	kui/kueña

Source: Kursch n.d. (about 1999)

Other

emphatic  
 known object  
 3 inan proclitic  
 plural

## San Juan Mixtepec 2

from Cruz Bautista

First and second person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>independent</i>
1	-yu/-e/tono altomee	yu'u, mee yu'u
2 familiar	-ku, u, -yo, tono alto	meku (archaic), meu yo'o, mee yo'o
2 respect	-ni	meni

Third person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>emphatic</i>
3 m res	-ra	mera, meera
3 f res	-ña	meña, meeñá
3 gen	-i/a/ui/tono	mii
3 gen res	-na	mena
3 gen emph	-ña	meña, meeña, meñà
3 gen child	-tsi	metsi
3 animal	-ti	meti
3 deity	-ya	meya
3 water	-ra	mera
3 round	-ti	meti
3 wood	-tu	metu
3 inan	-ña	meña, meeña

FIXFIX

Plural

1 pl excl	-ko, -o	meko
-----------	---------	------

1 pl incl	-koyo, -o ?	mekoyo
1 pl equal	-kue	mekue
2 pl equal	-koyu, -koyoku	mekoyo. mekoyu
2 pl res	-koyoni	mekoyoni
3 m res	-koyora	mekoyora
3 f res	-koyoña	mekoyoña
3 gen res	-koyona	mekoyona
3 gen equal	-koyoña	mekoyoña
3 gen child	-koyotsi	mekoyotsi
3 animal	-koyoti	mekoyoti
3 deity	-koyoya	mekoyoya
3 water	-koyora	mekoyora
3 round	-koyoti	mekoyoti
3 wood	-koyotu	mekoyotu
3 inan	-koyoña	mekoyoña

#### Other

emphatic	me-
known object	
3 inan proclitic	
plural	kwe before any pronoun

#### Notes

It is more formal to use the mee forms than the dependent forms.

He feels the mee forms are more normal than either the true independent, or the enclitic

#### forms

pronombre de igualdad

Source: Marcos Abraham Cruz Bautista, Esbozo gramatical de la lengua mixteca, n.d. Instituto Estatal de Educación Pública del Estado de Oaxaca, y Universidad Pedagógica Nacional, Unidad 201, Oaxaca, Oax., Subsede Tlaxiaco. pages 45-59, plus a table on page xxx

Note: This book is not readily available; Inga McKendry has a personal copy.

## Santa Cruz Mixtepec

from Nieves

#### First and second person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>independent</i>
1 sing	low tone	yu
1 pl excl	-o	kue
2 sing fam	-u	ku
2 sing respect	ZERO	ni
2 pl fam	ZERO	koyo, kueyu
2 pl respect	ZERO	kueni

inclusive      -o                      ko, yoo

Notes

yu form for object, optional for subject or possessor; "zero" form optional for subject, possessor

Third person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>full noun</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>proclitic</i>
3 sg. m	-i, -a	ra		
3 sg. f	-í, -á	ñá		
3 sg. fam	ZERO	kui		
3 sg. hon	ZERO	na		
3 pl. m	ZERO	kuera		
3 pl. f	ZERO	cueñá		
3 pl. fam	-kui	kueyi		
3 pl. gen	ZERO	kuena		
3 animal	-i, -a	ti (also spherical objects)		
3 child	-i, -a	tsi		
3 deity	ZERO	ya		
3 inan	-i, -a	ña		
3 wood	?	tu		
3 liquid	ZERO	ra		

Notes

3 gen can be used for animals and people  
the a form occurs only after i; the yi form occurs following the plural marker

in one story the same dog was referred to with i, ña, and ti.

the i was used when the dog was a character interacting with a coyote and thinking.

the ña was used once

the ti was used twice in the last sentence with reference to the dueño, and it was an object both times.

Other

Emphatic	mee- + enclitic
Known object	?
3 inan proclitic	ña
	nuu (for location)
plurals	kue + noun, kue, ko + enclitic

Notes

the use of plurals is optional, once established in the context

Main source:

Nieves, Guía Ortográfica Preliminar, Mayo 2011

See also:

Beckmann and Nieves, text in Orthography statement, phonological and grammatical (?) write-ups

Notes for town

This is one of the most complex systems  
both respect and plural forms; likely influence of highland; also many genders  
ni is probably a borrowing, and ya (deity) may well also be.

1 sg. not i, but rather a low tone at the end.

The various degrees of fusion are difficult to correlate with the more simple enclitic vs. full word found in most systems.

The three versions collected are difficult to correlate with each other.

loss of original plurals with new formulation using kue + sg form. The niño form may be the source of the odd kuechi plural form of lulu (small).

Note that Peñoles also has kue, and so maybe not an innovation. Or at least some word was in the wings waiting to be pressed into service for this, and it happened more than once.

## COASTAL MIXTEC

WEST COAST

### **Santa María Zacatepec**

First and second person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>independent</i>	
1sg	-í	yú'ú	
1pl excl	ndi	ndyú'ú	
2sg	-un	yò'ó	accusative ñún
2 pl	ndo	ndyò'ó	
inclusive	yo	yo	

Third person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>sg. enclitic</i>	<i>pl. enclitic</i>	
	SING	PL	
3 m	rá	ndra	
3 f	an, ña	vi (family; can include men)	
3 pl gen	na		
3 animal	ri	ndri	
3 wood	run	ndrun	
3 herb	vu	--	
3 water, sun	ra'		
3 deity	án', yán'		
3 inan/child	yi		

Other

emphatic	maa + enclitic
known object	none
3 inan proclitic	ña
plurals	nd- prefix on many pronouns
who?	yo

Notes:

There is an article *ma* that precedes a noun or pronoun, different from *maa* (mismo), but may have derived from it.

Even though there is no known object, a few compound verbs have *ña'a* as a cranberry morph

ndakaña'a	engañar
janda'vi ña'a	engañar

Source:

Towne, Douglas, y colaboradores mixtecos. 2011. *Gramática popular del tacuate (mixteco) de Santa María Zacatepec, Oaxaca*. Serie de gramáticas de lenguas indígenas de México, Número 12. México: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano, A.C. [2011. Versión electrónica disponible en <http://www01.sil.org/mexico/mixteca/zacatepec/GS12a-GramMixtZacatepec-mza.htm>]

Douglas Towne, p.c. 8/02

Things to check:

DO ALL HAVE ND- PLURAL, AND HE JUST DID NOT GIVE?

## Santiago Ixtayutla

[[No data yet]]

NOTE: Penners should be able to provide information about this.

## Santa María Jicaltepec

COSTELLO

First and second person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>independent</i>
1 sg	i, e, yu	yu'u
1 pl excl	ndi	ndiu, ndiu'u
2 sg	un, on, kun	
2sg infl	o	yo'o
2 pl	ndo	ndio, ndio'o
inclusive	o, yo	none



Third person				
<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>full noun</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>proclitic</i>
3 m	ra			ra
3 f	ña			ña
3 f pl	ñi			ñi
3 pl human	ñi			ñi
3 child, baby	ve			ve
3 animal	ri			ri
3 gen	ru			ru
3 inan	chi			cha
place		nuun	place	nu

Other	
emphatic	maa 'self' + enclitic
known object	none registered
3 inan proclitic	cha
plurals	none in verb phrase pronouns use preposed ta (ta ru) or ta between two repetitions of the pronoun (ri ta ri)

The pronoun system recorded by Bradley a generation earlier employs a respect parameter. The pronouns classified by Costello as independent were classified by Bradley as respect, and those classified as enclitic by Costello were classified by Bradley as familiar.

#### BRADLEY

##### First and second person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>independent</i>
Polite	
1 sg	yú'ú
1 pl excl	ndú'ú
2 sg	yɔ'ò
2 pl	ndɔ'ò
inclusive	yoo

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>
Familiar	
1 sg	í
1 pl excl	dí
2 sg	kun/ʉn
2 pl	dɔ

##### Third person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>full noun</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>proclitic</i>
3 m	rá	rái	man	rá
3 f	ña	ña'a	woman	ña
3 child, baby	wè			
3 pl human	ñi			
3 animal	ri	kiti	horse	
3 inan	chí			

Notes for Bradley data

The difference that Bradley characterizes as polite vs. familiar is precisely the difference between free and enclitic in other variants of Mixtec. This is not a usual dimension of politeness, though it may be a characteristic of formal speech to use less contracted forms.

The list of third person forms may be incomplete because no list was given in the grammar.

No water pronoun -- water is *nduta*

No wood pronoun -- they use it; tree is ?

No sacred pronoun -- they use *he*

Sources:

Costello, Rachael A. 2014. Aspect and mood in Jicaltepec Mixtec, master's thesis, GIAL.

Bradley, C. Henry. 1970. *A linguistic sketch of Jicaltepec Mixtec*. (Summer Institute of Linguistics Publications in Linguistics and Related Fields 25). Norman: Summer Institute of Linguistics of the University of Oklahoma.  
Pp. 49-50, 34-36.

Tone sandhi involving third person clitic pronouns is given on pp. 34-36,

## COASTAL MIXTEC

EAST COAST

### Santiago Amoltepec

First and second person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>independent</i>
1 sg	-i	yu'u
1 pl excl	ndi	
2 sg	-ng	yo'o
2 pl	ndo	(nando --CH)
inclusive	-o	

Third person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>full noun</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>proclitic</i>
3 m	ra	raa	man	
3 f	ña	ña'a	woman	
3 animal	di	kiti	animal	
3 pl mixed	yi	?		

Other

emphatic	maa + enclitic
known object	none
3 inan proclitic	cha
plurals	none in verb phrase; none in noun phrase

Notes

No forms for child, sacred, wood, water  
use of chi'in (with) as object marker

Source: Marc Schwab, personal communication

## San Juan Colorado

First and second person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>independent</i>
1 sg	yu	yu'u
1 pl excl	ndi	nyu'u
2 sg	un, kun	yoo'o
2 pl	ndo	nyoo'o
inclusive	yo	yoo

Third person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>full noun</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>proclitic</i>
3 m	ra			rà
3 f	ña	ña'a	mujer	ña
3 gen (child, thing)	tsi			
3 scornful	nu			
3 affectionate	ve			
3 animal	tì	kiti	animal	
3 wood	tun	yutun	tree	
3 fruit	ku			
3 pl human	ñì			

Periphrastic plurals

3 m	ra na'a ra
3 f, 3 human	ñi na'a ñi
3 general	tsi na'a tsi
3 scornful	na'nu
3 affectionate	na'a ve
3 animal	tì na'a tì
3 wood	tun na'a tun
3 fruit	ku

Proclitic forms: tsà lo que

Other

emphatic	màà -- but perhaps more solamente with verb
known object	none registered
3 inan proclitic	tsà
plurals	none registered

Notes

special periphrastic plural for third person  
respect forms only in third person

Source:

Stark C., Sara, Andrea Johnson P. y Filiberto Lorenzo Cruz. 1986. *Diccionario mixteco de San Juan Colorado*. Serie de Vocabularios y Diccionarios Indígenas “Mariano Silva y Aceves”, Número 29. México, D.F.: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

Reviewed by Stark/Johnson 8/02, slight changes

## San Agustín Chayuco

First and second person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>independent</i>
1 sg	-i, -e	yu'vi
1 pl excl	ndi	ndu'vi
2 sg	-on, -un	yo'o
2 pl	ndo	ndo'o
inclusive	yo	--

Third person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>full noun</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>proclitic</i>
3 m	ra			
3 f sg	ña			
3 f pl	ñu			
3 animal	tì			
3 wood	tu			
3 inan	si			

Other

emphatic	maa + enclitic
known object	none presented
3 inan proclitic	sa
plurals	none in verb phrase; none in noun phrase

Source:

Pensinger, Brenda J. 1974. *Diccionario mixteco del este de Jamiltepec: Pueblo de Chayuco*. Serie de Vocabularios y Diccionarios Indígenas “Mariano Silva y Aceves”, Número 18. México, D.F.: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano. Pp. 138-40.

## Santiago Jamiltepec

First and second person

<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>independent</i>
1 sg	-i	y <u>u</u> 'u
1 pl excl	ndi	ndy <u>u</u> ' <u>u</u>
2 sg	-ùn	ndò
2 pl	ndò	ndyò'ó
inclusive	yò	yò'ó

Third person	<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>full noun</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>proclitic</i>
3 m		ra			ra
3 f		ña	ña'a		ña
3 collective		ñu			ñu
3 animal		tì	kìtì		--
3 diminutive		kué	kué'è	child	--
3 wood		tùn	yùtùn		--
3 inan		chì			cha

Other	
emphatic	màà + enclitic
known object	none presented
3 inan proclitic	cha
plurals	kà for all tenses in verb phrase koyo following verb for motion verbs (kua'an koyo ra)

Notes  
chì is often unexpressed; it can be used for a person in unfortunate circumstances

Source:

Johnson, Audrey F. 1988. A syntactic sketch of Jamiltepec Mixtec, págs. 11-150 en C. Henry Bradley y Barbara E. Hollenbach, editores, *Studies in the syntax of Mixtecan languages*, Tomo 1 (Summer Institute of Linguistics Publications in Linguistics, Publication 83). Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics y University of Texas at Arlington.  
Pp. 114-116, 49, 52, 125

Slight changes by AJ in August 02

## COASTAL MIXTEC

ACATEPEC

[[No data yet]]

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PRONOUN DATABASE TEMPLATE FOR HIGHLAND TOWNS

**Town Name**

First and second person			
<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>		<i>independent</i>
1 respect			
1 familiar			
2 respect			
2 familiar			
inclusive			

Third person			
<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>full noun</i>	<i>gloss</i>
3 m			man
3 f			woman
3 child			child
3 honorific			noble
3 animal			animal
3 deity			deity
3 water			water
3 wood			tree
3 flower			flower
3 inan			
proclitic			

Notes

Other

Emphatic  
 Known object  
 3 inan proclitic  
 plurals

Source:

PRONOUN DATABASE TEMPLATE FOR LOWLAND TOWNS

**Town Name**

First and second person		
<i>gloss</i>	<i>enclitic</i>	<i>independent</i>
1 singular		
1 plural		
2 singular		

2 respect  
inclusive

Third person

*gloss*                      *enclitic*                      *full noun*                      *gloss*    *proclitic*

3 m

man

3 f

woman

3 child

child

3 plural

3 animal

animal

3 inan

proclitic

Notes

Other

Emphatic

Known object

3 inan proclitic

plurals

Source: