

A preliminary reconstruction of Mixtec pronouns

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1. INTRODUCTION

Mixtec languages characteristically have a system of enclitic pronouns that occur as subject of verbs, object of prepositions, possessor of nouns, and sometimes also as direct object of verbs. These pronouns lack word stress, and are cliticized to the preceding element, sometimes fusing with it. In spite of this phonological attachment, these pronouns are not part of verb inflection, i. e., they are not agreement features. They are full syntactic elements, and so, if there is a clitic pronoun as subject of a verb, that verb will not have a noun phrase subject, and vice versa.

Enclitic pronouns often change in form and/or use from one town to the next, and there is a surprising amount of variation within a small geographical area, seemingly greater than that found in major lexical classes. One factor that surely accounts for some of the phonological variation is that enclitics are unstressed and therefore subject to a variety of lenition processes.

The data used for this study have been compiled from various sources into a database (“Mixtec pronoun database”). The data are largely from published sources, but in many cases they have been supplied or augmented via personal communication with SIL colleagues. In this database, towns are grouped into the dialect areas proposed by Josserand (1983:470). In both the database and this study, Mixtec forms are written using the alphabet proposed by the Academia Mixteca: **d** represents a dental fricative, **x** represents an alveopalatal sibilant, **j** represents a velar fricative, and **'** represents glottal stop.

Using these data, I attempt to trace each pronoun to its proto form, and also to its original meaning. One help in this study is the description of the pronoun system for the Teposcolula variant of Colonial Mixtec, found in the De los Reyes grammar (1593), along with examples in running text found in the 1568 Hernández catechism. There is also documentary evidence in running text in the 1567 Hernández catechism showing that the Tlaxiaco-Achiutla variant of Colonial Mixtec had a very similar pronoun system. These sources make it clear that the enclitic-pronoun system that functioned in the sixteenth century in some parts of the Highland Mixtec area was very similar to the pronoun system used there today.

Unfortunately, the data available to me are not a representative sampling of the Mixtec region. There are data from many towns in the Western Highlands (mostly in the Tlaxiaco district), many towns in the central Lowlands, (in the state of Guerrero and extreme western Oaxaca), and several towns on the Coast, but there are major gaps in the Eastern Highlands, the Northern Lowlands, and parts of the Coast. This spotty distribution needs to be factored in when weighing possible reconstructions.

1.1 PHONOLOGICAL NOTES

There is a major isogloss running through the Mixtec region from northwest to southeast; towns to the northeast of this isogloss have a voiced dental fricative, written with the letter **d**, in words like **yodo** ‘metate’, while towns to the southwest of this isogloss have an apical sibilant instead, and so the word for ‘metate’ is **yoso**. In the Colonial Mixtec materials from Teposcolula, the dental fricative is written with **dz**. In the Colonial Mixtec materials from Tlaxiaco-Achiutla, the

apical sibilant is often written with **ç** or **z**. Josserand (1983:266) reconstructed this phoneme as ***s**.

There is an alveopalatal sibilant **x** in many towns that is cognate with a velar fricative **j** in the Tlaxiaco area, and with **ch** in parts of the Coast. In the Colonial Mixtec materials from Teposcolula, this sibilant is written with **s**. Josserand (1983:265) reconstructed this sound as ***j**, but ***x** appears to be a better choice.

Proto Mixtec had a six-vowel system, which consisted of the five vowels of Spanish, plus the high central vowel **ĩ** (barred **i**) (Josserand 1983:300-309). In most towns, **ĩ** merged with **i**, leaving a five-vowel system. Towns that have **ĩ** occur here and there, showing it to be a retention. In Colonial Mixtec materials, words that have this sound are often written with **e**.

Another characteristic of proto Mixtec that has been largely lost is word-final glottal stop. It has been retained in Ayutla de los Libres, Santiago Nuyoo, Santa María Zacatepec, and perhaps other places. When the glottal stop was lost, it left a tonal residue. (See Josserand 1983:210-12).

In this study I concentrate only on the segmental form of these pronouns, for which there is a large body of data available. It should be noted, however, that each pronoun has its own tone pattern, and that many of them include floating tones that affect the following element. In some towns, two different pronouns have identical segments and differ only in their tone pattern.

1.2 OVERVIEW OF MIXTEC PRONOUNS

Typically there are five first- and second-person pronouns; one means first plural inclusive, two mean first person singular or exclusive, and the other two mean second person. There is either a familiar-respect distinction or a singular-plural distinction in these two pairs, but usually not both. Each first- and second-person enclitic pronoun is usually related to a longer form that serves as an independent pronoun. These independent pronouns are, however, less common than the enclitics.

There are typically up to eight third-person pronouns, representing several genders. Each of these pronouns is a reduced form of a generic noun, and in many cases the source noun is obvious. There are no independent third-person pronouns; the related source noun, however, often functions like an independent pronoun.

2. FIRST- AND SECOND-PERSON ENCLITIC PRONOUNS IN FAMILIAR-RESPECT SYSTEMS

Pronoun systems that have the respect category in first and second person are found in the Highland Mixtec region, in the area near the politically important city-states of the Postclassic period. Data from two different variants of Colonial Mixtec are available to us. For the Western Highland area, on the **s** side of the isogloss, we have the pronouns used in the Hernández catechism for Tlaxiaco and Achiutla (1567); and for the Eastern Highland area, on the **d** side of the isogloss, we have the De los Reyes grammar of the Teposcolula variant, published in 1593 and the Hernández catechism for Teposcolula (1568). I consider first the Western Highlands.

2.1 FIRST- AND SECOND-PERSON ENCLITIC PRONOUNS: WESTERN HIGHLAND MIXTEC

The Tlaxiaco-Achiutla variant of Colonial Mixtec had the following pronouns (Hernández 1567):

ndi	I, we exclusive familiar	yo, nosotros exclusivo familiar
sa	I, we exclusive respect	yo, nosotros exclusivo formal

ndo	you familiar	tú, ustedes familiar
ni	you respect	usted, ustedes
yo	we inclusive	nosotros inclusivo

Similar forms are found in the modern Mixtec of other towns in the region.

2.1.1 FIRST- AND SECOND-PERSON FAMILIAR

For first-person exclusive familiar, the following forms have been recorded:

ndi	San Miguel Achiutla
ri	San Cristóbal Amoltepec, Magdalena Peñasco, San Esteban Atatlahuca, Chalcatongo, San Miguel El Grande, Santiago Yosondúa, Santa Catarina Yosonotú
rri	San Agustín Tlacotepec
rin	Yosoñama (familiar)
li	San Mateo Peñasco, Santa Lucía Monteverde, Yosoñama (intimate), San Pedro Molinos
ni	Santo Tomás Ocotepec
ne	San Antonino Monte Verde

For second-person familiar, the variant forms usually parallel the forms of first-person familiar:

ndo	San Miguel Achiutla
ro	San Cristóbal Amoltepec, Magdalena Peñasco, San Esteban Atatlahuca, Chalcatongo, San Miguel El Grande, Santa Catarina Yosonotú
rro	San Agustín Tlacotepec
ron	Yosoñama (familiar)
lo	San Mateo Peñasco, Santa Lucía Monteverde, Yosoñama (intimate), San Pedro Molinos
nu	Santo Tomás Ocotepec, San Antonino Monte Verde
ra	Santiago Yosondúa

Most of these variants can be explained as reflexes of **ndi** and **ndo** via lenition processes affecting the onset consonant **nd**; these processes produced **r**, **rr**, **l**, or **n**. The **r** and **rr** sounds are rare in native words, and the **l** is often a velarized (dark) **l**, which does not occur elsewhere in the language. In Ocotepec, when **nd** was reduced to **n**, the first-person form **ni**, which has low tone, became a tone pair with the second-person respect form **ní**, which has high tone. Also, the vowel **o** in second person merged with **u**.

Yosoñama has two different forms, one with **r**, and a more intimate form with **l**. Perhaps the more intimate form is a borrowing from another town, or a grammaticalization of baby talk.

I at present have no theory to account for the **a** vowel in the Yosondúa form. As for the nasalization in Yosoñama **rin** and **ron**, it may have been added by analogy with the respect forms (see below).

I therefore posit ***ndi** and ***ndo** as the proto forms for Western Highland Mixtec. The modern Mixtec of San Miguel Achiutla preserves these pronouns.

2.1.2 FIRST- AND SECOND-PERSON RESPECT

Turning now to the first-person respect form, which is **sa** in the Colonial Mixtec of Tlaxiaco-Achiutla, the following forms have been recorded in modern Mixtec:

sa	San Miguel Achiutla, San Antonino Monte Verde, San Cristóbal Amoltepec, Magdalena Peñasco, San Agustín Tlacotepec, San Mateo Peñasco, Santa María Yosoyua, San Pedro Molinos
san	Yosoñama, San Agustín Tlacotepec, San Pedro Molinos, Santo Tomás Ocotepec
jan	Santa María Yosoyúa
na	San Esteban Atlatlahuca, Chalcatongo de Hidalgo, San Miguel El Grande, Santa Lucía Monteverde, Santiago Yosondúa
da	San Antonio Sinicahua

Even though **sa** is the most common present-day form, I reconstruct ***san** as the proto form. It is more likely that nasalization would be lost than that it would be added, and the towns that have **san** are in scattered locations, which suggests a retention. The form **sa** given in the catechism may well have represented **san**, since nasalization was not written in Colonial sources. The **jan** form probably developed by lenition from ***san**.

The towns that have **na** are clustered together, which suggests an innovation. Even though **na** looks quite different from **san**, the two forms share a nasal component. One factor that suggests that **na** is a reflex of **san** is that **ná** usually has high tone, as does **sá** or **sán**. Also, the independent pronoun corresponding to **na** is sometimes **saña**, or some variant of this, which is clearly related to the ***san** form (see the discussion in 5.3 below).

The **da** form found in Sinicahua is puzzling; This form is found in towns in the Eastern Highlands, which are on the **d** side of the **d/s** isogloss, but Sinicahua is in the middle of the **s** side. Perhaps it is a borrowing from some town in the Eastern Highland region, or perhaps it is a lenition of an original **s**.

The second-person respect pronoun, which is **ni** in the Colonial Mixtec of Tlaxiaco-Achiutla, shows no variation within the Western Highland area, and therefore the proto form was surely ***ni**.

2.1.3 INCLUSIVE

The first person inclusive, which does not make a distinction between familiar and respect, is used commonly in soliloquy, as well as in dialogue to include the addressee. Laura Gittlen has characterized this pronoun as being used to refer to all those who are present (personal communication). In the Colonial Mixtec of Tlaxiaco-Achiutla, this pronoun was **yo**; only one variant form has been found in modern Mixtec variants in the Western Highland area:

yo	San Antonino Monte Verde, San Miguel Achiutla, San Esteban Atlatlahuca, Chalcatongo, San Miguel El Grande, Santiago Yosondúa, Santa Catarina Yosonotú, Santa Lucía Monteverde
o	Yosoñama, San Cristóbal Amoltepec, San Miguel Achiutla, Magdalena Peñasco, San Agustín Tlacotepec, San Mateo Peñasco, Santa María Yosoyúa, San Pedro Molinos, Santo Tomás Ocotepec

The **o** form is clearly a reduction of **yo**. Also, **yo** occurs in towns at the edges of the area, while the towns with **o** are largely clustered in the middle, which strongly suggests that the loss of **y** was an innovation. For these reasons, ***yo** can be reconstructed as the proto form.

2.2 FIRST- AND SECOND-PERSON ENCLITIC PRONOUNS: EASTERN HIGHLAND MIXTEC

As a basis for discussion of the Eastern Highland area, I use the pronoun system of the Colonial Mixtec variant spoken in Teposcolula, which is given in the De los Reyes grammar (1593:12-14):

ndi	I, we exclusive familiar	yo, nosotros exclusivo familiar
da	I, we exclusive respect	yo, nosotros exclusivo formal

ndo	you familiar	tú, ustedes familiar
ni	you respect	usted, ustedes
ndoo	we inclusive	nosotros inclusivo

Because Teposcolula is on the **d** side of the **d/s** isogloss, the first-person respect pronoun is **da**, rather than **sa**. In other respects, the first four pronouns in the set are the same as those from the Tlaxiaco-Achiutla variant.

The Teposcolula inclusive form is, however, different from the Tlaxiaco-Achiutla form in two ways. One is that it starts with **nd** instead of **y**. The second difference is that the Teposcolula form **ndoo** has two vowels at the end.

It is not entirely clear whether the Colonial Mixtec form from Teposcolula was an enclitic or an independent pronoun. It seems likely, however, that the use of double **o** was an arbitrary graphic device to differentiate inclusive from the second-person familiar enclitic **ndo**, which might have differed from it only in tone. I assume this to be the case because the running text in both the Hernández catechism from Teposcolula (1568) and the Gonzales catechism from Nochixtlán (1755) use **ndo** for the inclusive pronoun.

Except for a few towns on the eastern fringe, modern Mixtec variants from the Eastern Highlands have basic pronoun systems similar to Colonial Teposcolula Mixtec. Unfortunately, the database I am using for this study includes fewer towns in the Eastern Highlands than in the Western Highlands.

2.2.1 FIRST- AND SECOND-PERSON FAMILIAR

The Teposcolula form for first-person exclusive familiar was **ndi**; the following variant forms have been recorded for modern Mixtec:

ndi	San Juan Teita (intimate)
ni	Nuxaa, Nuxiño, Santa Inés Zaragoza
li	San Juan Teita (familiar)
-r	San Juan Diuxi

All of these forms can plausibly be derived from a proto form ***ndi** by consonant lenitions, and in Diuxi, by the loss of the vowel also. In the towns that have **ni**, it is a tone pair with the second person respect pronoun, which usually has high tone.

The Teposcolula form for second-person familiar was **ndo**; the following variant forms have been recorded for modern Mixtec:

ndo	San Juan Teita (intimate)
lo	San Juan Teita (familiar)
no	Nuxaa (m. sp.), Nuxiño (m. sp.)
nu	Santa Inés Zaragoza (m. sp.)
so	Nuxaa (m. sp.)
na	Nuxaa (w. sp.)
nda	Nuxiño (w. sp.) Santa Inés Zaragoza (w. sp.)
-n	San Juan Diuxi (m. sp.)
-un	San Juan Diuxi (w. sp.), San Pedro Tidaa

There is a surprising variety of forms here, partly because some towns have men's versus women's speech. The forms with the vowel **o** seem clearly related to the Colonial **ndo**, as does Santa Inés Zaragoza **nu**, which can be explained as merger of **o** with **u** in a nasal environment.

I am unable to explain the initial **s** in Nuxaa, but the forms with the vowel **a** in the women's speech forms of three towns probably reflect a second-person pronoun **da** (**nda**) described by De los Reyes for women's speech in Teposcolula and Yanhuatlán (1593:15).

Another reason for the variety is the intimate form in Teita, which parallels the intimate form for first person there. It is of interest that in Teita, the more intimate forms have **nd**, versus **l** in regular familiar forms; this is the opposite of the intimate forms in Yosoñama in the Western Highlands, which have **l**, versus **r** in the regular familiar forms.

The two forms from Diuxi and Tidaa appear to reflect a different proto form, namely the second-person singular pronoun found in the Lowlands, which will be discussed below in Section 3.2.

It is very likely that data from a broader sampling of towns would show a clearer pattern. I nevertheless reconstruct ***ndo** as the proto form.

2.2.2 FIRST- AND SECOND-PERSON RESPECT

The Teposcolula form for first-person exclusive respect was **dza** (**da**); the following variant forms have been recorded for modern Mixtec variants in the Eastern Highlands:

da	San Juan Teita, San Juan Diuxi, Nuxaa, Nuxiño
na	San Pedro Tidaa, Santa Inés Zaragoza

The **na** seems to be the same as the **na** found in some of the Western Highland towns. The nasal component in **na** leads me to reconstruct ***dan** for the Eastern Highlands.

The Teposcolula form for second-person respect was **ni**; very little variation from this is seen in modern Mixtec variants in the Eastern Highlands:

ni	San Juan Teita, San Pedro Tidaa, Nuxaa, Nuxiño, Santa Inés Zaragoza
-n	San Juan Diuxi

The Diuxi **-n** form is clearly a contraction of the fuller form **ni**, and so I reconstruct ***ni**. Diuxi also has **-n** for second person familiar in men's speech, but this has a lower tone.

2.2.3 INCLUSIVE

The Teposcolula form for inclusive was **ndoo** (**ndo**); the following modern Mixtec variants have been recorded in the Eastern Highlands:

ndo	Nuxaa, Nuxiño, Santa Inés Zaragoza
ro	San Juan Diuxi
nu	San Pedro Tidaa
o	San Juan Teita (ordinary)
cho	San Juan Teita (familiar)
so	San Juan Teita (intimate)

Diuxi **ro** is clearly a lenition of **ndo**. The Tidaa **nu** is probably also a development of **ndo**. Teita is located at the boundary between the Eastern And Western Highland areas, and the inclusive form **o** recorded for that town probably reflects the Western Highlands inclusive form ***yo**. I am unable, however, to account for the forms with initial **ch** and **s**. Leaving aside these two Teita forms, I posit ***ndo** as the proto form for Eastern Highland Mixtec.

2.3 COMPARISON OF WESTERN AND EASTERN HIGHLAND FIRST- AND SECOND-PERSON ENCLITIC PRONOUNS

When the Western and Eastern pronoun systems are compared, three of the proto forms are identical, **ndi* ‘first-person familiar’, **ndo* ‘second person familiar’, and **ni* ‘second-person respect’. The other two pronouns show a difference.

The first-person respect pronoun is **san* in the Western Highlands and **dan* in the Eastern Highlands. In that Josserand (1983:256) reconstructed **s* for this sound, I reconstruct **san* for Highland Mixtec.

Inclusive also shows a difference; it is **yo* in the Western Highlands and **ndo* in the Eastern Highlands. A comparison of these two forms suggests that **ndo* is a compound that consists of *ndi/ndi* ‘all’ plus the Western Highland form *yo*, and so by internal reconstruction the Eastern form can be taken to an earlier stage and reconstructed as **ndi-yo*. If the addition of *ndi* is considered an innovation, we can reconstruct **yo* for Highland Mixtec. The use of *ndi/ndi* to create plural pronouns is also seen in Lowland Mixtec, as will be described below in Sections 3.1 and 3.2.

In summary, I reconstruct the following five pronouns for the respect system found in the Highlands:

<i>*ndi</i>	I, we exclusive familiar	<i>yo</i> , nosotros exclusivo familiar
<i>*san</i>	I, we exclusive respect	<i>yo</i> , nosotros exclusivo formal
<i>*ndo</i>	you familiar	tú, ustedes familiar
<i>*ni</i>	you respect	usted, ustedes
<i>*yo</i>	we inclusive	nosotros inclusivo

Even though this respect system has come down through four and a half centuries with little change in form, there has been a shift in the usage of familiar versus respect forms. In Colonial Mixtec, which reflected a highly-stratified society, the respect forms **san* and **ni* appear to have been reserved for members of the elite, priests, and supernatural beings. Over the years respect forms broadened their range so that in modern Mixtec, which reflects a less stratified society, they are typically used to adults in general, especially to compadres, and in prayer to address a supernatural being. A more recent usage shift is found in San Isidro Peñasco, an *agencia* of Magdalena, where the respect forms are used even to children, and the familiar forms appear to be obsolescent.

3. FIRST- AND SECOND-PERSON ENCLITIC PRONOUNS IN SINGULAR-PLURAL SYSTEMS

In the parts of the Mixteca outside of the central Highlands, the pronouns for first and second person usually show a number distinction, rather than a respect distinction. This area includes all of the Lowlands and Coast, plus the edges of the Highlands. For these areas we have almost no materials from the Colonial period to compare with modern Mixtec, though De los Reyes provides some hints in the prologue to his grammar, where he describes Mixtec variants (1593:i-viii) and in his description of pronouns (1593:12-20). A comparison of various modern systems, however, shows a fairly clear pattern.

Consider the following forms found in the Lowland town of Alacatzala, Gro.:

<i>ĩ</i>	I	<i>yo</i>
<i>ndĩ</i>	we exclusive	nosotros exclusivo
<i>ún</i>	you singular	tú, usted
<i>ndó</i>	you plural	ustedes
<i>yó</i>	we inclusive	nosotros inclusivo

In Santiago Amoltepec on the Western Coast, a similar system is found:

i	I	yo
ndi	we exclusive	nosotros exclusivo
-ng	you singular	tú, usted
ndo	you plural	ustedes
o	we inclusive	nosotros inclusivo

Santa María Peñoles in the extreme Eastern Highlands has the following system:

í	I	yo
ndi	we exclusive	nosotros exclusivo
in	you singular	tú, usted
ndo	you plural	ustedes
ò	we inclusive	nosotros inclusivo

San Agustín Chayuco on the Eastern Coast, has the following system:

-i, -e	I	yo
ndi	we exclusive	nosotros exclusivo
-on, -un	you singular	tú, usted
ndo	you plural	ustedes
yo	we inclusive	nosotros inclusivo

3.1 FIRST-PERSON

There are separate first-person pronouns for singular and plural. The following first-person singular forms have been recorded:

Edges of Highlands

i	Santa María Peñoles
u	San Juan Coatzospan

Lowlands

i	Xayacatlán de Bravo, San Andrés Yutatío, Coatzacoquitengo, Alacatlalzala, San Jerónimo Progreso, Coicoyán, Metlatónoc, Xochapa, Ayutla
yu	Catechism from the Mixteca Baja Puebla 1899, Coicoyán de las Flores, Metlatónoc, Mixtepec

e	Mixtepec
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Coast

i	Zacatepec, Jicaltepec, Santiago Amoltepec, San Agustín Chayuco, Santiago Jamiltepec,
yu	Jicaltepec, San Juan Colorado
e	Jicaltepec, San Agustín Chayuco

in Mixtepec this pronoun is sometimes marked only by tone. One source has recorded low tone, and another has recorded high tone.

Even though a significant majority of towns have **i**, the most likely proto form is ***yu**, of which all the rest may plausibly be considered reductions.

The following first-person plural forms have been recorded:

Edges of Highlands

ndi	San Juan Coatzospan, Santa María Peñoles
ni'	Santiago Nuyoo (singular)
-n'	Santiago Nuyoo (singular)

Lowlands

ndi	Catechism from the Mixteca Baja Puebla 1899, Alacatlalzala, Coicoyán, Metlatónoc
nti (ndi)	Coatzoquitengo
nsi	Xayacatlán de Bravo
ndu	San Andrés Yutatío, Coicoyán (Jicaral)
nde	San Jerónimo Progreso, Xochapa
ndu'	Ayutla
Coast	
ndi	Zacatepec, Santiago Amoltepec, Jicaltepec, San Juan Colorado, San Agustín Chayuco, Santiago Jamiltepec

The onset sequence **nt** in Coatzoquitengo is an orthographical choice on the part of the author, and it could just as easily have been written **nd** (Casiano Franco 1982:69-70). The onset sequence **ns** in Xayacatlán probably results from affrication of **d** before a front vowel, and subsequent loss of the stop. It therefore seems clear that **nd** was the original onset. The variety of vowels can be explained with reference to the first singular proto form ***yu**. The most plausible reconstructed form for the consonants and vowels seems to be ***ndyu**, which can be broken down by internal reconstruction into a combination of **ndi/ndi** 'all' with ***yu**.

One further feature that needs to be taken into consideration is the final glottal stop on the Ayutla form. This final glottal stop was reconstructed by Josserrand for proto Mixtec (1983:180-81), but has been lost from most modern variants. Even though I have found no evidence for a final glottal stop in the singular form, for the plural form I propose ***ndi-yu'** as the proto form that is best able to account for all of the variants.

3.2 SECOND PERSON

There are separate second-person pronouns for singular and plural. The following second-person singular forms have been recorded:

Edges of Highlands

in	Santa María Peñoles
n	San Juan Coatzospan

Lowlands

un	Catechism from the Mixteca Baja Puebla 1899, Alacatlalzala, Coatzoquitengo, San Jerónimo Progreso (familiar), Coicoyán, Metlatónoc, Xochap
on	San Andrés Yutatío, Jicaral, Catechism from Mixteca Baja Puebla 1899
kun	Metlatónoc
un'	Ayutla
ku	Mixtepec
gu	Mixtepec
u	Mixtepec, Catechism from the Mixteca Baja Puebla 1899, Xayacatlán de Bravo
yo	Mixtepec

Coast

un	Zacatepec, Jicaltepec (ordinary), San Juan Colorado, San Agustín Chayuco, Santiago Jamiltepec
on	Jicaltepec (ordinary), San Agustín Chayuco
ng	Santiago Amoltepec
kun	Jicaltepec (ordinary), San Juan Colorado
o	Jicaltepec (familiar)

High tone has also been recorded for second person singular in Mixtepec.

I would like to suggest that the best way to account for these data is to posit two different proto forms, one nasal and the other oral. Most forms have nasalization, either in the form of a nasal consonant or nasalization of the vowel, but in Jicaltepec, there is a special familiar oral form **o** that contrasts with the nasal forms **kun**, **un**, and **on**. Mixtepec has various forms, none of them nasal, but **ku**, **gu**, and **u** are likely to be reflexes of the nasal form, and **yo** appears to be a reflex of the oral form. In the anonymous 1899 catechism from the Mixteca Baja both **un** and **u** are used, and it is not clear whether they are orthographic variants or represent different pronunciations. Also, Xayacatlán has **u** recorded, without nasalization, which could be a reflex of either form.

The forms that trace back to the nasalized proto form can be vowel initial, or they can begin with **k** or **g**. De los Reyes writes that Lowland Mixtec has **gu** for second person, “pronunciandole de tal modo que parece que darse la voz en la **g**” (1593:6-7), which means “being so pronounced as to give itself voicing on **g**.” Mixtec does not have voiced stop phonemes, but stressless clitics with **k** often weaken to **g**, and this is especially common in nasal environments. It is likely that the Lowland Colonial pronoun given as **gu** was **kun** [gun].

It remains to reconstruct the vowels. All are back vowels except for the **i** found in Peñoles. There is evidence in the Mixtecan language family that the high central vowel, which usually merged with **i** when it was lost, sometimes merged with **u** in nasal environments (see Josserand 1983:305, 308). I believe that **i** is best able to account for the variety of vowels. The Ayutla form has a final glottal stop, which suggests adding that to the reconstruction. I therefore reconstruct ***kin'** as the nasal second-person singular pronoun.

For the oral pronoun, comparing Mixtepec **yo** with Jicaltepec **o**, we can reconstruct ***yo**.

This leads to the question: why are there two pronouns? I suggest that the ***yo** form was the original, but that it was too close in form to the inclusive pronoun, and was replaced by the nasal form ***kin'**. The source of ***kin'** was probably a word from some other part of speech, but I have no suggestions to offer.

The following second-person plural forms have been recorded:

Edges of Highlands

ndo	Santa María Peñoles, San Juan Coatzospan
nu	Santiago Nuyoo (singular)
n	Santiago Nuyoo (singular)

Lowlands

ndo	Catechism from the Mixteca Baja Puebla 1899, San Andrés Yutatío, Alacatlazala, San Jerónimo Progreso (also sg. resp.), Coicoyán, Metlatónoc, Xochapa
nsió	Xayacatlán de Bravo
nto (ndo)	Coatzoquitengo
ndo'	Ayutla

Coast

ndo	Zacatepec, Jicaltepec, Santiago Amoltepec, San Juan Colorado, San Agustín Chayuco, Santiago Jamiltepec
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The noteworthy feature of these plural forms is the general absence of nasalization, which strongly suggests that they are unrelated to the nasal singular form ***kin'**. The two forms with a nasal onset are from Nuyoo, where **n** is a regular development of **nd**. These forms seem instead to be related to the oral form ***yo**. As noted above, **nto** is an orthographic choice on the part of Casiano Franco. The Ayutla form attests to a final glottal stop. Leaving aside the Xayacatlán

form for the moment, we can reconstruct ***ndo'**. The Xayacatlán form **nsio** contains not only an **ns** onset, but also the vowel **i**. The **ns** can be accounted for by affrication of **d** before a front vowel with subsequent loss of the stop. The front vowel is probably from the initial **y** of ***yo**, which suggests that the proto form is a combination of **ndi/ndi** 'all' with ***yo**, and the glottal stop of Ayutla, and so I reconstruct ***ndi-yo'**.

3.3 INCLUSIVE

The following inclusive forms have been recorded in Lowland variants:

Edges of Highlands

o Santa María Peñoles, San Juan Coatzospan

Lowlands

yo Alacatlalzala, Coatzoquitengo, San Andrés Yutatío, Coicoyán, Metätónoc, Xochapa

o Metlatónoc, Mixtepec

-i San Jerónimo Progreso

go Mixtepec

a Mixtepec

ndo Xayacatlán de Bravo, Catechism from the Mixteca Baja Puebla 1899

-e' Ayutla

Coast

yo Zacatepec, Jicaltepec, San Juan Colorado, San Agustín Chayuco, Santiago Jamiltepec

o Jicaltepec, Santiago Amoltepec

The towns that have **ndo** are located in the northern Baja, adjacent to the Eastern Highlands area, and they probably borrowed this compound form from the prestige Teposcolula dialect. They therefore share the ***ndi-yo** reconstruction for the Eastern Highlands, which is a fusion of **ndi/ndi** 'all' with **yo**. The addition of **ndi** can be considered an innovation, which leaves **yo**. A majority of other towns have either **yo** or **o**, and ***yo** can be considered most likely to be the original. I am not able to account for the remaining forms, but they all seem to be innovations. Even though the Ayutla form **e'** has a final glottal stop, I do not reconstruct it because the form is otherwise so different.

There is a notable similarity between the inclusive forms and the oral second-person forms. Both have **yo**, and both have an **ndi** pluralizer. Presumably there are tone differences that help to differentiate.

3.4 MIXED NUMBER AND RESPECT SYSTEMS

Some towns with a number-based system also have the **ni** pronoun for second-person respect, as seen in the following system in San Andrés Yutatío in the Lowland area:

<u>i</u>	I	yo
ndu	we exclusive	nosotros exclusivo
on	you singular	tú
ndo	you plural	ustedes
ni	you respect	usted
yo/o/a/o/in	we inclusive	nosotros inclusivo

Other towns with **ni** include San Juan Mixtepec and Xayacatlán de Bravo, and also two Northern Baja catechisms from the 19th century, once from Acatlan and Huajuapán written in 1834, and one from some unspecified location in Puebla, written in 1899. These towns are all located along the trade route between the Mixtec city-states of the Highland Mixtec area and the Aztec city-states of Central Mexico. It seems clear that the **ni** pronoun is a recent introduction to the

system, borrowed from Highland Mixtec, probably for use in dealing with the upper levels of a stratified society. In support of the claim that **ní** is a borrowing are the fact that there is no independent form in San Andrés Yutatío, and an emphatic form with **mii** must be used instead. In addition, **ní**, unlike the other enclitics, does not undergo any tone changes.

San Jerónimo Progreso also shows an element of respect in second person because the second-person singular pronoun is used only for familiar, and the plural pronoun is used for singular respect and also for plural.

3.5 THREE-PRONOUN SYSTEMS

At least two towns, Mitlatongo and Nuyoo, have an even simpler system, with only three pronouns.

Mitlatongo has a system that lacks both respect and number, but shows some interesting phonological developments:

nchi	I, we exclusive	yo, nosotros exclusivo
~ ncha'a		
ñu	you sg., you pl.	tú, ustedes
so	we inclusive	nosotros inclusivo

The first person form **nchi** seems to be related to the plural **ndi** found in other towns, rather than to the singular **yu**. The **ch** probably developed by palatalization of **d** before a front vowel. The longer form is probably a fused compound made up of **nch** and **ya'a** 'this, here'. The second person form **ñu** shares the nasalization found in second person singular forms, and is probably related to them, rather than to the plural form **ndo**. In this, the system is asymmetrical. As for the inclusive form, it is not clear to me how the original **nd** or **y** changed to **s**; Teita, at the border between the Western and Eastern Highlands, also has inclusive forms with initial **ch** and **s**.

Nuyoo has the following pronouns:

ni', -n'	I
ra ni', ran'	we exclusive
nu, -n	you singular
ra nu, ran	you plural
o	inclusive

The plural forms contain an element **ra** not found in other towns; it probably developed by contraction from **ta'an** 'companion', a word which has various grammaticalizations in different Mixtec variants. This plural marker is clearly an innovation, and if we leave it aside, we have a three-pronoun system.

In that Nuyoo has undergone a sound change in which **nd** reduced to **n**, we can see that the first two singular pronouns are cognate with the plural pronouns, which have initial **nd**, rather than with the singular forms. These plural pronouns are ***ndi-yu'** 'first-person plural' and ***ndi-yo'** 'second-person plural'. The inclusive pronoun is clearly a reflex of ***yo**.

These data from another language that preserves word-final glottal stop strengthen the reconstruction of the first-person plural form as ***ndi-yu'**.

4. COMPARISON OF HIGHLAND AND LOWLAND FIRST- AND SECOND-PERSON ENCLITIC PRONOUNS

There are eight reconstructed pronouns. Of these, five occur in the Highlands, and the two respect pronouns are unique to that area:

*san	first person respect
*ndi-yu'	first person familiar
*ni	second person respect
*ndi-yo'	second person familiar
*yo	inclusive

Six pronouns occur in the Lowlands, and the three singular pronouns are unique to that area and the edges of the Highlands:

*yu	first person singular
*ndi-yu'	first person plural
*kin'	second person singular
*yo	second person singular
*ndi-yo'	second person plural
*yo	inclusive

Of these two sets, only three pronouns are shared, and only one of those, inclusive, has the same meaning in both regions. The other two shared pronouns mean plural in the Lowlands and familiar in the Highlands. Here is the composite system of eight pronouns:

*yu	first person singular (Lowlands only)
*san	first person respect (Highlands only)
*ndi-yu'	first person plural (Lowlands), first person familiar (Highlands)
*kin'	second person singular (Lowlands only)
*yo	second person singular (Lowlands only)
*ni	second person respect (Highlands only)
*ndi-yo'	second person plural (Lowlands), second person familiar (Highlands)
*yo	inclusive

I propose that the Lowland system is the original one, and that the Highland system is an innovation. One factor that supports this is the fact that the singular forms in the Lowlands show considerable fusion, which suggests that they are old. The respect forms of the Highlands, on the other hand, show less fusion and are likely to be an innovation. Another factor is the fact that the Lowland system is found in spots at the edges of the Highland area, which is the classic pattern for a retention. The Highland system, on the other hand, is found in a concentrated central area, which is the classic pattern for an innovation. A third factor is the known history of the Mixtec region in the Postclassic period, with the rise of a stratified society in the Highlands for which respect pronouns would be appropriate.

In what follows I suggest a multi-stage development that accounts for the fact that the plural forms of the Lowlands are cognate with the familiar forms of the Highlands.

I propose that the earliest stage we can reconstruct was a three-pronoun system:

*yu	first person
*yo	second person
*yo	inclusive

This system was then elaborated into a number system with five pronouns by combining the quantifier *ndi/ndi 'all' with the first two of these pronouns, which produced the following system:

*yu	first person singular
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*ndi-yu'	first person plural
*yo	second person singular
*ndi-yo'	second person plural
*yo	inclusive

I have no explanation to offer for the final glottal stop in the two plural forms.

Later, perhaps because the second person and the inclusive were too similar, a new second-person-singular pronoun was added:

*yu	first person singular
*ndi-yu'	first person plural
*kin'	second person singular
*yo	second person singular
*ndi-yo'	second person plural
*yo	inclusive

This system continues in some parts of the Lowlands and the Coast.

At a later point, the old second-person singular *yo dropped out of use, leaving only *kin':

*yu	first person singular
*ndi-yu'	first person plural
*kin'	second person singular
*ndi-yo'	second person plural
*yo	inclusive

This system continues in most parts of the Lowlands and the Coast, and in the extreme Eastern Highlands.

In the Highland area, and maybe also adjacent parts of the Lowlands, perhaps in the fifteenth or sixteenth century, the plurals began to be extended to singular referents to indicate respect. This created a mixed system, with both number and respect parameters:

*yu	first person singular familiar
*ndi-yu'	first person singular respect, first person plural
*kin'	second person singular familiar
*ndi-yo'	second person singular respect, second person plural
*yo	inclusive

Evidence for this stage is seen for second person in the San Jerónimo Progreso system, in which the second-person singular pronoun **un** is used only as a familiar, and the plural **ndo** is used for singular respect as well as plural. There is also a catechism from the Lowland Mixtec area dating from 1834, in which pronouns **ndi** and **ndo** were used for first-person singular and second-person singular, respectively.

Eventually the original singular forms dropped out of use in many towns, leaving a three-pronoun system, with neither number nor respect.

*ndi-yu'	first person
*ndi-yo'	second person
*yo	inclusive

Evidence for this stage is found in Nuyoo, described above.

When social stratification arose in Mixtec society, new honorific pronouns were developed for the nobility. They were in use in the sixteenth century. This restored a five-pronoun system to the Highlands, but with different parameters from the original:

*san	first person respect
*ndi-yu'	first person familiar
*ni	second person respect

*ndi-yo'	second person familiar
*yo	inclusive

At some point the Eastern Highlands and adjacent parts of the Lowlands added **ndi/ndi** 'all' to the inclusive form ***yo**, and this compound fused to ***ndo**.

These stages are very likely an oversimplification. The respect pronouns probably came into use well before the old singular forms had dropped out. This is implied by De los Reyes' (1593:19), who mentions independent pronouns related to these enclitics and says that older people and some women use **yuhu** (**yu'u**) and **yoho** (**yo'o**) for 'I' and 'you', which are forms from the Lowlands, instead of using **nduhu** (**ndu'u**) and **ndoho** (**ndo'o**), as in the Highlands.

It is also likely that the respect forms were initially rather rare, used only for talking to the nobility (De los Reyes 1593:14-15). They have broadened their usage considerably in the less stratified society of the post-Colonial period. The original honorific or reverential meaning has weakened over time to a respect meaning; such weakening of polite forms is common in language.

Also, these stages concentrate on the semantic parameters of each system, but clearly phonological developments were taking place as well, leading to the variety of modern forms given above.

As noted above, the pronoun ***ni** 'second person respect' is more widely distributed than the corresponding first-person singular respect pronoun ***san**, and it extends through parts of the Mixteca Baja along the old trade routes between the Aztec city-states and the Mixtec city-states. In this area it was borrowed as an addition to one of the Lowland number-based pronoun systems.

The origin of the respect forms is another issue. If they are new pronouns, as I hypothesize that ***kin'** was, they must have been extensions of existing words from some other part of speech. See the discussion about the origin of respect pronouns given in Section 5.3 below under independent pronouns.

5. FIRST- AND SECOND-PERSON INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS

In addition to the set of enclitic pronouns, most towns have a set of independent pronouns, most of which have two syllables and word stress. In some towns, however, there is no independent form for inclusive. Independent pronouns can occur in sentence-initial position, and they are often used for emphasis, and sometimes to express direct object.

In most cases the independent pronoun resembles the corresponding enclitic. Often the enclitic is **CV**, and the independent pronoun is **CV'V**. It is not clear to me, however, whether the enclitic in such pairs is a contraction of the independent form, or whether the independent form developed from the clitic. Some independent pronouns are clearly influenced by the form of the clitic, as will be seen below.

Some independent pronouns look rather different from the corresponding enclitic, either because they have been compounded with a final deictic element, or because they are reflexes of a different proto form.

Unfortunately, there are many towns in the database for which some or all of the independent pronouns are lacking, and it is not clear whether a pronoun is missing from the system, or whether there was simply a gap in collecting the data.

5.1 FIRST- AND SECOND-PERSON SINGULAR INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS

The first-and second-person singular pronouns are found throughout most of the Lowlands and Coast, and also at the edges of the Eastern Highlands.

The independent forms recorded for first-person singular are:

Edges of Highlands

yu'u	Santa María Peñoles
xu'u	San Juan Coatzospan
su'u	Mitlatongo

Lowlands

yu'u	Xayacatlán de Bravo, San Andrés Yutatío , Xochapa, Ayutla
yi'i	Coatzoquitengo, Alacatlalzala
ye'e	San Jerónimo Progreso, Xochapa

Coast

yu'u	Zacatepec, Jicaltepec, Santiago Amoltepec, San Juan Colorado, Santiago Jamiltepec
yu'vi	San Agustín Chayuco

This pronoun is the only one included in Josserand's 188 cognate sets. In addition to the forms above, she also recorded **yu** in two towns in the northern Lowlands (1983:666). Even though **yu'u** is the most frequent form, and the one that Josserand reconstructed as the proto form (1983:664-668), I believe that **yu'vi**, preserved in Chayuco, is a better candidate, because it accounts for both the **yu'u** and **yi'i** forms, and so I reconstruct ***yu'vi**. A change of **u'vi** to **u'u**, and **uvi** to **uu**, is attested in many other Mixtec words. As for the **x** found in Coatzospan, this is a regular development from **y** in this town. I have no hypothesis to account for the initial **s** in Mitlatongo, or the vowel lowering to **e** in San Jerónimo Progreso and Xochapa.

The proposed proto form ***yu'vi** for the first-person singular independent pronoun is similar to the reconstructed enclitic ***yu**. It would be plausible to consider the enclitic a contraction of the independent form, but harder to construe the independent form as derived from the enclitic.

The independent forms recorded for second-person singular are:

Edges of Highlands

xo'on	San Juan Coatzospan
yo'o	Santa María Peñoles

Lowlands

yo'o	Xayacatlán de Bravo, San Andrés Yutatío , Coatzoquitengo, Alacatlalzala, San Jerónimo Progreso (familiar), Xochapa, Ayutla
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Coast

yo'o	Zacatepec, Jicaltepec, Santiago Amoltepec, San Agustín Chayuco
yoo'o (yo'o)	San Juan Colorado
ndo	Santiago Jamiltepec

Coatzospan **xo'on** is the only nasal form recorded, but the nasalization may have been added by analogy with the Coatzospan singular form **n**. As noted above, the initial **x** of this form is a regular reflex of **y** in this town. The double **o** in the San Juan Colorado form is an orthographic convention to indicate a tone glide, and so this is really another instance of **yo'o**.

The Jamiltepec form **ndo** is an anomaly. One might expect **yo'o** on the basis of symmetry with the first singular **yu'u** and the two plurals **ndyu'u** and **ndyo'o** (presented in 5.2 below), but **yo'o** is used for inclusive (see 5.4 below), and so there was apparently a substitution, perhaps a contraction of the plural **ndyo'o**. This is one more example of the constant tension between second-person and inclusive forms in Mixtec pronoun systems.

I reconstruct ***yo'o**, and propose that this independent form is related to the oral enclitic ***yo**, not the nasal one ***kin'**. No independent pronoun related to ***kin'** has been recorded to date.

5.2 FIRST- AND SECOND-PERSON FAMILIAR/PLURAL INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS

The independent pronouns for first-person and second-person familiar in the Highlands are cognate with the first-person and second-person plural in the Lowlands.

The independent pronoun for first-person familiar in both of the Colonial Highland variants was **ndu'u**. The following independent forms for the first-person familiar have been found in modern Highland Mixtec variants:

Western

ndu'u	Santo Tomás Ocotepec
ru'u	San Cristóbal Amoltepec, Magdalena Peñasco, San Agustín Tlacotepec, San Esteban Atlatlahuca, Chalcatongo, Yosondúa
ru'u ya	Magdalena Peñasco, San Agustín Tlacotepec
ru ya	San Agustín Tlacotepec
lu'u	San Mateo Peñasco, San Pedro Molinos, Santa Lucía Monteverde
ru'un	Yosoñama (familiar)
lu'un	Yosoñama (intimate)
ruu	San Miguel El Grande

Eastern

nchu'u	Nuxaa
chu'u	Teita (familiar)
ru'u	San Juan Diuxi
su'u	Teita (intimate), Mitlatongo

Even though only one town has **ndu'u**, I nevertheless reconstruct ***ndu'u** as the proto form for the Highlands. The forms with **ch** show palatalization, and those with **r** and **l** show the same lenition processes seen in the enclitics. The two forms with **ya** are compounded with **s** contraction of the deictic **ya'a** 'here, this'. I am unable to account for the nasalization in Yosoñama, nor the initial **s** in Teita and Mitlatongo.

The independent pronouns with **r** and velarized **l** parallel enclitic pronouns with these same consonants. In the discussion of enclitics above, I proposed that these consonants developed from **nd** by lenition processes in unstressed syllables. In that independent pronouns are stressed, however, they would not be expected to undergo lenition of the initial consonant. It therefore seems that the independent pronouns with these consonants are back formations from the enclitics, with the consonants supplied by analogy.

The form that means familiar in the Highlands means plural in the Lowlands. The following independent forms for first-person plural have been found in modern Lowland Mixtec variants:

Edges of Highlands

nu'u'	Nuyoo (singular)
ndi'i	San Juan Coatzospan

Lowlands

ndu'u	San Andrés Yutatío, Xochapa, Ayutla
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	ndi'i	Alacatlalzala
	nti'i (ndi'i)	Coatzoquitengo
	nde'e	San Jerónimo Progreso
	ndyu'u	Catechism from the Mixteca Baja Puebla 1899
	nsiu'u	Xayacatlán de Bravo
Coast		
	ndu'vi	San Agustín Chayuco
	ndyu'u	Jicaltepec, Santiago Jamiltepec
	ndyu	Jicaltepec
	nyu'u (ndyu'u)	San Juan Colorado

These Lowland forms show more uniformity in the onset consonant than the Highland forms, but more variety in the vowels. The initial **ns** in Xayacatlán probably arose by affrication of **nd** with subsequent loss of the stop. The initial **n** in Nuyoo is a regular development from **nd** in that town. Therefore the onset can be reconstructed with ***nd**, just as in the Highlands.

The wide variety of vowels, however, leads me to reconstruct something more complex for proto Mixtec than Highland Mixtec ***ndu'u**. As with the singular form, San Agustín Chayuco, one of the Coastal towns, preserves a complex form **ndu'vi** that can account for most of the variant vowels, but the forms with **ndy** point to an additional front vowel at the beginning. As with the enclitic ***ndi-yu**, which is a compound of **ndi/ndi** 'all' and the singular pronoun ***yu**, the independent form is also a compound of **ndi/ndi** 'all' and the singular pronoun ***yu'vi**, and I reconstruct it as ***ndi-yu'vi**.

Note that Nuyoo, which is located in the Western Highlands but groups with the Lowlands in having number rather than respect, groups with the Western Highlands in using the proto plural form for singular.

The independent pronoun for second-person familiar in both of the Colonial variants is **ndo'o**. The following independent forms have been found in modern Highland Mixtec variants:

Western

ndo'o	San Miguel Achiutla (m. sp.), Santo Tomás Ocotepec
ro'o	San Cristóbal Amoltepec, Magdalena Peñasco, San Agustín Tlacotepec, San Esteban Atlatluhuca, Chalcatongo, Yosondúa
ro'o ya	San Agustín Tlacotepec
lo'o	San Miguel Achiutla (m. sp.), San Mateo Peñasco, San Pedro Molinos, Santa Lucía Monteverde
ro'on	Yosoñama (familiar)
roon	Yosoñama (familiar)
lo'on	Yosoñama (intimate)
loon	Yosoñama (intimate)
roo	San Miguel El Grande

Eastern

ndo'o	Coatzospan, Diuxi (m. sp.)
ndo	Diuxi (m. sp.)
yo'o	Diuxi (w. sp.), Mitlatongo
yo	Diuxi (w. sp.)
so'o	Nuxaa (m. sp.)
nchaa	Nuxaa (w. sp.)

There is considerable variety in these forms because of differences in degree of intimacy and differences in men's versus women's speech. As noted above for first-person plural, forms with

initial **r** and **l** probably arose by analogy with enclitic forms that developed by lenition processes. Also as noted in first person, the form that ends in **ya** is a compound with **ya'a** ‘here, this’. The forms with nasalization may have developed by analogy, and the form with the vowel **a** in Nuxaa women’s speech probably reflects a different proto form, as noted in section 2.2.1 above. It is likely that the forms with **y** reflect the second-person singular form, rather than the plural. I reconstruct ***ndo'o** for Highland Mixtec, but this leaves the forms with initial **s** and **y** still unaccounted for.

The form that means familiar in the Highlands means plural in the Lowlands. The following independent forms for second-person plural have been found in modern Lowland Mixtec variants:

Edges of Highlands

no'o	Nuyoo (singular)
ndo'o	San Juan Coatzospan

Lowlands

ndo'o	San Andrés Yutatío , Alacatlalzala, San Jerónimo Progreso (also singular respect), Xochapa, Ayutla
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nto'o (ndo'o)	Coatzacoquitengo
nsio'o (nsyo'o)	Xayacatlán de Bravo

Coast

ndo'o	San Agustín Chayuco
ndyo'o	Zacatepec, Santiago Jamiltepec
ndio'o (ndyo'o)	Jicaltepec
ndio (ndyo)	Jicaltepec
nyoo'o (ndyo'o)	San Juan Colorado

All these Lowland forms confirm the **nd** onset for the proto form, but several forms also contain an additional **y**, showing a palatal component. This means that the proto Mixtec form will be different from the Highland proto form ***ndo'o**. I propose the compound ***ndi-yo'o** as the proto form; as with other compound pronouns discussed above, this consists of **ndi/ndi** ‘all’ plus the second-person singular pronoun ***yo'o**. This accords well with the proposed proto form for the second-person plural enclitic, * **ndi-yo'**

Nuyoo, which is located in the Western Highlands, but groups with the Lowlands in having number rather than respect, groups with the Western Highlands in having lost the original first- and second-person singular pronouns, and using the original first- and second-person plural pronouns with singular meaning.

5.3 FIRST- AND SECOND-PERSON RESPECT INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS

The first- and second-person respect forms are found only in the Highlands.

The independent form in the Tlaxiaco-Achiutla Colonial variant is **ñasaña**, and the form in the Teposcolula variant, on the **d** side of the isogloss, is **ñadaña** or **ñada**. The long forms appear to have three separate parts. In the middle is the first-person respect enclitic ***san**. Following this is the syllable **ña**, which is a form of the deictic **ya'a** ‘here, this’. This word contracted to **ya**, and was nasalized to **ña** following ***san**. The first syllable **ña** may be a classifier meaning ‘person’.

The following first-person respect independent pronouns have been found in modern Mixtec variants:

Western Highlands

saña	San Cristóbal Amoltepec, San Miguel Achiutla, Magdalena Peñasco, San Agustín Tlacotepec, San Mateo Peñasco, San Pedro Molinos, San Esteban Atatlahuca, Santa Lucía Monteverde, Yosondúa
sa ya'a	Magdalena Peñasco
sein	Yosoñama
sain	Nduaxico
sa'an	San Esteban Atatlahuca
saan	San Cristóbal Amoltepec, Santo Tomás Ocotepec
na'a	Chalcatongo
naa	San Miguel El Grande
Eastern Highlands	
daña	San Juan Teita, San Juan Diuxi
adaña	Nuxaa
adaan	Nuxaa

Only the two Nuxaa forms reflect the initial syllable of **ñadaña**, but in a shortened form. Most of the other forms show the postposed deictic, even if only in a contracted and fused form, like Yosoñama **sein**.

The **sa'an** form found in Atatlahuca appears to be a back formation from the enclitic ***san**, expanding it to two syllables by analogy with the familiar pronouns. The forms **saan** and **adaan** are likely also back formations from the enclitic form ***san**. The forms **na'a** and **naa**, which are used in towns that have **na** as the enclitic, also appear to have been created from the enclitic by analogy.

There is no antecedent within the pronoun system for ***san**, and so it was probably originally a noun, which was imported into the pronoun system to fill a perceived void. What might be expected for a first-person pronoun that shows respect to the addressee would be some self-deprecating term, and there is a likely candidate in the word **dzana** (**dana**) in the Colonial Mixtec of the Eastern Highlands, found in the compound **dzaya dzana** (**da'ya dana**) 'slave born in the household', 'servant born in the household' (Alvarado 1593, Jansen and Pérez Jiménez 2009). This word also means 'bad'. Compare the current Spanish use of *su servidor* 'your servant' for the speaker when he/she wishes to show respect for the addressee.

The second-person respect independent pronoun shows a surprising amount of variation, in contrast with the enclitic, which is almost uniformly **ni**. The form in the Tlaxiaco-Achiutla variant of Colonial Mixtec is **ndiji**, and the form in the Teposcolula variant is **disi** (**ndixi**). These Colonial forms were probably nasal (**ndijin**, **ndixin**); nasalization was not written in Colonial materials. They each consist of two parts, **ndi** and a contracted and fused form of a deictic **jiña**, **siña** (**xiña**) 'there, that (near the addressee)'. Compare this with the use of **ya**, a contraction of **ya'a** 'here, this' in the first-person respect forms, and also in the first-person familiar forms **ru'u ya** and **ru ya**, and even one second-person familiar form **ro'o ya**.

[[fn: The Tlaxiaco-Achiutla form **jiña** occurs frequently for 'there' in the Hernández Catechism (1567), but I have not found evidence for the cognate form **siña** (**xiña**) used as a deictic in the Teposcolula variant. Instead, **siña** (**xiña**) seems to have functioned as a noun meaning 'place' or 'place where' (Alvarado 1593, Jansen and Pérez Jiménez 2009). There is, however, a word **xian** or **jian** 'allí' in Nuxaa, a town in the Eastern Highlands (Hughhins and McKendry 2009), plus the form **ndixi**, which is obviously cognate with **ndiji**.]].

[[fn: A different, and interesting, use of deictics as part of nonliteral pronouns is found in contemporary San Andrés Yutatío Mixtec, where the demonstrative pronouns **tayó'ò** 'he here' and

taxàan ‘he there (near addressee)’ are used sometimes instead of **yù'u** ‘I’ and **yo'ó** ‘you’. In both of these forms, as with the Spanish and English honorifics, it is a third-person form that is used for a first or second person.]]

The following independent forms for second-person respect have been found in modern Mixtec variants:

Western Highlands

ndijin	San Miguel Achiutla, Magdalena Peñasco, San Agustín Tlacotepec, San Juan Teita, Santa Lucía Monteverde
ndiji	Santa Lucía Monteverde
ndi'i	San Cristóbal Amoltepec
nijin	San Mateo Peñasco. San Pedro Molinos
nii	Yosoñama, San Miguel El Grande
ni'i (ni'in)	Nduaxico, Santo Tomás Ocotepec, San Esteban Atalahuca, Chalcatongo. Yosondúa

Eastern Highlands

ndixi	San Juan Diuxi
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About half of the towns show the fused deictic, and the other half show forms that look like back formations from the enclitic ***ni**. In many towns, the independent pronoun begins with **nd**, rather than the **n** found in the enclitic, and this was the case also in Colonial Mixtec. I have no explanation to offer for this variation, but I reconstruct ***ndixin** as the proto form.

It remains to suggest a source for the ***ndi** part of ***ndixin**, as well as for the enclitic ***ni**. These respect pronouns for second person must have some source in another part of speech, probably a noun. It would be logical to expect some respectful term for person. Compare the honorifics found in English (*your majesty* for royalty and *your honor* for a judge), and the Spanish *vuestra merced* ‘your grace’ that developed into *usted*. One possible source for ***ndi** is the classifier currently used for a deceased person, **ndi**, as in **ndi yuva sa** ‘my late father’. This is a contraction of **ndiyi** ‘cadaver’, however, which is not a respectful term. Also, in the Colonial period, the classifier for a deceased person was **ñu** (Reyes 1593:19). Clearly we need to continue the search for sources for both ***ndi** and ***ni**.

5.4 INCLUSIVE INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS

In the sixteenth century, the Tlaxiaco-Achiutla independent pronoun for inclusive was **yoo**, and the Teposcolula form was likely **ndoo**. The following independent pronouns have been recorded for inclusive in modern variants:

Western Highlands

yo'o	San Cristóbal Amoltepec, Magdalena Peñasco, San Agustín Tlacotepec, San Mateo Peñasco, San Pedro Molinos, Santo Tomás Ocotepec, San Esteban Atalahuca, Chalcatongo, Yosondúa, Santa Lucía Monteverde
yoo	San Miguel El Grande
yoon	Yosoñama
yo'on	Nduaxico

Eastern Highlands

roo	San Juan Diuxi
cho'o	Teita (familiar)
so'o	Teita (intimate), Mitlatongo

Edges of Highlands

	njoo	Santa Maria Peñoles
	xo'o	San Juan Coatzospan
	yo	Nuyoo
Lowlands		
	yoo	San Andrés Yutatío , Xochapa
	yo	San Jerónimo Progreso
	yoo'	Ayutla
	njoo	Coatzoquitengo
	ndo'o	Xayacatlán de Bravo
	NONE	Alacatlalzala
Coast		
	yoo	San Juan Colorado
	yo	Zacatepec
	yo'o	Santiago Jamiltepec
	NONE	Jicaltepec, San Agustín Chayuco

As with the enclitic forms, the **nd**-initial forms in the Eastern Highlands and part of the Northern Lowlands can be analyzed as compounds of **ndi/ndi** 'all' plus a **y**-initial form. The **njoo** form probably developed by palatalization of **nd**.

The original form was probably **yoo** or **yo'o**. I hypothesize that it was ***yoo**, and that **yo'o** was created by analogy with other forms with medial glottal stop, like the second-person form ***yo'o**. I have no explanation to offer for the initial **s** in Mitlatongo.

[[fn: Much of this information about first and second persons was covered in Spanish in Erickson de Hollenbach 2003.]]

6. THIRD-PERSON PRONOUNS

Mixtec third-person pronouns usually show only enclitic forms. Even though there are no independent third-person pronouns, the enclitic pronouns are usually related to generic nouns. Often there are also related proclitic forms, used as classifiers in compounds, and also as nominalizers to create relative clauses. These are discussed in a separate section below.

The main parameter found in third-person pronouns is gender, not only masculine and feminine, but also various kinds of animate and inanimate categories. Two other parameters that are also prominent in some systems are respect and number.

In what follows, I discuss individual pronouns in turn, treating their etymological source nouns, their phonological developments, and their uses. The use of any pronoun in a given language depends heavily, of course, on how many other pronouns occur in the system and what their uses are.

As noted above, the representation from various regions of the Mixtec area is uneven, with better representation in the Western Highlands, the Central Lowlands, and parts of the Coast. There is a particular shortage of data from the Eastern Highlands, an area where there is considerable complexity.

6.1 HUMAN MASCULINE PRONOUNS

Every language recorded to date has a masculine pronoun, which is related to the noun for man. In the Highlands, this pronoun is usually reserved for adults, which accords well with the respect

parameter found in this region. In the Lowlands, this pronoun is usually used for human males of all ages.

De los Reyes gives the form of this pronoun for the Teposcolula variant of Colonial Mixtec as **ta** (1593:15), and the same spelling is found in the Tlaxiaco-Achiutla variant. He relates **ta** to the noun **tai** ‘man’. The forms recorded to date in modern Mixtec for this human masculine pronoun are:

Western Highlands

de	San Miguel Achiutla, San Antonino Monte Verde, Yosoñama, San Cristóbal Amoltepec, Magdalena Peñasco, San Mateo Peñasco, San Pedro Molinos, Santo Tomás Ocotepec, San Esteban Atatlahuca, Chalcatongo, San Miguel El Grande, Santa Lucía Monteverde
te	San Agustín Tlacotepec
da	Yosondúa

Eastern Highlands

de	Teita, Nuxaa (m. sp.)
te	Diuxi (w. sp.)
yi	Nuxaa (w. sp.)
sa	Tidaa
s	Diuxi, (m. sp.)
si	Diuxi, (m. sp.)

Edges of Highlands

re'	Nuyoo
na	Coatzospan (m. sp.)
chi	Coatzospan (w. sp.)
ti	Coatzospan (w. sp.)
xta	Coatzospan (respect)
de	Peñoles

Lowlands

te	Xayacatlán
da	San Jerónimo Progreso
ra	San Andrés Yutatío , Coatzoquitengo, Alacatlalzala, Metlatónoc,, Xochapa, Ayutla, Mixtepec (respect)
ta	Xochapa
a	Ayutla (respect)

Coast

ra	Zacatepec, Jicaltepec, Santiago Amoltepec, San Juan Colorado, San Agustín Chayuco, Santiago Jamiltepec
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Most of the forms above are developments of a reduced form of the noun for ‘man’, which should probably be reconstructed as ***tyaa**. (Josserand reconstructed ***teye** for ‘man’ (1983:480, 539-43), but the reconstruction ***tyaa** accounts for more variants.) The original form of the enclitic was probably ***tya**. In some towns the **ya** became **e**, in others, the palatalization was lost, leaving **ta**. Also, the **t** sometimes weakened to **d** or to **r**; the form **ra** is common in one area of the Lowlands.

[[fn: So many modern reflexes of this pronoun have the vowel **e**, especially in the area represented by the Tlaxiaco-Achiutla catechism, that it is hard to believe that the colonial form was **ta**, which contains no phonetic motivation for a change from **a** to **e**. If the palatalization of the proto form had been present in Colonial Mixtec, but not represented in the orthography, the change to **e** is plausible. Still, it is hard to believe that the friars completely missed the palatalization.

This pronoun is part of a bigger mystery about the vowel symbols **a** and **e** in Colonial Mixtec. There is some doubt in my mind as to whether the letter **a** always represented the sound **a** in Colonial Mixtec, or if maybe it also sometimes represented the sound **e**, given that the letter **e** was used to write the sound that is reconstructed as **i**. Josserand claims that this high central vowel had developed into **e** in Teposcolula in the Colonial period (1983:305), and she therefore believed that the letter **e** of Colonial Teposcolula represented the vowel **e**. If so, then the letter **a** probably did represent the sound **a**.]]

There are several forms, however, that do not seem to reflect the same proto form:

yi	Nuxaa (w. sp.)
sa	Tidaa
s	Diuxi, (m. sp.)
si	Diuxi, (m. sp.)
na	Coatzospan (m. sp.)
chi	Coatzospan (w. sp.)
ti	Coatzospan (w. sp.)
xta	Coatzospan (respect)
a	Ayutla (respect)

Most of these are forms found in towns that have men's and women's speech, and many of them surely reflect different proto forms. I am not able to treat them further.

6.2 HUMAN FEMININE PRONOUNS

Every language recorded to date has a feminine pronoun, which is related to the noun for woman. As with the masculine pronoun, this form is usually reserved for adults in the Highlands, and is used for human females of all ages in the Lowlands.

The form of this pronoun in the Teposcolula Colonial variant is **ña**., which is related to the noun **ña'a** 'woman' (De los Reyes 1593:15). The same pronoun occurred in the Tlaxiaco-Achiutla variant. The forms recorded to date in modern Mixtec for this human feminine pronoun are:

Western Highlands

ña	San Miguel Achiutla, San Antonino Monte Verde, Yosoñama, San Cristóbal Amoltepec, Magdalena Peñasco, San Agustín Tlacotepec, San Mateo Peñasco, San Pedro Molinos, Santo Tomás Ocotepec, San Esteban Atlatluha, Chalcatongo, San Miguel El Grande, Yosondúa, Santa Lucía Monteverde
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Eastern Highlands

ña	Teita, Tidaa, Diuxi
nu	Nuxaa

Edges of Highlands

tun	Coatzospan
an	Peñoles (respect)
ña	Nuyoo

Lowlands

ña	Xayacatlán, San Andrés Yutatío , Coatzoquitengo, Alacatlalzala, San Jerónimo Progreso, Metlatónoc, Xochapa, Ayutla (familiar), Mixtepec (respect),
ya	Xochapa
chi	Ayutla (respect)

Coast

ña	Zacatepec, Jicaltepec, Santiago Amoltepec, San Juan Colorado, San Agustín Chayuco, Santiago Jamiltepec
an	Zacatepec

The form **ña** occurs in all regions, and is a plausible candidate for the proto form, except that it can be taken back farther in time if we consider **ñ** to be a nasalized variant of **y** and omit it from the inventory of proto phonemes. This would make the proto form ***yan**. In parallel fashion, the commonly-occurring noun for ‘woman’, **ña'a**, can be reconstructed as ***ya'an**. Even though Josserand does not include this word in her reconstruction, it is widely attested in contemporary and historical sources, and it is very stable in form from one region to another.

The forms **an** and **ya** are plausible developments from ***yan**. The **an** variant developed by the loss of the **y** consonant, and the **ya** variant developed by the loss of nasalization.

There are a few forms that are not reflexes of ***yan**: Nuxaa **nu**, Coatzospan **tun**, and Ayutla **chi**. I have no source to suggest for **tun** or **chi**, but **nu** may be related to the third general **ru** of Jicaltepec and the scornful **nu** of San Juan Colorado, described below in 6.4.

6.3 HUMAN UNSPECIFIED PRONOUNS

A respect parameter is found in most towns in the Highlands because they reserve the two pronouns described above for adults and use a different pronoun, unspecified as to sex, when talking about children or adults that one does not respect. This pronoun was described by De los Reyes for the Colonial Mixtec of Teposcolula; it is **si (xi)**, and he states that it was used for small children, for deceased people, and for inanimate things like stones and metal. He adds that it ought to be used also for demons because of their lowness (1593:19). The corresponding Tlaxiaco-Achiutla form was **ji**. De los Reyes does not mention any related noun. I consider the uses for children and demons, and perhaps also for deceased people, to be the same pronoun, and place them here, but I consider the inanimate use a different pronoun and describe it in 6.15 below.

The forms recorded to date in modern Mixtec for this human unspecified pronoun are:

Western Highlands

i	San Miguel Achiutla, Yosoñama, San Cristóbal Amoltepec, Magdalena Peñasco, San Agustín Tlacotepec, San Mateo Peñasco, San Esteban Atatlahuca, San Miguel El Grande, Yosondúa, Santa Lucía Monteverde
yi	San Miguel Achiutla, San Pedro Molinos, Chalcatongo, Yosondúa
jin	San Antonino Monte Verde, Santo Tomás Ocotepec
xìn	Ocotepec

Eastern Highlands

i	Teita, Tidaa, Diuxi
xi	Nuxaa

Edges of Highlands

xi	Peñoles (feminine)
i	Mitlatongo

Lowlands

xi	San Andrés Yutatío
tsi	Mixtepec (child)
kui	Mixtepec (familiar)
a	San Jerónimo Progreso (unspecified)

Coast

yi	Zacatepec
tsi	San Juan Colorado

The reflexes of this pronoun have a wide range of meanings that vary from town to town. In Magdalena, this pronoun is used for children and young adults who have not yet acquired adult status in the community. Speakers also sometimes use this **i** pronoun, rather than **de** or **ña**, to deny respect to an adult. In contrast, in Mitlatongo, this pronoun is used for all third-person referents, except that there is also a divine pronoun.

The proto form that would account for nearly all of the above variants is **xin**. It is, however, hard to find an appropriate source noun for this. Laura Gittlen suggests there may be different source nouns for different uses, like **suchi** ‘child’, **ndiyi** ‘corpse’, and **ñayiu** ‘person’ (personal communication). None of these nouns is nasal, however, and so I hypothesize that the nasalization found in two adjacent towns was added by analogy, and the reconstructed form is simply ***xi**.

I am unable to account for the **a** found in San Jerónimo Progreso. Also, Mixtepec has a general pronoun **i**, **a**, **ui**, and an emphatic general pronoun **ña**, which are different from the child pronoun **tsi** given above. The **ña** may be related to the respect pronoun ***yan'**, described below in 6.10.

6.4 SCORNFUL/GENERAL PRONOUNS

Two towns on the Coast each have a third-person pronoun that does not fit into any of the other categories:

ru	Jicaltepec
nu	San Juan Colorado (scornful)

The Jicaltepec form seems to be semantically neutral (Costello calls it third-person general), while the San Juan Colorado form has a specifically scornful meaning, and it contrasts with a different third-person human unspecified pronoun **tsi**, treated above in 6.3. It seems likely that this pronoun indicated lack of respect, and I tentatively reconstruct ***nu**. I have no source noun to suggest for this, nor have I found anything in De los Reyes about this form.

There is also a third-person feminine pronoun **nu** in Nuxaa, in the Eastern Highlands, which may be another reflex of ***nu**.

6.5 DECEASED PRONOUNS

A very few towns have a specific pronoun for deceased people. De los Reyes did not mention this but instead claimed that **si** (**xi**) was used to refer to deceased people (1593:19). He did, however, mention a classifier **ñu**, which he related to the noun for ‘earth’ (Reyes 1593:19).

Eastern Highlands

ndi	Tidaa
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Lowlands

nda	Xayacatlán
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The Tidaa form seems clearly related to the noun **ndiyi** /**ndiyi** ‘corpse’, and I reconstruct ***ndi**. In towns that do not have this pronoun as an enclitic, it is sometimes used as a respectful classifier for a deceased person. I have no source to propose for the Xayacatlán **nda** form.

6.6 HUMAN DIMINUTIVE PRONOUNS

In distinction to unspecified pronouns, which are used for children and indicate lack of respect, some towns have affectionate or diminutive pronouns for children. No pronoun in this category was mentioned by De los Reyes for Colonial Mixtec.

Lowlands

	ve	Xayacatlán
	a	Metlatónoc (female)
Coast		
	ve	Jicaltepec, San Juan Colorado (affectionate)
	kue	Santiago Jamiltepec

Ve can be explained as a lenition of **kue**, and I therefore reconstruct ***kue**. I am not aware of any noun that would be a plausible source for this. It may be related to the plural adjective for small, **kuechi/kueti**. The Metlatónoc form appears to be from a different source.

6.7 HUMAN PLURAL PRONOUNS

In the Highlands, plural pronouns are found only at the edges, but it is common for the Lowlands to have at least one human plural pronoun. No plural pronouns were given by De los Reyes for Colonial Mixtec.

Edges of Highlands

yu Peñoles

Lowlands

nda	Xayacatlán (respect), Xochapa (masculine)
na	San Andrés Yutatío (also used for respect), Coatzacoquitengo, Alacatlalzala (high tone for f. pl.; low tone for m. or human pl.), San Jerónimo Progreso (also respect), Metlatónoc, Xochapa (high tone for f. pl.; low tone for m. or human pl.), Mixtepec (general respect, rather than plural)
nya	Ayutla
ne	Catechism from the Mixteca Baja Puebla 1899

Coast

na	Zacatepec
ñi	Jicaltepec (f. pl., human pl.), San Juan Colorado
yi	Santiago Amoltepec (pl mixed)
ñu	San Agustín Chayuco (f. pl.), Santiago Jamiltepec (collective)

There seem to be two different proto forms that lie behind this set of modern pronouns. The most common is **na**, which in most towns means only third person plural with no overtone of respect. The **ne**, **nda** and **nya** forms probably trace back to this proto form as well. De los Reyes gives an example of a third-person pronoun **na** used to show lack of respect (1593:16), which seemed to be marginal in the pronoun system of Colonial Mixtec. It may, however, be the same as the pronoun that now means plural in most of the Lowlands.

In San Jerónimo Progreso and San Andrés Yutatío, however, this third-person plural form **na** is also used for respect. This development parallels the use of the first- and second-person plural forms **ndi** and **ndo**, first for respect, and then simply as basic singular pronouns, as described above. The extended use of plural forms for respect is a universal tendency; it can be seen in English *you*, which first went from plural to respect, and then lost its respect meaning to become the sole second-person pronoun. I reconstruct this pronoun as ***na**, but I have no associated source noun to suggest.

The second proto form is probably related to the noun for ‘people’. Daly explicitly traces the Peñoles **yu** form to the noun for ‘people’, **ña-yiu**. Jossierand reconstructed the proto Mixtec form for ‘people’ as ***yen yivi'** (1983:484). Three forms found on the Coast, **ñu**, **ñi**, and **yi**, can probably also be considered contractions of this compound noun for ‘person’. I reconstruct this pronouns as ***yin'**.

There are also various towns that have added number as a parameter to third-person pronouns by means of various periphrastic plural markers. These are described briefly below in 7.2. Note that the addition of a plural parameter to the system by means of one of these markers can affect the meaning of other elements in the system. For example, the ***na** pronoun reconstructed for third-person plural has a third-person general meaning in Mixtepec, probably because plural is shown by a **kue** proclitic. Another example can be seen in Nuyoo, where the existence of the plural marker **ra** allowed the etymologically plural pronouns to be used as singulars, as discussed above under three-pronoun systems.

6.8 DEITY PRONOUNS

In most parts of the Highlands, and in some parts of the Lowlands, there is a deity pronoun. In Colonial Mixtec, the pronoun **ya** was given by De los Reyes for nobles of both sexes, and he says it should also be used for angels. He relates it to the noun **yya** (**iya**), which means a noble (Spanish *señor*) (1593:15, 19).

Even though this pronoun was originally used for a person in the ruling class, it was shifted to include supernatural beings, very likely under the influence of the Dominican friars. It is used in the catechisms for God, Jesus, the Virgin Mary, saints, prophets, angels and bishops.

The original Mixtec term for supernatural beings was **ñu'u** (**yu'un**), which does not seem to have developed into a pronoun. If it had, it would likely have had the form **ñu** (**yun**). De los Reyes gives **ñu** as the classifier for a deceased person (1593:19), but this is probably related to the noun for ‘earth’, which is a tone pair with the one for ‘supernatural being’. This term for supernatural beings was apparently passed over by the friars in favor of **iya**.

The terms that have been recorded for the deity pronoun in modern Mixtec variants include:

Western Highlands

ya San Miguel Achiutla, San Antonino Monte Verde, Yosoñama,
San Cristóbal Amoltepec, Magdalena Peñasco, San Agustín Tlacotepec,
San Mateo Peñasco, San Pedro Molinos, Santo Tomás Ocotepec,
San Esteban Atlatlahuca, Chalcatongo, San Miguel El Grande, Yosondúa,
Santa Lucía Monteverde

Eastern Highlands

ya Teita, Nuxaa
ia Tidaa, Diuxi

Edges of Highlands

ka Peñoles
ya Mitlatongo

Lowlands

ya Catechism from the Mixteca Baja Puebla 1899, Xayacatlán, Mixtepec

Coast

an' Zacatepec
yan' Zacatepec

The original form of this pronoun is probably **ya**, which is the final syllable of the noun **iya** or **i'ya** ‘noble’ or ‘sacred being’ in various towns. This word is not included in Josserand’s database. I have no explanation to offer for the Peñoles form. There is no evidence of nasalization in these forms except for Zacatepec, but it seems likely that these Zacatepec forms are reflexes of a different proto form, the **ña** respect pronoun described in 6.10 below. I therefore reconstruct this pronoun as ***ya**.

In the popular Catholicism practiced by modern speakers of Mixtec, the **ya** deity pronoun is often used for angels, saints, the sun, moon, stars, rain, and sometimes corn and various diseases. It is also used for bishops, though not usually for priests.

Note that this pronoun is found throughout the Highlands, and in the northern part of the Lowlands, but it is absent from the Coast, and from other parts of the Lowlands. The areas where it occurs are those that were most under the influence of the Dominican friars and the early catechisms.

6.9 HONORIFIC PRONOUNS

De los Reyes gives the form **to**, which is related to the noun **toho** (**to'o**), which means a nobleman (Spanish *principal*) as an honorific pronoun (1593:15). In only one town has a modern reflex been recorded:

Western Highlands
 to Chalcatongo

In that this form is attested in the sixteenth century, and only one town currently has it, it is almost certainly a retention. This pronoun probably entered the pronoun system with the rise of Mixtec city-states and social stratification. It seems to indicate a lower status than **ya**, which is the pronoun the Dominican friars pressed into service for God. The obvious proto form is **to* ‘he (honorific)’.

6.10 RESPECT PRONOUNS

Another respect pronoun mentioned by De los Reyes is **ña** ; he states that women often referred to their husbands using **ña** instead of the usual masculine pronoun **ta**. (1593:19). This is preserved very sporadically:

Eastern Highlands
 ña Nuxaa
 Edges of Highlands
 ña Coatzospan
 Lowlands
 ña Coatzoquitengo
 Coast
 an' Zacatepec (deity)
 yan' Zacatepec (deity)

This pronoun probably had a different tone from the human female pronoun. Its reference is to a human being from one’s own social class that one might want to respect, which means it is somewhat less honorific than **to**, and much less so than **ya**. The Zacatepec forms, however, appear to have shifted to the most honorific, deity meaning. The Zacatepec forms also witness to a final glottal stop in the proto form. The spotty distribution of this pronoun suggests a retention. Because the letter **ñ** represents the phoneme **y** in nasal words, I reconstruct the proto form as **yan'*. I have no source noun to suggest.

Other third-person pronouns used for respect appear to be extended uses of a plural pronoun described in 6.7 above. These are found only in the Lowlands:

 ne Xayacatlan
 na San Andrés Yutatío (also means plural),
 San Jerónimo Progreso (also means plural)

6.11 ANIMAL AND SPHERICAL-OBJECT PRONOUNS

Almost universally, Mixtec languages have a special pronoun for animals. For the Colonial Mixtec of Teposcolula, De los Reyes gives this pronoun as **te**, and relates it to the noun **quete** (**kete**, or perhaps **kiti**) ‘animal’ (1593:20). The forms that have been recorded for modern Moxtec variants include:

Western Highlands

ti	San Esteban Atlatlahuca, Chalcatongo, San Miguel El Grande, Yosondúa
ti	San Miguel Achiutla, San Antonino Monte Verde, Yosoñama, San Cristóbal Amoltepec, Magdalena Peñasco, San Mateo Peñasco, San Pedro Molinos, Santo Tomás Ocotepec
tsi	San Agustín Tlacotepec
di	Santa Lucía Monteverde

Eastern Highlands

ti	Teita, Tidaa, Diuxi, Nuxaa
t	Diuxi
te	Apoala

Edges of Highlands

ti'	Nuyoo
ti	Coatzospan
di	Peñoles

Lowlands

si	Xayacatlán
ri	San Andrés Yutatío, Coatzcoquitengo, Alacatlalzala, San Jerónimo Progreso, Metlatónoc, Xochapa (does not include spherical objects)
ti	Xochapa (animal and spherical), Mixtepec
i	Xochapa (spherical objects only)
ri'	Ayutla

Coast

ti	San Juan Colorado, San Agustín Chayuco. Santiago Jamiltepec
ri	Zacatepec, Jicaltepec
di	Santiago Amoltepec

This pronoun is usually used also for spherical objects, probably because that is another sense discrimination of the noun for ‘animal’. In only one town, Xochapa, are separate forms used for these two meanings.

As for the initial consonant, forms with **d** and **r** can be explained as the result of lenition processes, and those with **ts** and **s** by affrication before a high front vowel, and so the consonant can be reconstructed as **t**. As for the vowel, the differences can be explained by the merger of **ī** (barred **i**) with **i** in many variants, and a change of **i** to **e** in a few. The proto vowel can therefore be reconstructed as **ī**. Nuyoo and Ayutla, two of the towns that preserve word-final glottal stop, show a final glottal in this pronoun. The original form is therefore probably ***ti'**. This is the final syllable of ***kiti'** ‘animal’, as reconstructed by Josserand (1983:479, 524-28).

6.12 WATER/LIQUID PRONOUNS

Many Highland towns and some Lowland towns have a special pronoun for liquids, related to the noun for water. De los Reyes gives this pronoun as **ta**, and relates it to the noun **nduta** ‘water’ (1593:20). This pronoun is usually a tone pair with the human masculine pronoun, which has a lower tone. The forms that have been recorded for modern Mixtec variants include:

Western Highlands

de	Yosoñama, San Cristóbal Amoltepec, Magdalena Peñasco, San Mateo Peñasco, San Pedro Molinos, Santo Tomás Ocotepec
te	San Agustín Tlacotepec, San Esteban Atlatlahuca

cha	San Miguel El Grande
Eastern Highlands	
te	Teita, Diuxi, Nuxaa
Lowlands	
ra	San Andrés Yutatío , Coatzcoquitengo, Alacatlalzala, Metlatónoc, Xochapa, Mixtepec
ro	San Andrés Yutatío
do	San Jerónimo Progreso
ta	Xochapa
ra'	Ayutla
Coast	
ra'	Zacatepec (also includes sun)

I reconstruct this pronoun as ***tya**, which accounts for the initial consonants **t**, **d**, **ch**, and **r**, for the vowels **e** and **a**. Two towns witness to a final glottal stop, but Josserand did not reconstruct a glottal stop at the end of the noun for water, and so I do not reconstruct one for the pronoun. Even though Josserand reconstructs water as ***ndute** (1983:479), ***ndutya**, suggested by Inga McKendry (personal communication), would give a more plausible source for the range of variation both in the current free nouns and in the enclitics.

Note that the liquid enclitic has the same segments as the enclitic for third-person masculine, but there are usually differences in the tone pattern. In Magdalena Peñasco, it has the same tone level as the pronoun for third-person masculine, but has a floating tone that the latter lacks.

6.13 WOOD/MANUFACTURED OBJECT PRONOUNS

Many Highland towns and some Lowland towns have a special pronoun for wooden objects, related to the noun for tree. For Colonial Mixtec, De los Reyes gives this as **tnu** and relates it to **yutnu**, which means ‘wooden object’ or ‘tree’ (1593:20). The same form occurs in the Tlaxiaco-Achiutla variant. This pronoun is usually used for manufactured objects, even those that do not contain any wooden parts. The terms that have been recorded for the wood pronoun in modern Mixtec variants include:

Western Highlands

tnu	Yosoñama, Magdalena Peñasco
nu	San Antonino Monte Verde, San Cristóbal Amoltepec, San Agustín Tlacotepec, San Mateo Peñasco
tu	Santo Tomás Ocotepec

Eastern Highlands

nu	Teita
tnu	Tidaa, Diuxi

Lowlands

no	Alacatlalzala
ra	San Andrés Yutatío
ro	San Andrés Yutatío
nu	Coatzcoquitengo, Metlatónoc, Xochapa
do	San Jerónimo Progreso
tun	Xochapa, San Juan Colorado, Santiago Jamiltepec
nu'	Ayutla
tu	Mixtepec

Coast

tun	San Juan Colorado, Santiago Jamiltepec
tu	San Agustín Chayuco

run Zacatepec

All of the above forms except the Yutatío alternate form **ra**, which has the vowel **a**, can be accounted for by positing ***tun'** as the proto form. In some towns the nasalization was lost, in others the **t** became **tn** in nasal words (a regular development), and then in a subset of those, the **t** was lost, leaving only **n**. In some towns, **t** weakened to **d** or **r**. In a few the **u** vowel was lowered to **o**. Even though only one town, Ayutla, preserves word-final glottal stop, I reconstruct it because Josserand reconstructed it for the source noun, which she gives as ***yutun'** 'tree' (1983:499).

6.14 FLOWER AND OTHER PLANT PRONOUNS

A few towns in the Highlands have a special pronoun for flowers, related to the noun for flower, **ita**. This word is not included in Josserand's database, nor is a flower pronoun mentioned in De los Reyes.

Western Highlands

da Santa María Yosoyúa

Eastern Highlands

ta Teita, Tidaa, San Juan Diuxi

The historical source of this pronoun is transparent; and it is likely an innovation that has spread within a small area at the border of the Eastern and Western Highlands. I reconstruct ***ta**.

Two towns on the Coast each have a special pronoun for another plant part:

Coast

vu Zacatepec (herb)

ku San Juan Colorado (fruit and vegetable)

These are probably contractions of **yuku**, which means 'plant', and it is likely an innovation in a part of the Coast. I reconstruct ***ku**.

6.15 GENERAL INANIMATE PRONOUNS

There is often a default inanimate pronoun used for objects to which no more specific pronoun applies. In Highland towns it is often homophonous with the pronoun used for young human referents, but it probably has a different source noun. De los Reyes gives this form as **si (xi)** for the Teposcolula variant of Colonial Mixtec. In many Lowland towns the inanimate pronoun is unrelated to this Highland form. The terms that have been recorded for the general inanimate pronoun in modern Mixtec variants include:

Western Highlands

i San Cristóbal Amoltepec, Magdalena Peñasco

Edges of Highlands

i Coatzospan

xi Peñoles

Lowlands

ña Catechism from the Mixteca Baja Puebla 1899,
San Andrés Yutatío (incluye demonios), Coatzacoquitengo, Alacatlazala,
San Jerónimo Progreso, Metlatónoc, Xochapa, Mixtepec

a Xayacatlán, Ayutla

e Metlatónoc (also has ña)

ya Xochapa

Coast

yi Zacatepec

chi Jicaltepec, Santiago Jamiltepec

tsi San Juan Colorado
 si San Agustín Chayuco

There are at least two different proto forms behind the array of pronouns listed here. In a large area of the Lowlands, this pronoun is **ña**, a reduction of the noun **ña'a** ‘thing’. At an earlier stage these forms can be reconstructed as ***yan** and ***ya'an**. The Xochapa form **ya** probably developed from ***yan** by loss of nasalization. The fact that the towns that have this are clustered together in the northern and central Lowlands seems to mark it as an innovation. This **ña** pronoun has been grammaticalized in various ways, which is discussed in section 7.5 below on proclitic pronouns.

There are two Lowland forms that consist solely of a vowel, **a** and **e**. In that they are in the middle of the area that has **ña**, they are probably highly contracted forms of ***yan**.

Most of the remaining forms can be reconstructed as ***xi**, which suffered the loss of the onset consonant or various changes in it to produce the current array of forms. I hypothesize that this is a different pronoun from the human unspecified pronoun reconstructed above. I have no noun to suggest as a source for this inanimate pronoun. (The noun **suchi** ‘child’, which is a plausible source noun for the human unspecified pronoun, would not be a plausible source for an inanimate meaning.)

Another piece of evidence suggesting that the homophonous human unspecified and inanimate are separate pronouns is found in Magdalena Peñasco. The inanimate pronoun **i** is often omitted in sentences and is understood from the context, while the homophonous human nonrespect pronoun is never omitted.

6.16 MISCELLANEOUS

A number of pronouns in modern Mixtec variants are difficult to relate to any proto form. Some of these with a specific meaning but unusual form have been mentioned above as residue. There are others that have not yet been mentioned, including Alacatlazala **a** ‘third-person previously mentioned’, which is probably related to one of the deictic markers.

6.17 SUMMARY OF THIRD-PERSON PRONOUNS

The following list includes the reconstructed third-person pronouns I have proposed, with their meanings and notes on distribution:

*tya	he (human)	usually respect in Highlands
*yan	she (human)	usually respect in Highlands
*xi	he, she (unspecified)	mainly Highlands and Coast
*nu	he, she (scornful)	mainly Coast
*ndi	he, she (deceased)	rare
*kue	he, she (child, affectionate)	Lowlands, Coast
*na	they (human plural)	mainly Lowlands
*yin'	they (human plural)	rare
*ya	he, she (sacred being)	Highlands, Northern Lowlands
*to	he, she (reverential)	rare
*yan'	he, she (respect)	scattered
*ti'	it (animal)	
*tya	it (liquid)	
*tun'	it (wood)	
*ti'	it (spherical object)	same pronoun as it (animal)

*ta	it (flower)	rare; Highlands
*ku	it (plant)	rare; Coast
*yan	it (thing)	Lowlands
*xi	it (thing)	mainly Highlands

Note that there are two separate pronouns of the form **yan*, plus one of the form **yan'*, and also two pronouns of the form **tya*. The modern reflexes of these usually have different tones.

The pronouns that are most widely distributed suggest the following rather simple proto system:

*tya	he (human)
*yan	she (human)
*na	they (human plural)
*ti'	it (animal)
*tya'	it (liquid)
*tun'	it (wood)
*ti'	it (spherical object)
*xi	it (thing)

7. SOME OTHER FEATURES OF MIXTEC PRONOUN SYSTEMS

7.1 EMPHATIC PRONOUNS

In addition to the independent pronouns, there is a set of emphatic pronouns, formed by combining the root meaning 'self' with the full set of enclitic pronouns. This word for 'self' also combines with nouns and sometimes with independent pronouns. It serves to emphasize them, and it is often used to express a reflexive object. Like the independent pronouns, emphatic pronouns are full words, but unlike the independent pronouns, which often show heavy fusion, the emphatic pronouns have a transparent derivation, and they are attested for most contemporary variants, as well as for Colonial Mixtec.

The word for 'self' in modern Mixtec is usually **maa** in the Western Highlands and the Coast, **mee** in the Eastern Highlands, and often **mii** in the Lowlands. In the Colonial sources De los Reyes gives this word as **may (mai)** for the Teposcolula variant of Colonial Mixtec. In the 1567 Hernández catechism, in the Tlaxiaco-Achiutla variant, the word for 'self' has the form **maa** or sometimes **mai**. Jossierand reconstructs it as **weyen* 'this one' (1983:480, 599-603), but I think **wain* would account just as well for the modern reflexes. Modern Mixtec **m** developed from the proto phoneme **w* in nasal words. Tidaa in the Eastern Highlands has **wen** as the emphatic, which preserves the proto **w*.

7.2 NUMBER

The use of the quantifier **ndi/ndi** 'all' together with a singular pronoun to create plural pronouns appears to be a very old feature in Mixtec. In Zacatepec, this prefix combines with third-person pronouns as well as first- and second-person pronouns.

The plural meaning has sometimes been lost from forms that contained this morpheme, however, as noted above, and in various towns a new periphrastic plural marker has developed.

Mixtepec, a Lowland variant, has a plural marker of the form **kue** or **ko**, which combines with various pronouns. This form may be related to the quantifier **kua'a** or **kue'e** 'many'.

Peñoles, at the eastern edge of the Mixteca Alta, also has a periphrastic plural marker that also seems to be a contraction of **kue'e** ‘very many, very much’. This marker precedes nouns, where it has the form **kuee**, and also preonouns, where it has the form **kue**. Both of these forms seem to be innovations.

Nuyoo, at the extreme western edge of the Mixteca Alta, has a marker **ra** that precedes the enclitic pronouns to indicate plural. This form is probably a contraction of **ta'an** ‘companion’ which has served as the source for various grammaticalizations in Mixtecan languages.

In some towns there are plural words that occur after a noun or pronoun, and pluralize it. In three adjoining towns in the Western Highlands, there is a plural word that means ‘with companion’; the Atlatluca form is **jitná'àn**, and the Chalcatongo and San Miguel El Grande form is **jiña'a**, which is more contracted. These forms are clearly an innovation. Macaulay (1996:114) gives the following example from Chalcatongo in which the enclitic pronoun subject of the verb is repeated after the plural word:

kí'in ni jina'a ni
will-go you plural you
You plural will go

A similar use of the noun **ta'an** is found on the Coast. The contracted forms **na'a** in San Juan Colorado and **ta** in Jicaltepec are followed by an enclitic. Often the same enclitic precedes **na'a** or **ta** as well.

Yosondúa has a plural specifier **naa** that can precede a noun or pronoun, but it is an emphatic, and it is used only when the speaker wants to highlight plural meaning.

There are other ways to express plural that are not part of the pronoun system. In the Western Highlands, there are plural markers that are part of verb inflection. The marker **ka**, usually used only with present and past tenses, is the most common particle.

7.3 KNOWN OBJECT

There is a pronoun **ña'a** used for animate objects that does not specify the person, which is clear from the context. It is found in Colonial Mixtec sources for Tlaxiaco-Achiutla, Teposcolula, and Nochixtlán, (for example, De los Reyes, p.17), as well as in 19th century catechisms from the Lowland area (Anonymous 1834, Anonymous 1899).

In modern Mixtec, this known-object pronoun occurs largely in towns of the Western Highlands north and east of Tlaxiaco, but only as far south as San Mateo Peñasco, where it occurs optionally. In towns farther south, regular enclitic or independent pronouns are used instead to express objects. This pronoun also occurs in some towns in the Eastern Highlands, including Nuxaa and Mitlatongo, but it is not found in Peñoles or Coatzacoapan, which are located at the edge of the Eastern Highlands.

The rules for the use of **ña'a** differ from town to town, and they involve discourse features, but generally it can refer to all three persons. In order to further specify the referent, **ña'a** is sometimes used together with an independent pronoun or a prepositional phrase consisting of the preposition for ‘with’ plus an enclitic pronoun.

Even though **ña'a** was used in Lowland Mixtec catechisms from the 19th century, it is absent today from both the Coast and most of the Lowlands, but it is found in two towns of Guerrero at the very western and southwestern extremes of the Lowlands, Alacatzala and Ayutla. In both

towns it is used only for a third-person referent, unlike the 19th century catechisms. This spotty distribution would seem to mark **ñā'a** as a retention, rather than an innovation.

The history of this form is unclear. It is homophonous with the noun **ñā'a** 'woman', with both the same segments and the same tone pattern, but these forms are probably not etymologically related. There is also a noun **ñā'a** 'thing' in the Lowland area, but this has a different tone pattern. Even though this known-object form seems to have been present in proto Mixtec, I am not aware of any cognate forms in either Trique or Cuicatec.

7.4 CASE

Case distinctions in pronouns themselves are rare in Mixtec. They have been recorded for three pronouns in Coatzacoapan, a northern outlier established in prehispanic times as a garrison. There is also a special accusative form **ñun** of the second-person singular pronoun **un** in Zacatepec. I have no theories to offer about the history of these forms, but this feature is almost certainly an innovation in both towns. I do not treat it further here.

In most variants of modern Mixtec, case is marked primarily by word order (VSO), and for oblique cases, often by prepositions.

There are, however, a number of places in both modern and Colonial Mixtec where the preposition that means 'with' has been grammaticalized for case marking. On the Coast, this preposition commonly precedes a direct object, either noun or pronoun. Some of these forms are Santiago Amoltepec **chi'in**, San Juan Colorado **tsi** and **tsi'in**, and Jicaltepec **chi'in**.

In the town of San Cristóbal Amoltepec in the Highlands, the preposition **ji'in** 'with' is used together with a pronoun to specify an object marked by the known-object pronoun **ñā'a** described above.

In the Tlaxiaco-Achiutla variant of Colonial Mixtec, the form **ji** (probably **jin**) is a short form of the preposition **ji'i** (**ji'in**) 'with'. This short form was used in the combination **jin tna'a** 'with companion' to mark a reciprocal object, with each other. The same combination is used in the Teposcolula and Nochixtlán variants, where the form is **sitnaha** (**xi tna'a**). Note that this same combination has become grammaticalized as a plural word in some towns, as described above.

De los Reyes also describes a particle **si** (**xi**) that was used to mark a possessor, which can be translated 'of', but he suggests that it was going out of style in favor of just using an enclitic pronoun to express the possessor (1593:16). The cognate **ji** is also found in the Tlaxiaco-Achiutla variant to mark a possessor. Even though this particle is written the same as the preposition for 'with', De los Reyes does not equate them, but it nevertheless seems likely that this is a special use of 'with'. I am not aware of any variant of modern Mixtec that marks a possessor in this way.

7.5 PROCLITIC PRONOUNS

Modern Mixtec variants often have a set of proclitic pronouns for third person that are closely related to the enclitics. Like the enclitics, they are reduced forms of generic nouns. Sometimes the proclitic set is virtually identical to the enclitic set, sometimes it has different tones from the enclitic set, and sometimes generic nouns are used instead of pronouns. These proclitic pronouns or generic nouns are used to introduce relative clauses and to form compound nouns.

In Lowland Mixtec variants, there are usually proclitic pronouns that correspond to most enclitic forms, and they combine freely to form phrases and relative clauses. In Highland Mixtec variants, the forms are more frozen and tend to occur in compounds. They have often been treated as noun classifiers.

For Colonial Mixtec, Teposcolula used phrases introduced by **tay (tai)** (man) (1593:12), and similar forms are found in the Achiutla-Tlaxiaco variant. In the Alvarado vocabulary, names of trees sometimes start with the full noun **yutnu**, and sometimes with the shortened form **tnu**.

There are also a few proclitics that do not correspond to any enclitic. One is the use of **nuu** ‘face’ for ‘place where’, to introduce a locative phrase or relative clause. The noun **nuu** ‘face’ has various extensions in the Alvarado vocabulary for face, eyes, or surface, but none for place where. The term used was sometimes **xiña** ‘place’, but in modern Mixtec this word has become grammaticalized as a demonstrative meaning ‘that (near the addressee)’. Another term that was used for ‘place where’ in Colonial Mixtec was the very general term **sa (xa)** ‘that which’. The use of **nuu** for ‘place where’ appears to be an innovation that spread rather widely and rapidly since Colonial times because it is now found throughout the Mixteca. The noun **ichi** ‘trail’ also serves in this way to mean ‘direction toward’ in some towns.

Perhaps the most interesting proclitic pronoun is the third singular inanimate form. In the Lowlands, this is consistently **ña**, which corresponds to an enclitic pronoun **ña** and to a full noun **ña'a** ‘thing’. (These forms have a lower tone than the ones that mean ‘she’ and ‘woman’.)

In the Highlands, the third singular inanimate proclitic is unrelated to any enclitic form. This form occurs in the Colonial sources in the form **sa (xa)** for Teposcolula and Nochixtlán, and **ja** for Tlaxiaco-Achiutla. The modern Mixtec variants include:

ja	San Miguel Achiutla, Yosoñama, San Cristóbal Amoltepec, Magdalena Peñasco, San Agustín Tlacotepec, San Mateo Peñasco, Santa María Yosoyúa, San Pedro Molinos, Santo Tomás Ocotepec, Chalcatongo, San Miguel El Grande, Yosondúa, Nuxaa
jee	San Esteban Atlatluha
je	Santa Lucía Monteverde
xe	Teita
xa	Diuxi
ya	Nuyoo
sa	Tidaa, Peñoles
ye [xe]	Mitlatongo
e	Coatzospan

Of the Coastal towns, Zacatepec has **ña**, like the Lowlands, but others have forms related to those in the Highlands:

cha	Jicaltepec, Santiago Amoltepec, Jamiltepec
tsa	San Juan Colorado
sa	San Agustín Chayuco

For the Highlands, I reconstruct ***xa** as the most likely proto form.

Because the Lowland form ***ña** has a traceable etymology and occurs within a single area comprising the Lowland Mixtec region and one contiguous Coastal town, it is probably an innovation, and the ***xa** form is more likely to be the original.

[[fn: This morpheme was described in detail in Erickson de Hollenbach (1995).]]

7.6 MEN’S AND WOMEN’S SPEECH

Another feature of part of the Highlands is men's and women's speech, in which different pronouns are used by women to address men and to talk about them, from those used by men to address and talk about other men. This phenomenon is found in San Miguel Achiutla, Diuxi, Nuxaa, Nuxiño, Santa Inés Zaragoza, and Coatzospan, among other towns in that area. These differences seem to be limited to first- and second-person familiar and third-person masculine pronouns. In Achiutla there are differences for first-person and second-person singular, but they are clearly cognate forms with different initial consonants. In the other towns, the differences are greater and likely reflect different etymologies. De los Reyes gives a tantalizing reference to this feature on p. 15, where he talks about special second-person pronouns **ndiya** and **nda** used in Teposcolula and Yanhuatlán by women. This **nda** form is preserved in the women's speech forms found in Nuxaa, Nuxiño, and Santa Inés Zaragoza.

This feature appears to be an innovation in a certain part of the Highlands that started before the Spanish Conquest. It merits further study, but I have little knowledge of variants that contain this feature, and I do not treat it further here.

7.7 DEGREES OF INTIMACY

Yet another parameter found in some towns is degrees of intimacy for first-person and second-person pronouns. This has been recorded only for Yosoñama and Teita, located some distance apart from each other. In both cases, the intimate forms are similar to the corresponding familiar forms, sometimes differing only in the initial consonant. These intimate forms are almost certainly separate innovations in each town.

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