

Tlapanec-Mangue

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MPI-EVA

Evidence for Tlapanec as Otomanguean

- Rensch (1977) presented some Tlapanec-OM cognates
- Suárez' "Elementos gramaticales otomangues en tlapaneco" (1986) usually considered the decisive proof of an OM affiliation of Tlapanec
- Kaufman (1987-88ms) has many reconstructions of grammatical morphemes with Tlapanec reflexes [ms not inspected for the present talk]

Best evidence from Suárez (1986)

	na- IPFV	ša ¹ NEG.POT	ni- PFV	a- IMP	wa PASS	a: ¹ INTERR	ši COND	ma INSTR	ru-/ro-/ra- CLASS	ma-, mi- POT	ga ¹ , gi ¹ , gu ¹ - POT	ta ¹ , ti ¹ , tu ¹ - PFV.NEG	ma-, mi- ADJ	ITER by vowel lengthening	ANIM by vowel changes	suppletive patterns	
Chinantec	1	1	1				1					1		1	1	1	8
Zapotec	1					1		1			1						4
Trique						1	1		1				1				4
Mazahua	1					1		1									3
Chiapaneco									1	1		1					3
Cuicatec			1								1						2
Mixtec			1						1								2
Amuzgo						1	1										2
Otomí						1		1									2
Matlatzinca		1															1
Ixcatec				1													1
Popoloca					1												1
Chatino						1											1
Mazatec									1								1
Chichimeco													1				1

Evidence for the position of Tlapanec?

- The grammatical elements of Suárez (1986) point to Chinantec as the closest subgroup, although Suárez himself did not commit himself to any particular subgrouping scenario.

Evidence for the position of Tlapanec?

- Rensch (“Classification of the Otomanguan languages and the position of Tlapanec”, 1977) discussed possible phonological innovations shared between Tlapanec and other OM languages:
 - with **Mixtecan**, **Chiapanec-Mangue**, **Zapotecan**, Chinantecan: merger of ****nt** and ****ns**
 - with **Chiapanec-Mangue** and **Zapotecan**: merger of ****i** and ****e**
 - with **Zapotecan**: ****Vh** > ***V?V/___#**
 - with **Chiapanec-Mangue**: ****ny** > ***r** (some other groups have ****ny** > ***l**)
 - with **Chiapanec-Mangue**, **Otopamean**, **Isthmus Zapotec**: ****k^w** > **p**

Evidence for the position of Tlapanec?

- Rensch (1997:95) concludes that “Tlapanec is most like Proto Zapotecan, especially Zapotec, from the standpoint of both structural innovations and phonetic shifts. Proto Chiapanec-Mague and Proto Mixtecan seem to be removed from Tlapanec by successive degrees of separation but still are significantly more like Tlapanec than are the other groups within Otomanguan”.
- Note that Kaufman (1989ms) classifies Zapotecan as Eastern OM and Tlapanec as Western OM, which is not compatible with the findings of Rensch.

Evidence for the position of Tlapanec?

- In “New perspective on comparative Otomanguean phonology” (ms, 1983), Kaufman regards Tlapanec as a separate OM branch, but in “Early OtoManguean homelands and cultures” (ms, 2006) it is placed together with Chiapanec-Mangue “primarily on the basis of grammatical data”.
- Swadesh (1959:18) also had a “mangue-tlapaneco” subgroup (with a time depth of 41 centuries)
- Campbell (1997:158) reiterates the Swadesh-Kaufman position
- None of these works provides any supporting evidence

Evidence for the position of Tlapanec?

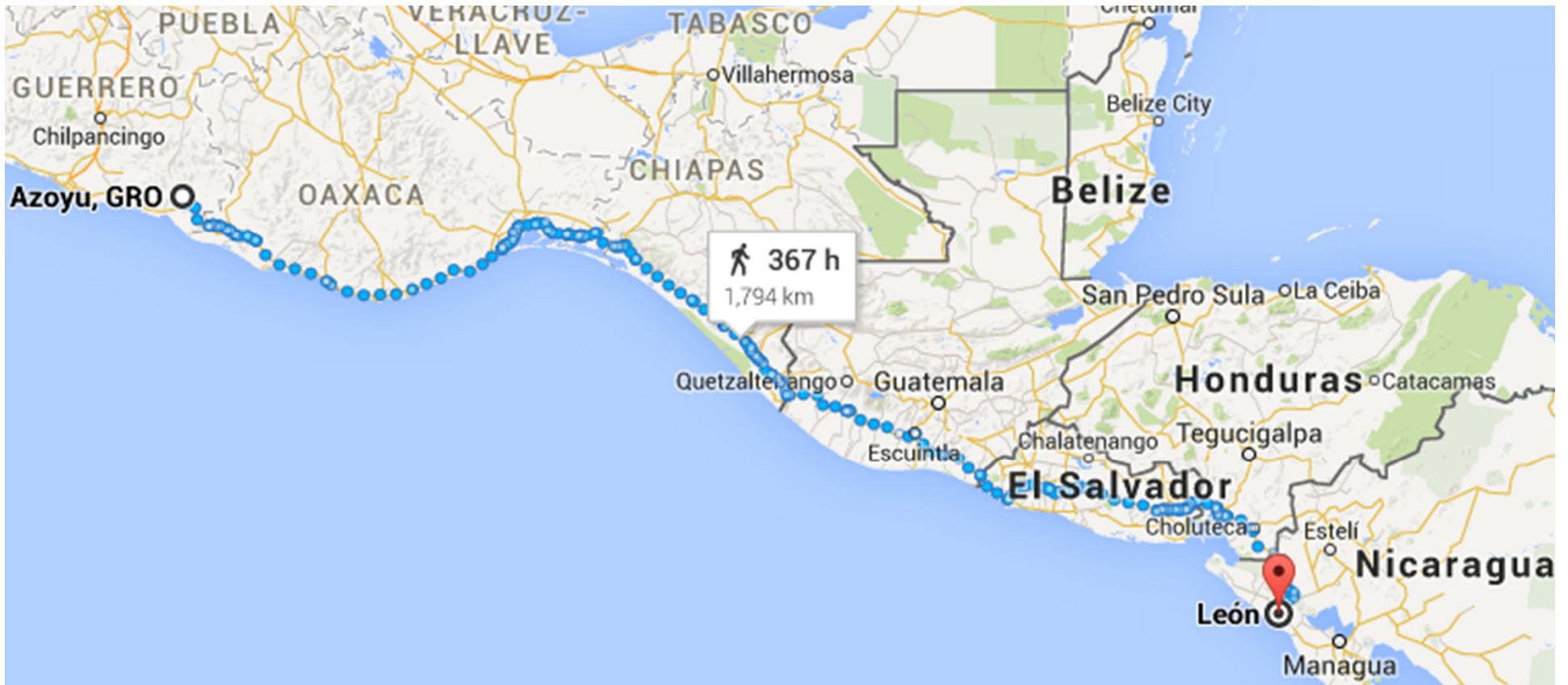
- Probably best to regard the issue as unresolved. Closest neighbors could be
 - Chiapanec-Mangue (Kaufman, Swadesh)
 - Chinantec (Suárez' evidence)
 - Zapotecan (Rensch)
- But there may also be other possibilities suggesting themselves from more recently available descriptive materials
- In this talk I will have nothing further to say about Chiapanec-Mangue!

Internal classification



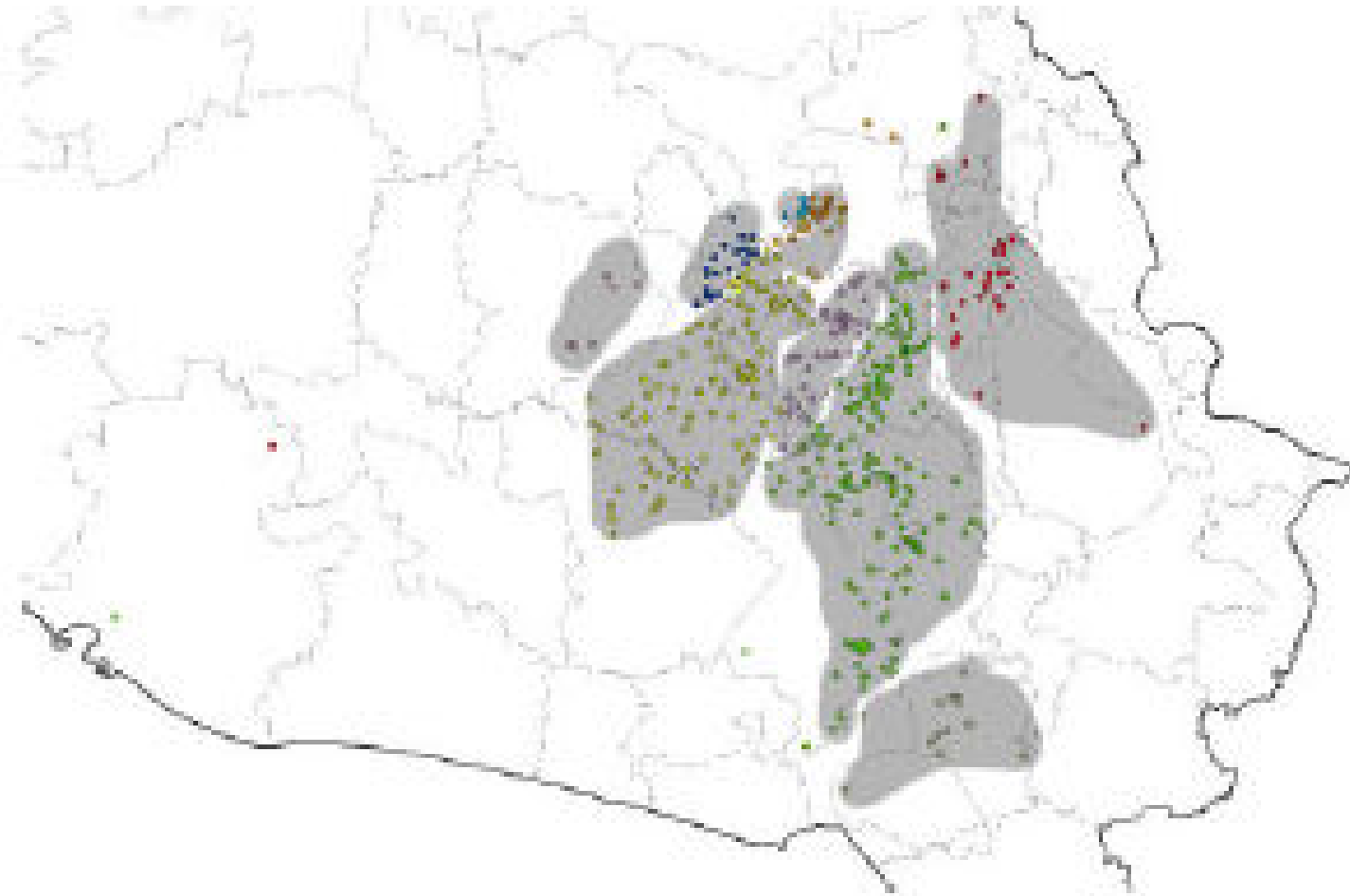
Tlapanec in Guerrero and Subtiaba in Nicaragua

Internal classification



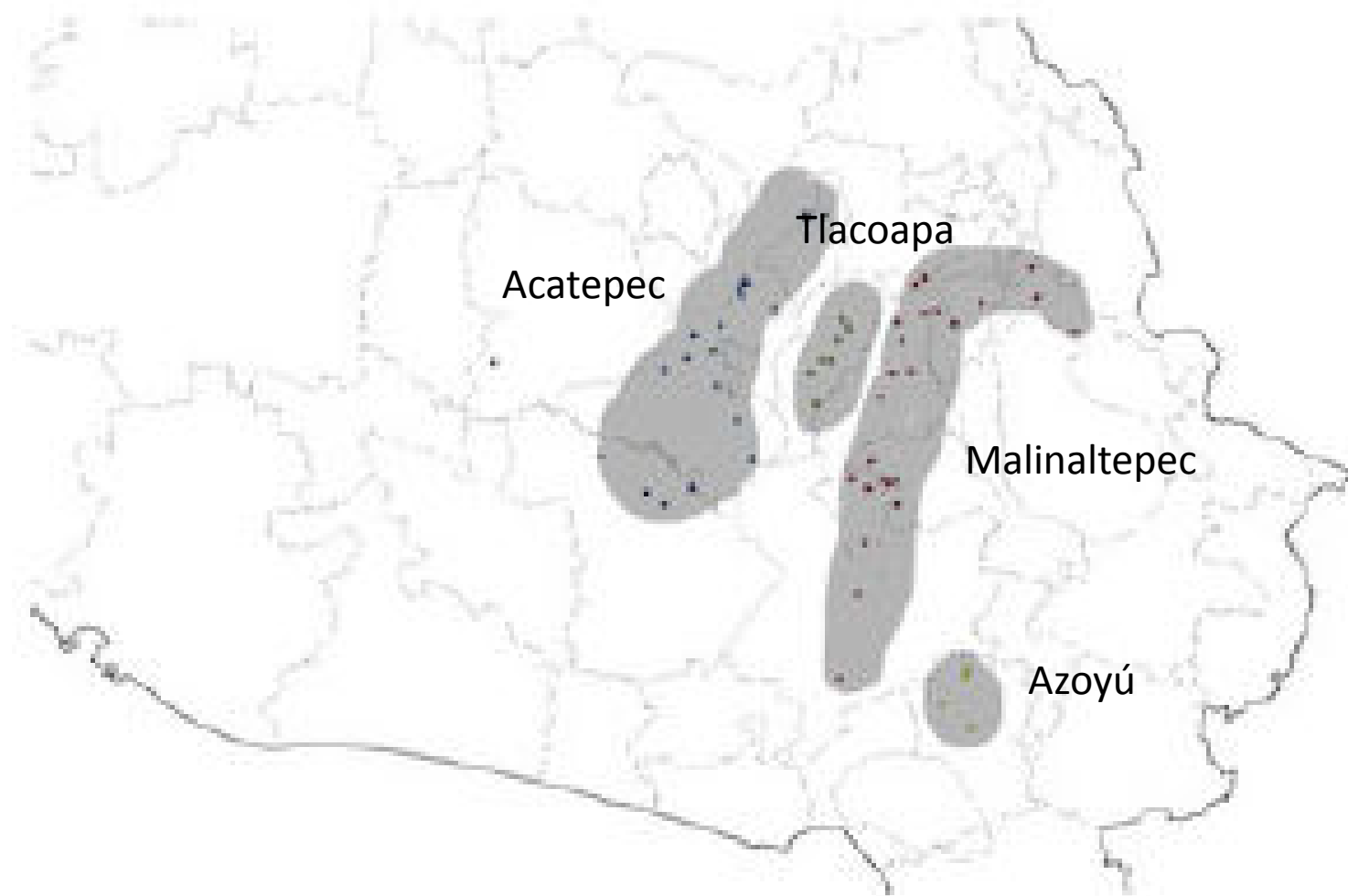
Distance between Azoyú and León

Internal classification



Tlapanec varieties in Guerrero according to INALI (2008)

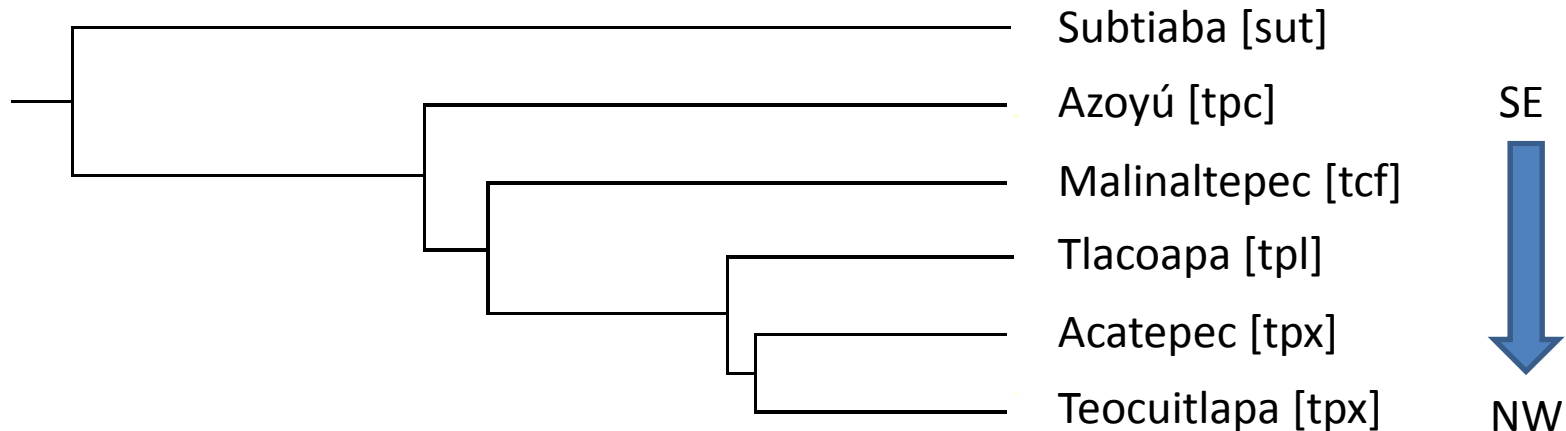
Internal classification



Tlapanec varieties in Guerrero according to Lewis (2009)

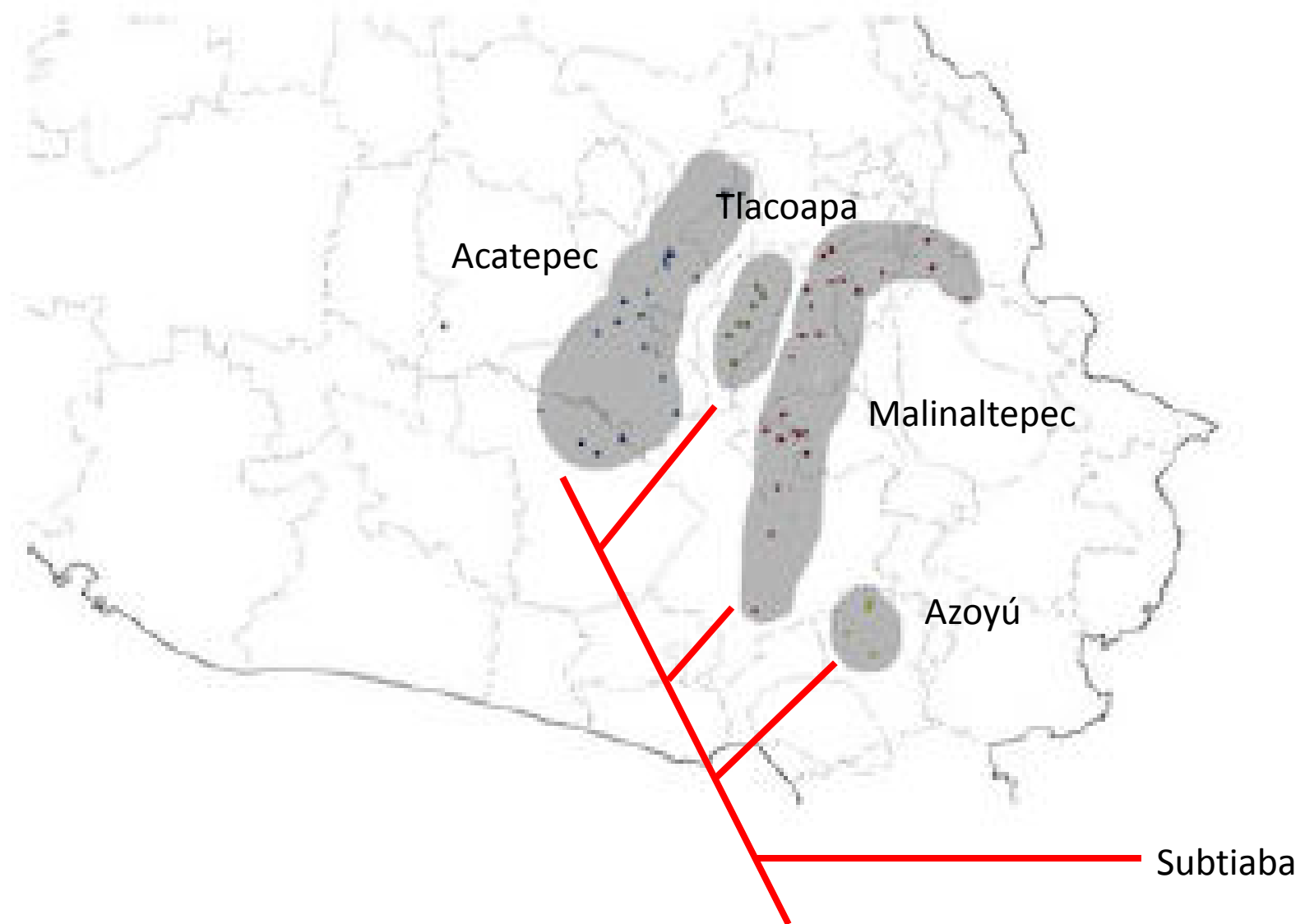
Internal classification

varieties recognized by Ethnologue: Subtiaba [sut], Azoyú [tpc], Malinaltepec [tcf], Acatepec [tpx], Tlacoapa [tpl]



ASJP classification based on average Levenshtein distances between 40-item word lists
(same configuration obtains when using the method of Jäger 2013)

Internal classification



Internal classification

- Normalized Levenshtein distance between the two most distant ISO-code languages, [sut] (Subtiaba) and [tpx] (Acatepec, Teocuitlapa): 72.19% LDND → **1821 years before present** (using the method of Holman et al 2011)
- More comparative information will follow in my chapter; some comparative materials available in Marlett (ed.), *The Me'phaa Grammar Files* (<http://www-01.sil.org/mexico/workpapers/WP013i-Me%27phaaGrammarFiles.htm>)

Structural overview based on Azoyú variety (Me'pá)

PHONOLOGY

- Phonological inventory and some notes

MORPHOLOGY / MORPHOSYNTAX

- Nominal inflection (possession)
- Verbal inflection
 - aspect-polarity
 - agentivity
 - given-new
 - case
- Valency
- Iterative
- Omniverbity

(scene from Ayoyú)



Phonology (Azoyú)

p	t	ts	č [tʃ]	k	ʔ	i	u
b	d	j [dʒ]		g		e	o
mb [ᵐb]	nd [ᵐd]	nj [ᵐdʒ]	ng [ᵐg]			a	
	s	š [ʃ]			h		
m	n			ŋ			
	r					Ṽ (nasalization)	
	l					tones:	
w		y [j]				H (á), M (a), L (à)	
						HM (â), ML (â), MH (ǎ), LM (ǎ)	

Frequent cluster types: hC, sC, xC, (h)Tr (T = stop), pw, tsw, hkw, hky

Syllable: (((C)C)C)V(±nas)(ʔ)

Nasalization spreads left through /ʔ, h, w, y/, e.g. *yahyʔ* 'I am' nasalized throughout

Differences with Malinaltepec

- Mal. claimed to have all possible combinations of tones (Suárez 1983:45), whereas I have only recorded four contour tones in Azoyú
- Mal. claimed to have a vowel length distinction, whereas I have only recorded phonetically long vowels with contour tones in Azoyú

Comparisons

meaning	Malinaltepec	Azoyú
grano	ska ^H	ska ^M
miel	ya: ^H	yaʔ ^{ML}
bolsa	le ^M ka ^{HM}	no correspondance
ropa	štj: ^{HM}	štj ^{HM}
su (de ellos) petate	a ^M gɥ: ^{HL}	a ^L gɥ ^{MH}
ardilla	ya: ^{MH}	tu ^M št ^M u ^M yaʔ ^{ML}
palabra	a ^L hŋga: ^{ML}	a ^M hŋga ^{HM}
les pregunté	ni ^L ra ^L šj: ^{LM}	no correspondance
me caí	ni ^L gu ^L hɥ: ^{LH}	niŋga ^M hɥ ^{ML}

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me caí	ni ^L gu ^L hɥ: ^{LH}	niŋga ^M hɥ ^{ML}

Loss of some glottal stops in Malinaltepec “compensated for” by raised tones?

Notes on phonology

- /e/ and /o/ rare and look like historical innovations
- tones relevant for the last two syllables only (except in some compounds)
- consonant harmony involving nasalization:
na-*mbeyé?* 's/he cries' vs. a-ta-*biyà?* 'cry!'
- segmental sandhi rampant:
mogó ṅgwâ idû iya? → *mogó ṅgwidiya?*
they.will.go where its.eye water
'they will go to the well'

Nominal inflection (possession)

(based on Wichmann 2006)

person	Segments	Tonal paradigm 1	Tonal paradigm 2	Tonal paradigm 3
1SG	-u?/-o?	M	L	L
2SG	-a?	HM	ML	H
3SG.NEW	-u/-o	HM	ML	H
3SG.GIVEN	-u/-o	H	H	H
1PL-2PL	-a?	M	L	L
3PL.NEW	-ɥ	LM	LM	ML
3PL.GIVEN	-ɥ	MH	MH	LM

Examples of forms taking the different paradigms

Paradigm 1		Paradigm 2		Paradigm 3	
<i>bùhká</i> ‘money’	L.H	<i>i?di</i> ‘blood’	M.M	<i>dí?ì</i> ‘flower’	H.L
<i>pàtsi?</i> ‘boulder’	L.M	<i>šwahj</i> ‘town’	M.L	<i>sɲgà</i> ‘penis’	L
<i>nàndî</i> ‘tobacco’	L.HM	<i>smba</i> ‘dirt’	M		
<i>šndu</i> ‘egg’	M	<i>šnà?</i> ‘feather’	L		
<i>štj</i> ‘clothes’	HM	<i>yâ?</i> ‘honey’	ML		

Let's posit floating tones for the monosyllabic forms

Paradigm 1		Paradigm 2		Paradigm 3	
<i>bùhká</i> 'money'	L.H	<i>iʔdi</i> 'blood'	M.M	<i>díʔì</i> 'flower'	H.L
<i>pàtsiʔ</i> 'boulder'	L.M	<i>šwahj</i> 'town'	M.L	^H <i>sɲgà</i> 'penis'	H.L
<i>nàndî</i> 'tobacco'	L.HM	^M <i>smba</i> 'dirt'	M.M		
^L <i>šndu</i> 'egg'	L.M	^M <i>šnàʔ</i> 'feather'	M.L		
^L <i>štj</i> 'clothes'	L.HM	^M <i>yâʔ</i> 'honey'	M.ML		

Now the paradigm of choice becomes predictable from the tone of the penultimate syllable and the underlying shape of a single tonal paradigm for the suffixes can be worked out

A possession class distinction

(based on Wichmann 1996a)

- An morpheme *-i* appears before the person markers in some forms but not in others, e.g.

hmìda 'huipil'

gàʔa 'foam'

čáʔgwâ 'star'

àʔbù 'locust'

hmèdoʔ 'my huipil'

gòʔo 'my foam'

čáʔg-y-ùʔ 'my star'

aʔb-y-ùʔ 'my locust'

-i signals membership in a class of 'extended animate' items

- All living creatures: *aʔgù* 'woman', *šabù* 'man', *mìštú* 'cat', *štilá* 'chicken', etc.
- Heavenly bodies: *čáʔgwâ* 'star', *ahkàʔ* 'sun'
- Spanish loanwords: *mèsa* 'table' *kurrá* 'corral' *àšu* 'garlic', etc.
- Some bodyparts and –products: *nìhtu* 'sinew', *yàʔdu* 'milk', *gàhtsu* 'brain', *nanùʔ* 'natural parting of hair, anal musculature'
- Some plants and natural products: *mugù* 'cotton', *rambù* 'tomato', *ganùʔ* 'corn on the cob', *drubù* 'chayote', *idu* 'salt'
- A few others: *štatsó* 'blanket', *šigù* 'house pole', *tsínu* 'metate', *yaʔdû* 'soup'

Verbal inflection: aspect-polarity

(based on Wichmann 2006)

	Affirmative	Negative
Imperfective	na-	(ma-)tsì-
Perfective	ni-	(ma-)kà-
Potential	ma-	(ma-)šà-

realis vs. irrealis; the latter marked by a floating tone

Verbal inflection: given-new

(based on Wichmann 2007)

NEW unmarked, GIVEN marked by tones and additionally for some verbs by a suffix -i

ìʔgiʔ *ŋgwâ* *gòʔô* *hwá*
sits.3SG.NEW where house.3G.NEW Juan
'Juan sits in his house'

iká *iʔgíʔ* *ŋgwâ* *gòʔó*
he.GIVEN sits.3SG.GIVEN where house.3SG.GIVEN
'he sits in his (own) house'

iká *iʔgíʔ* *ŋgwâ* *gòʔô*
he.GIVEN sits.3SG.GIVEN where house.3SG.NEW
'he sits in his (someone else's) house'

Agentivity

(based on Wichmann 1996b)

	Agentive	Patientive
1SG, 3SG	(unmarked)	(unmarked)
2SG	<i>ta-</i> (<i>t-</i> , <i>nda-</i> , <i>nd-</i> , <i>r-</i>)	(unmarked)
PL	<i>u-</i>	(unmarked)

NB: Agentivity does not affect grammatical relations, the markers are simply tags saying 'this action is performed/effected/instigated by the actor' (cf. the typology of Mithun 1991)

Examples

(3SG.GIVEN, IPFV used as citation form)

- Agentive: verbs of manipulative action, communication, transactions, conscious mental action, bodily motion, etc.

naʔbq 's/he is moving it'

naʔjy 's/he is listening'

naŋgohwé 's/he is selling it'

naʔké 's/he is coming (to non-base)'

nandohté 's/he is spitting'

narùmbăʔ 's/he is working as a day-laborer'

Examples

(3SG.GIVEN, IPFV used as citation form)

- Patientive:

naʔkwayúʔ 's/he is eating supper'

nakušpé 's/he is sucking (it)'

naʔŋá 's/he is drinking (it)'

nandó 's/he wants (it)'

nàyóʔ 's/he needs (it)'

naʔŋgó 's/he endures (it)'

nandaí 's/he stinks'

najú 's/he is happy'

naʔý 's/he is getting drunk'

nakugaší 's/he is drowning'

nahyú 's/he is waking up'

Examples

(3SG.GIVEN, IPFV used as citation form)

- Ambivalent:

nanohŋgó 's/he crosses over (it)'

naʔtəgiŋáʔ 's/he is burping'

napatumá 's/he is leaning up against (it)'

nanɣuʔú 's/he feels at home'

nahmayóʔ 's/he is swimming'

nakwáhkyǒ 's/he is thinking/worrying'

naromǒʔ 's/he is eating soup'

nanembǒ 's/he believes (in it)'

Case marking

(based on Wichmann 2005, 2009)

	Ergative	Absolutive	Pegative	Dative
1SG	-∅	-ɥʔ	-u ~ -o	-uʔ ~ -oʔ
2SG	-∅	-jʔ / -aʔ	-a / -i	-aʔ
3SG.NEW	-∅	-i / -a	-u ~ -o	-u ~ -o
1PL-2PL	-∅	-aʔ	-a / -i	-aʔ
3PL.NEW	-∅	-j	-a / -i	-ɥ

Suffixal paradigms of monopersonal verbs

Semantics of case marking

MACRO-ROLE	ACTOR	UNDERGOER
E(/A)FFECTEDNESS		
HIGH	ERGATIVE	ABSOLUTIVE
LOW	PEGATIVE	DATIVE

Back to the possessive paradigm

person	Segments	Tonal paradigm 1	Tonal paradigm 2	Tonal paradigm 3
1SG	-u?/-o?	M	L	L
2SG	-a?	HM	ML	H
3SG.NEW	-u/-o	HM	ML	H
3SG.GIVEN	-u/-o	H	H	H
1PL-2PL	-a?	M	L	L
3PL.NEW	-u	LM	LM	ML
3PL.GIVEN	-u	MH	MH	LM

Back to the possessive paradigm

person	Segments
1SG	-u?/-o?
2SG	-a?
3SG.NEW	-u/-o
3SG.GIVEN	-u/-o
1PL-2PL	-a?
3PL.NEW	-u
3PL.GIVEN	-u

The possessive paradigm is the Dative

person	Segments	Possession	Monopersonal verb	Recipient of dipersonal verb
1SG	<i>-uʔ/-oʔ</i>	<i>hmèdoʔ</i> 'my huipil'	<i>načòʔ</i> 'I'm in a hurry'	<i>nireʔyqʔ</i> 'they (GIVEN) answer me'
2SG	<i>-aʔ</i>	<i>hmèdâʔ</i> 'your huipil'	<i>načáʔ</i> 'you're in a h.'	<i>nireʔyq̂ʔ</i> 'they (G) answer you'
3SG.NEW	<i>-u/-o</i>	<i>hmedó</i> 'her/his huipil'	<i>nàčó</i> 's/he's in a h.'	<i>nireʔyq̄</i> 'they (G) answer him/her (GIVEN)'
3SG.GIVEN	<i>-u/-o</i>	<i>mèdô</i> 'her/his huipil'	<i>nàčó</i> 's/he's in a h.'	<i>nireʔyq̄</i> 'they (G) answer him/her (NEW)'
1PL-2PL	<i>-aʔ</i>	<i>hmèdaʔ=lòʔ</i> 'our (EXCL) huipil'	<i>načàʔ=lòʔ</i> 'we're (EXCL)...'	<i>nireʔyqʔ=lò=ri</i> 'they (GIVEN) answer us (EXCL)'
3PL.NEW	<i>-y</i>	<i>hmèdŷ</i> 'their huipil'	<i>načŷ</i> 'they're i. a. h.'	<i>nireʔyŷ</i> 'they (GIVEN) answer them (NEW)'
3PL.GIVEN	<i>-y</i>	<i>hmèdŷ</i> 'their huipil'	<i>načŷ</i> 'they're i. a. h.'	<i>nireʔyŷ</i> 'they (GIVEN) answer them (GIVEN)'

A split ergative pattern where the undergoer (recipient) is normally indexed except when there is a third person singular recipient, in which case the actor is indexed

person	Recipient of dipersonal verb	
1SG	<i>nireʔyqʔ</i> 'they (GIVEN) answer me'	} Dative
2SG	<i>nireʔyq̂ʔ</i> 'they (G) answer you'	
3SG.NEW	<i>nireʔyq̃</i> 'they (G) answer him/her (GIVEN)'	} Dative's mirror-image = 'Pegative'
3SG.GIVEN	<i>nireʔyq̃</i> 'they (G) answer him/her (NEW)'	
1PL-2PL	<i>nireʔyqʔ=lò=ri</i> 'they (GIVEN) answer us (EXCL)'	} Dative
3PL.NEW	<i>nireʔyq̂</i> 'they (GIVEN) answer them (NEW)'	
3PL.GIVEN	<i>nireʔyq̂</i> 'they (GIVEN) answer them (GIVEN)'	

Monopersonal verbs

Dipersonal verbs

Person	Absolutive	Dative	Negative	Undergoer	Absolutive	Dative / Negative
1SG	-ũ?	-u? / -o?	-u / -o	1SG	-ũ?	-u? / -o?
2SG	-ã? / -ĩ?	-a?	-a / -i	2SG	-ã? / -ĩ?	-a?
3SG	-a / -i	-u / -o	-u / -o	1-3SG 2-3SG 3-3SG 1/2PL-3SG 3PL-3SG		-u / -o -a / -i -u / -o -a / -i -a / -i
1PL-2PL	-ã?	-a?	-a / -i	1PL-2PL	-ã?	-a?
3PL	-ĩ	-ũ	-a / -i	3PL	-ĩ	-u

Valency

(based on Wichmann 2010)

- Valency, not transitivity, important
- Valency defined as the number of animate participants indexed on the predicate—from zero to three

Examples: 0-valent

ni-ŋgahtâ? jamà

PFV-fall banana

‘The banana fell.’

Examples: 1-valent

šabù ra ni-ŋgah-á

man TOP PFV-fall.to.side-3SG.GIVEN.ABS

‘As for the man, he fell to the side.’

baš-ó

nude.3SG.GIVEN.DAT

‘S/he is nude.’

Examples: 1-valent

ni-hkam-é

PFV-hang.up-3SG.GIVEN.ERG

‘S/he hung up the clothes.’

šťj

clothes

ni-šíáh-ù?

PFV-send-1SG.PEG

‘I sent a letter.’

mba iyì?

a paper

Examples: 2-valent

ni-guhpràʔ-á

PFV-kick-3SG.GIVEN>3SG.ABS

'S/he kicked him/her.'

ni-raʔn-ú

PFV-meet-3SG.GIVEN.PEG>3SG

'S/he met him/her.'

ni-tʂahm-ú

(*iyìʔ*)

PFV-show-3SG.GIVEN.PEG>3SG (paper)

'S/he showed it/the paper to him/her.'

Examples: 2-valent & 3-valent

mà-šn-ú

FUT-give-3SG.G.PEG>3SG

‘S/he will give it to him/her.’

mà-šn-y-ú

FUT-give-ANIM.THEME-3SG.G.PEG>3SG

‘S/he will give me to him/her.’

nenj-ò?

AUX-1SG.POSS

Summary examples

ma-šnateʔy-ɛ

FUT-lend-3SG.GIVEN.ERG

'she (**ERG**) will lend it'

ma-šnateʔy-ǫ́

FUT-lend-3SG.GIVEN>3SG.ABS

'she will lend him (**ABS**)'

ma-šnateʔy-ǫ́

FUT-lend-3SG.GIVEN.PEG>3SG

'she (**PEG**) will lend it to him'

ma-šnateʔy-ǫ́

FUT-lend(-an)-3SG.GIVEN.PEG>3SG

'she (**PEG**) will lend me to him'

nendʒ-òʔ

AUX-1SG.DAT

Psych verbs: one participant with two case roles!

na-mahk-òʔ

IPFV-admire-1SG.DAT

kay-ó

AUX-1SG.PEG>3SG.GIVEN

hwá

Juan

di natsi-ǔ

SUB be.beautiful-3SG.DAT

yǔʔ

very

aʔg-y-ǒ

woman-CL-3SG.GIVEN.POSS

di-ʔy-áʔ

PFV-find-3SG.GIVEN.G>3SG.ABS

'I admire Juan for having found a very beautiful wife.'

The iterative

- Highly productive and very frequent in texts
- Formed by changing tones and adding a glottal stop plus =rì ~ =lì (3sg/pl.given) or (optionally) =l'à (1sg, 2sg)
- If the non-iterative assigns pegative the corresponding iterative normally assigns ergative, presumably motivated by the added intensity of the action; absolutive, dative, and ergative normally don't change

Semantic framework

	simultaneous	non-simultaneous
action profiled	distributive	take up doing again
landmark profiled	part-whole	do it to the same thing twice, return to the same state

Semantic framework

	simultaneous	non-simultaneous
action profiled	distributive e.g., sprinkle in different places	take up doing again e.g., eat supper again (next day)
landmark profiled	part-whole e.g., rot completely	do it to the same thing twice e.g., reheat coffee

Semantic framework

	simultaneous	non-simultaneous
action profiled	distributive e.g., sprinkle in different places	take up doing again e.g., eat supper again (next day)
landmark profiled	part-whole e.g., rot completely	do it to the same thing twice e.g., reheat coffee with motion verbs: BASE

The iterative with motion verbs

nehké

's/he went'

nihkáʔrì

's/he left for good'

neʔké

's/he came'

niʔkáʔrì

's/he came to stay'

niŋgané

's/he arrived there (non-base)'

niŋganúʔrì

's/he arrived there (base)'

nikané

'she arrived here (non-base)'

nikanúʔrì

'she arrived here (base)'

Omniverbity

- Not omnipredicativity; nouns do not function as predicates, a copular is needed:

ikǔʔ šabù yah-ùʔ

I man be.1SG.DAT

'I am a man'

* *ikǔʔ šabù*

- But elements widely inflected as verbs

Examples

- Paradigm for nominal possession same as the verbal Dative markers
- Element meaning 'with' inflects as verb, appearing either as zero-valent, *hmǎ* 'with (something)' or 2-valent, e.g. *hmá* 's/he with him/her'
- Auxiliary element for introducing animate themes in 3-valent constructions based on a verb meaning 'to impersonate'

Examples

- The element *nomò* ‘because’ is really the zero-valent (inanimate) frame for a verb meaning ‘to be worth’, which can also inflect for animates, as a 1-valent verb
- Pronouns *ikǔ?* ‘I’, *ikǻ?* ‘you’, *iká* ‘s/he’, etc. really consist of a an element *ikV* plus absolutive inflection; in the zero-valent frame we get *ìki* ‘there’, so *ikV* means something like ‘to be there’

Examples

- Numerals also inflect for zero-valent (inanimate) vs. 1-valent (animate), e.g. *mba* 'one', *mbay`?* 'I am alone'; so *mba* really means 'it is one / alone'

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