

Investigating the Prehistory of Tlacolulita Zapotec

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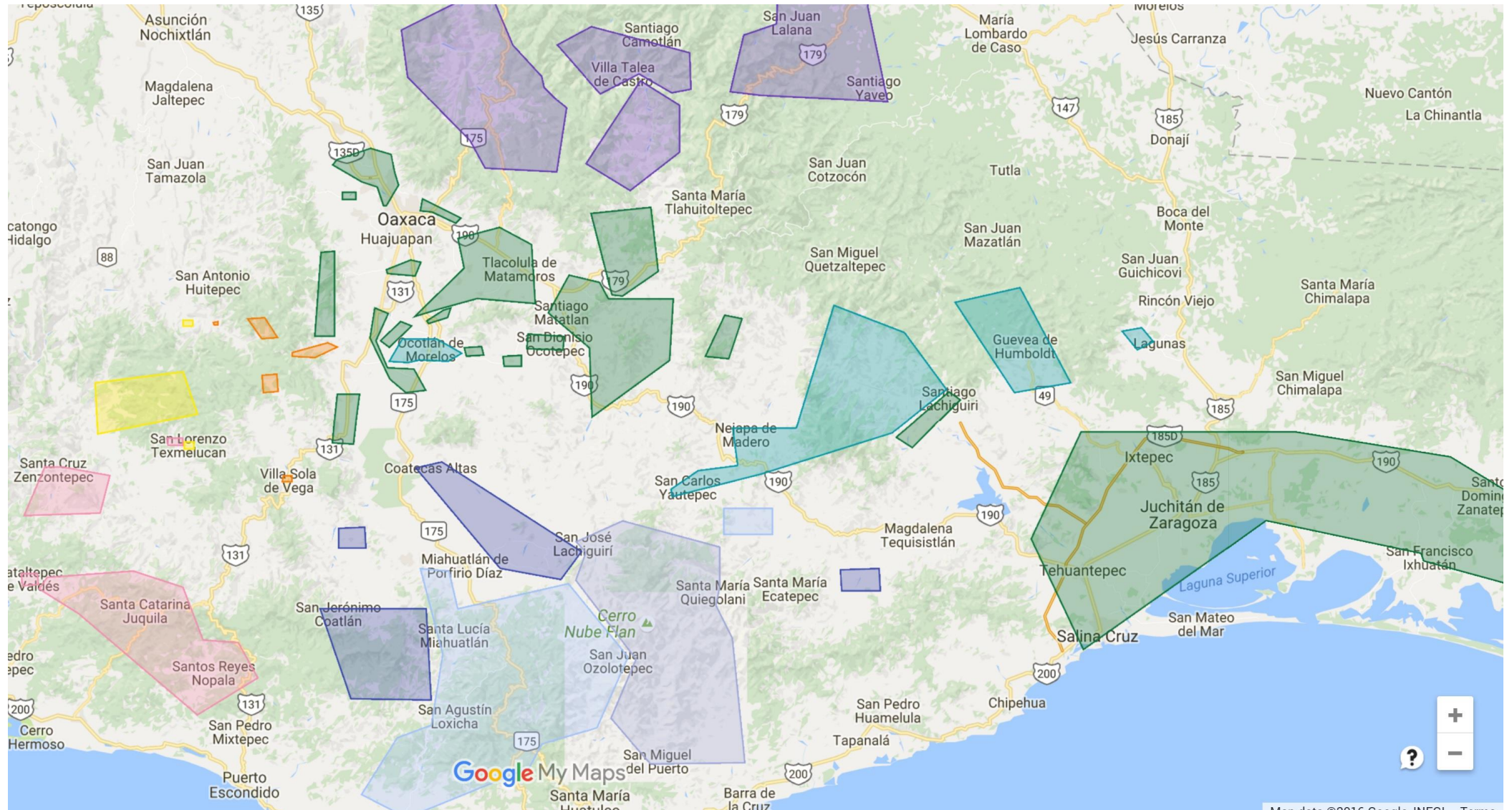
(Rochester Institute of Technology, Department of Sociology and Anthropology
Linguistics Colloquium, 8 November 2016---a day that will live in infamy)

Day of the Dead in Asunción Tlacolulita

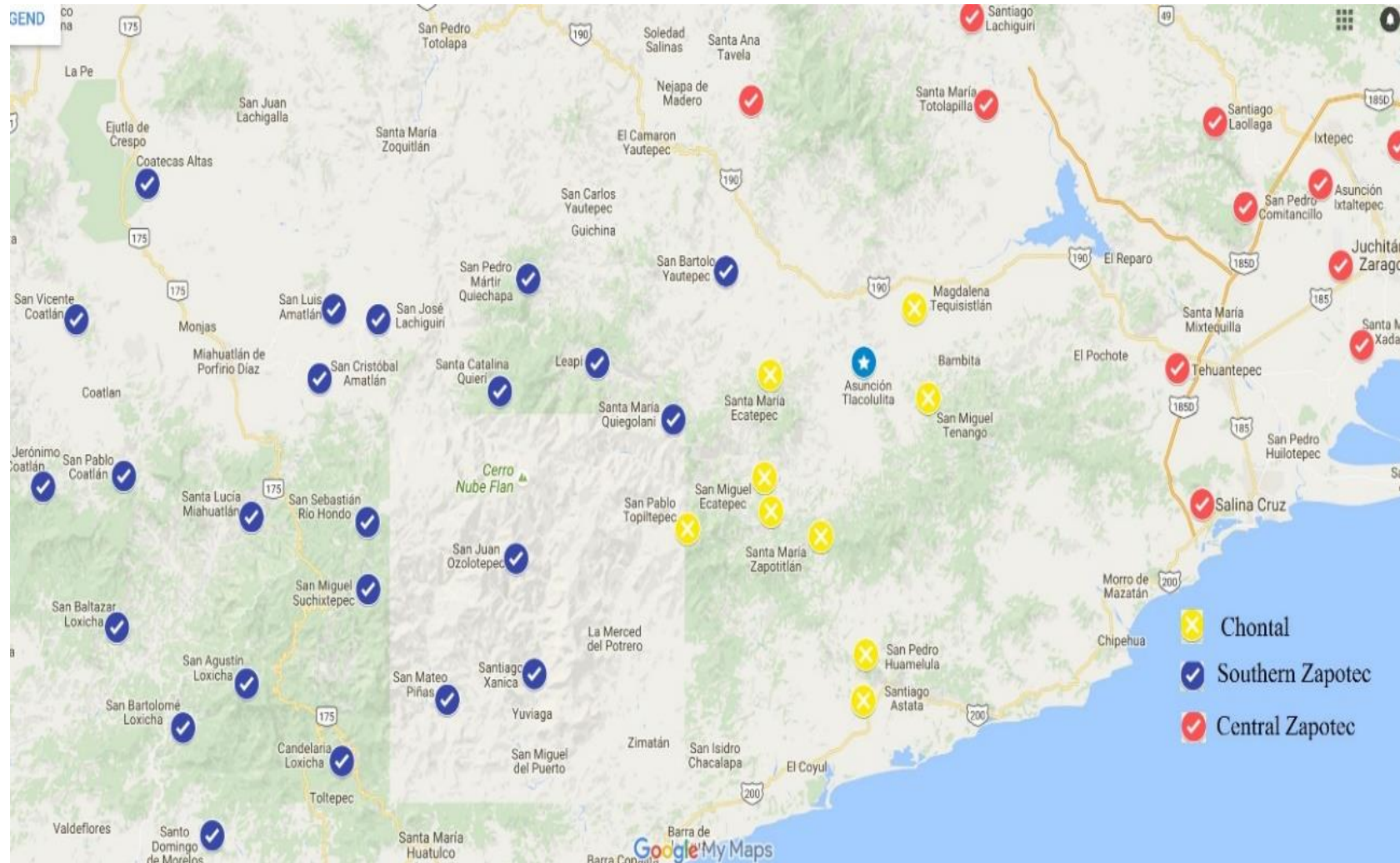
(video available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KXCK3YzX80M>)

Un cuento
de un señor que no creía
que en Todos Santos
regresaban los difuntos

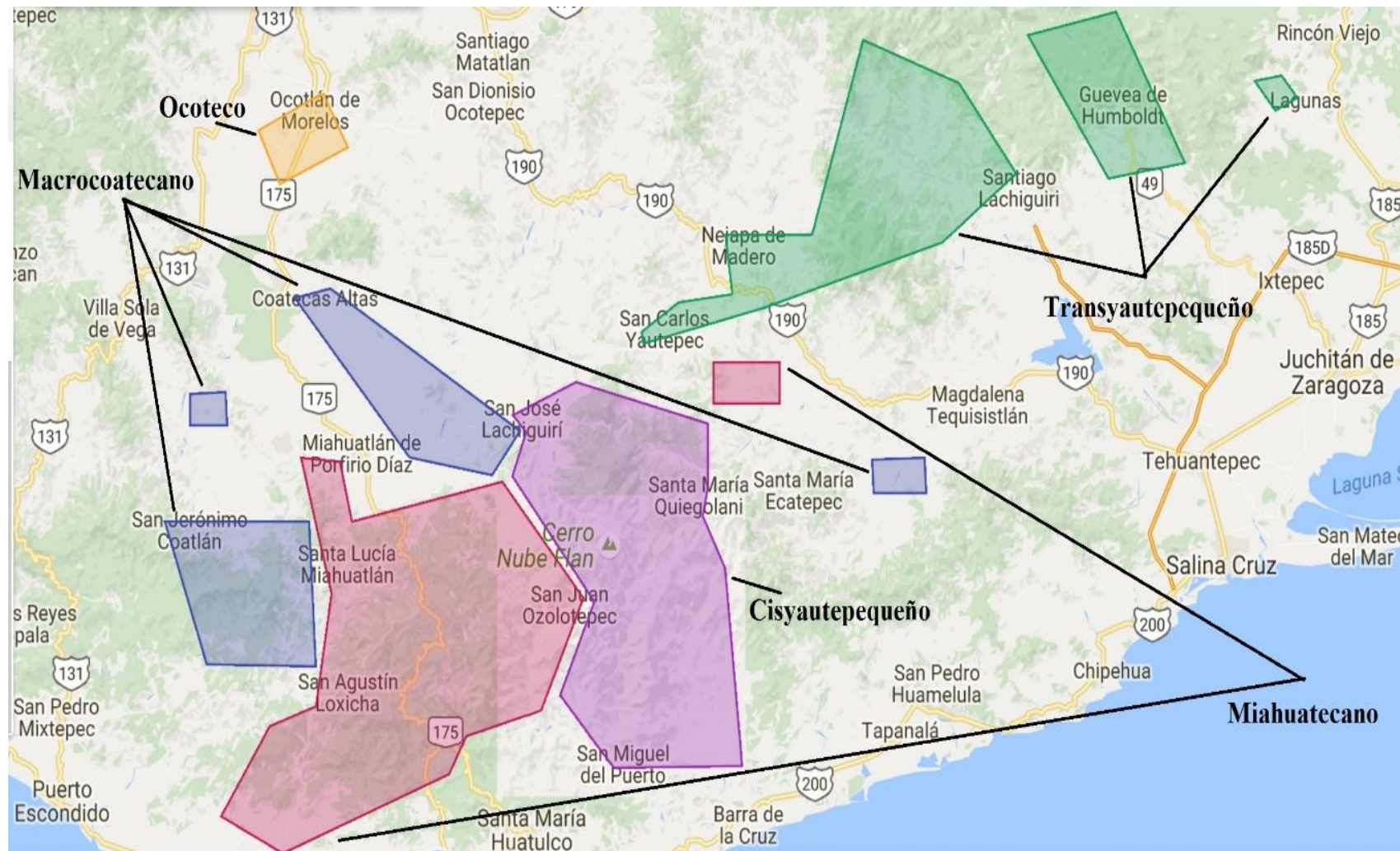
Zapototecan languages



Tlacolulita Zapotec surrounded by Chontal, Central and Southern Zapotec



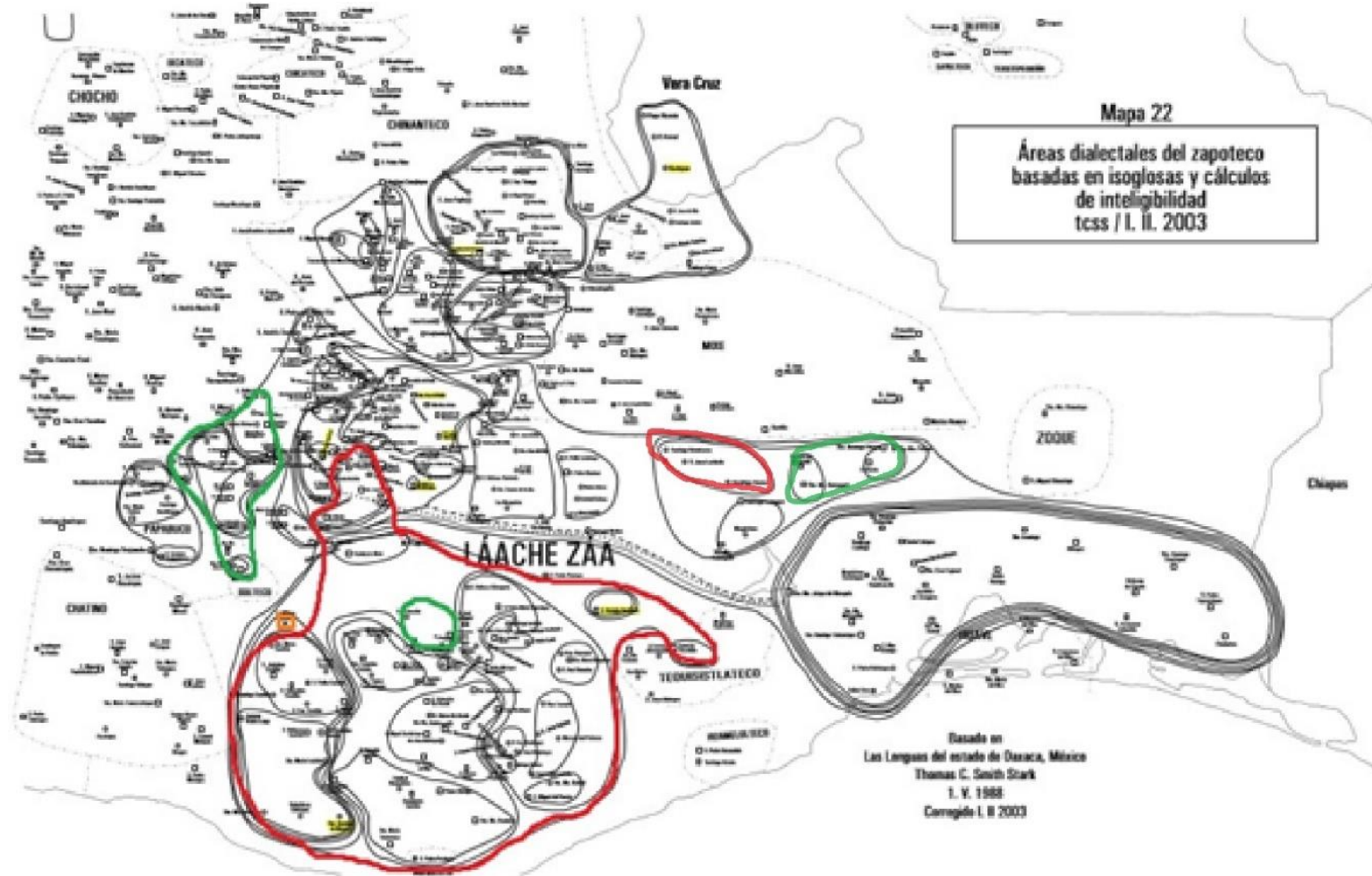
Languages with m- on animal words



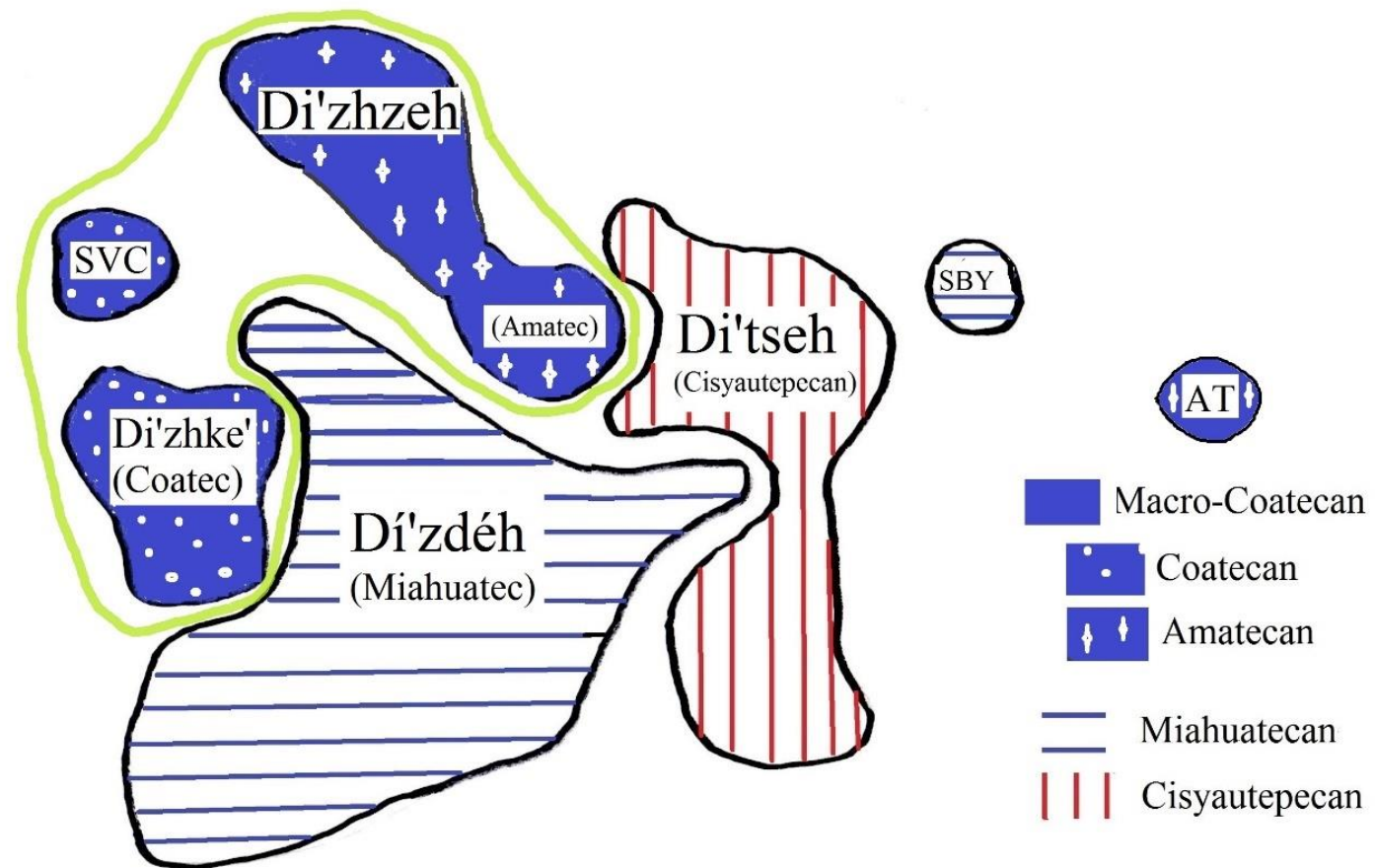
Córdova 1578

- ‘animal yrracional todo genero’ máni, mane
 - cf. Coateco *maán* (sustantivo), má (clasificador y pronombre)
 - cf. Miahuateco *má’* (sustantivo, clasificador, y pronombre)
- ‘paxaro generalmente es nombre generico’ *màni-pi-guijni*
 - cf. Coateco *m-b-yin*
- ‘papagayo verde grande’ máni-péo
 - cf. Miahuateco *m-behw*
- ‘paloma ave conocida’ máni-peeti
 - cf. Miahuateco *m-béer*
- ‘texon animal’ *màni pi-xijcho*
 - cf. Miahauteco *m-p-xi’z*

Languages with raised reflexes of *ã

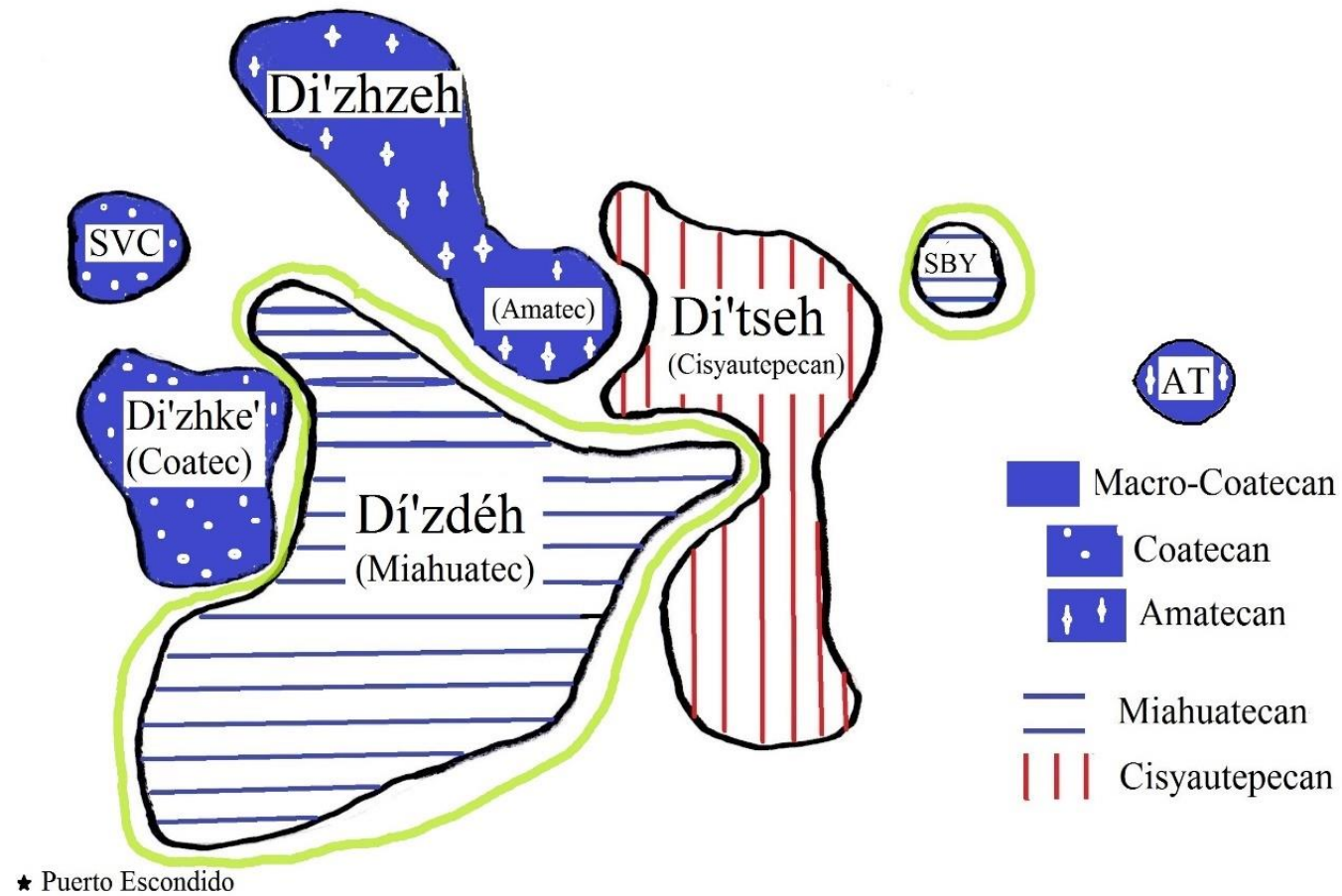


*ss > ts

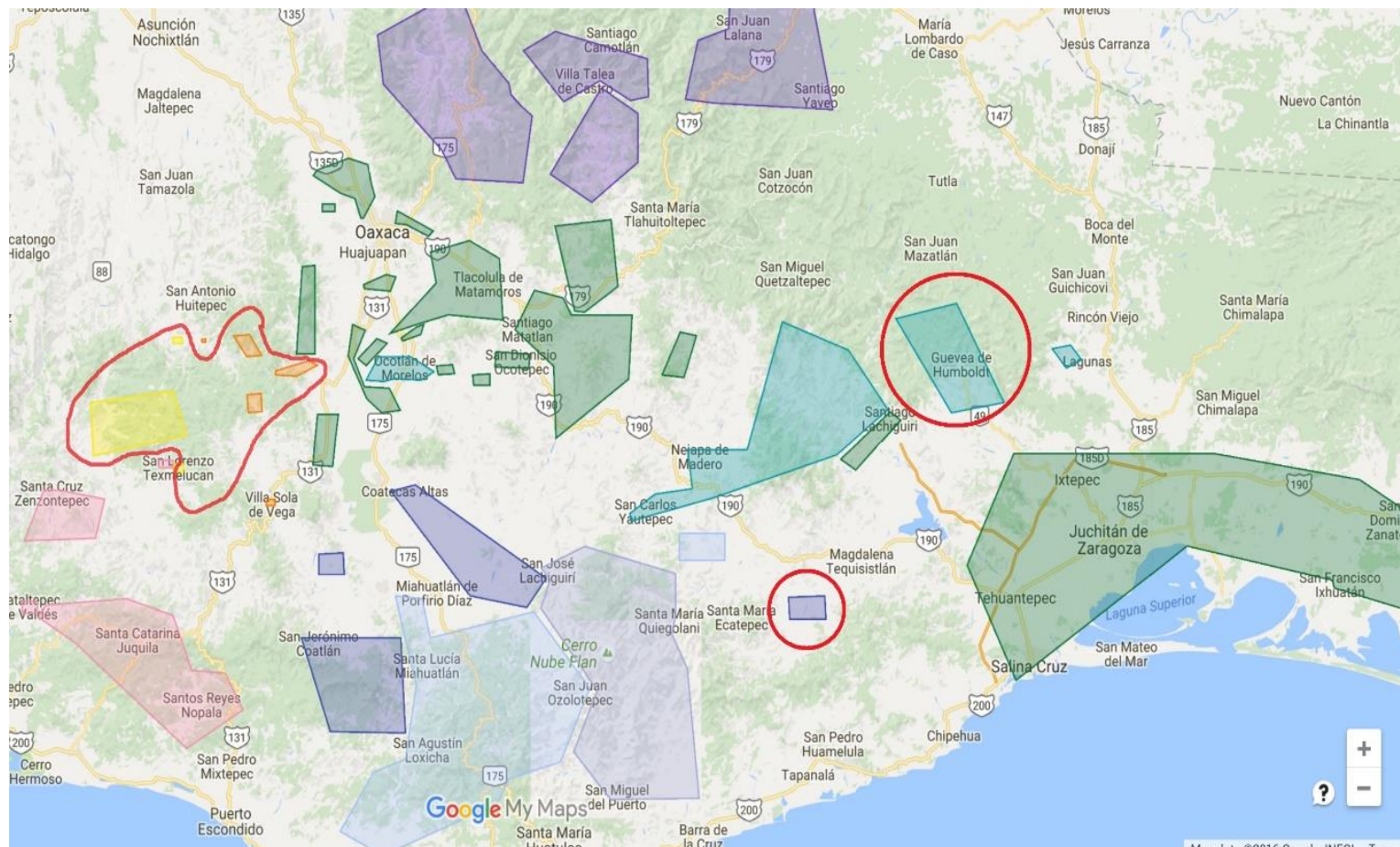


★ Puerto Escondido

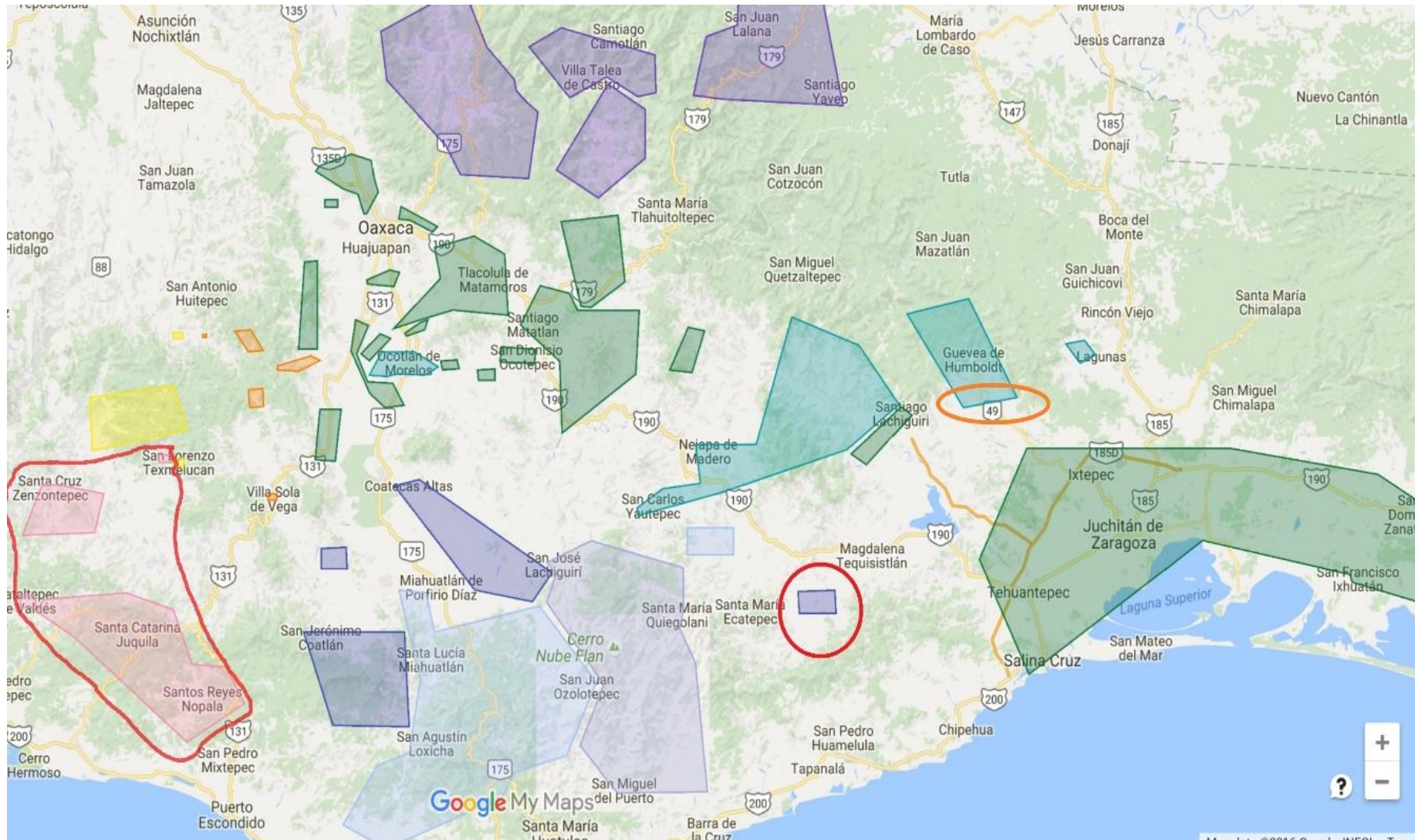
*ss > t



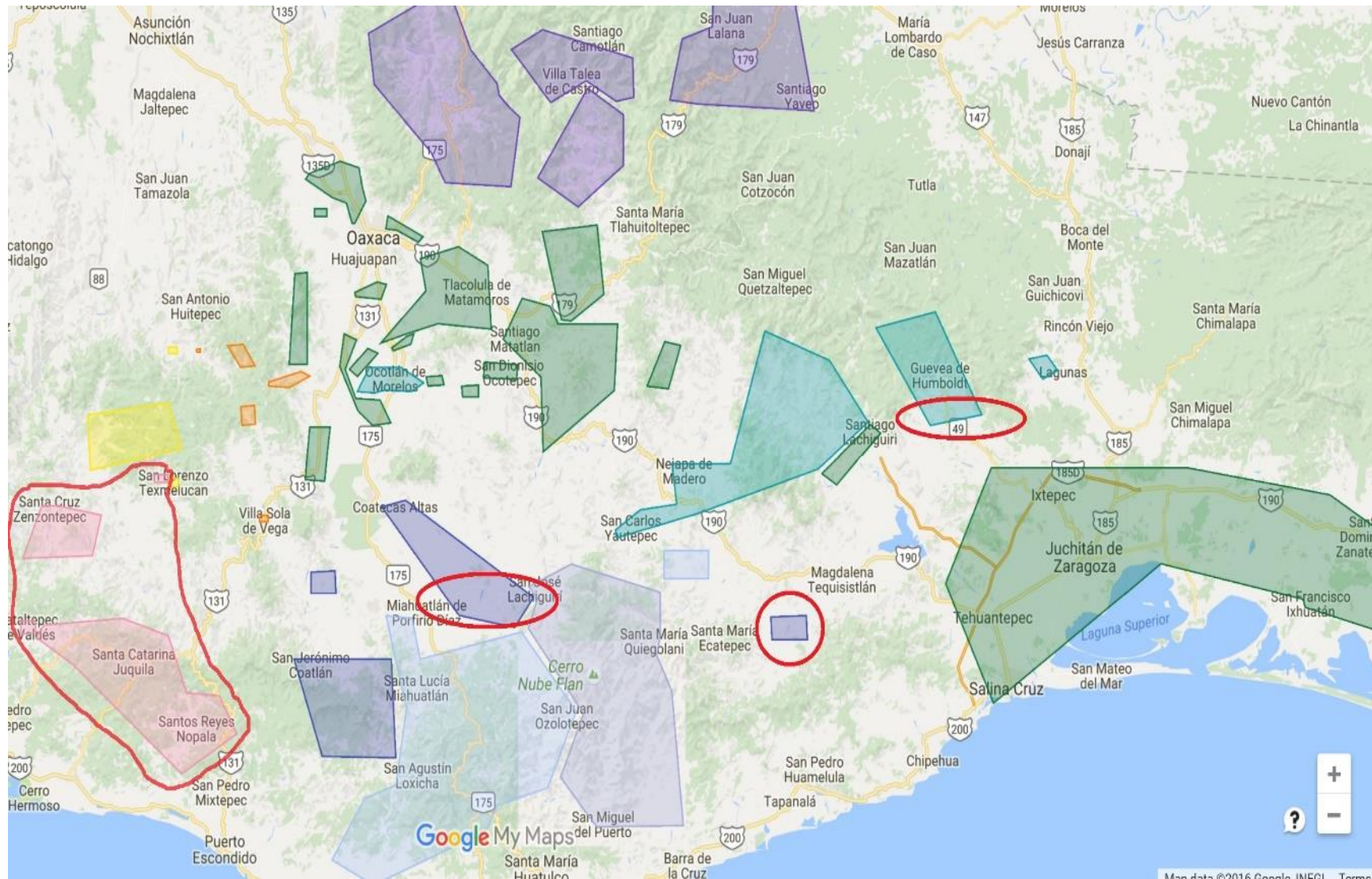
k^j reflexes of *tt^j



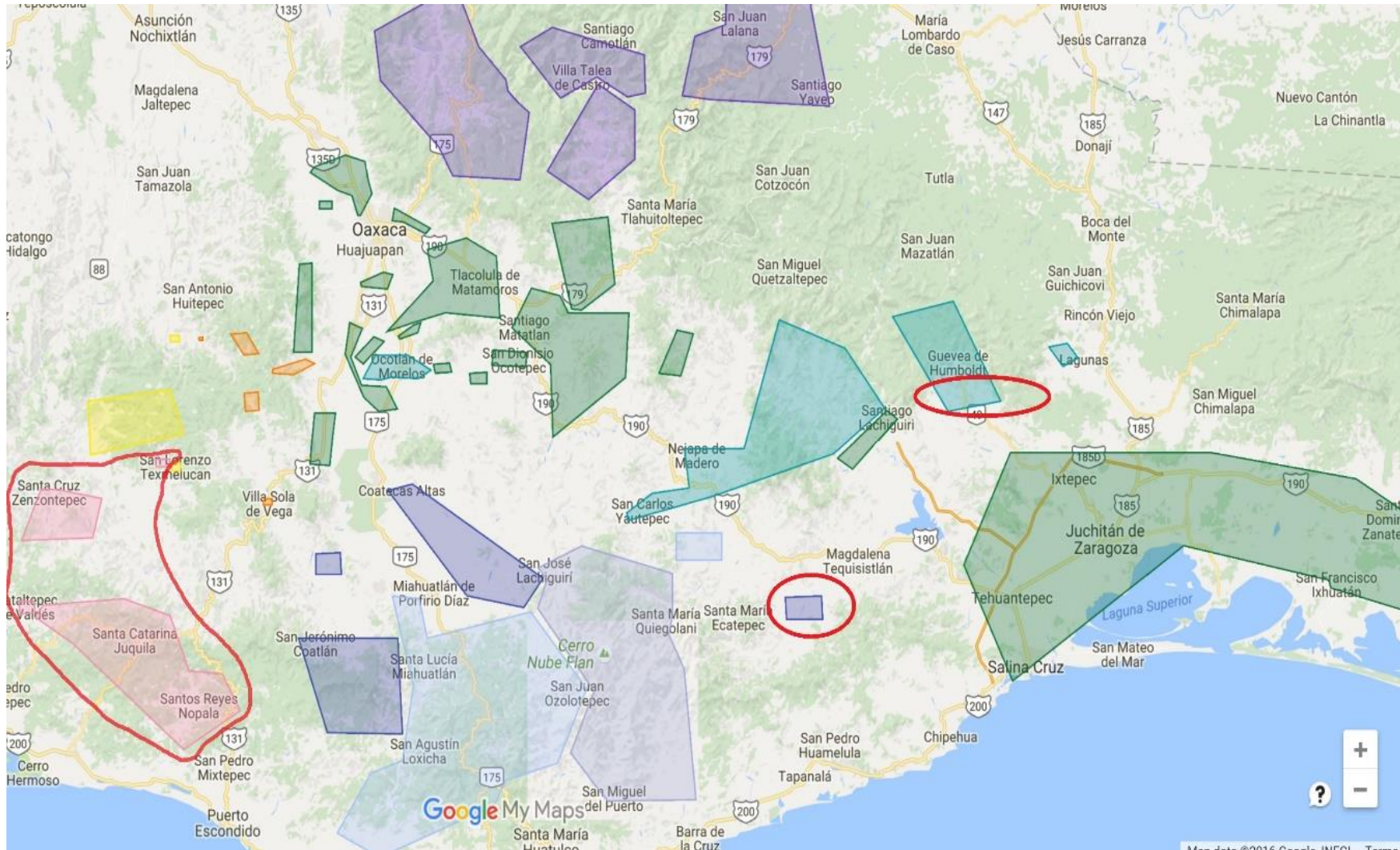
New Isoglosses: *k > kʲ / __ *e, in red shared with Proto-Chatino (Campbell 2013), > gʲ in orange in Santa María Guienagati (Benn 2016)



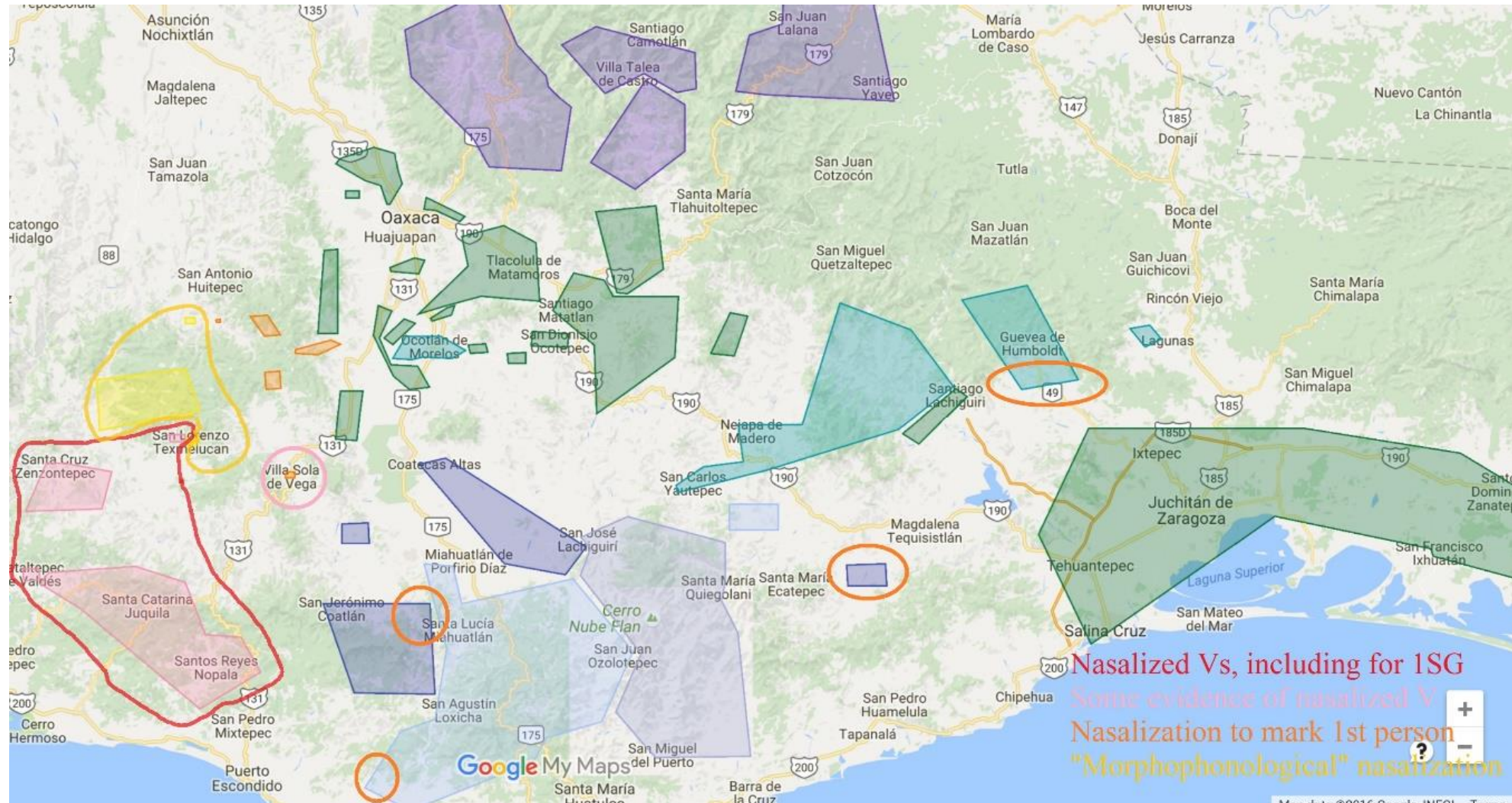
*e > a / __C*a



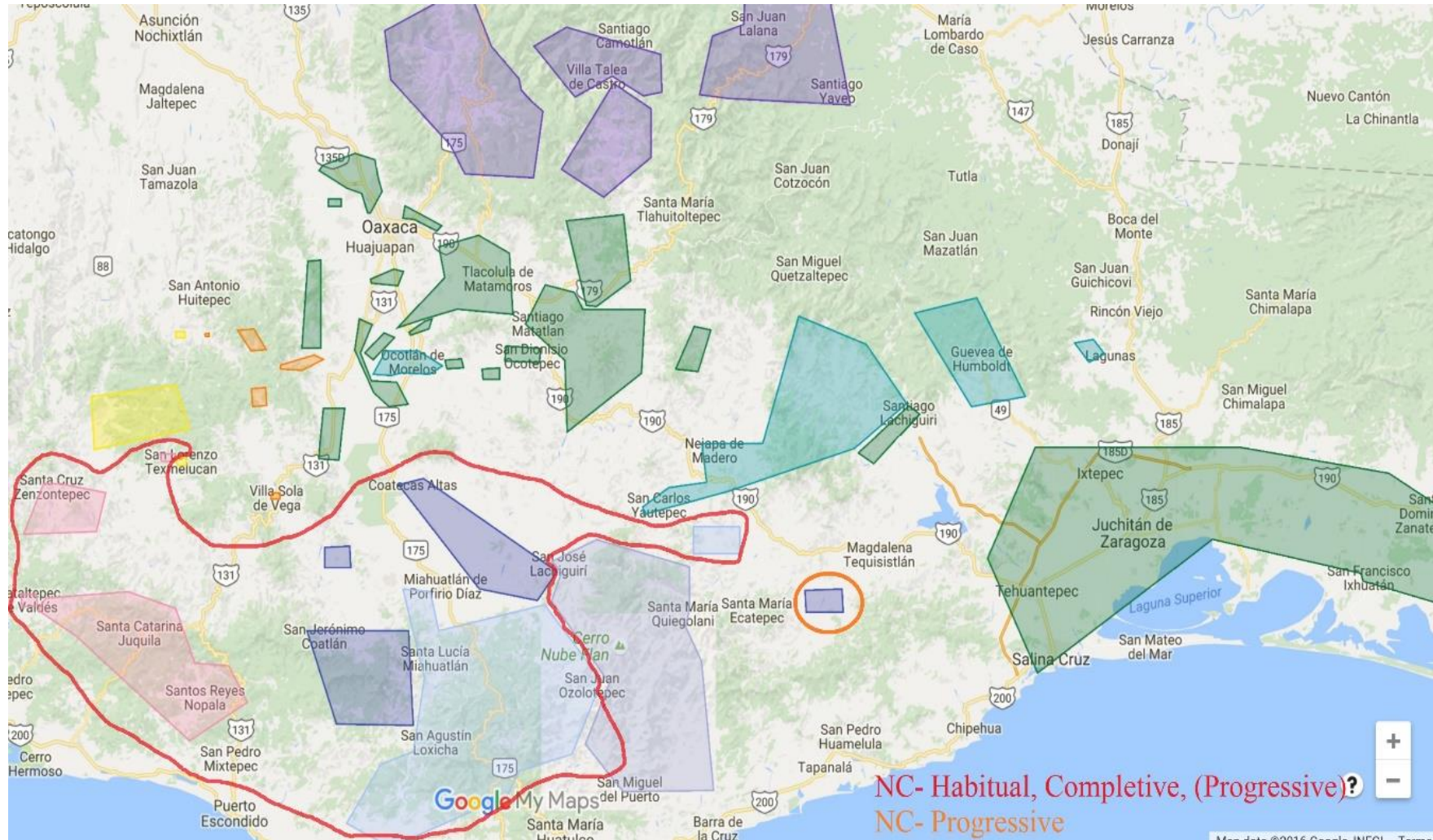
*e > o/u / __C*o

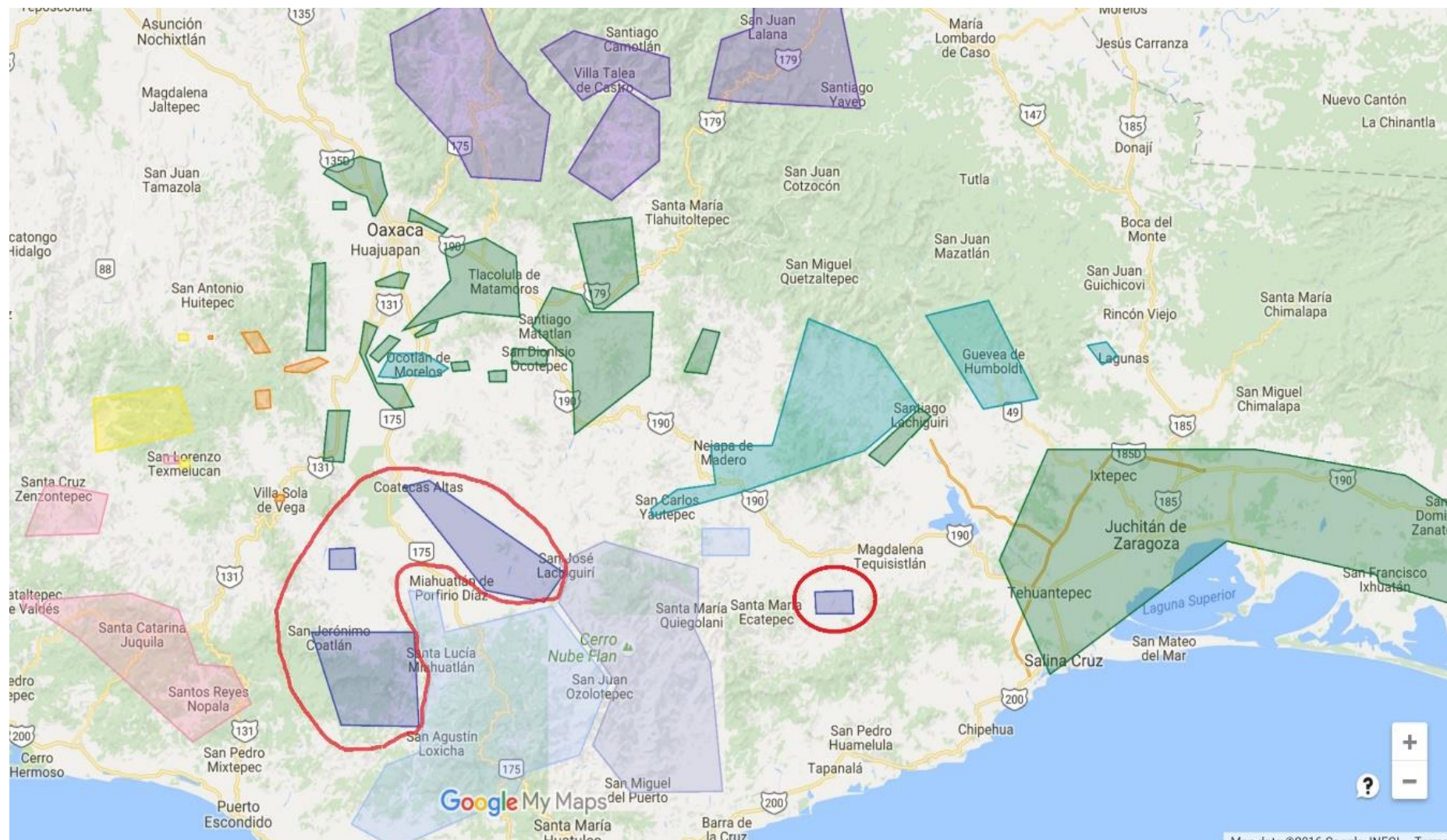


Nasalized vowels

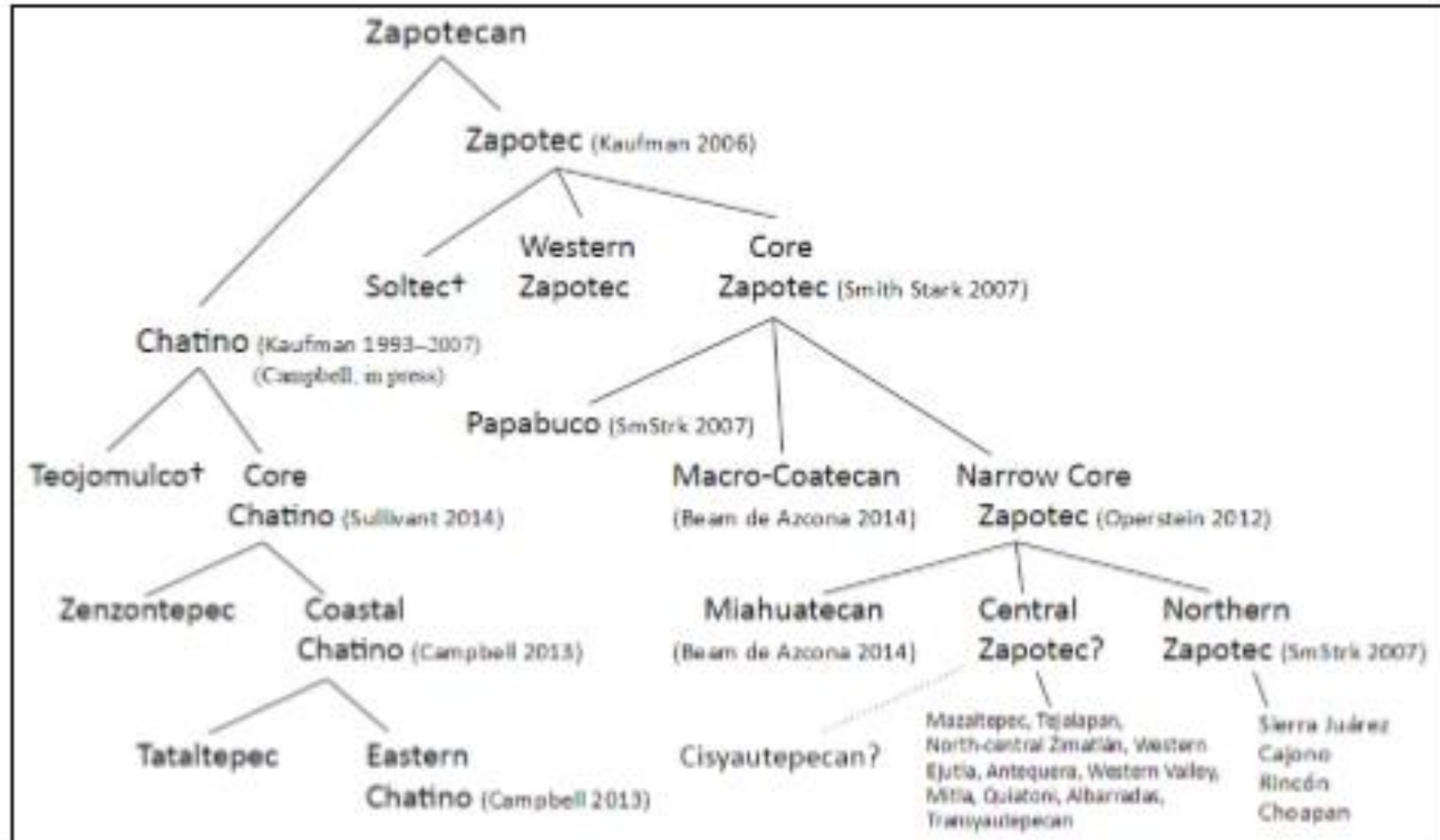


Nasalized TAM prefixes

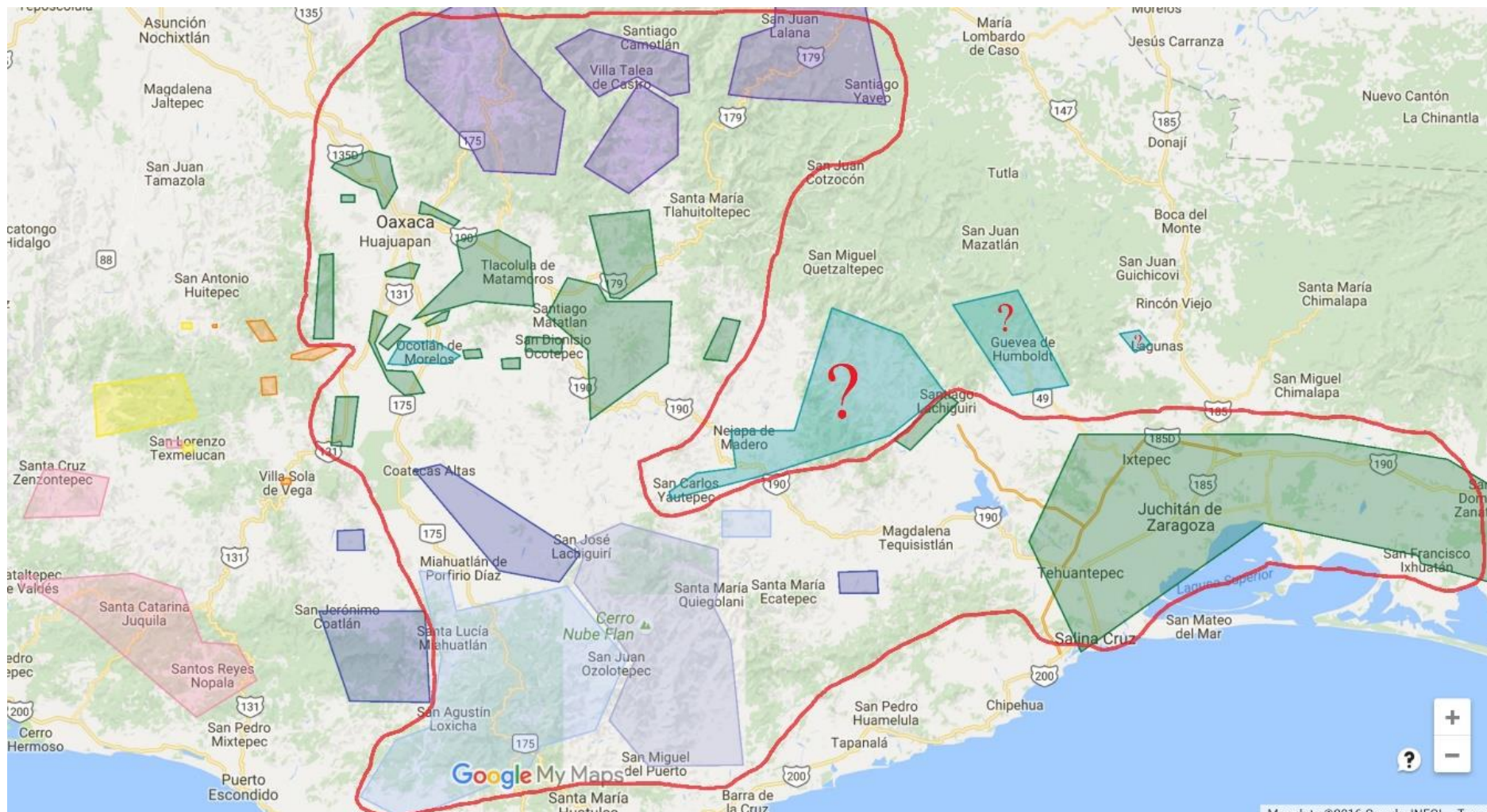


$$*ts > z \ \& \ *tts > tʃ$$


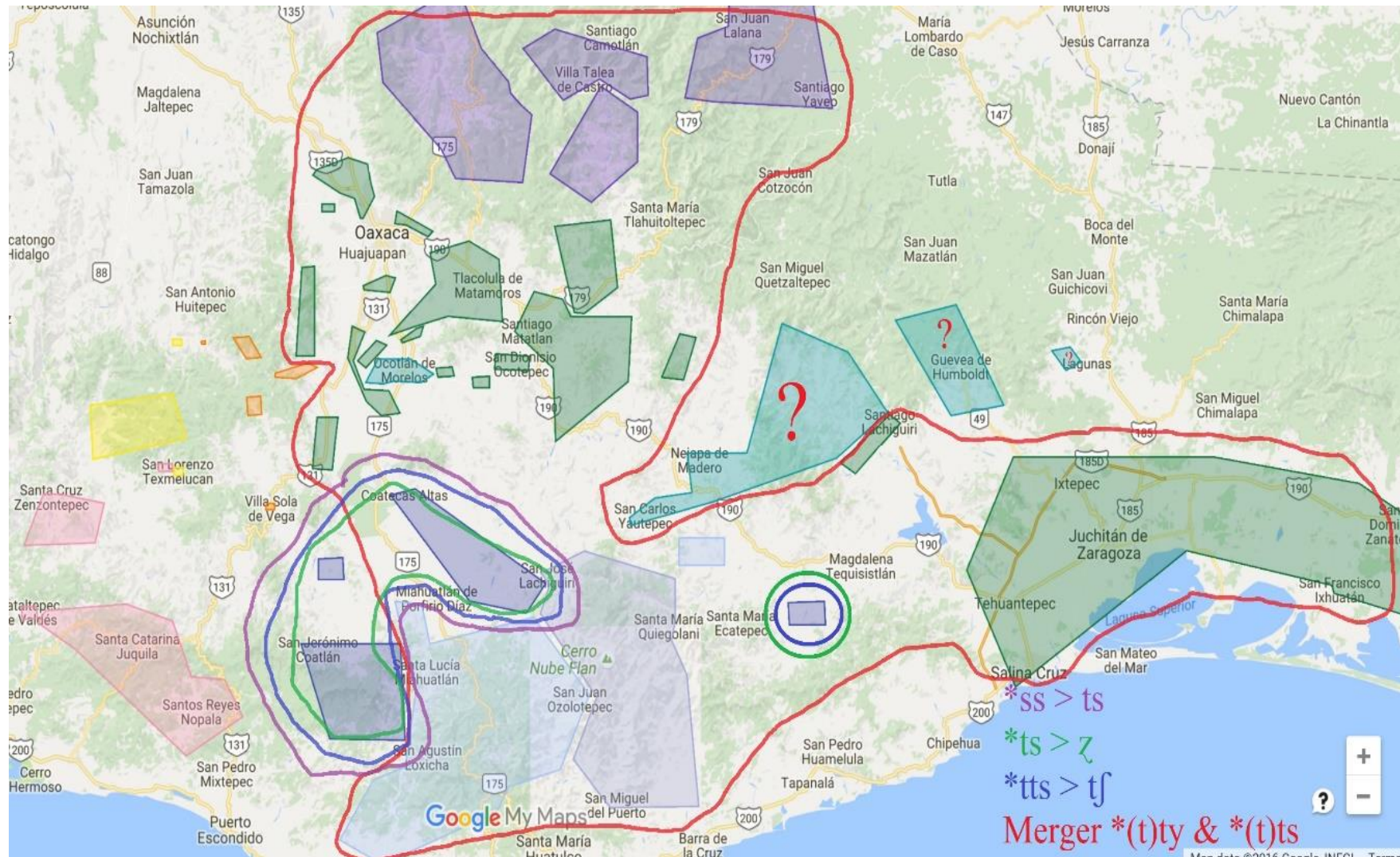
Campbell's (in press) synthesis of various proposals including Operstein's (2012) "Narrow Core Zapotec"



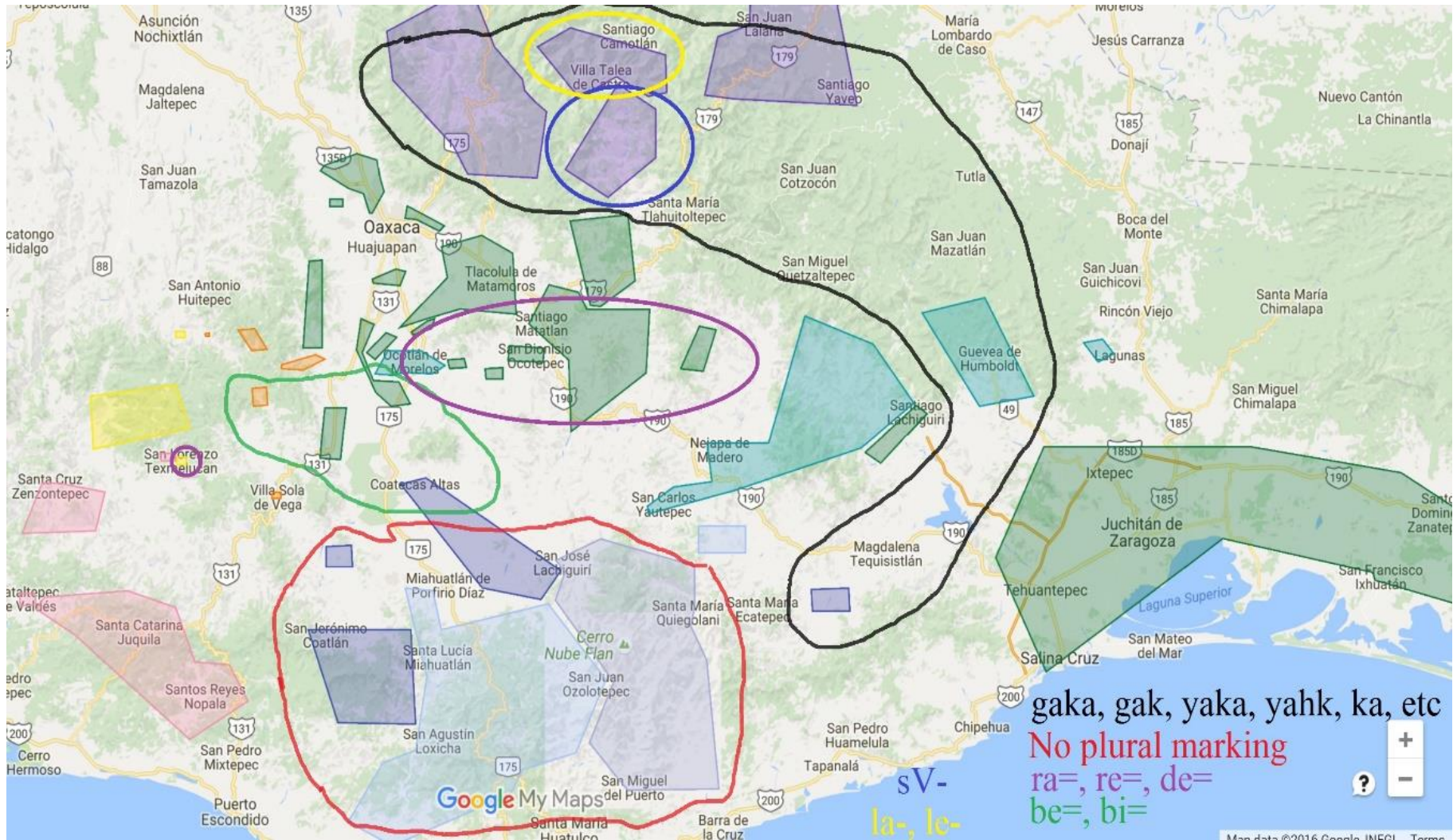
Merger of $^*(t)ty$ and $^*(t)ts / _{}^*i$



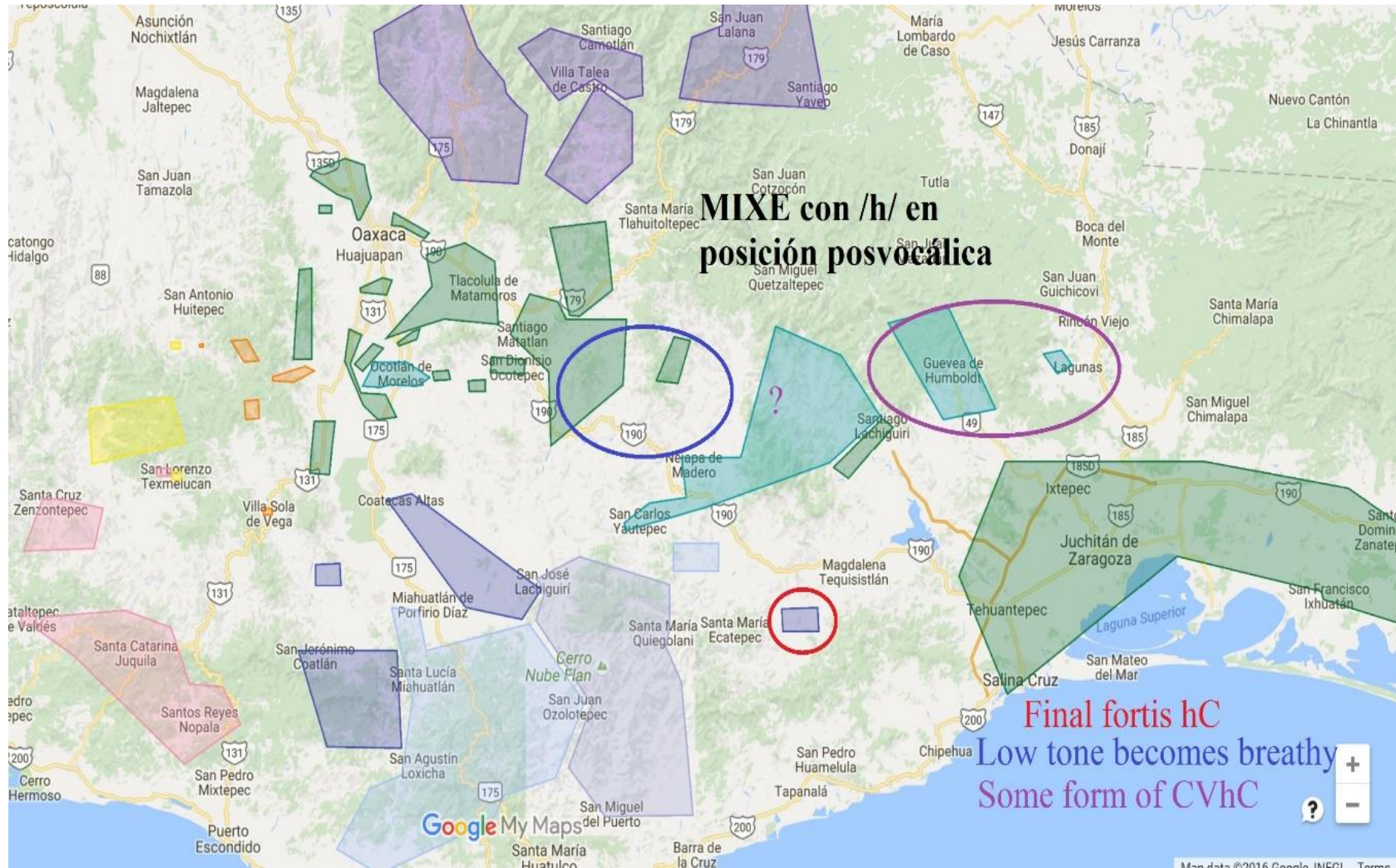
Conflicting isoglosses



Plural marking



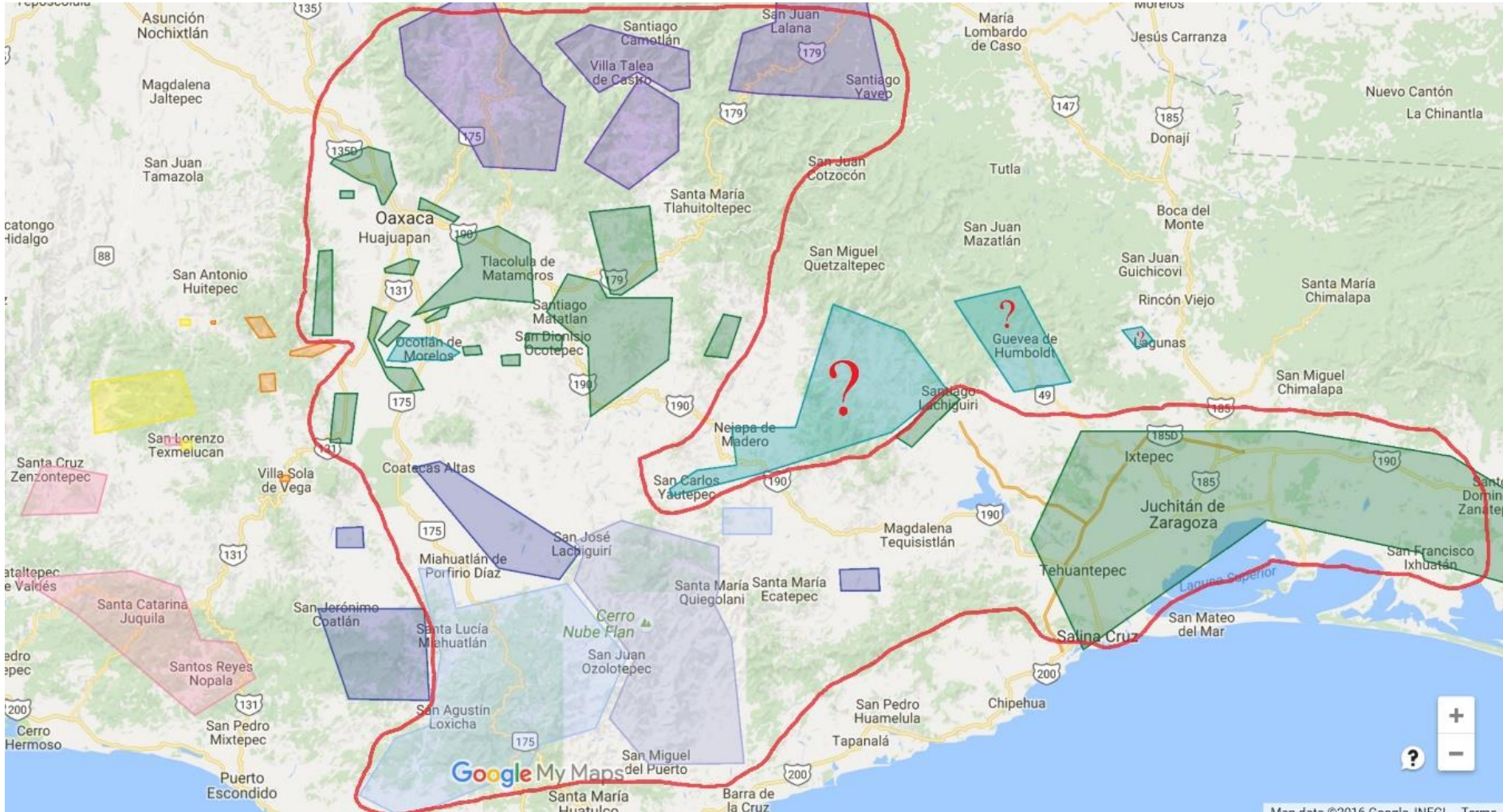
Aspiration



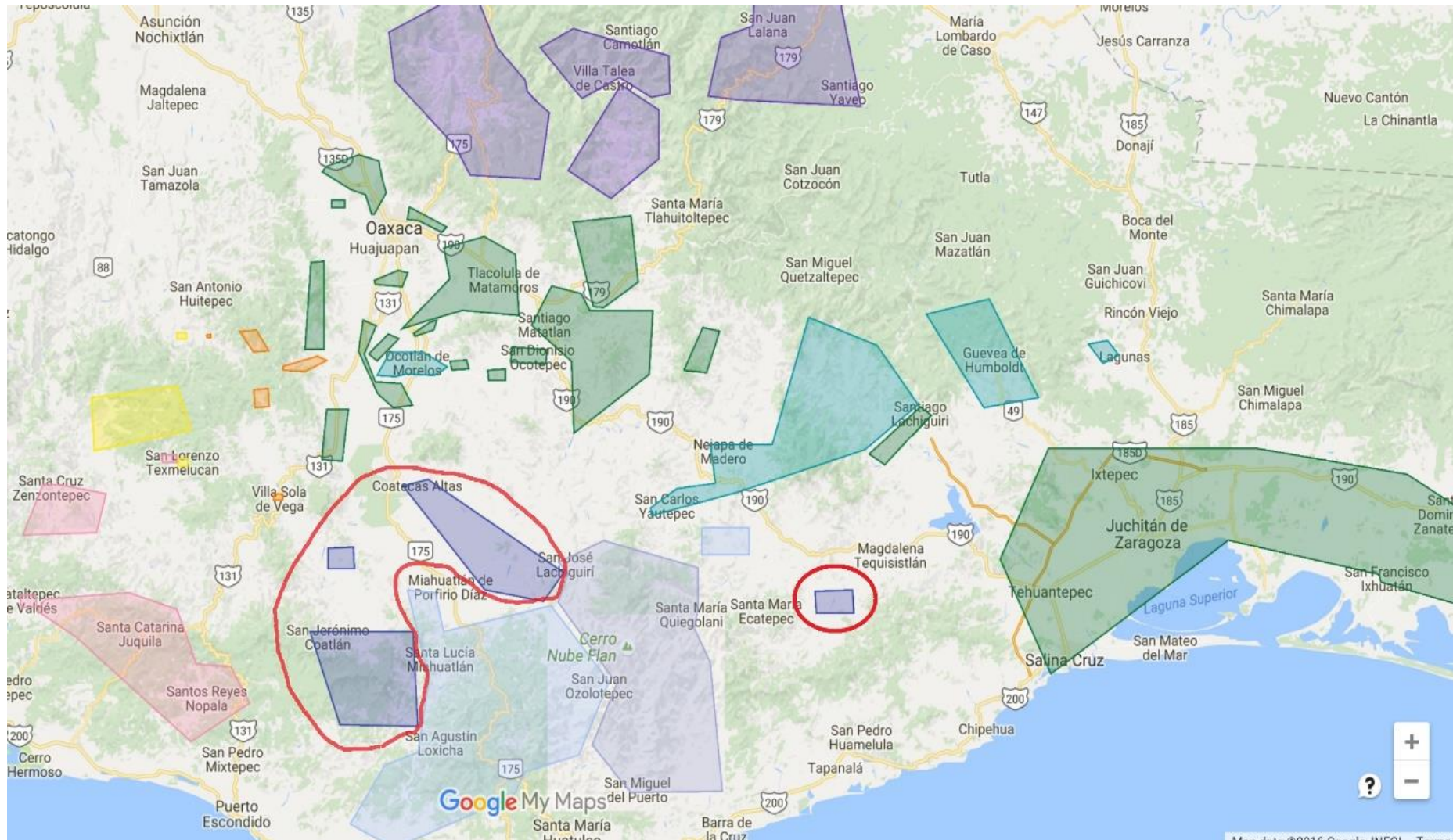
Important isoglosses

- Ordering of
 - Merger of $*(t)ts$ and $*(t)t^j$
 - $*tts > \text{tj}$
 - $*ts > z$
 - $*s > z$
 - $*ss > ts$

Merger of $^*(t)ty$ and $^*(t)ts / _{}^*i$



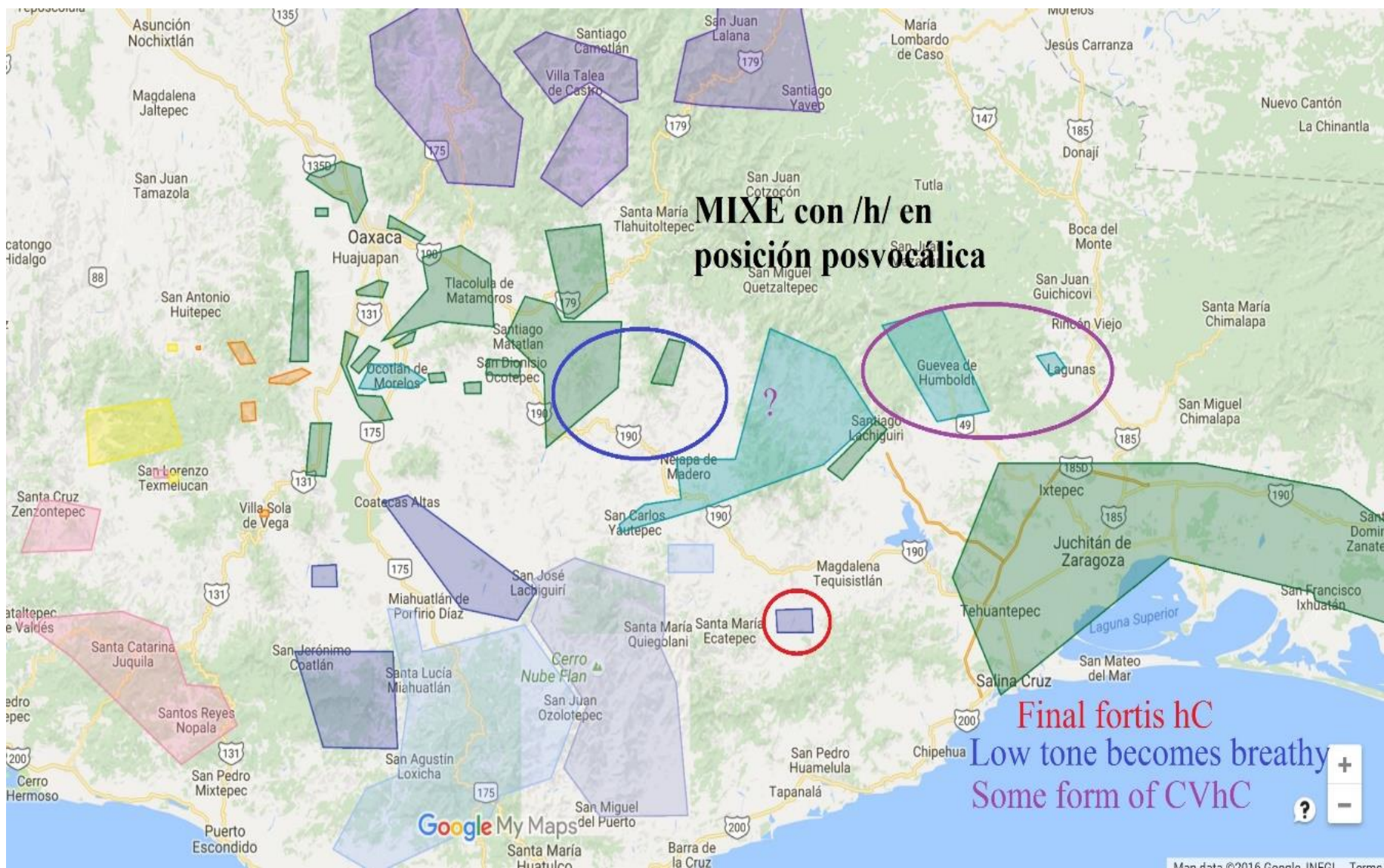
*ts > z & *tts > tʃ



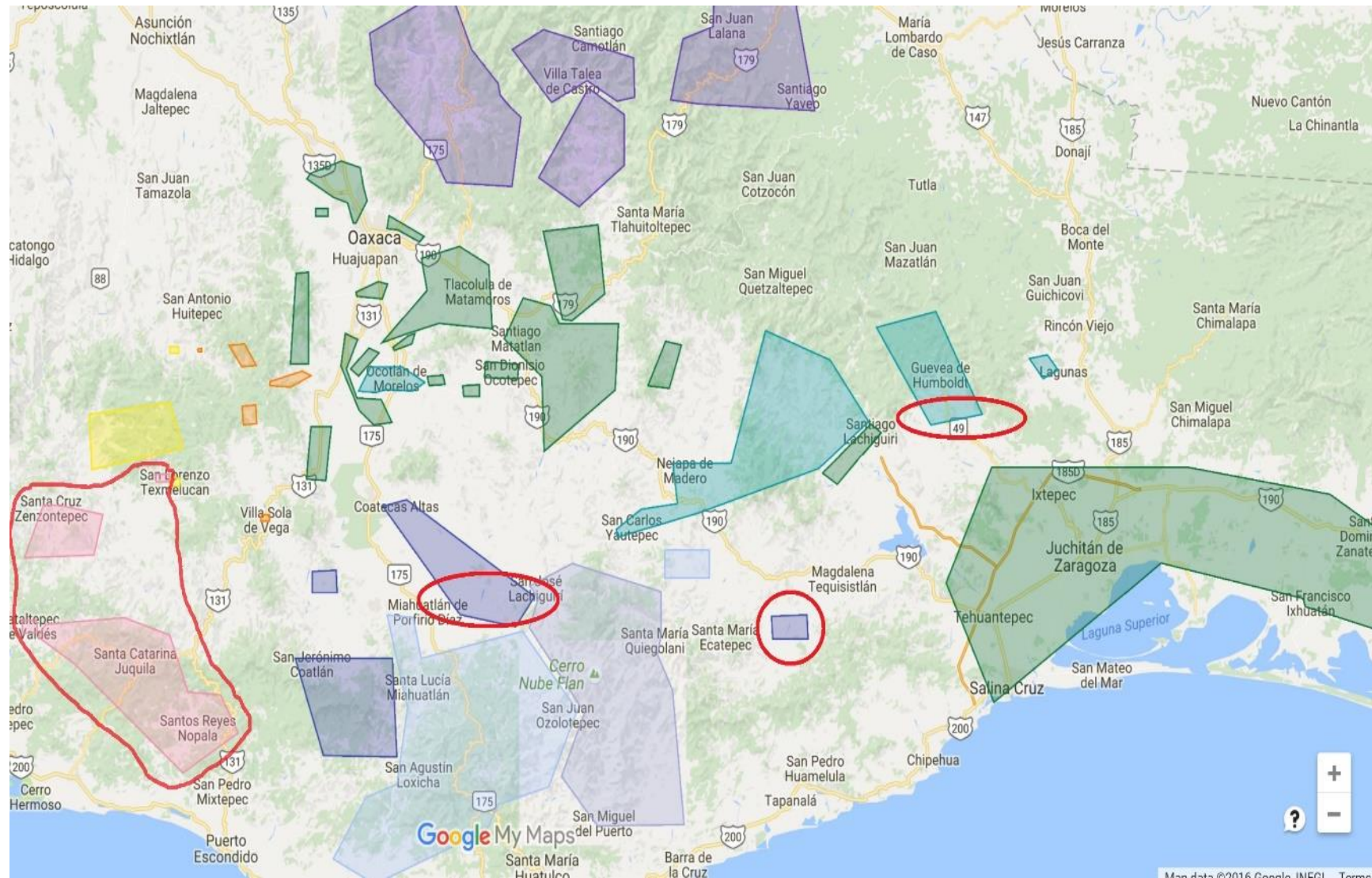
Transyautepecan

- Preaspiration
- Vowel harmony
- Plural marking

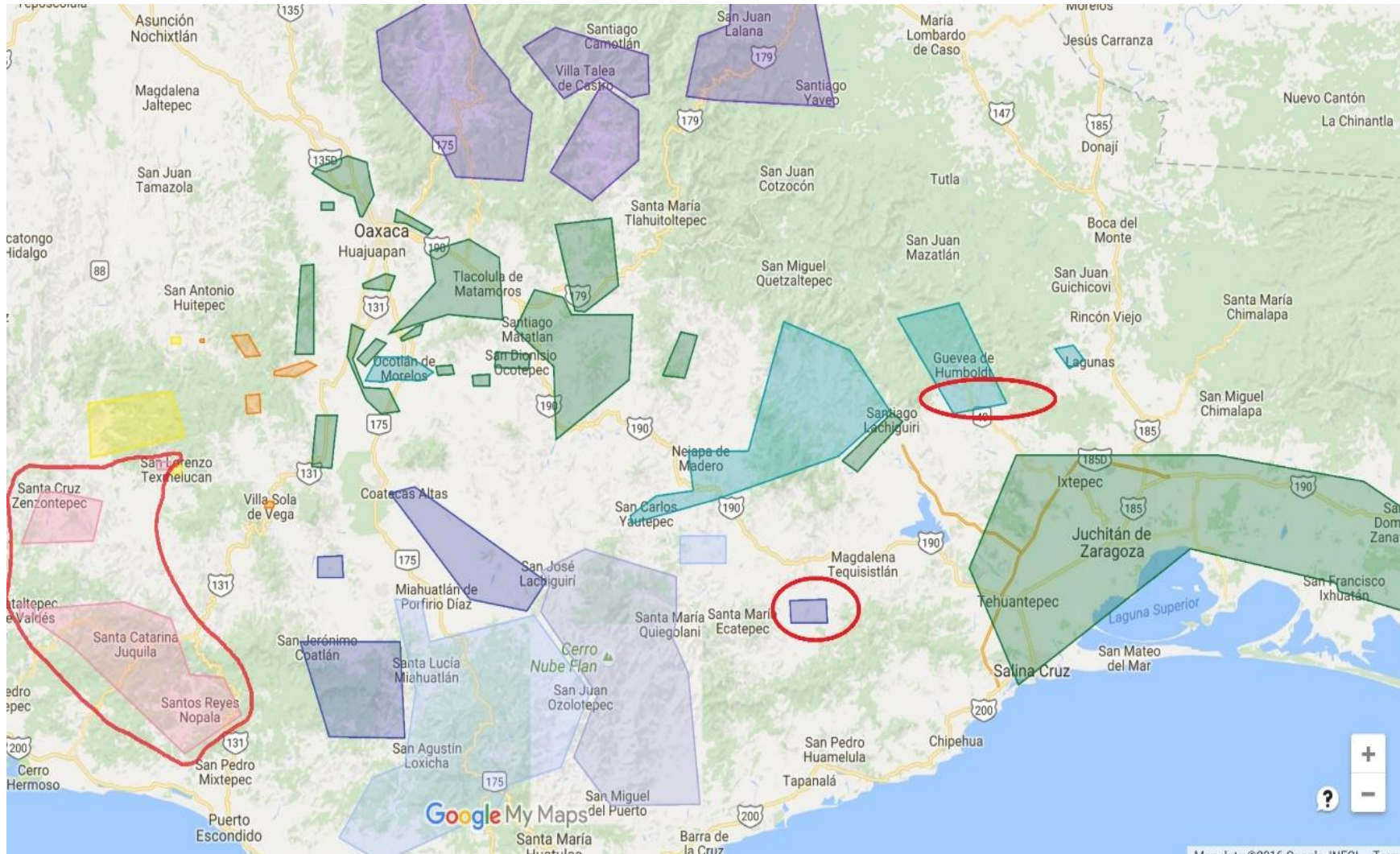
Aspiration



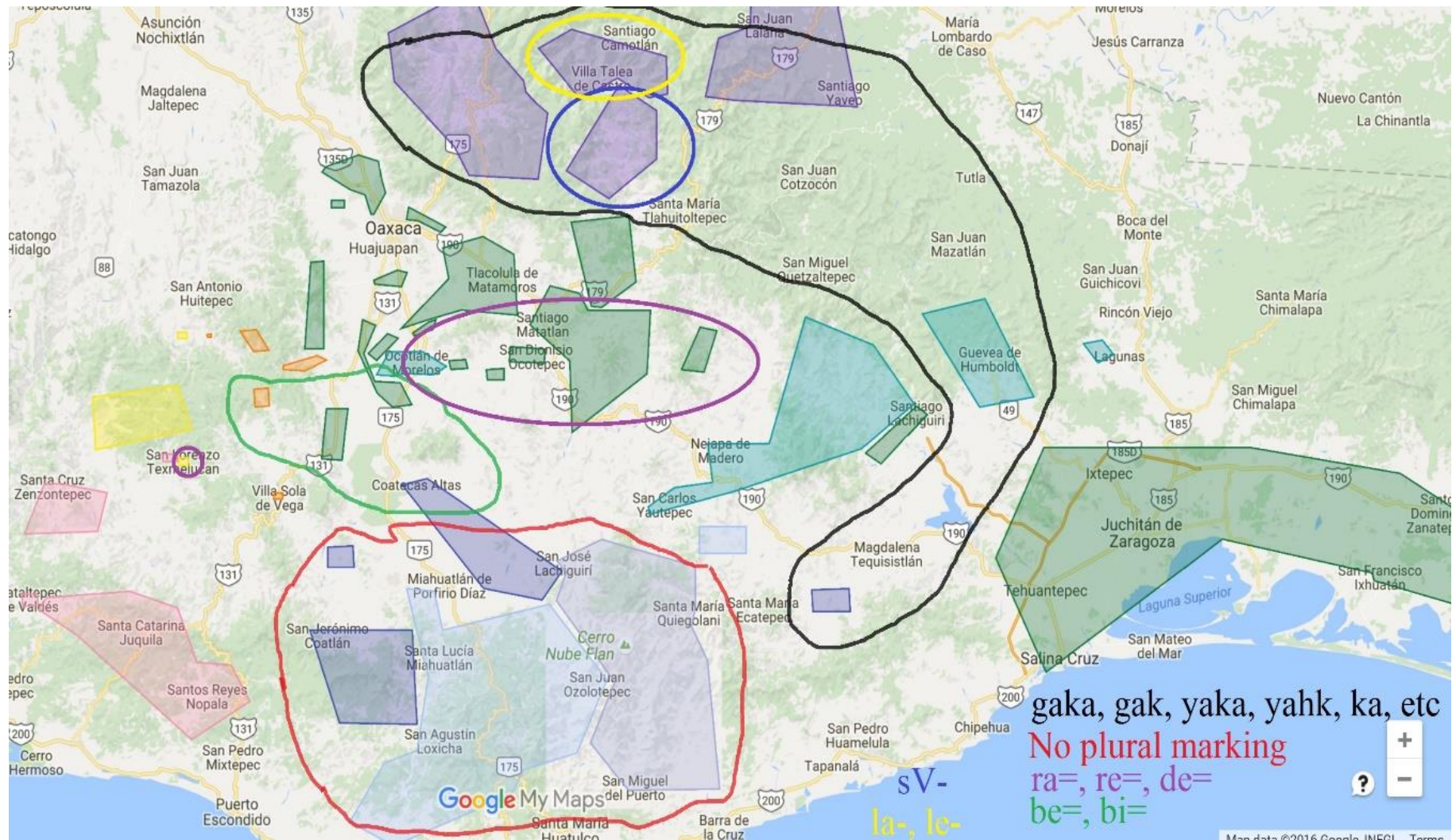
*e > a / __C*a



*e > o/u / __C*o



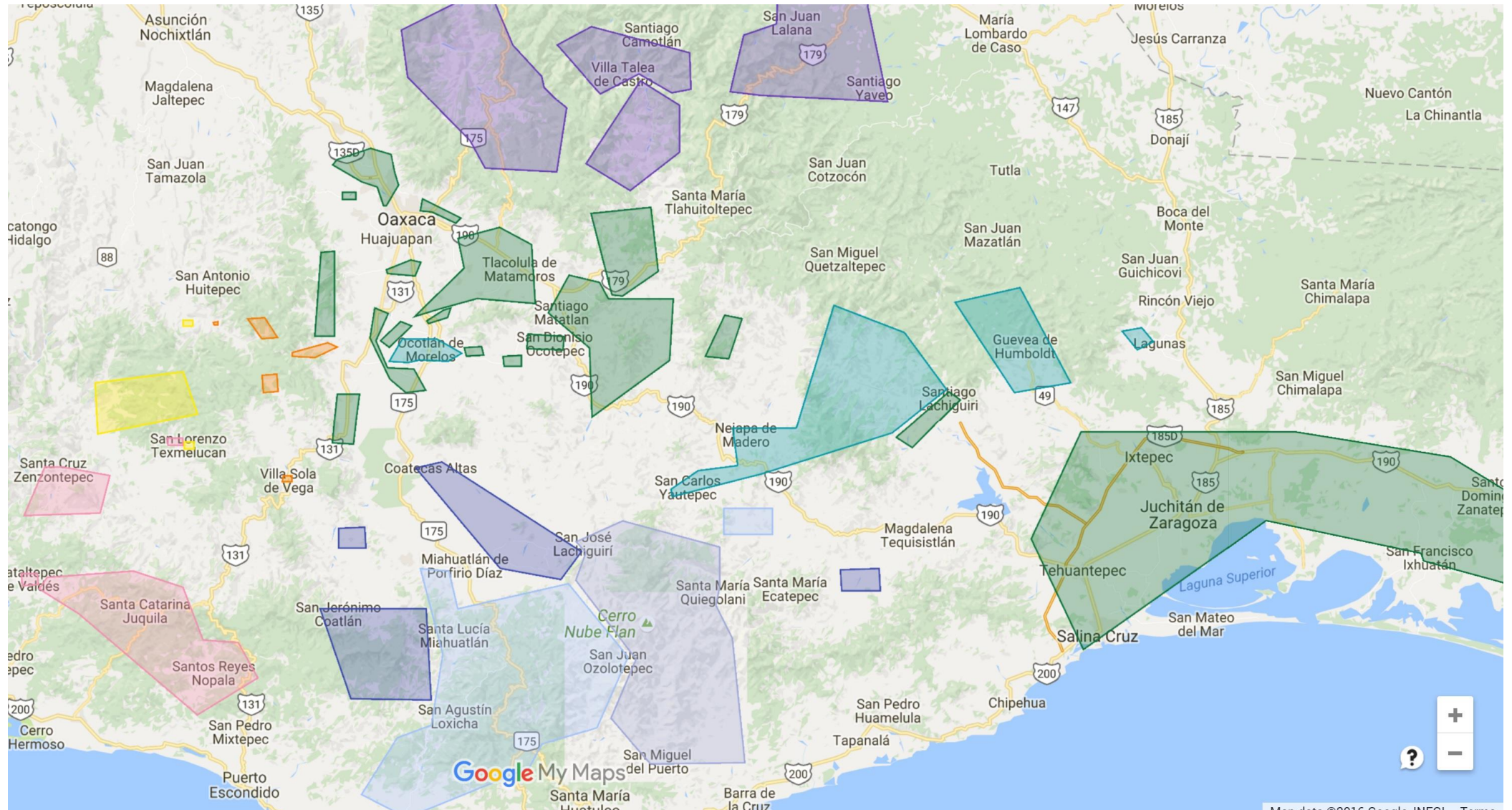
Plural marking



Western homeland?

- Homeland as area of greatest diversity
- Focal areas vs. Relic areas
- Current vs. Former neighbors and diffusion zones
- “Big” languages in recent and/or flat places

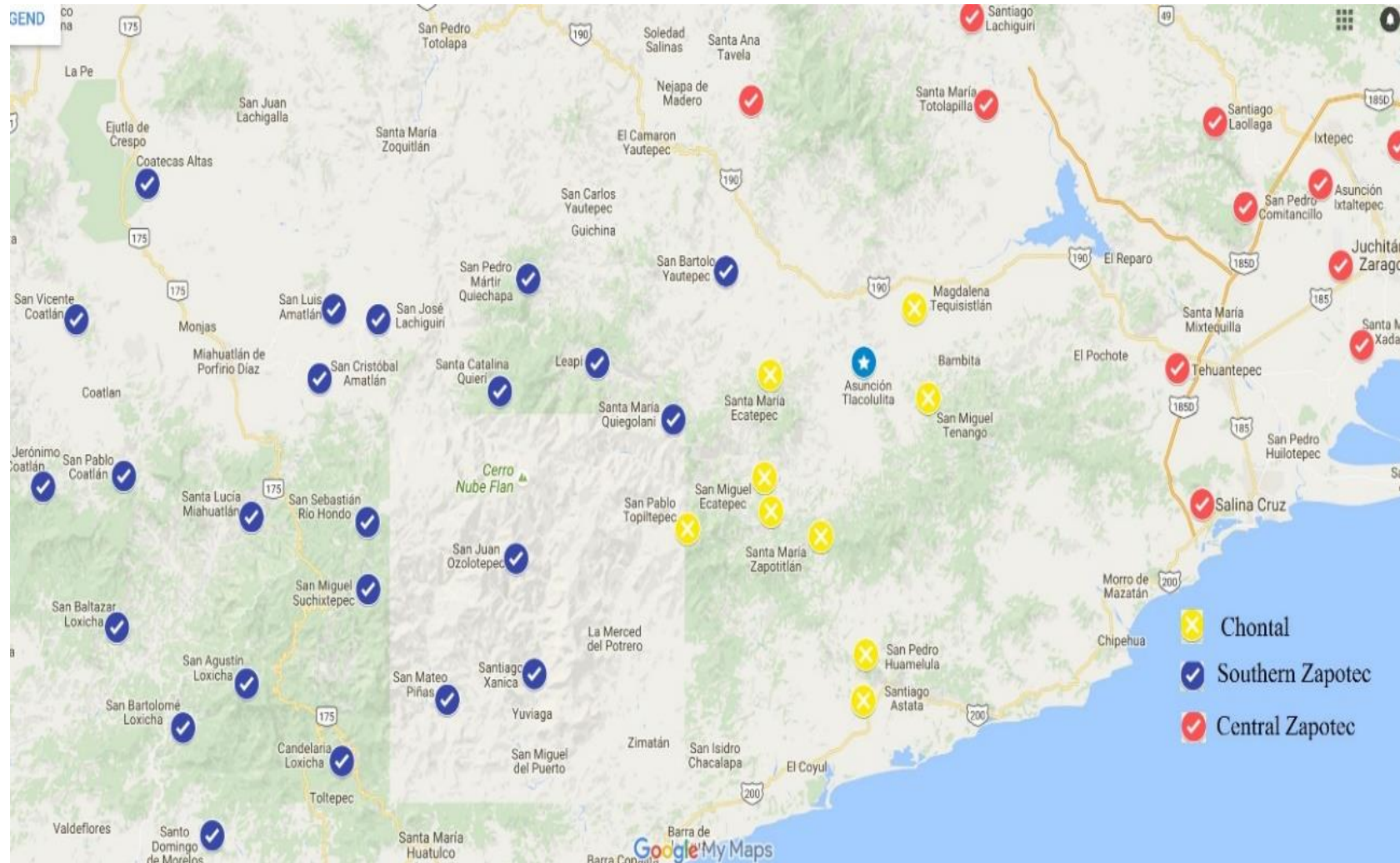
Zapototecan languages



Contact

- Zapotec contact
 - Transyautepecan vs. Southern Zapotec vs. Languages in the west
- Chontal contact

Tlacolulita Zapotec surrounded by Chontal, Central and Southern Zapotec



[illegible]

Lowland Chontal

What first looked like unfamiliar color terms (suspected Chontal loans) turned out to be new Zapotec compositions

Gloss	Highland Chontal	Tlacolulita	Amatec
White	Adj. Afujga N. galfujga	ganaβjo	rus, beg
Yellow	Adahajnga; Abohó; Undahe	jaʔ(a)tʃ	najetʃ
Black	Adj. Umi N. lumi	ganapo 'charcoal' po (*kwawo')	nagaʔas ('carbón' blan)
Red	Adj. Unxalí	ganaren 'blood' ren	naʃne ('blood' ren)
Green	Adj. Axuayga; uxcua N. alxuayga 'green thing' luxcua		

- Nearby but now extinct Tequistlatec Chontal has ky corresponding to Lowland Chontal ty, and sometimes in free variation with ty (Angulo and Freeland 1925, Waterhouse 1985)
- This has implications for the interpretation of the ky reflex of PZ *tty

Cultural Contact

- Textile tradition (traditionally had Chontal-style textiles [Nicholas Johnson, p.c.])
- Stone carvings don't appear to have similarities to Zapotec style carvings elsewhere

Piedra Pintada



Piedra del Santo



Physical Anthropology

- Anecdotal evidence: townspeople consider themselves physically similar to Zapotecs of San Bartolo Yautepec and dissimilar from closer Chontals.

Summary

- Zapotec Isoglosses
 - Indicate possible westward homeland
 - Genetic affiliation is uncertain, though reflexes of *ts and *tts indicate Macrocoatecan and more specifically Amatecan
 - Transyautepecan similarities could be either contact-related or genetic
- Chontal
 - If the archaeological evidence indicates an earlier Chontal presence, what happened to the original Chontal population?
 - More unusual lexical items need to be compared to Chontal