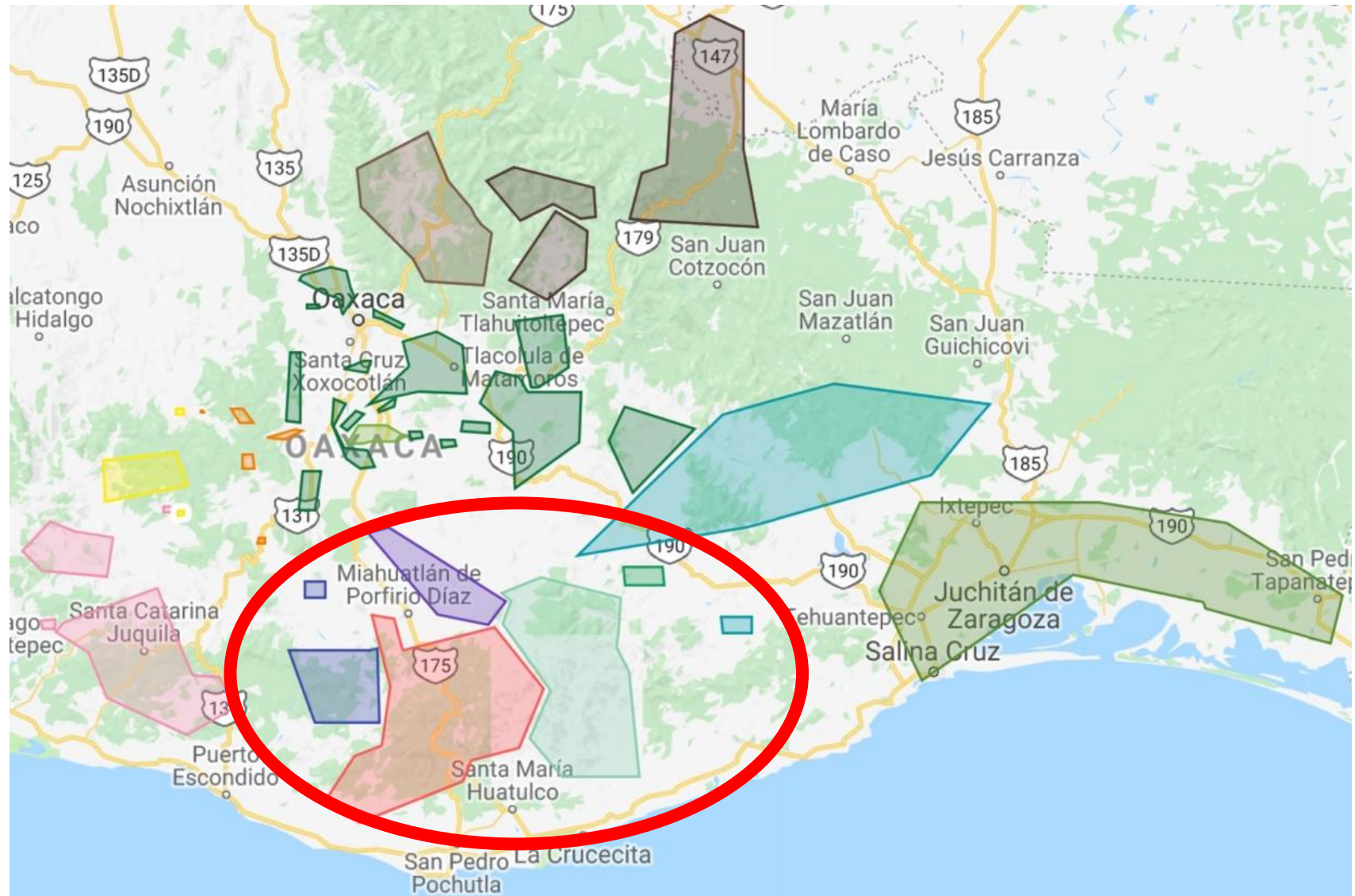


The Southern Zapotec linguistic area and the case of Dítsèh (Cisyautepecan), a Central Zapotec language of the Sierra Sur

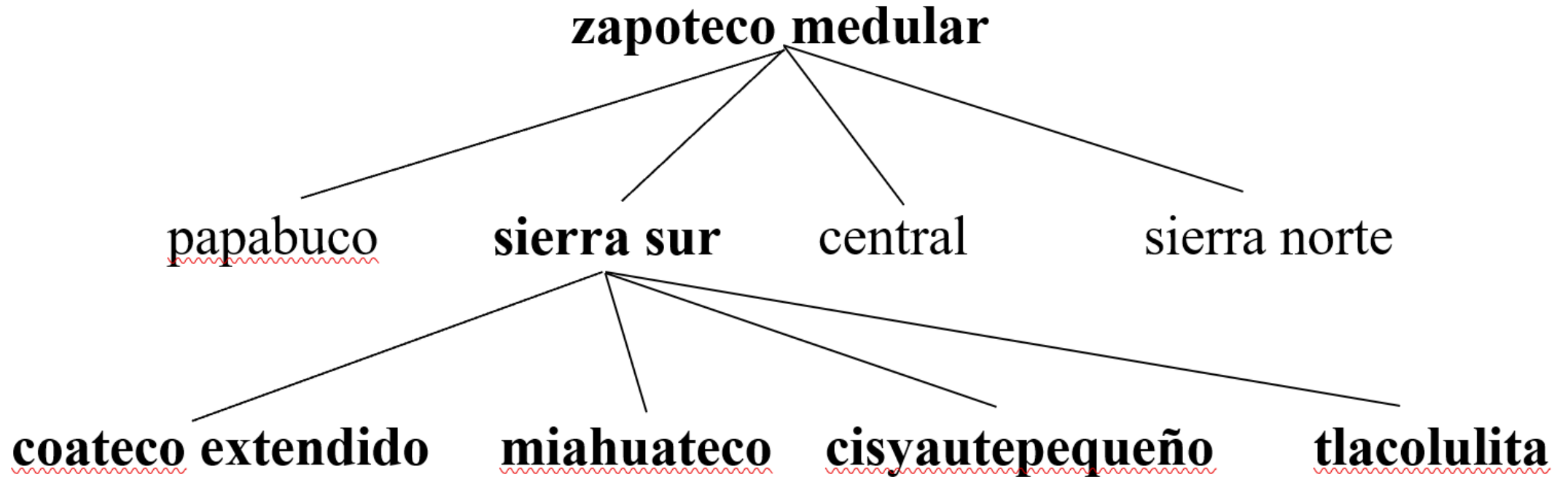
Rosemary G. Beam de Azcona

Escuela Nacional de Antropología e Historia

Zapotecan languages



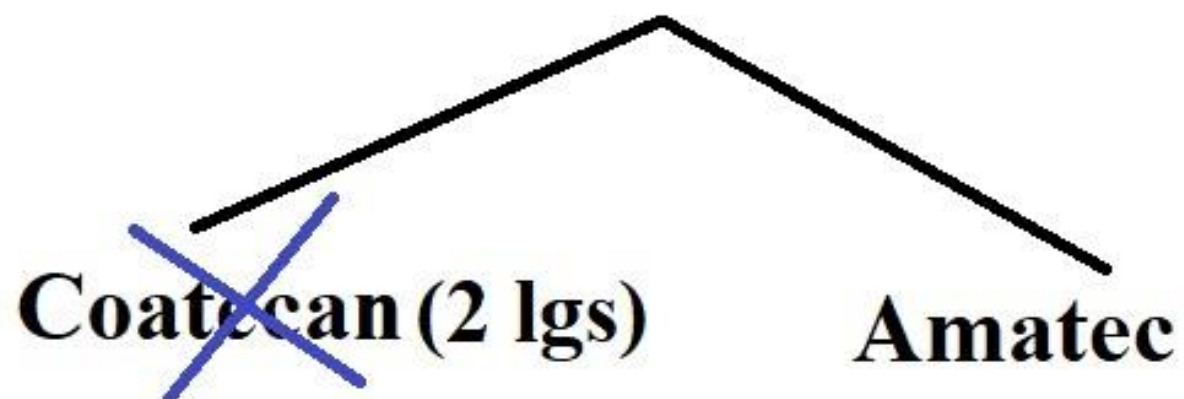
Smith Stark (2007) proposed Southern Zapotec as a genetic subgroup of Core Zapotec, with four internal subgroups



More recent work has questioned the integrity of “Southern Zapotec”

- Operstein (2012) argues that **Coatecan does not form part of Core Zapotec** since it doesn't participate in the merger of *tʲ and *ts.
- Beam de Azcona (2018) reclassified **Tlacolulita** as part of the Transyautepecan subgroup of **Central Zapotec**.
- Broadwell (2015) argued that **Cisyautepecan could be Central Zapotec** due to its use of the ka- progressive marker (though this isogloss was later found in Chatino and is therefore problematic).
- Beam de Azcona (2018) and Hernández Luna (2019) **question the internal integrity of Smith Stark's Miahuatecan subgroup**, with San Bartolo Yautepec perhaps belonging to Central Zapotec.
- So, even though **these languages do share certain features** (Beam de Azcona 2014a), their genetic relationship may not be as close as previously thought.

Macrocoatecan

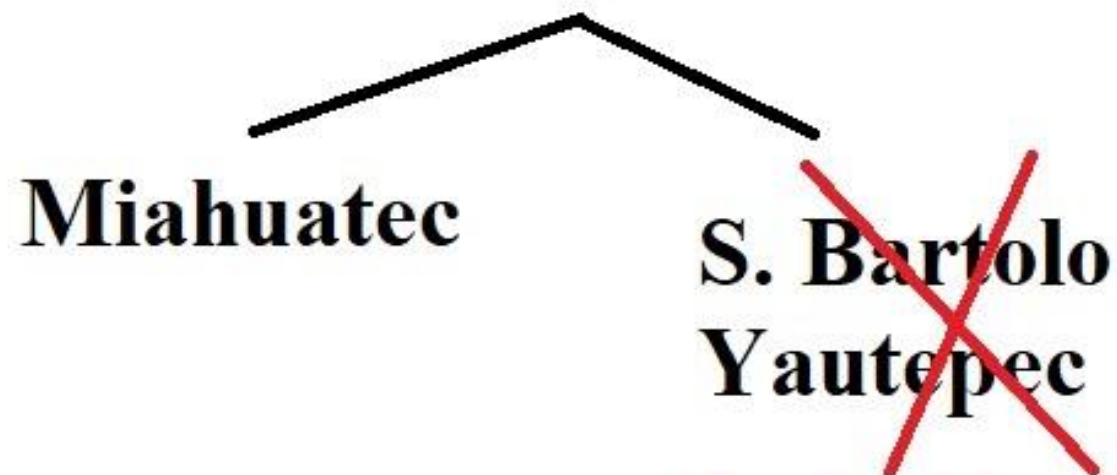


MAY be its own
subgroup

~~Cisyautepecan~~

Central Zapotec

Miahuatecan



**Probably
Central**

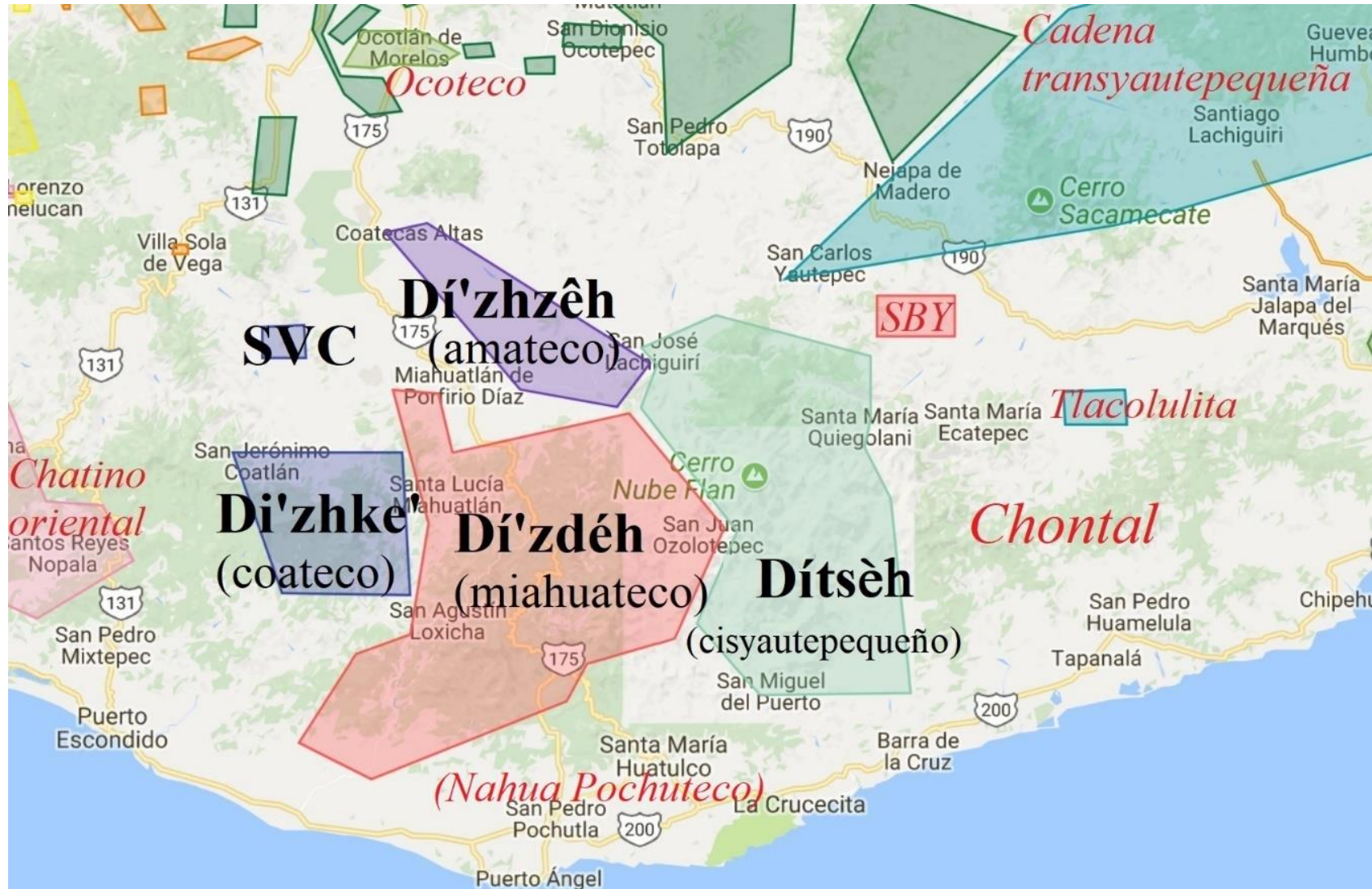
~~Tlacolulita~~

Central Zapotec

Southern Zapotec as a diffusion zone rather than a genetic grouping

- Does a linguistic area have to have multiple language families?
 - “this appears not to be a strong requirement, since the Balkan Linguistic Area, probably **the** best-known and **most widely accepted of all linguistic areas, involves only Indo-European languages**” (Campbell 2017: 25)
 - Later I found contact phenomena with **Chatino, Chontal and Pochutec Nahuatl** anyway.
- What is a linguistic area?
 - “**A linguistic area, to the extent that the concept may be of any value, is merely the sum of borrowings among individual languages in contact situations.** If we abandon the search for an adequate geographically oriented definition of the concept and for criteria for establishing linguistic areas, and instead focus on understanding the borrowings, those contingent historical facts and the difficulty of determining what qualifies as a legitimate linguistic area cease to be problems.” (Campbell 2017: 23)

The Sierra Sur linguistic area (Dítsèh is our case study)



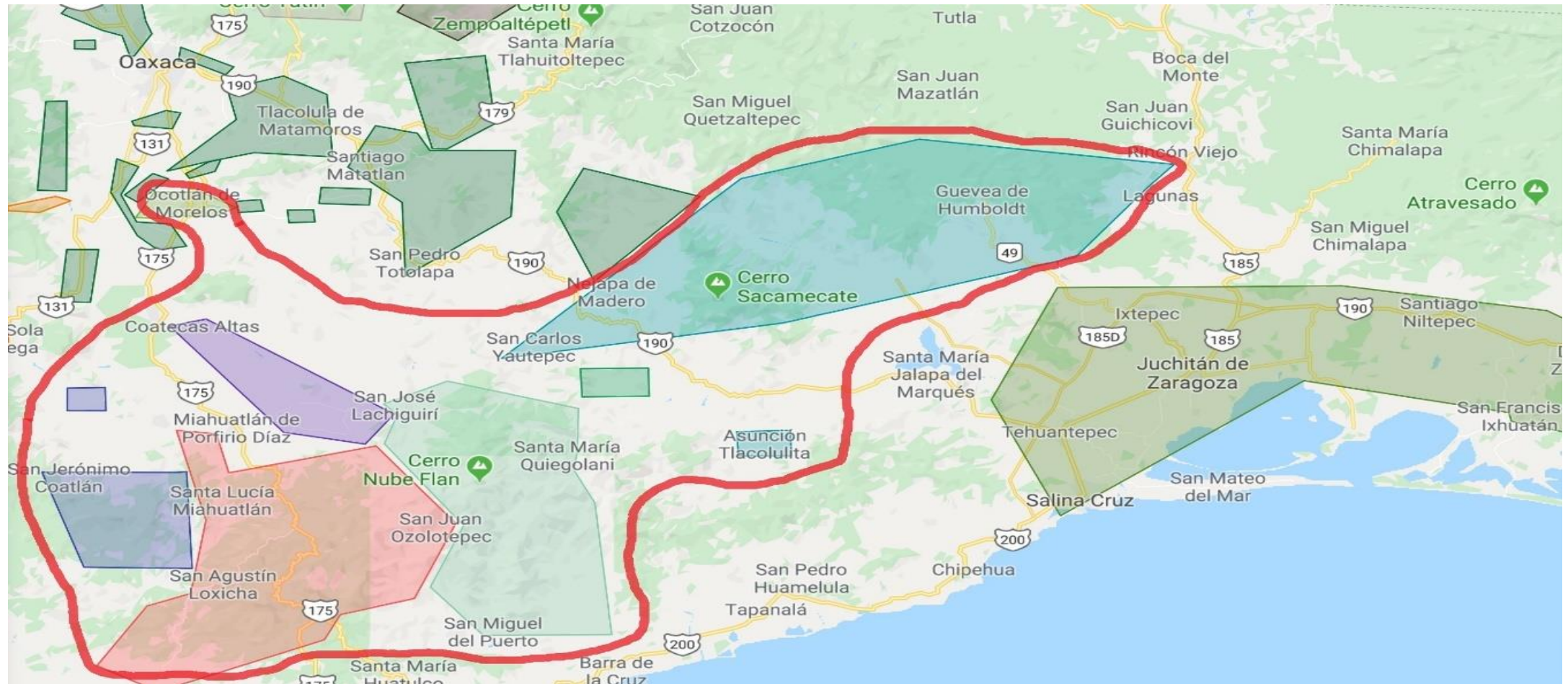
Dítsèh (Cisyautepecan) is a dialect continuum

- Documented varieties of Cisyautepecan:
 - Quierí
 - Quioquitani
 - **San Pedro Mixtepec**
 - San Juan Mixtepec
 - Xanaguía
 - Xanica
 - Leapi
 - Lachivigoza
 - **Quiegolani**
 - Lapaguía

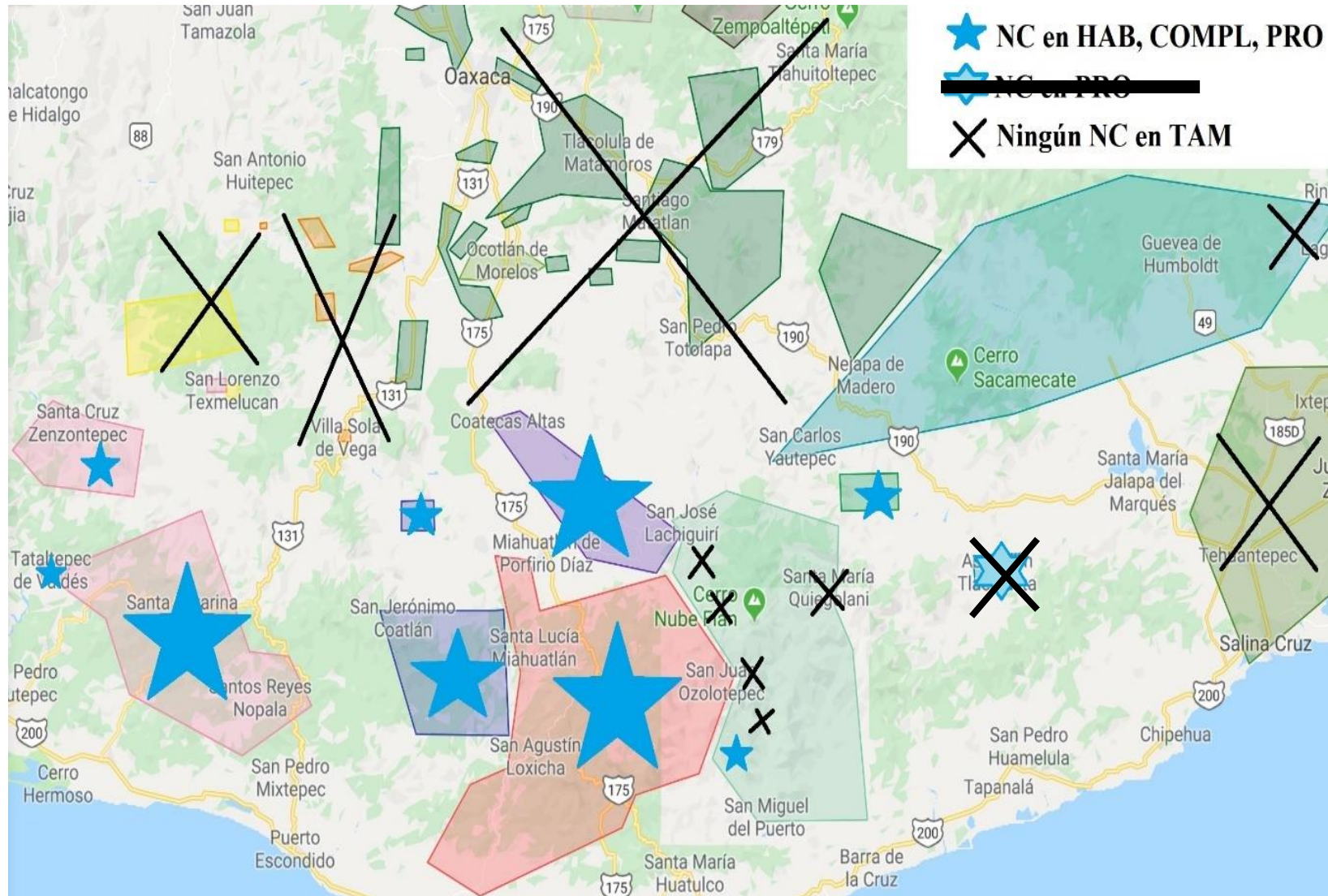
Smith Stark's sole defining feature of Southern Zapotec was an initial nasal in animal words

Glosa	Mitla ¹¹	Petapa	SBY ¹²	CisY ¹³	Ama.	Mia.	Coa.
‘tortolita’				<u>meʒ</u>	<u>mbef</u>		<u>mbeʃ</u>
‘zorrillo’	<u>baʔt</u>	<u>mbe^hti</u>		<u>met</u>		<u>mbèθ</u>	<u>mbìθ</u>
‘tejón’	<u>biziʔidʒ</u>		<u>mzíʔs</u>	<u>mziʔdz</u>		<u>mfiʔis</u>	<u>msiʔz</u>
‘venado’	<u>bidzu^hn</u>	<u>mbizìnà</u>	<u>md̥zîn</u>	<u>mdzin</u>	<u>mizîn</u>	<u>mdzín</u>	<u>mbzin</u>
‘gallina’	<u>gid</u>	<u>ngědi</u>	<u>ngěd</u>	<u>ngid</u>	<u>ngǐd</u>	<u>ngǐd</u>	<u>ngið</u>
‘ardilla’	<u>batsu^hts</u>		<u>ndzĩʔz</u>	<u>ndziz</u>		<u>ndzíʔd</u>	<u>ndiʔz</u>

Nasal-initial animate nouns is a diffused feature. It has a morphological explanation in the SS and probably has diffused to some neighboring CZ languages



Nasal TAM markers may be diffused from Chatino



Another (Beam de Azcona 2014) is lack of number marking



San Bartolo Yautepec (probable Central Zapotec on the periphery of SS area)

Marking on nouns

San Bartolo Yautepec (Rojas 2014)

- (a) mbéʔk
perro
'perro'
- (b) mbéʔk=ik
perro=PL
'perros'

Marking on pronouns

	Singular	Plural
3C	= <u>z</u> <u>í</u>	= <u>ik</u> = <u>zé</u>
3R	= <u>m</u> <u>æ</u>	= <u>ik</u> = <u>mæ</u>
3AN	= <u>m</u> <u>á</u>	= <u>ik</u> = <u>má</u>
3INAN	= <u>i</u>	= <u>ik</u> = <u>i</u>

San Bartolomé Loxicha (Miahuatec, Southern Zapotec---if there is such a thing)

No PL marking on nouns

- mén=thoóz
person=many
'many people'
- reéh yáa
all tree
'all the trees'

No PL distinctions in pronouns

- na=za mbíi-th=z=d=ra' xa' reéh xa'
and=then COMPL-kill=NEG=NEG=already 3H all 3H
'So **they** didn't manage to kill **all of them**'
- "iNguen!", ndx-áab xa'.
NEG COMPL-say 3H
*"iNo!", said **he**.*

Quiegolani (Cisyautepecan)

No PL marking on pronouns

1EX	<u>noo</u>
1INCL	=be
2	de
3GEN	<u>men</u>
3MASC	zaa
3R	=me
3AN	<u>maa</u>
3INAN	=w, =o
3 deidad/bebé	<u>=ne</u>

Only quantifiers indicate plurality

• *R-ap n-oo ndal yaa ngyed no te bur.*

H-have **1EX** **lots** **very** **chicken** and one
burro

‘I have **lots of chickens** and one burro.’

Inclusory constructions worldwide (Lichtenberk 2000) include a superset term (usually a plural pronoun) and a subset (an included NP)

San Lucas Quiaviní (Munro 2000)

Ca-da'uw=**ënn** gueht **cëhnn Gye'eihlly**

PROG-eat=**1P** tortilla **with Mike**

1. 'We're eating tortillas with Mike.'

2. 2. 'I'm eating tortillas **with Mike**.'

“Southern Zapotec” languages have inclusory constructions with numerals or quantifiers as (part of) the superset term, due to the lack of plural pronouns

- Quiegolani (Black 1994:342)

Tempran *r-a-xee* ***noo*** ***y-rup*** [***xnaa noo***]_{NP-POS}
early H-go-rise **1excl** **P-two** mother **1excl**
‘Early **my mother and I** would get up.’

- Coatec Zapotec (Beam de A. 2004)

Mb-i’d **tǒp** [xìn mě]_{NP-POS} ti’n.
C-come **P.two** **offspring** **3hr** job
He came **with his son** to work. (Lit. ‘The two his son came to work’)

In the Sierra Sur, ICs occur as type A in the East, type B in the West, and both types occur in the center

- Type A: **Pronoun** **Numeral** **Possessed.NP**

- Type B: **Numeral** **Possessed.NP**

- San Agustín Mixtepec (Eastern Miahuatepec)

Nhé yù'g [[yǒn [běǎ mẽ]_{NP-POS}]_{CL}]_{NP} nǐt-yět.
AUX cook **COL-three** **sister** 3HC |water-tortilla: food|

‘She and her two sisters are cooking the food.’

Ngwà [mě [rě [xmbál mẽ]_{NP-POS}]_{CL}]_{NP} lnì.
C-go 3hc all **POS-compadre** 3hc party

‘S/he went with all his/her compadres to the party.’

Proto Zapotec had

- Two completive aspect markers
 - *k^we- > pe-, be-, bi-, b-, mbi-, mb-, b-
 - *ko- > ko-, go-, gu-, w-, ŋgu-, ŋgo-, ŋgw-
- Two phonologically different types of verb stems
 - Vowel-initial stems
 - Consonant-initial stems

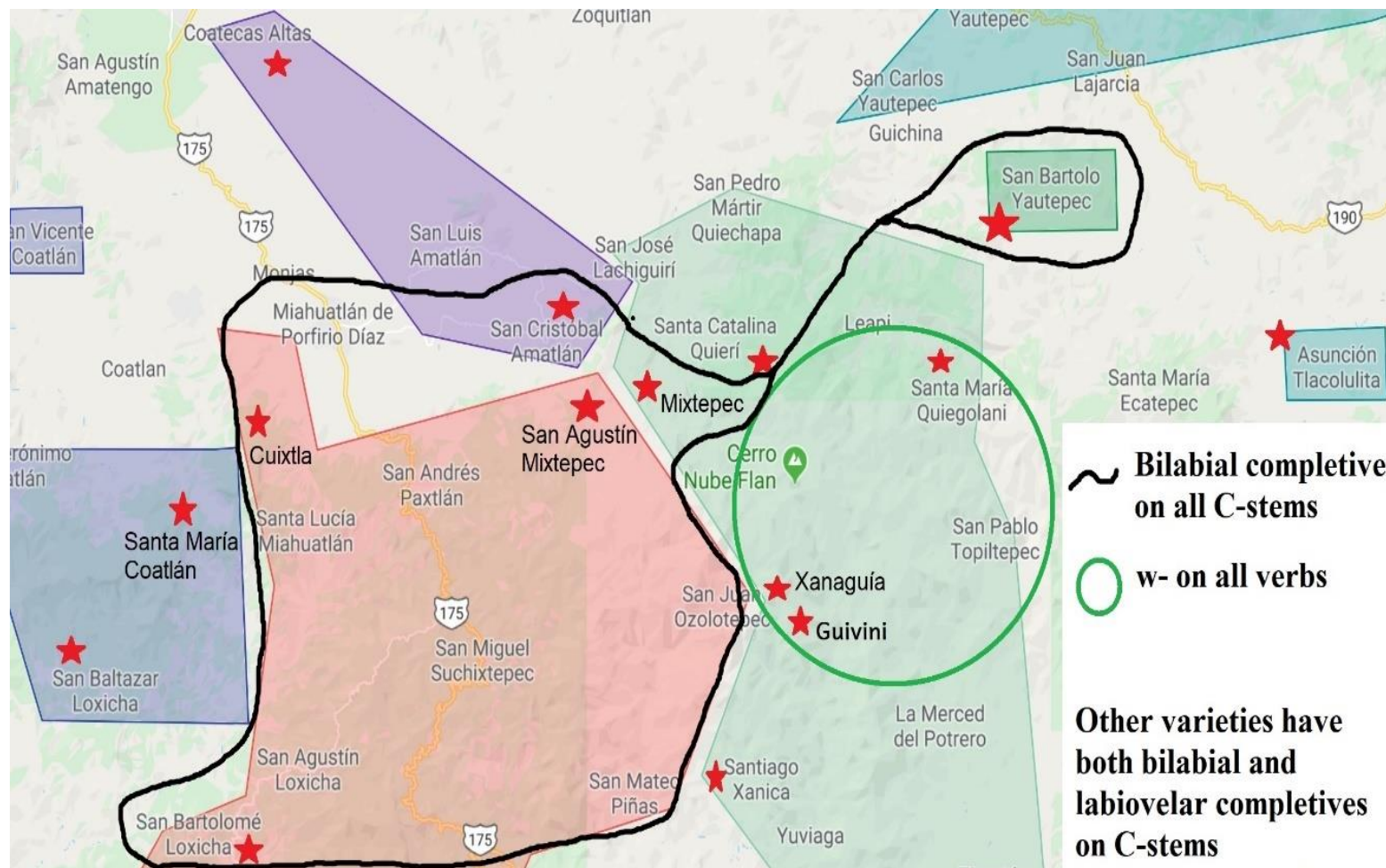
In Quiegolani (Cisyautepecan) *w-* has spread to all verbs

Glosa	Protozapoteco	Coatecas Altas	Quiegolani
<u>compl-hablar</u>	* <u>ko-nni?</u>	<u>ngw-ne</u>	<u>w-ni?</u>
<u>compl-morirse</u>	* <u>/ko-atti/</u> * <u>[kotti]</u>	<u>ngù-t</u>	w-et
<u>compl-cortarlo</u>	* <u>k^we-ok-tjo?ko</u>	<u>mi-tfo?</u>	<u>w-tfug</u>
<u>compl-oírlo/saberlo</u>	* <u>/k^we-ona/</u> * <u>[k^wena]</u>	<u>mbî-n</u>	<u>w-on</u>

Extension of m(b)- to all consonant-stems in Miahuatec

Glosa	Protozapoteco	Coateco	Miahuateco
<u>compl-morirse</u>	*/ <u>ko-atti</u> / * <u>[kotti]</u>	<u>ŋgû-θ</u>	<u>ŋgù-θ</u>
<u>compl-oírlo/saberlo</u>	*/ <u>k^we-ona</u> / * <u>[k^wena]</u>	<u>mbî-n</u>	<u>mbí-n</u>
<u>compl-enseñar</u>	*/ <u>k^we-o-lowe?</u> * <u>[k^welowe?]</u>	<u>mb-lu?</u>	<u>mb-lò?</u>
<u>compl-caminar</u>	* <u>ko-sã</u>	<u>ŋgw-zæ</u>	<u>m-dæ</u>

Extension of m(b)- and w-



Independent 3rd person pronouns

- In Central and Northern Zapotec languages the independent forms of the third person pronouns are complex forms containing the historical focus marker *lãʔã as a base

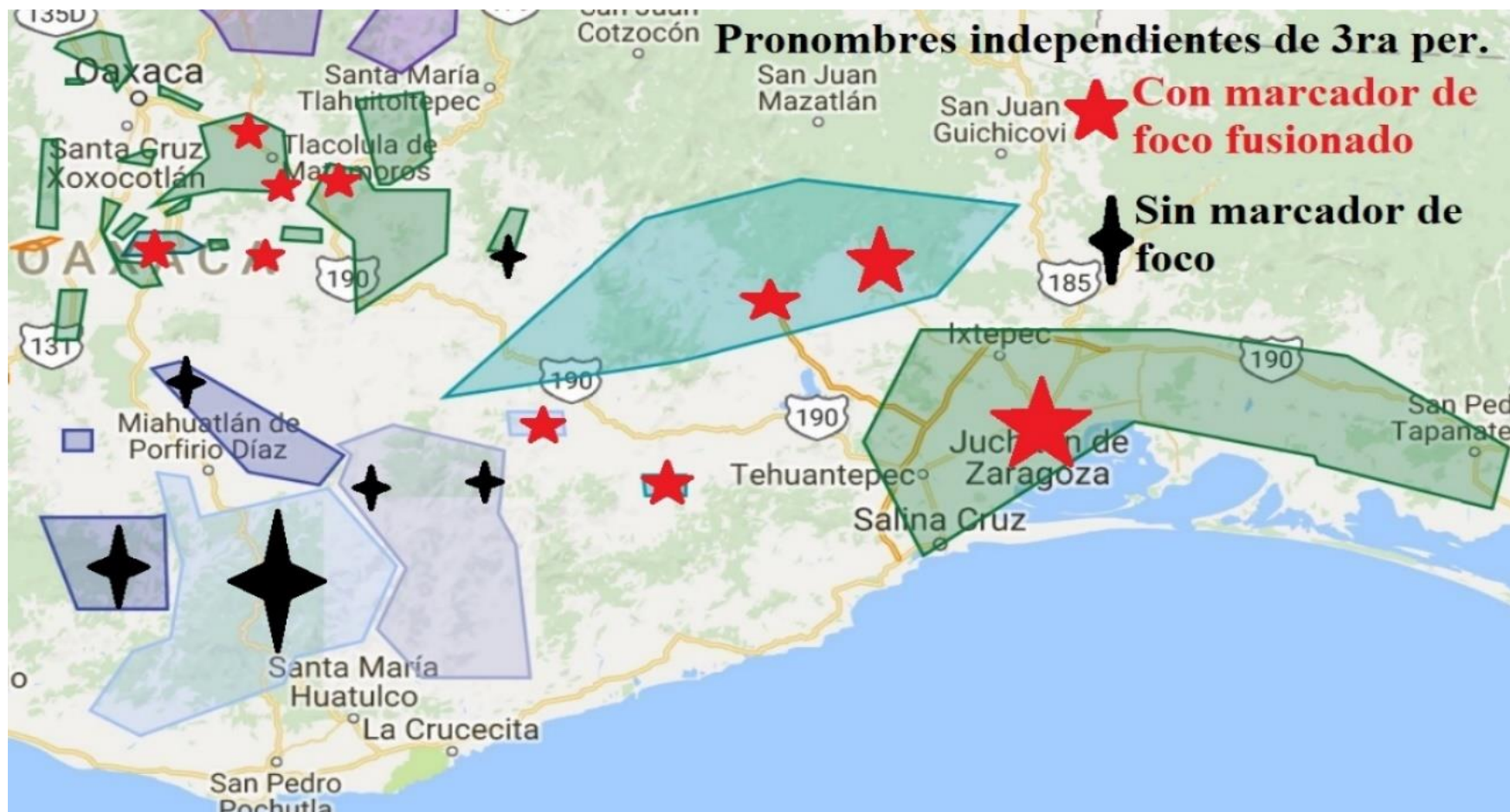
Isthmus Zapotec pronouns (Pickett, Black y Marcial 1998: 27-29)

	Independiente	Dependiente
1SG	<u>naa</u>	
2SG	<u>lii</u>	
3HSG	<u>laa, laabe</u>	=be
3ANSG	<u>laa, laame</u>	=me
3INANS	<u>laa, laani, ni</u>	=ni
1EXCL	<u>laadu</u>	=du
1INCL	<u>laanu</u>	= <u>nu</u>
2PL	<u>laatu</u>	=tu
3HPL	<u>laaca', laacabe</u>	=cabe
3ANPL	<u>laaca', laacame</u>	= <u>came</u>
3INANPL	<u>laaca', laacani, cani</u>	=cani

San Pedro Mixtepec (Cisyautepecan) lacks independent pronouns with fossilized *lãʔã

	San Pedro Mixtepec (Antonio 2015)	San Bartolo Yautepec (Rojas 2014)
1SG	<u>nàʔ</u>	<u>ná</u>
1INCL	<u>nè</u>	<u>nú</u>
1EXCL	<u>ná</u>	<u>bæ</u>
2SG/CONF ¹⁵	<u>lùʔ</u>	<u>lú</u>
2PL	<u>tá</u>	<u>gó</u>
3LEJ/R	<u>mé</u>	<u>lèʔ=mæ</u>
3RPL	--	<u>lèʔ=ik=mæ</u>
3R/CONF	<u>zá</u>	<u>lèʔ=zí</u>
3CONFPL	--	<u>lèʔ=ik=zí</u>
3CONF	<u>jèʔ</u>	--
3MEN	<u>wĩn</u>	--
3AN	<u>má</u>	<u>lèʔ=má</u>
3ANPL	--	<u>lèʔ=ik=má</u>
3INAN	(=w/=á)	<u>lèʔ=já</u>
3INANPL	--	<u>lèʔ=ik=í</u>

Independent pronouns **with** and **without** *lãʔã



Summary of features that Cisyautepēcā varieties share with Miahuatec, Amatec (and Coatec)

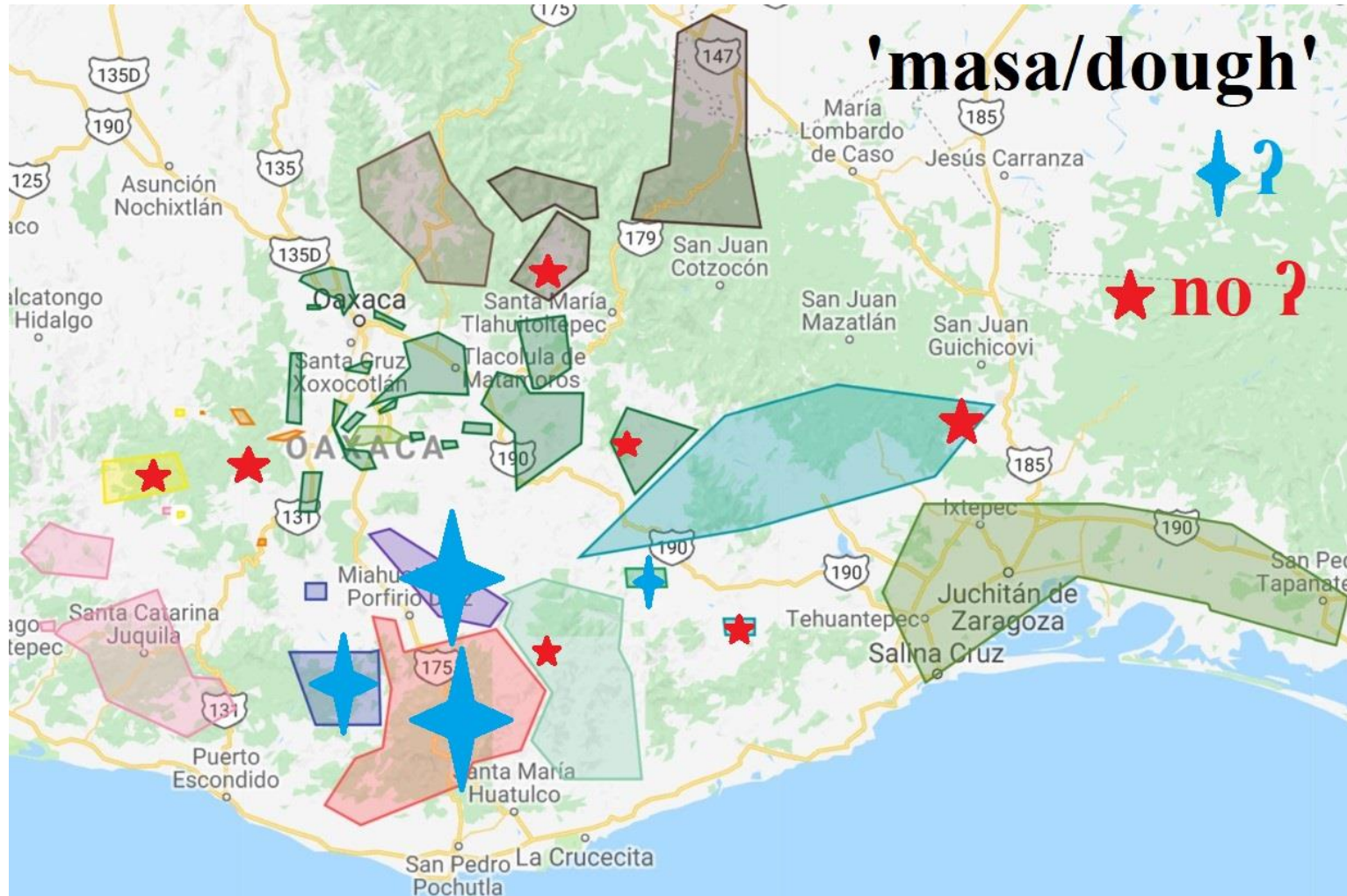
- Nasal-initial animal words
- Lack of grammatical number marking
- Inclusive constructions with numerals
- Extension of a completive allomorph
- Independent pronouns without *lãʔã
- NC- habitual and completive markers has diffused to Xanica only

Evidence of Cisyautepecan's affiliation with Central Zapotec

- Lexical isoglosses (8)
- Morphosyntactic isoglosses (2)
- Phonological isoglosses (2)

Non-participation in Sierra Sur
innovations

? in 'dough' is probably a Southern innovation
that Cisyautepecan does not participate in

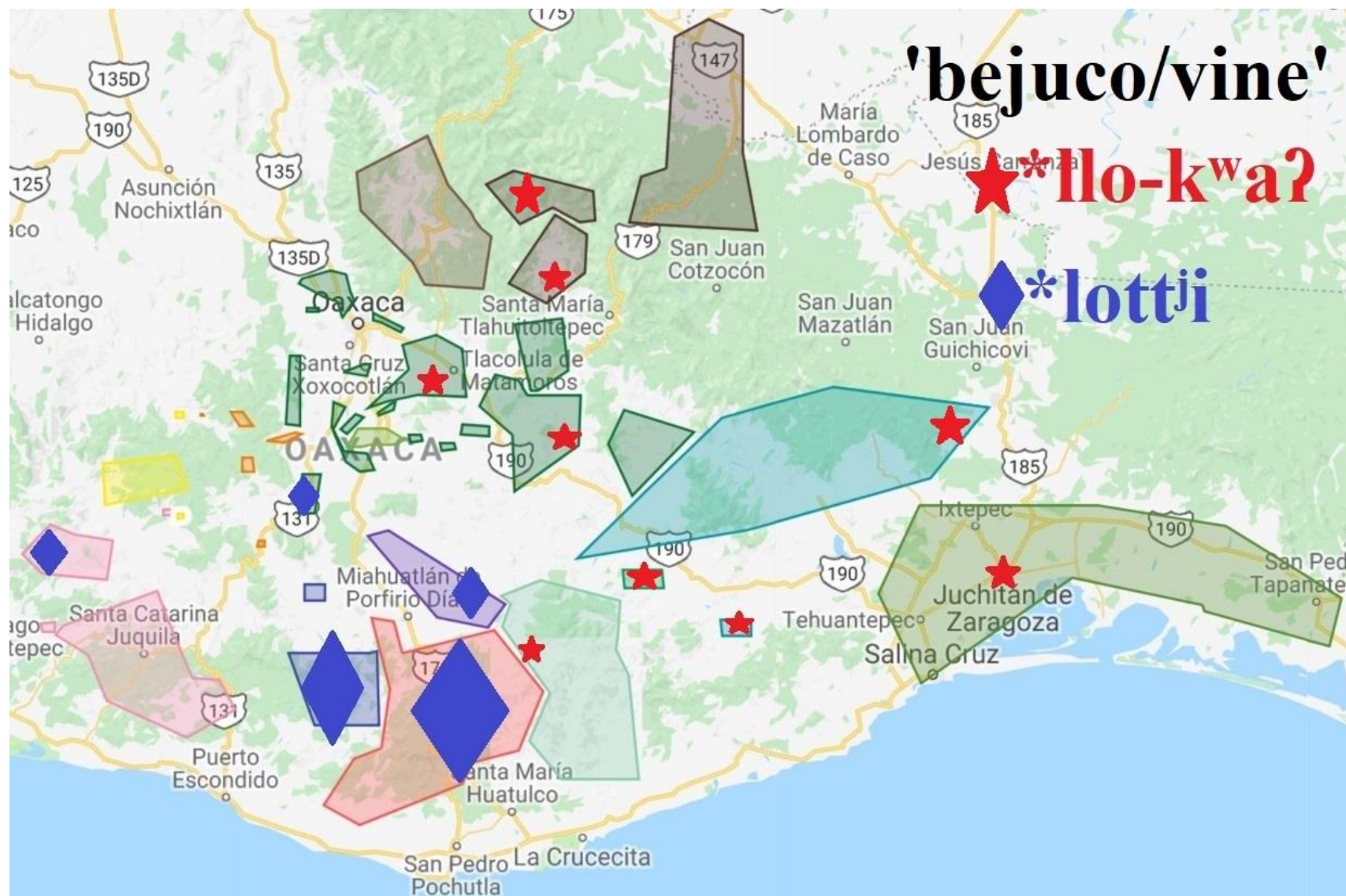


Although retention isn't strong evidence of a Central affiliation (vs. Northern or Western) on its own, we can observe that Cisyatepecan does not participate in the merger of *ʃ and *ʃʃ that is a shared innovation between Amatec, Miahuatec and Coatec. History and geography suggest a Northern or Western affiliation is unlikely

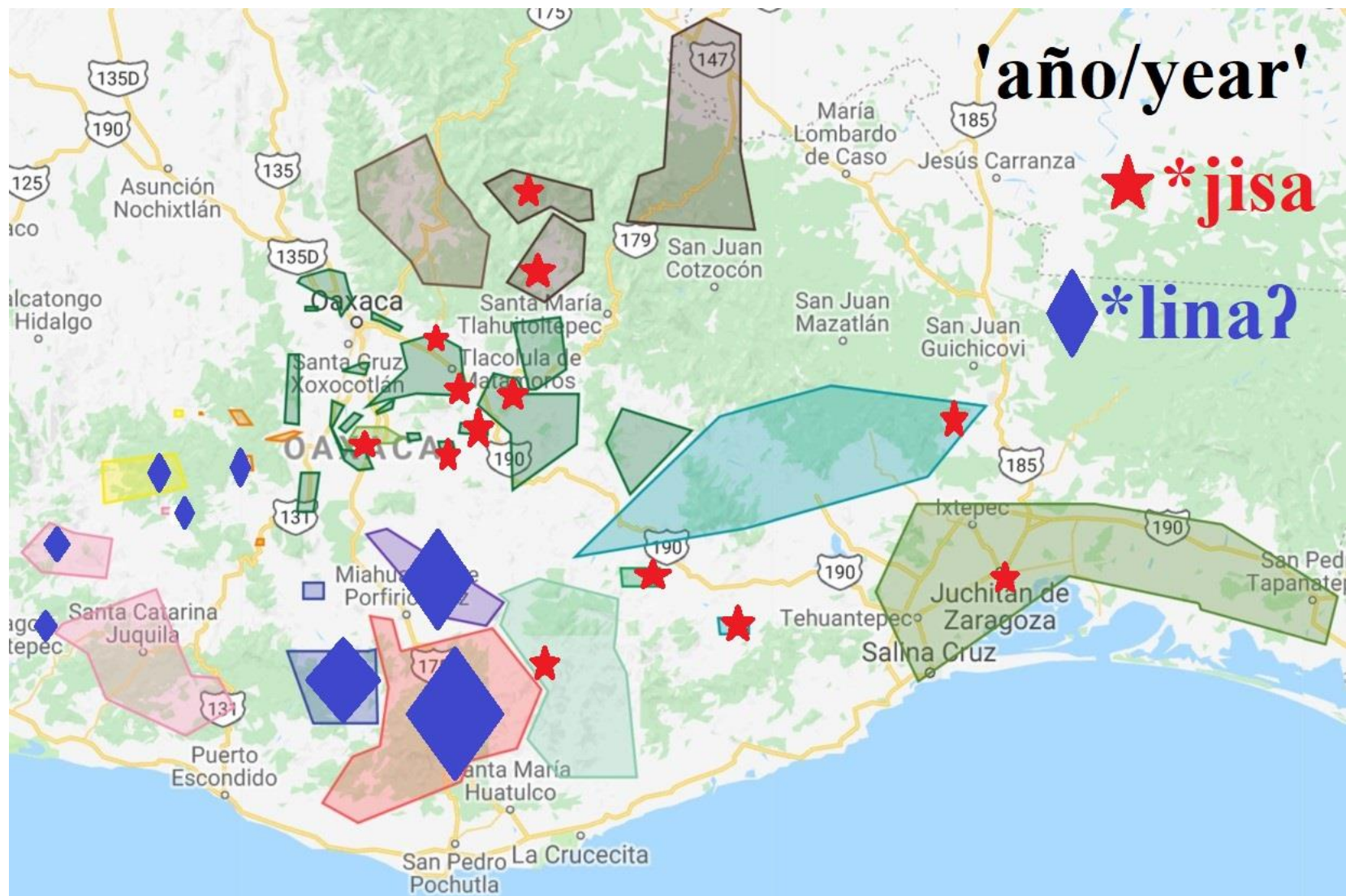
glosa	PZ	Mitla	Cis. (Mix)	Amateco	Mia. (Bar)	Coateco
'piña'	*ʃitsoʔ	//dobʒiʔidʒ//	/ʒidz ɬ/	/ʃiʔz ɬ/	/bʃiʔz/	/βʃiʔz/
'huila'	*k ^w -eʃV	//beʒ//	/meʒ/	//mbef//	/mbèʃ/	/mběʃ/
'seis'	*/k- ʃoʔkk ^{wa} / *[ʃʃoʔkk ^{wa}]	//ʃoʔp//	[ʃop: ^h ɬ]	//ʃop//	/ʃoʔp ɬ/	/ʃoʔp/
'aguacate'	*k-eʃʃo ɬ	//ge ^h ʃ//	//ngúdgjèʃ//	//ge ^h ʃ//	/geʃ ɬ/	/niʃ ɬ/

Isoglosses that show an affinity
between Cisyautepecan and
Central Zapotec generally

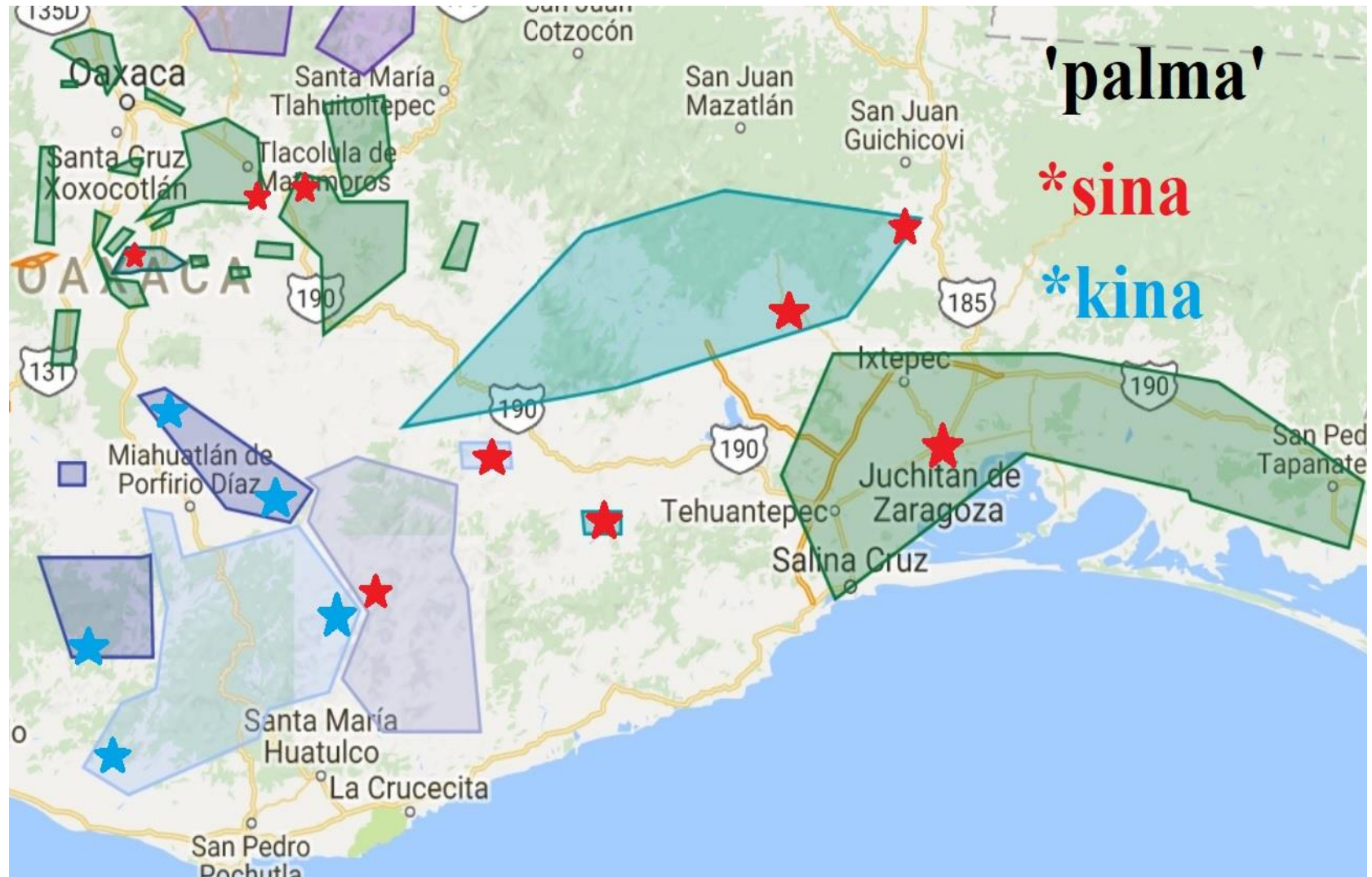
'vine' may be a Northern-Central innovation



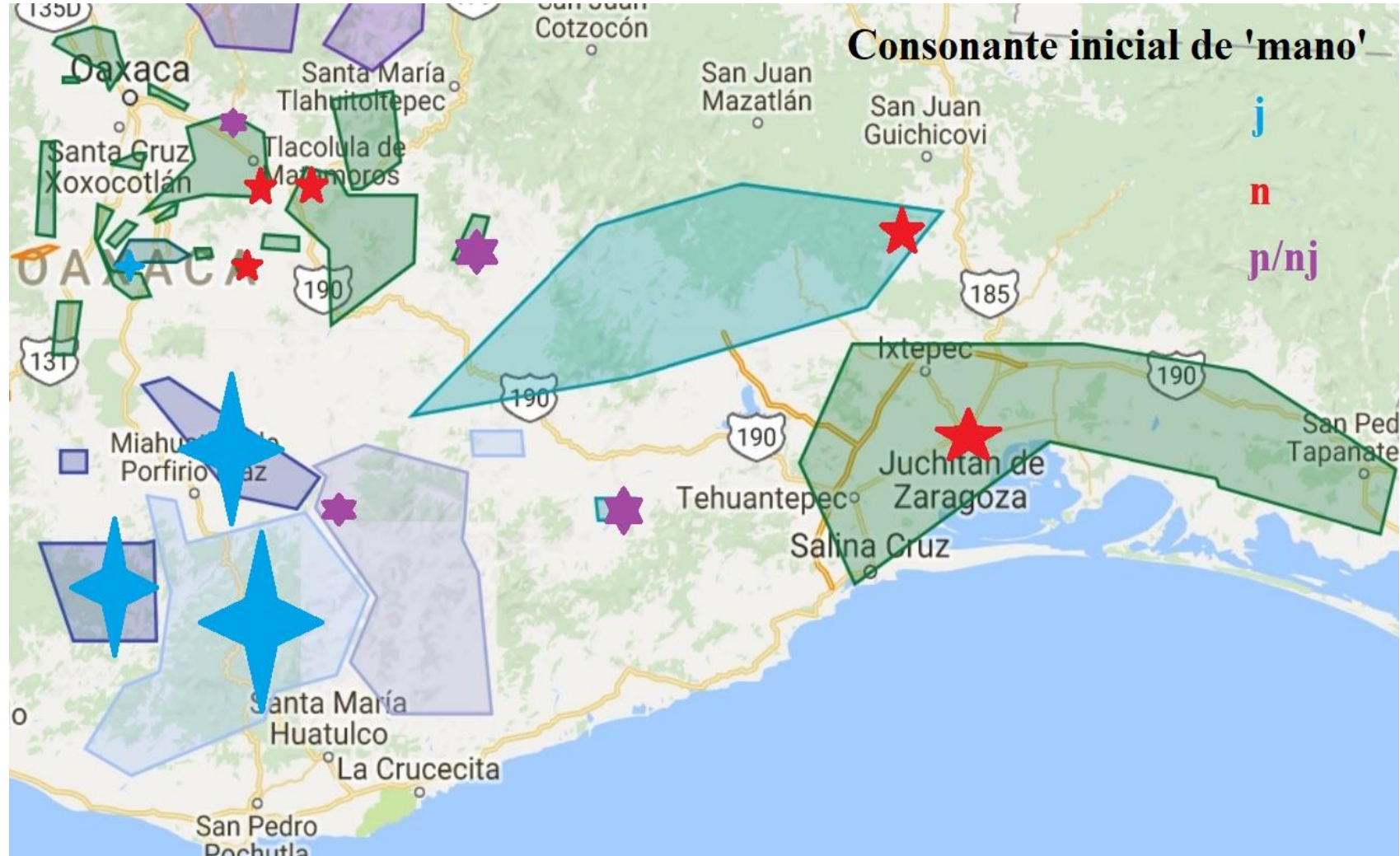
'year'



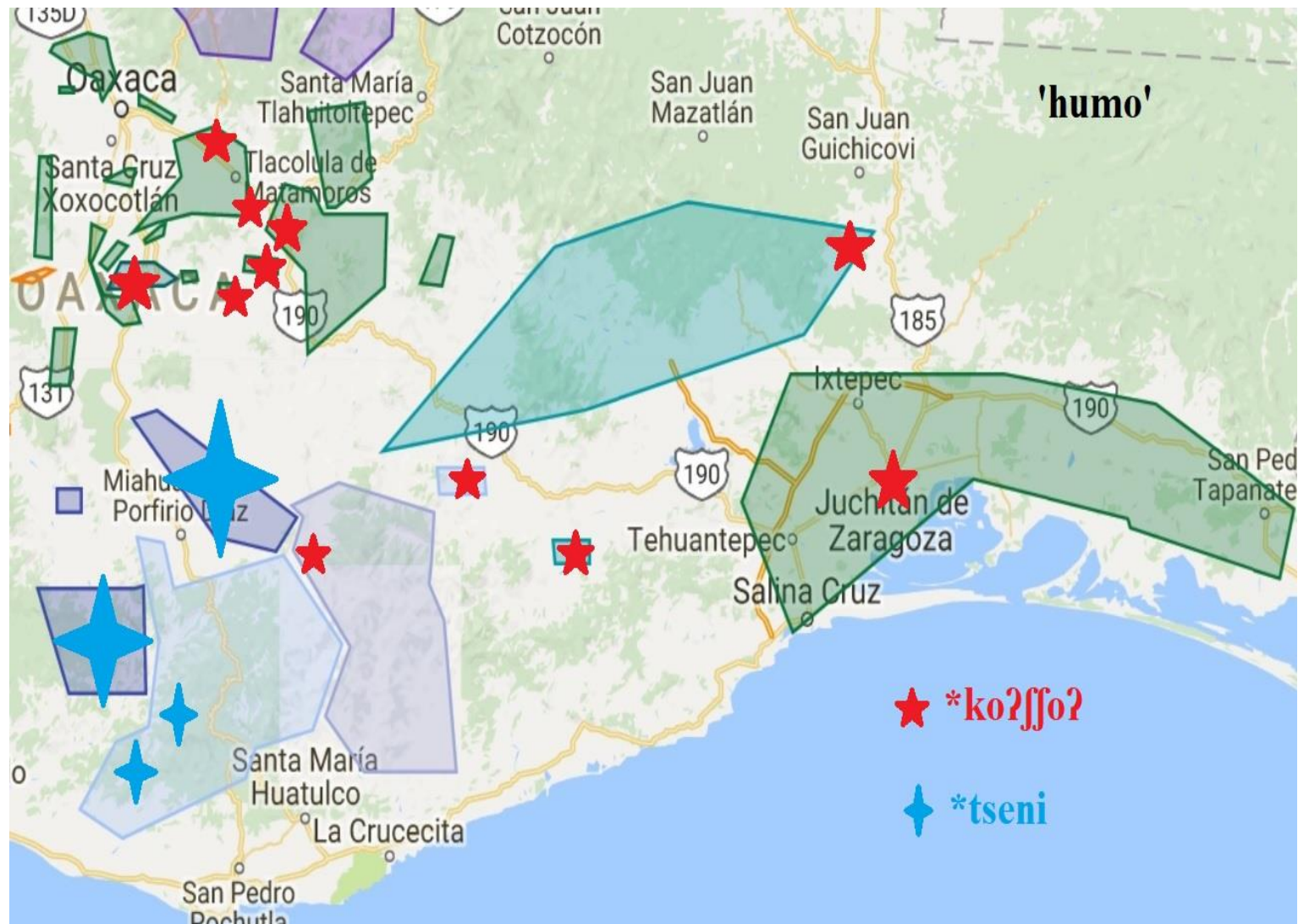
‘palm tree’



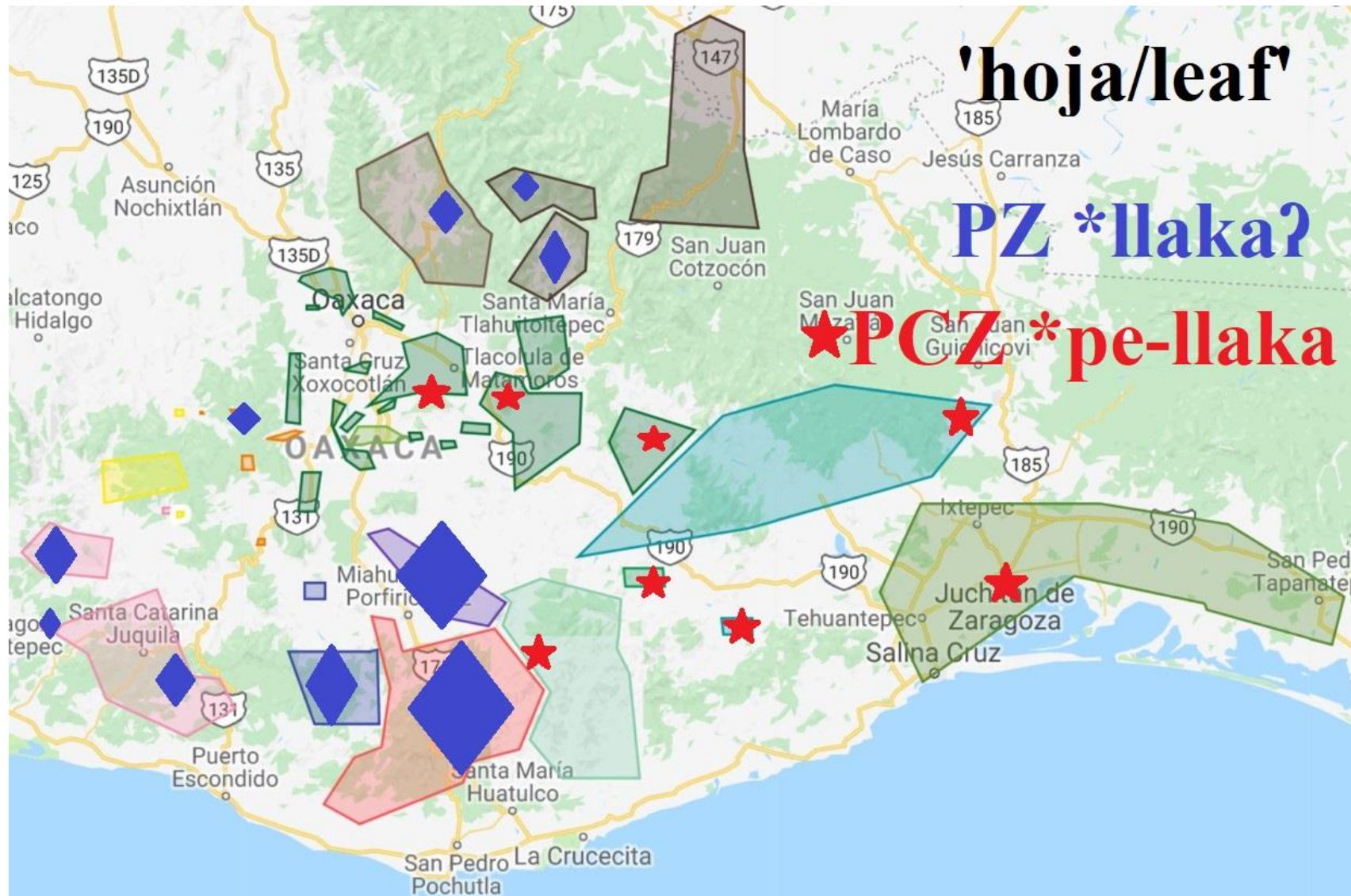
‘hand’



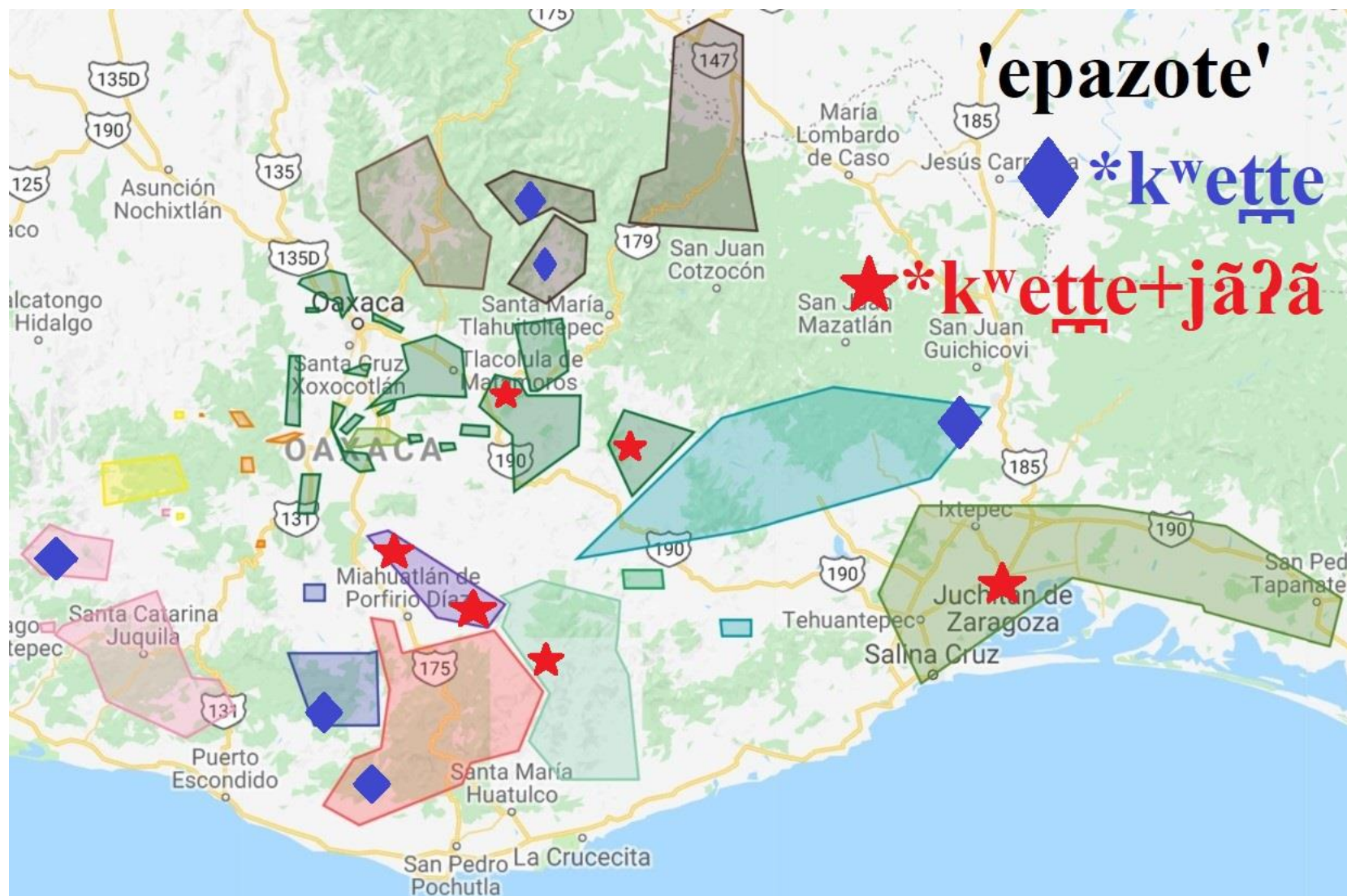
‘smoke’



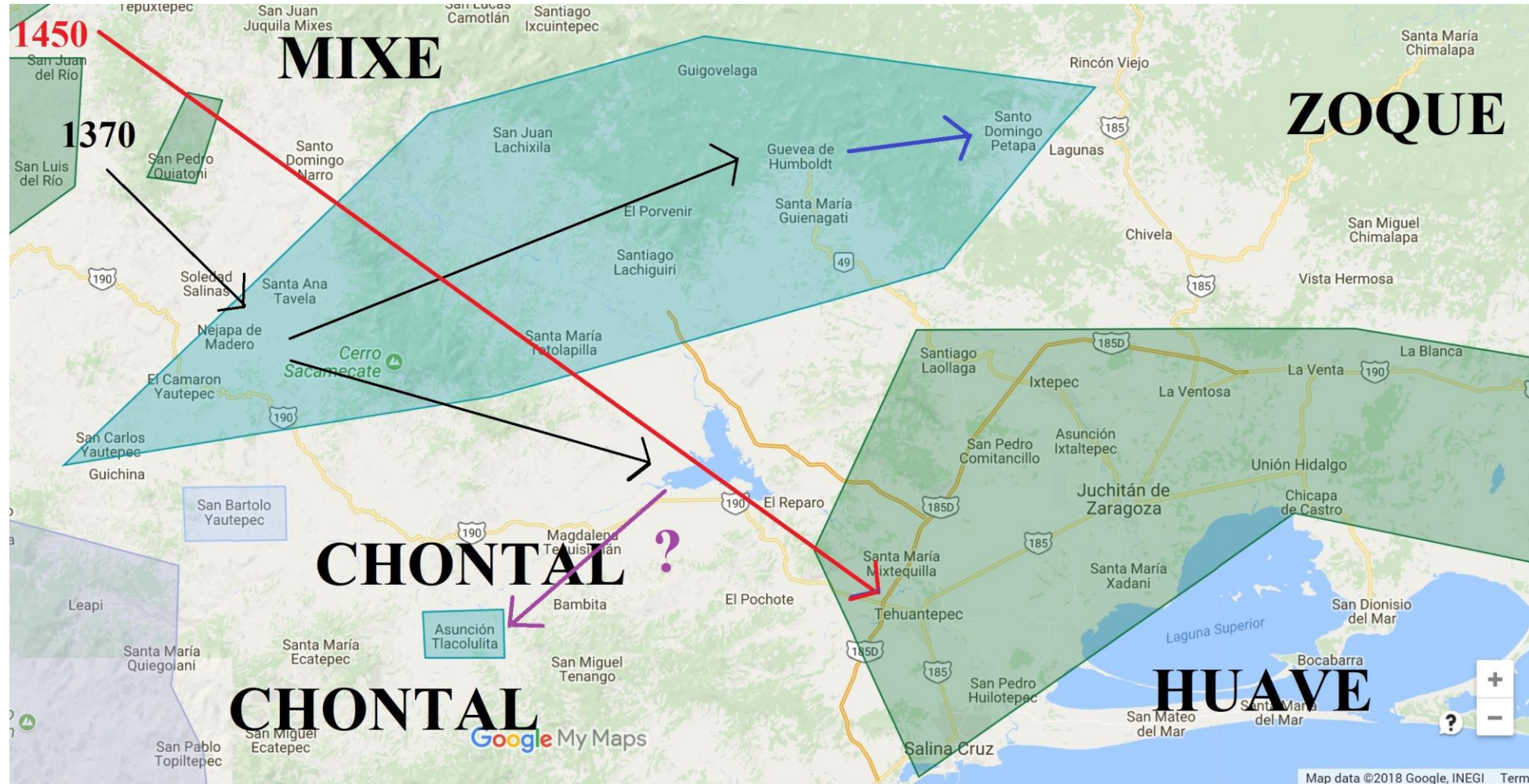
'leaf'



'epazote' (CZ innovation diffused to Amatec?)



Beam de A. (2018) argues that Smith Stark (2007)'s Transyautepecan, expanded to include Tlacolulita, is a result of a 14th century military expansion by Cocijoeza I

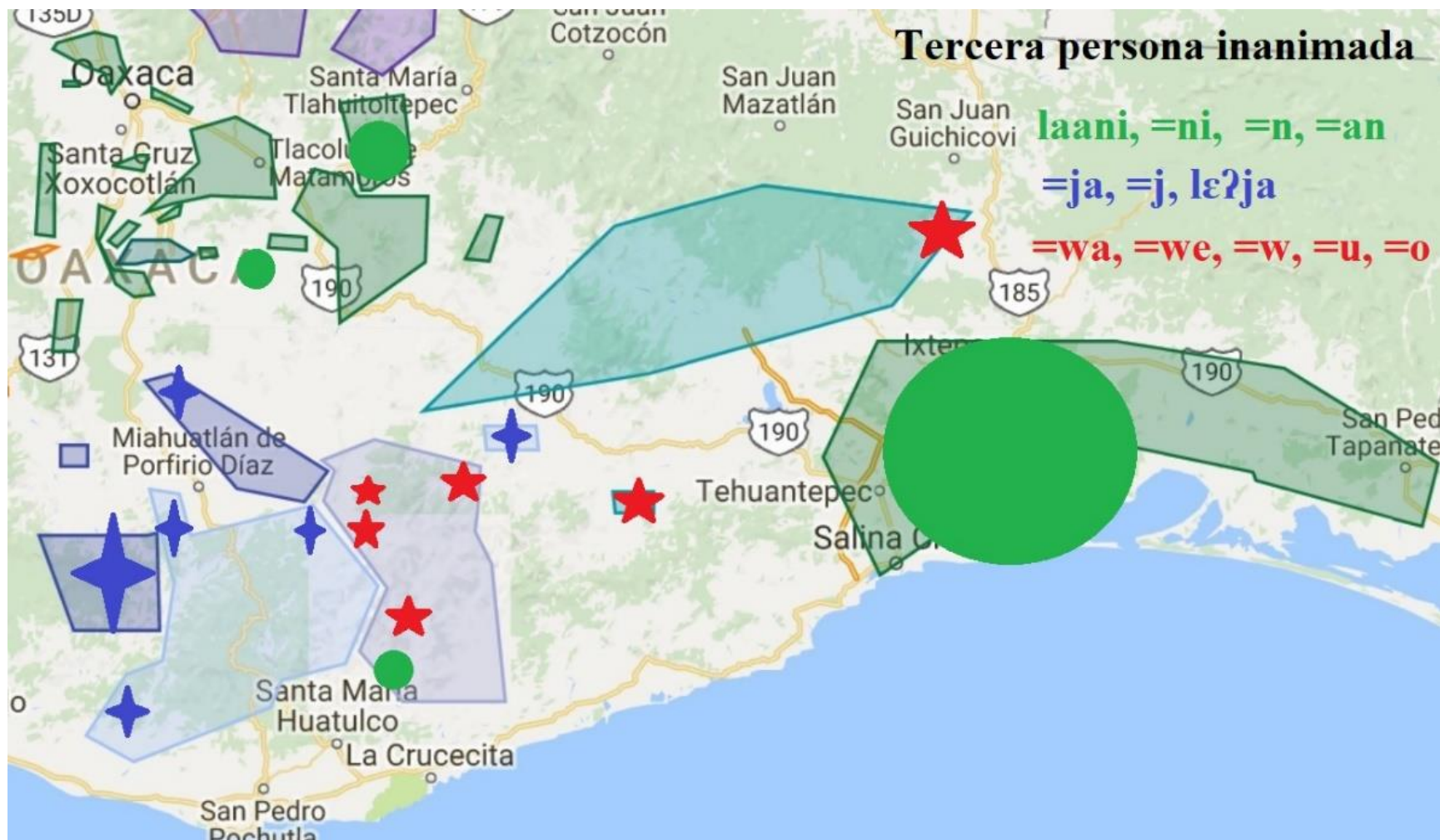


Shared innovations with
Transyautepecan

First person possession with d(V)-



[+labial] inanimate third person pronoun



The regular reflex of tonic *e before post-tonic *a is /æ/ in Coatec and Miahuatec, /a/ in Transyautepecan and /e/ in Cisyatepecan (SPM). A small set of words have unexpected reflexes in both Petapa (Transyautepecan) and SPM (Cisyatepecan)

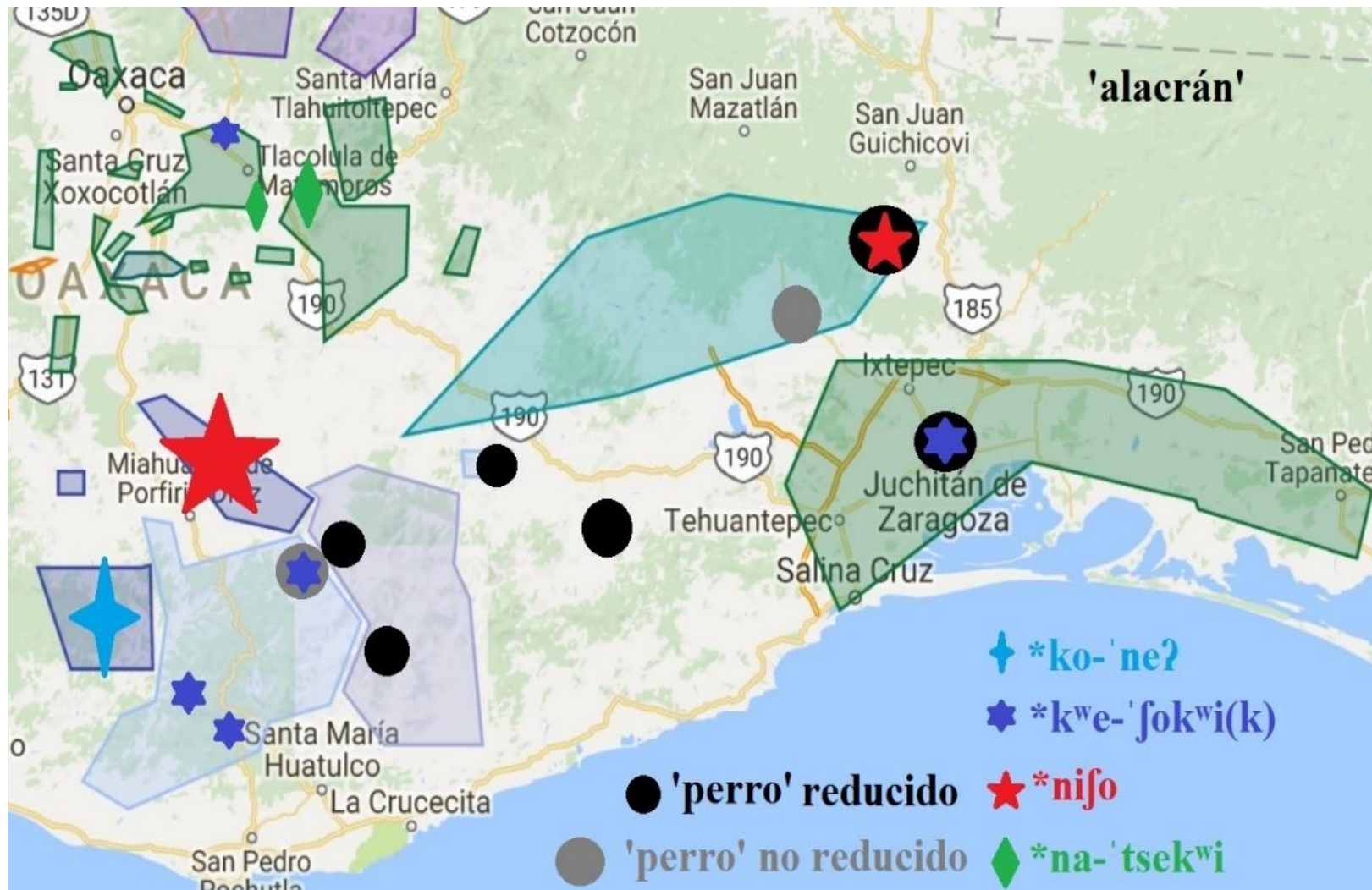
Glosa	PZ	Coateco	San Pedro Mixtepec	Petapa	Tlacolulita
‘hermana de mujer’	*'k ^w -ella	βæɫ ɫ	bel ɫ	'baɫ:a	pal
‘milpa’	*'kela	jæɫ ɫ	gjel ɫ	'kja ^h ala ɫ	kjal
‘hondura’	*'keʔla ɫ	jæɫ ɫ	gjeɫ ɫ	'kja:la ɫ	--
‘tabaco’	*'keʔsa ɫ	jæz ɫ	gjez ɫ	'kja:za ɫ	kjas
‘pescado’	*'k ^w -ella ɫ	mbæɫ ɫ	mel ɫ	'mbal:a ɫ	mbal
‘culebra’	*'k ^w -eʔlla	mbæʔɫ	m-eʔɫ ɫ	mbaʔal:a ɫ	mbaʔɫ
‘lagarto’	*'k ^w -eʔnak	--	m-e:n ɫ	mbaʔna ɫ	mbaʔn
‘noche’	*'tj-eʔla ~ k-eʔla ɫ	tæʔɫ	gjeʔel ɫ	'djaʔala ɫ	kjaʔɫ
‘guacamaya’	*'k ^w -eʔwa	--	mæw ɫ	mbæ ^h wa ɫ	--
‘zorra’	*'k ^w -eʔsaʔ ɫ	mbæz ɫ	mæz ɫ	mbæ:zæ ɫ	mbas
‘carne’	*'k ^w eʔlaʔ	βæʔɫ	bæʔɫ ɫ	'bæ ^h læ ɫ	pal

Diffusion from Transyautepecan

Transyautepecan has a type of reduction not found in Cisyautepecan or any other type of Zapotec

- Tlacolulita
 - k^hja^ht ,k^hjaðe'naʔk
 'tortilla' 'yesterday's tortilla'
- Petapa
 - gæ^htæ gædæ'ræʔ
 'tortilla' 'this tortilla'
 - gæ^hsu gæzu na'gă^hs·a
 'pot' 'black pot'
 - mba^hku mbagu na'găs:a
 'dog' 'black dog'
- 'Scorpion' including 'dog'
 - Santa María Petapa
 - mba^hku mbagu'nizu
 'dog' 'scorpion'

‘Scorpion’ diffused from Transyautepecan,
Cisyautepecan /megu/ (cf. ‘dog’ /mækw/)



Conclusion #1: Cisyautepecan is genetically Central Zapotec

- Isoglosses documented up till now show **more affinities** between Cisyautepecan and Central Zapotec than with other purported “Southern Zapotec” languages
- Some features found in Cisyautepecan are Central (or Northern-Central) **innovations** not found in any other Branch of Zapotec.

Conclusion #2: Cisyautepecan is most closely related to Transyautepecan

- The new subgroup cannot be named “Yautepecan” because San Bartolo Yautepec does not share the same isoglosses. Instead I propose “**Circumyautepecan**” as the parent grouping.
- Circumyautepecan likely goes back to the 1370 military expansion ordered by Cocijoeza I. The Zapotec expansion beyond the Valley of Nejapa can be compared to the Westward expansion of the United States. In the area between the Valley of Nejapa and the Isthmus of Tehuantepec in the 14th century Zapotec was a colonial language spoken by invaders from different parts of the Valley of Oaxaca. There was likely dialect levelling as well as innovations.

Conclusion #3: San Bartolo Yautepec was in the South earlier than Cisyautepecan

- While also sharing a number of Central Zapotec isoglosses, and despite not being currently adjacent to Miahuatec or Amatec, San Bartolo Yautepec agrees with “Southern Zapotec” in a number of features not shared with Cisyautepecan. This may be because **San Bartolo Yautepec was an earlier Zapotec outpost and acquired certain diffused traits from Miahuatec before the arrival of the Cisyautepecans.**

Conclusion #4: What we do and don't know about "Southern Zapotec"

- **Coatec, Amatec and Miahuatec may comprise anywhere from 1-3 unique subgroups of Zapotec.**
- Coatec, Amatec and Miahuatec were likely in the Sierra Sur long before Cisyatepecan
- Coatec, Amatec and Miahuatec are and have been in close contact and though they may have inherited shared innovations, they have also diffused some, leading to close resemblances between the three.
- Some traits have diffused into this region and others out from it.
- Cisyatepecan can be thought of as the closest language on the Southern Zapotec periphery, or as the only confirmed Central resident in the heart of the Sierra Sur linguistic area.

Conclusion #5

- **Zapotec languages are both genetically related and also in contact.** Some traits are inherited and others are diffused.
- If, for example, Miahuatec is not a Central Zapotec language, **Cisyautepecan cannot be both Central Zapotec and closely related to Miahuatec. Some shared isoglosses have to be diffused.**

Final thought

In Mexico today, even among some linguists, a certain prestige is assigned to Spanish, Mexico's colonial language, and a stigma is assigned to the indigenous languages that have been enveloped by the Mexican republic. What many don't stop to think about, is that languages like **Zapotec, Maya, Nahuatl and Mixe were once colonial languages themselves**. The same linguistic processes that have taken place in American English and American Spanish once took place in varieties of Zapotec when soldiers, colonists and immigrants imported their own varieties, mixed them together and created new regional identities. The shallow viewpoint of Mexico's linguistic diversity is that the Spaniards invaded and now the indigenous languages are endangered. A deeper understanding of Mexico's linguistic diversity requires reflection on the fact that the exact languages that exist today, with their similarities and divergences, exist because of historical events in Mesoamerica.