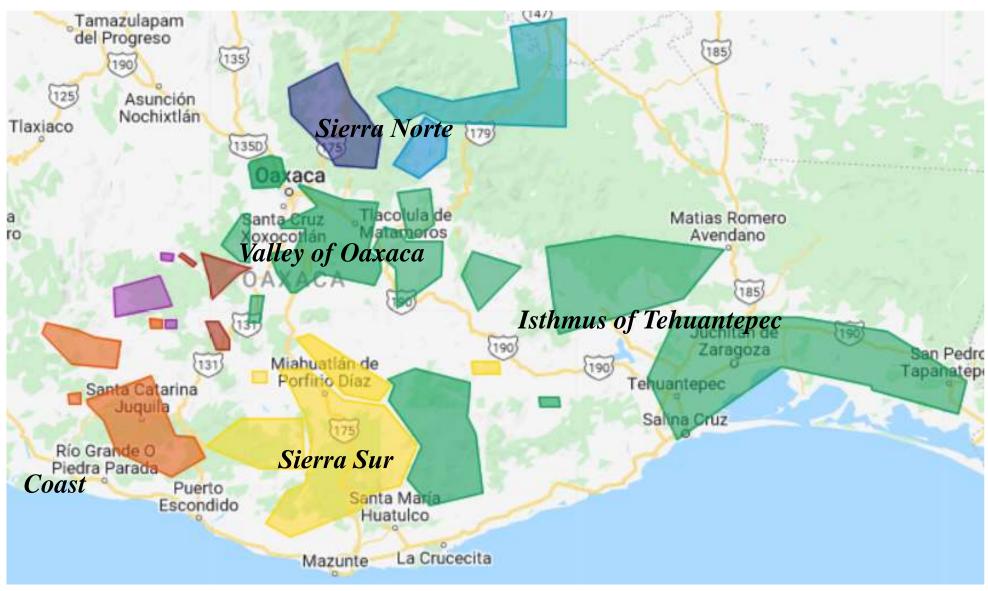


### Zapotecan languages of the 20th century



Archaeologists may radiocarbon date ceramics and assign dates to changes in pottery style, as these from the Arizona Museum of Natural History: <a href="https://www.arizonamuseumofnaturalhistory.org/explore-the-museum/exhibitions/cultures-of-the-ancient-americas/mesoamerica">https://www.arizonamuseumofnaturalhistory.org/explore-the-museum/exhibitions/cultures-of-the-ancient-americas/mesoamerica</a>

#### **Zapotec grayware**



#### **Redware**



# Painted deerskin and cloth *lienzos* from the Late Postclassic (1200-1520) and Colonial (1520-1810) periods

- Contain pictographic elements, often with alphabetic glosses in Zapotec, Spanish, and/or Nahuatl
- Contain information about migrations, the founding of communities, and noble genealogies
- Oudijk (2008a:100) assigns 23.5 years per generation depicted in genealogies based on the average of confirmed dates

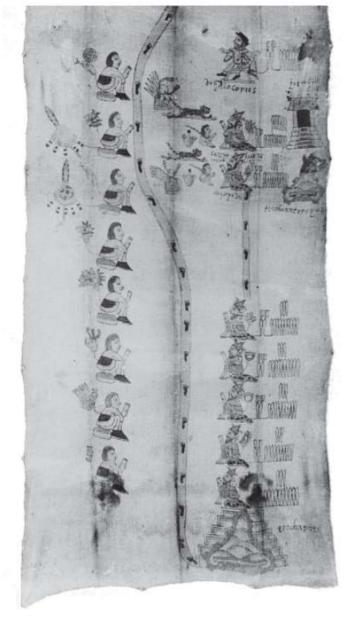
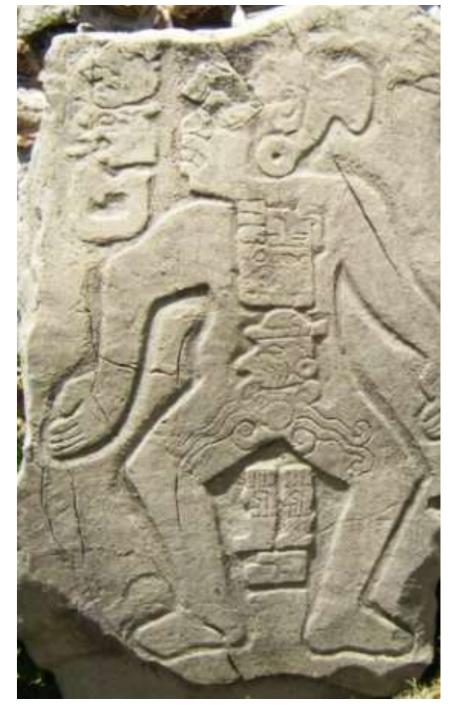


Figura 1. Parte inferior del Lienzo de Guevea

Oudijk (2008b: 102)

## Apocalypse Now & Apocalypse Then





# Social change



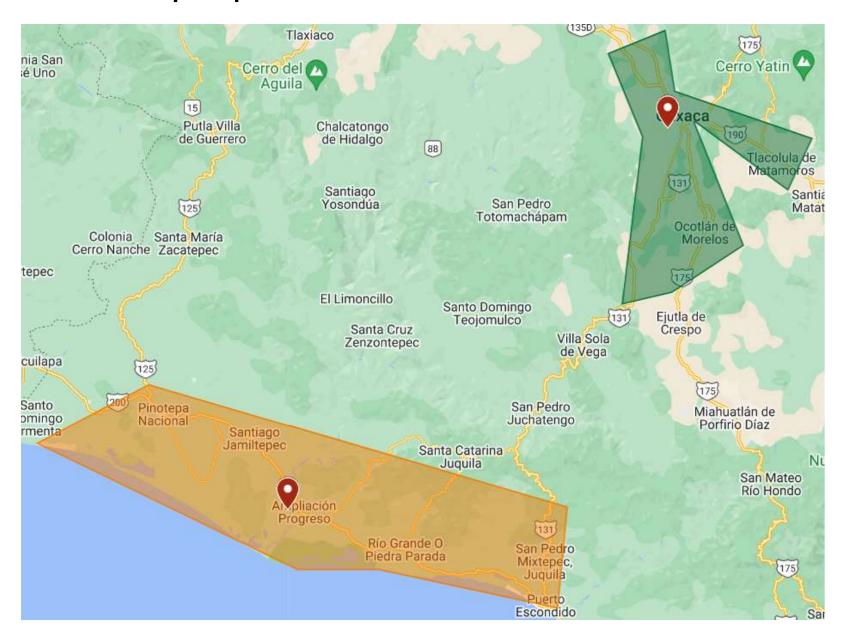


Beginning ca. 700 BCE (Joyce 2010: 118-128) the Zapotecan people of the Valley of Oaxaca experienced the emergence of:

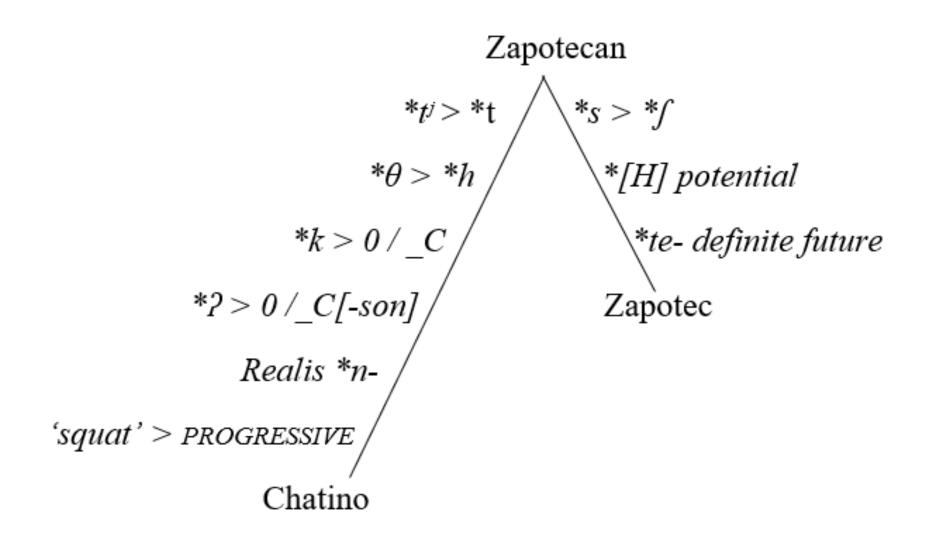
- Rising inequality
- Hereditary status distinctions
- Centralization of political authority
- Elite status symbols, e.g. ornamentation
- Zapotec logosyllabic writing
- Ballgames
- Warfare
- Urbanization

- Larger families
- Taxation
- Changes in religious practices
- Human sacrifice
- 260 day ritual calendar
- Monte Albán is founded 500 BCE
- Significant population increase on the Coast between 700-400 BCE (Joyce 2010: 180)

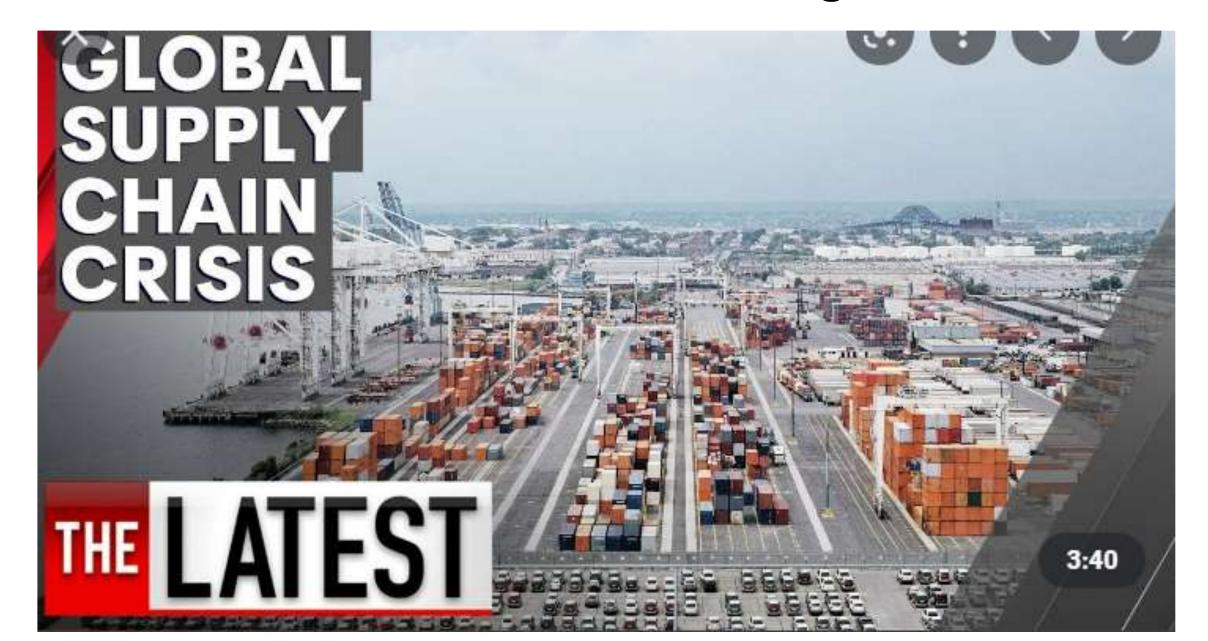
### Zapotecan population centers ca. 400 BCE



Zapotecan first divides into Chatino and Zapotec (Beam de Azcona 2022, in press; Campbell 2018, 2021; León 1900)

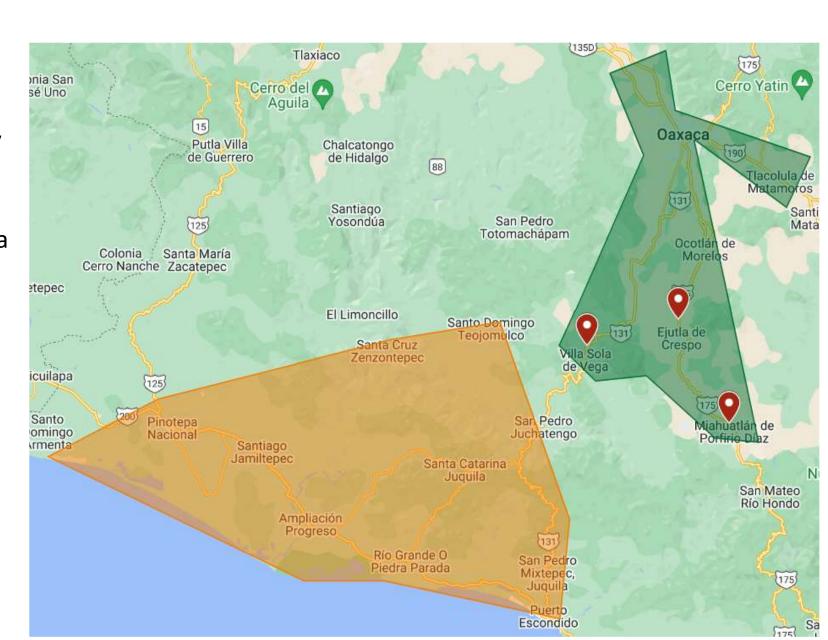


### Economic demand for non-local goods



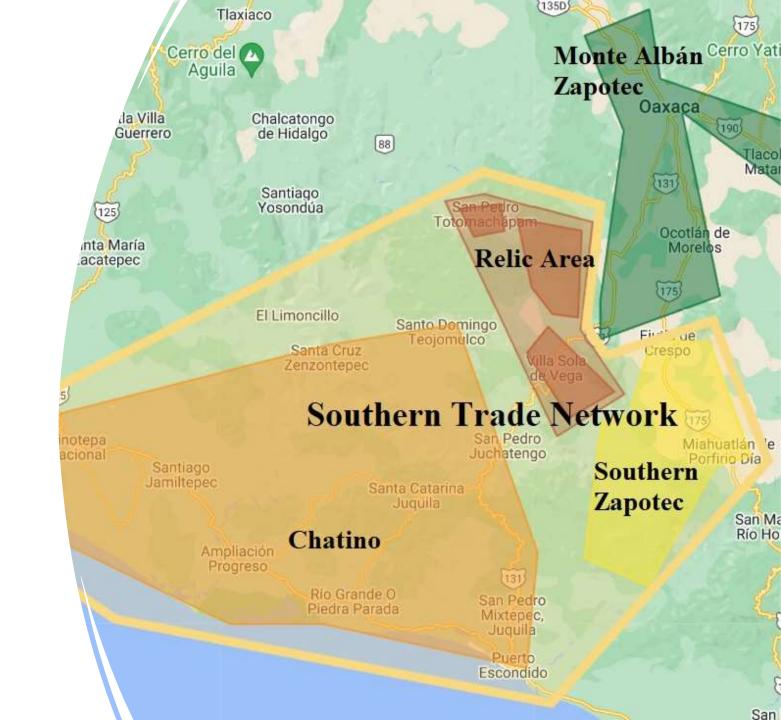
#### Zapotecs

- colonized the Sola Valley began between 300-200 BCE (Balkansky 2002: 37)
- expanded to Miahuatlán and increased the population of Ejutla between 400-100 BCE (Markman 1981, Badillo 2019: 35)
- specialized in the production of shell ornaments in Ejutla (Feinman & Nicholas 2013: 91)
- This map includes northern Chatino communities, based on the hypothesis of an active trade relationship.



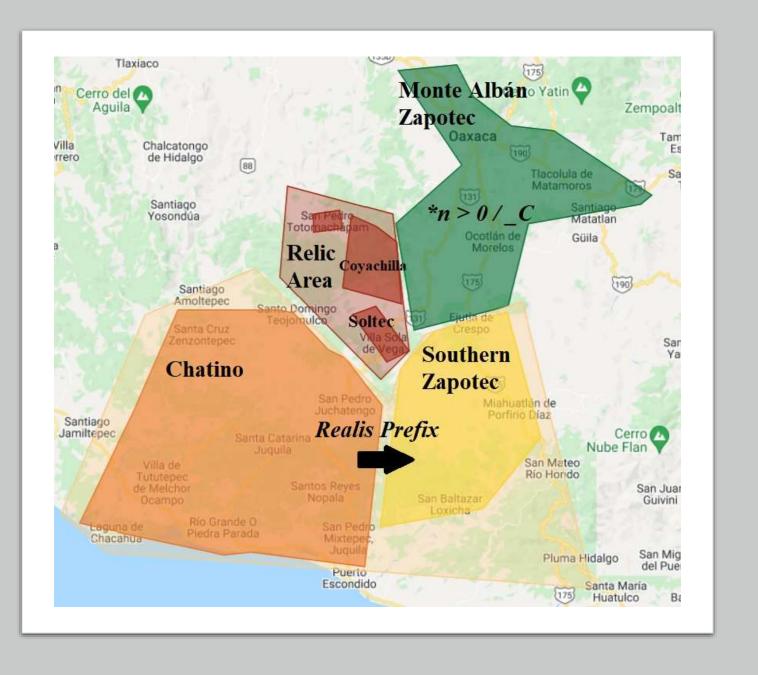
The Zapotec languages of the Southern Trade Network diverged from Monte Albán norms

- Diffusion from Chatino (Beam de Azcona forthcoming)
- Contact-related retentions (Beam de Azcona 2022)



# NC clusters as an areal feature

	Chatino	Coya- chilla	Coatec	Cisyau- tepecan
STA-sit	n- dukwa	n- zukwa	n-zŏb	zòb
(STA-) PFV- get.wet	ŋ-gu- tsaʔ	ŋ-gu- tşě	ŋ-gô-z	gòdz
(R-)PFV- take.out	ŋ-ga-lo	o-lă	ŋ-gw- lo?	b-liě?
(R-)HAB- fart	n-d-il <sup>j</sup> a	r-ilːa	n-d-jìl	r-gìl



## Political upheaval

#### Multiracial democracy is under threat at the US Supreme Court

States and localities would have free rein to design rules that on the surface look 'race neutral' but really are thinly disguised pretexts for discriminating against minority voters.

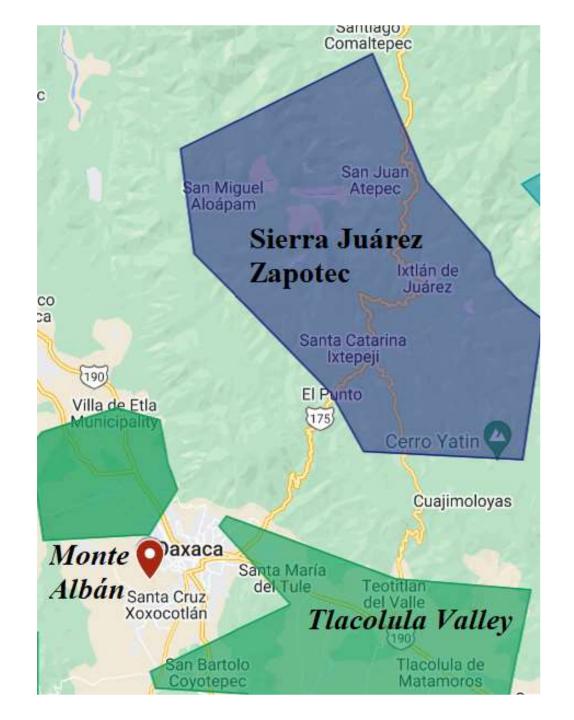
By Michael Li Updated October 3, 2022, 11:38 a.m.



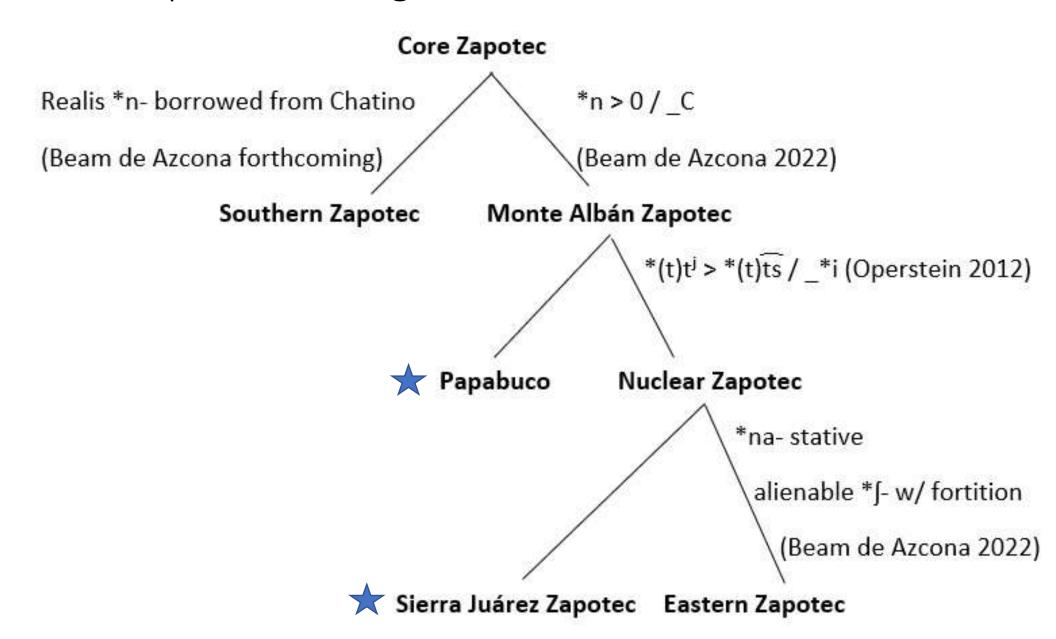


## Zapotec settlement in the Sierra Juárez

- The city of Monte Albán collapsed ca. 800 CE (Blomster 2008:16)
- The western Sierra Juárez was first settled by Zapotecs in the Late Formative (300-100 BCE) (Winter & Markens 2012:164)
- Late Classic period (600-800 CE) immigrants from the Tlacolula Valley increased the population of the Sierra Juárez by 700% (Diego Luna 2021:294–295)

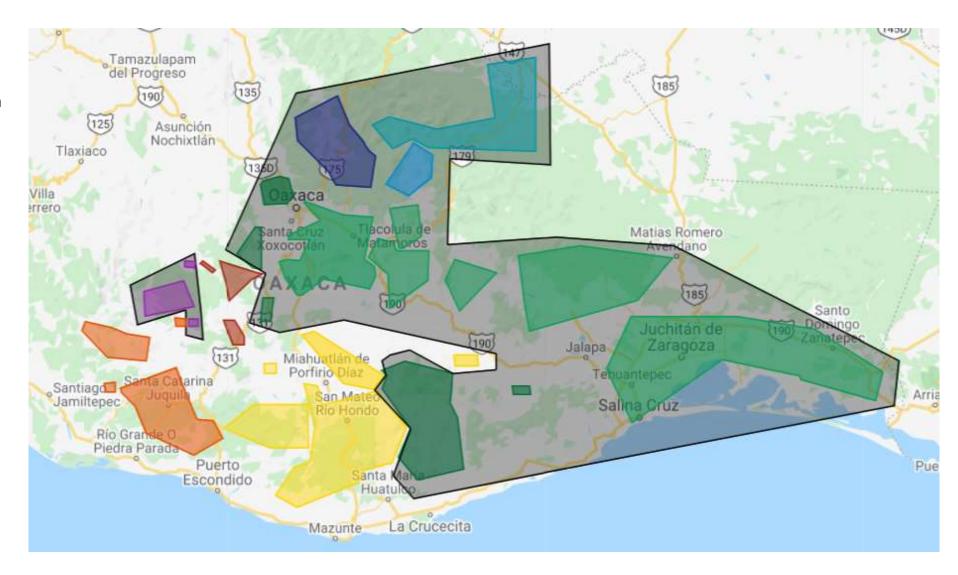


#### In a tree model, Papabuco diverges before Sierra Juárez



#### Preconsonantal nasal deletion between ca. 100 BCE – 600 CE

- Retention of \*NC
  - The Southern Trade Network was settled by 100 BCE
- Preconsonantal nasal deletion
  - Sierra Juárez migration between 600-800 CE.
     Papabuco (purple) migration is earlier.



### Land grabs

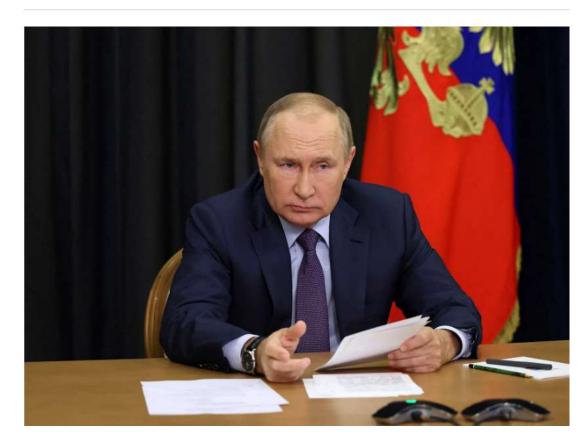
Israeli settlers set up tents on Palestinian-owned land near Bethlehem as a prelude to taking it over



## Putin's nuke threats reveal his weakness — not his strength

By Post Editorial Board

September 27, 2022 | 6:56pm



# Lord 11 Water Cocijoeza /kosijo'esa/



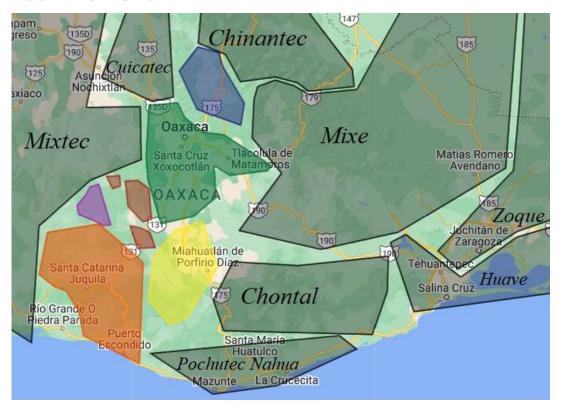
(Photo of the Santo Domingo Petapa Lienzo I courtesy of Michel Oudijk)

- Aimed to expand into Mixe territory and gain control of trade routes ca. 1370 CE (Burgoa 1989 [1670])
- Formed an alliance with Mixtec elites
  - Married his daughter, Lady 3 Alligator, to the Mixtec Lord 2 Water of Teozacoalco
  - Married his son, Lord 6 Water of Zaachila, to the Mixtec Lady 1 Cane of Tlaxiaco
  - Gifted the nearby territory of Cuilapan to the Mixtec Lord 3 Cane of Tlaxiaco

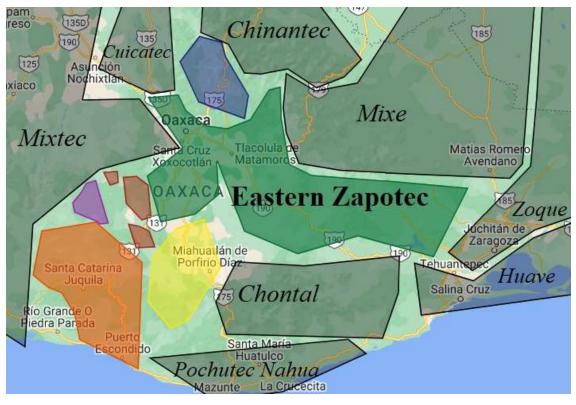


### Hypothetical locations

Ca. 1340 CE



Ca. 1430 CE

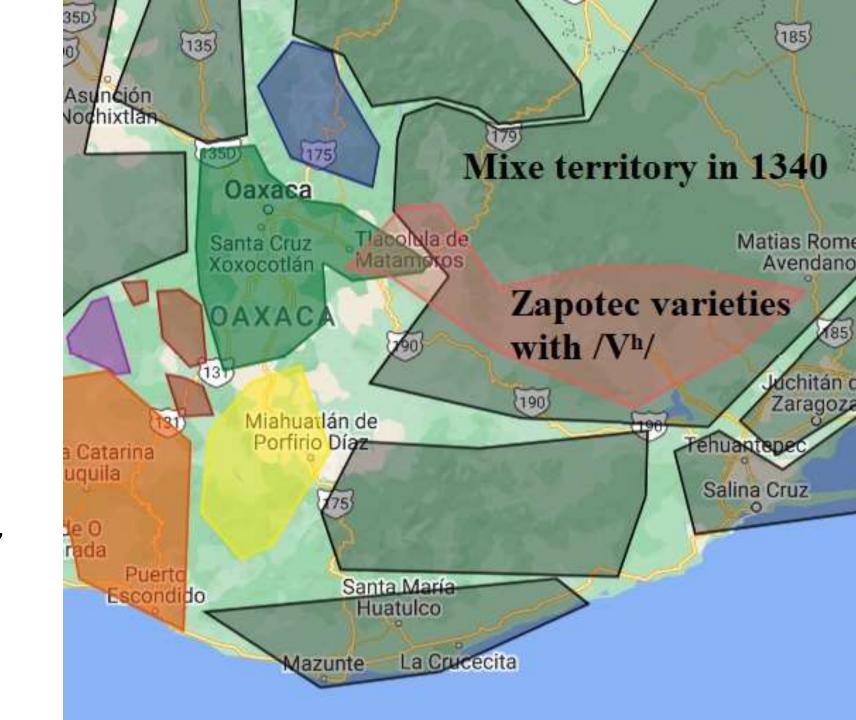


# The Mixe substrate hypothesis

Some Zapotec languages pronounce low tone with breathy voice

Mixe languages are not tonal but do have /h/ which can occur in postvocalic position

A limited number of Zapotec languages have a breathy or aspirated phonation contrast, shown superimposed on the hypothetical extent of Mixe territory prior to expansion under Cocijoeza I ca. 1370.

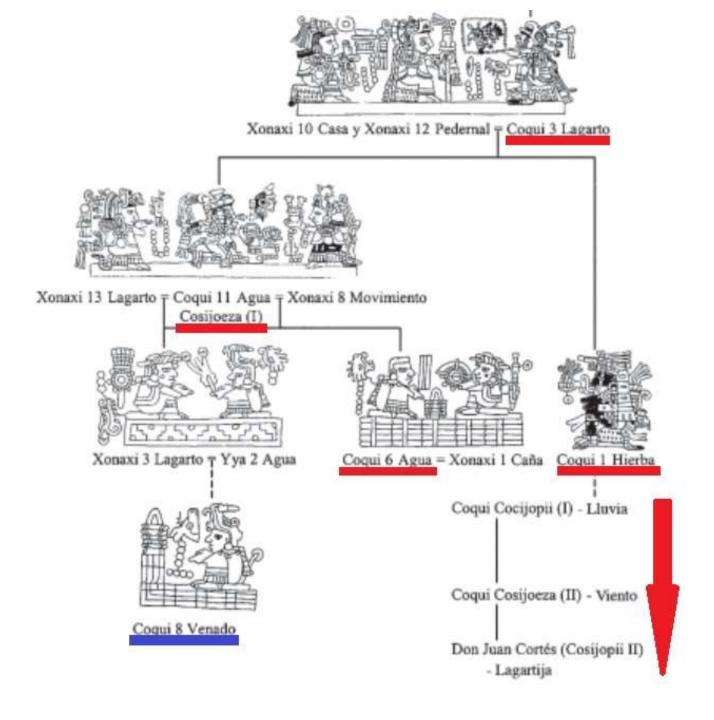


In-fighting among the royals

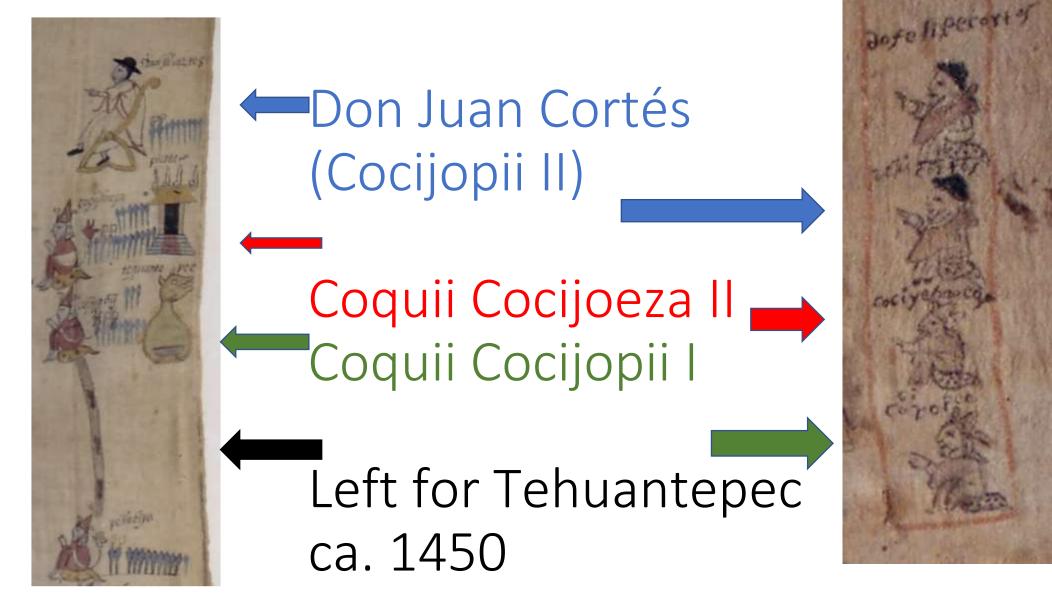


Could peace deal between Prince Harry and family ever be brokered?

Warring factions in the Royal House of Zaachila (Oudijk 2008b)







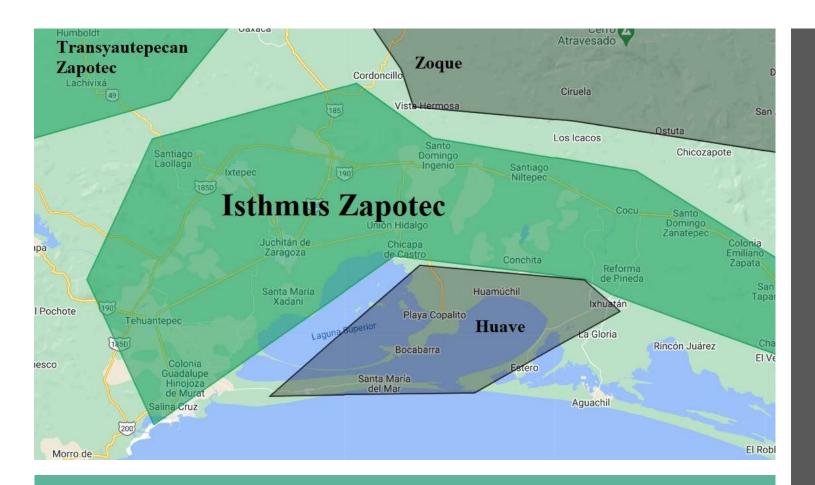
Lienzo de Petapa I (photo courtesy of Michel Oudijk)

Lienzo de Huilotepec (photo courtesy of Michel Oudijk)

Burgoa 1989 [1670]: II: 328, cited in Oudijk 2008b, describes a Zapotec conquest that expelled Mixes, Zoques and Huaves from around Tehuantepec

La nación que hoy habita toda esta tierra, son zapotécas descendientes de los ejércitos del Rey de Teozapotlan [Zaachila], que vino desde su corte en el valle de la Ciudad de Antequera [Oaxaca], conquistando a fuego y a sangre todos estos lugares ... dejándolos poblados de su gente... y seguras las espaldas de la venganza de sus enemigos y aficionado de este país echo a todos los naturales que lo poseían de toda la comarca, no fiándose de tener dentro de sus términos vasallos ofendidos.

The nation that today inhabits this land, is comprised of descendants of the troops of the King of Teozapotlan [Zaachila], who came from his court in the Valley of Oaxaca, conquering all these places with fire and blood ...leaving them populated with his people...and once the vengeance of his enemies was behind him and he had taken over this country, he expelled from the region all the natives that had possessed it, not trusting to leave within his borders offended vassals



Unlike Transyautepcan, Isthmus Zapotec does not appear to have a Mixe-Zoquean substrate.

Noyer identified possible loanwords in Huave: 178 from Mayan, 124 from Mixe-Zoquean, and only 34 from Zapotec

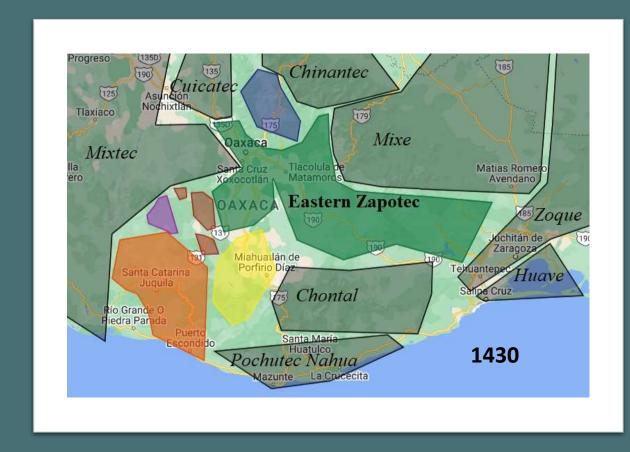
- Cocijoeza l's 1370 expansion appears to have incorporated Mixe (Ayuujk) speakers
- Cocijopii I's 1450 conquest is described as ethnic cleansing through a combination of violence and expulsion of non-Zapotecs from the conquered territory

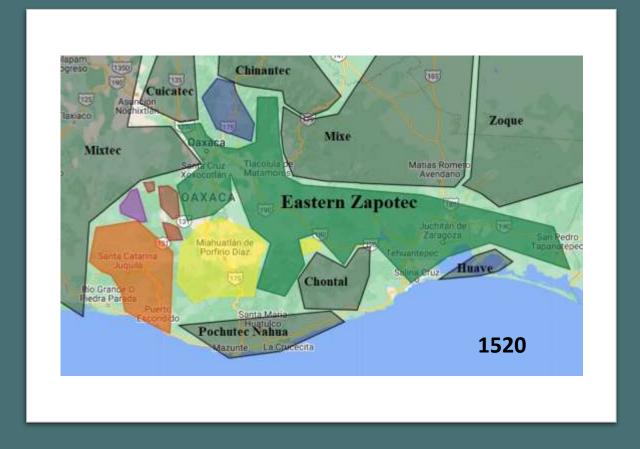
Op-Ed: A glaring double standard — one for Ukrainian refugees, one for Central Americans

Refugees



# Political turmoil, violence & economic crisis led waves of refugees to flee the Valley of Oaxaca





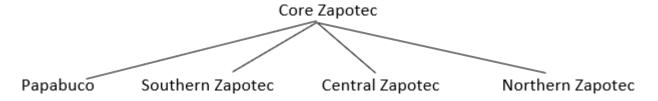


## 3 Zapotec languages in the Sierra Norte

- Sierra Juárez Zapotec (titsa kiriu 'our language')
- Dill Xhon /diz zon/ (Cajonos Zapotec), begins with 1370 expansion
- Dídza Xìdza /dídza ʃidza/, begins with 1450 refugees
  - Rincón dialect group
  - Choapan dialect group

### Classification of Sierra Norte languages

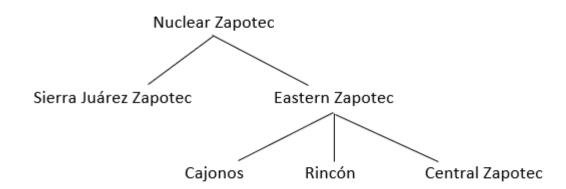
Smith Stark (2007)



"Northern Zapotec" based on:

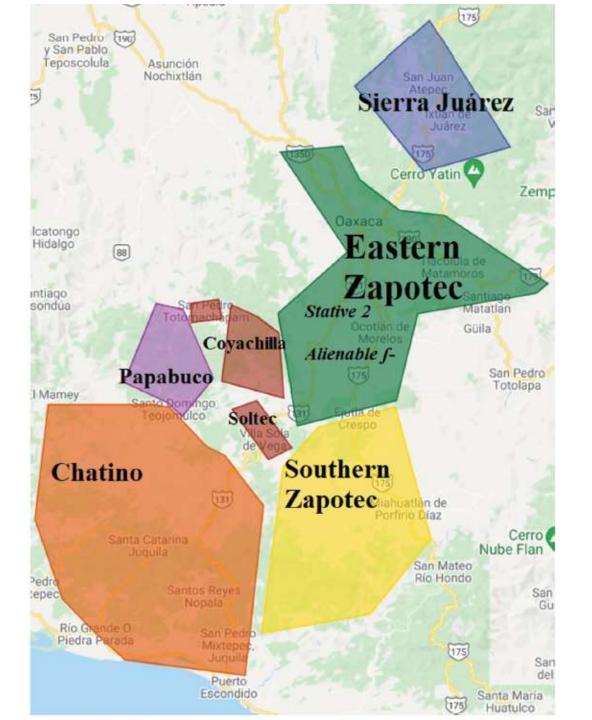
- 1sg pronoun \*na(?)+da? (na? and da? occur as independent 1sg pronouns in other languages)
- Sound changes also found in other languages

Beam de Azcona (2022)



# Eastern Zapotec is defined by two changes

- The grammaticalization of \*n-àkká 'is' as a stative prefix \*na-
  - Rincón Zapotec na-gát∫ 'is red'
- The reanalysis of \*ʃ-, which derived inalienable nouns without fortition, as an inflectional marker of alienable possession, concomitant with fortition
  - Inalienable: Coatec \( \)-b\( \) 'soul, voice', cf. mb\( \) 'air, wind'
  - Alienable: Dídza Xìdza ʃ-tʃɨʔ=á 'my water jug', cf. rɨʔɨ 'water jug'
- Diffusion from the Valley of Oaxaca to the Sierra Norte languages is unlikely, since the route to Cajonos goes through the Sierra Juárez, which lacks these innovations
- These innovations can be tentatively dated to
  - After the Sierra Juárez migration 600-800 CE
  - Before the Cajonos expansion ca. 1370

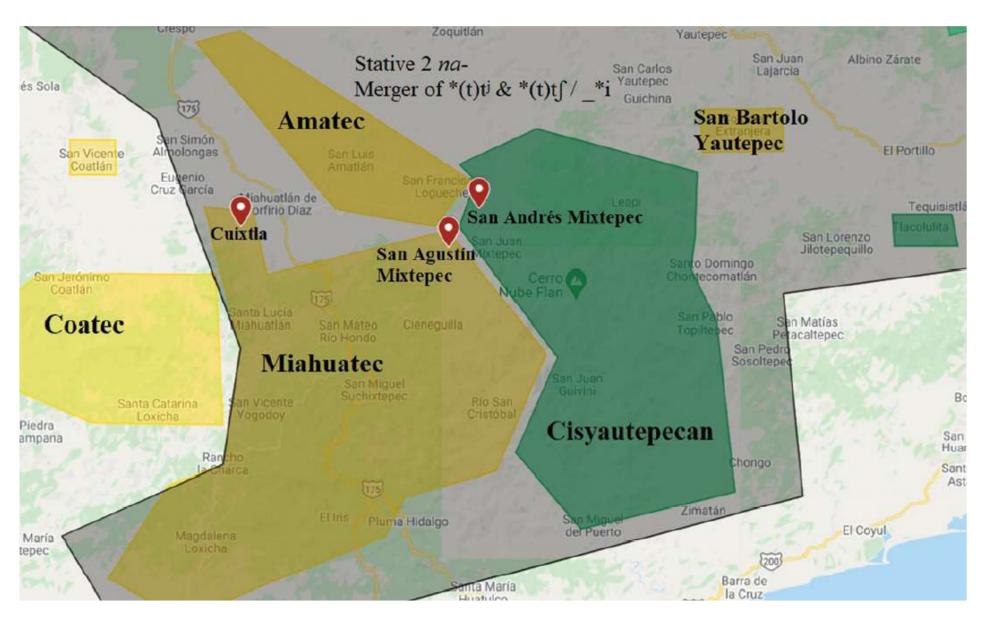


La Pintura de San Andrés Mixtepec: refugees, conquerers or both? (Oudijk & Dumond 2008)

- Coxichi Bitono leaves Zaachila with her second husband
- Arrives in Cuixtla, a Southern Zapotec town, and stays long enough to bear and raise children until they are old enough to found found San Andrés Mixtepec
- Great-grandson of Coxichi Bitono ruling during Spanish invasion
- $1521 (23.5 \times 3) = ca. 1450$  for migration from Zaachila



### Some changes appear diffused



## Inheritance and diffusion

Ordered inherited changes show a nesting pattern, corresponding to the Tree Model

Unnested occurrences of variables may be diffused

		Language/ subgroup	Post-tonic develarization	Preconsonantal nasal deletion	Stative 2 < *n-COPULA
		Totomachapan		=	8 <del>-</del> 8
		Coyachilla	_	_	$\checkmark$
Core Zapotec  Monte Albán		Coatecan	✓	_	s <b>-</b> 1
	ern	Miahuatec	$\checkmark$	-	$\checkmark$
	South	San Bart. Yautepec	✓	_	✓
		Amatec	$\checkmark$	-	✓
	Monte Albán	Papabuco	✓	✓	a—1
		Sierra Juárez	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\sim$
		Cajonos	✓	✓	✓
		Rincón  Control Zapotas	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$
	I	Central Zapotec	✓	$\checkmark$	✓

# Proximity to Cisyautepecan predicts the presence of non-Southern variables

Coatecan	Western	Amatec	San	Yautepec	Cisyautepecan	
	Miahuatec		Agustín			
			Mixtepec			
						Stative 2
						Merger
						Alienable ∫-
						V?/V?V
						contrast
						*lã?-initial
						pronouns
						Inanimate
						sandhi <sup>30</sup>
						Zero stative
						1 before C

- -Conquest of Tehuantepec ca. 1440-1450, according to witnesses & descendants
- -Cisyautepecan migration (Pintura de San Andrés) 1521 (23.5 x 3) = 1450
- -Conquest of Ozolotepec (Relación de 1609) 1521 (23.5 x 3) = **1450**
- -Cisyautepecans stay in Miahuatec town ca. 24 years (Pintura de San Andrés)
- -Founding of San Andrés (Pintura) 1521 (23.5 x 2) = **1474**
- -San Bartolo Yautepec Zapotec: Miahuatecan language with heavy Eastern Zapotec influence

#### Hypothetical locations ca. 1430

# Control Control Altas San Cartina Visitore San Sande San Sande

#### **Current and recent locations**



#### Nationalism



#### Thousands of Colonial Zapotec documents

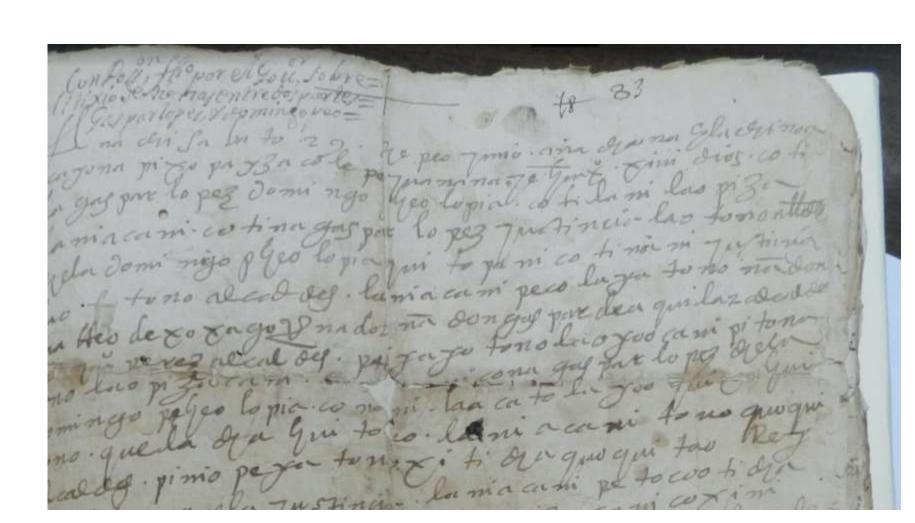
Wills

Bills of Sale

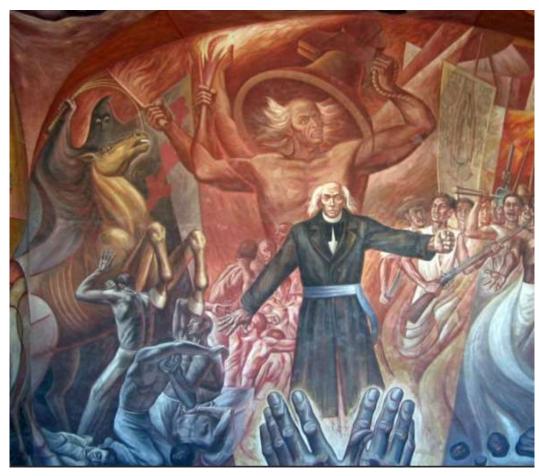
Birth, Marriage and Death Certificates

Lawsuits

Church records



#### Whitexicans



Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla



José Vasconcelos Calderón

Endangered
Zapotec
languages
and varieties

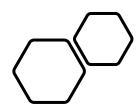












#### Resistance

The Tamarindo ranch and the municipality of San Pedro Quiatoni: two places I've visited where Zapotec thrives and Spanish is optional









## The Hangover of Colonialism

INDIGENOUS AMERICAN NATIONS c.16th century

Queen Elizabeth II and colonialism: Ghosts of the past haunting the present





Analysis: How well-meaning land acknowledgements can erase Indigenous people and sanitize history



## Linguists who have worked on Proto-Zapotec





Joe Benton Natalie Operstein Mario Luna Rosemary Beam de Azcona

## Like others before us, we live in an age of crisis



Víctor Cata

Language: Diidxazá

Specialties: Historical Linguistics, philology, history,

language contact, language

politics, language shift,

revitalization

Víctor is also an internationally renowned author







Norma Leticia Vásquez Martínez, PhD Candidate

Language: San Pedro Mixtepec variety of Cisyautepecan Zapotec

Indigenous education, syntax, morphophonology, semantics, verbal arts, revitalization, language documentation, teaching of Zapotec, language and migration, creation of Zapotec literature

Rayo Cruz

Colectivo Bëni Xidza

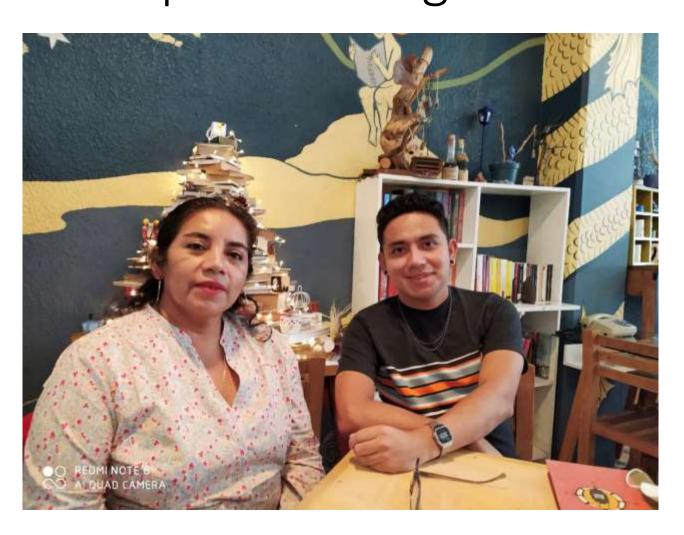
Language: Didza Xidza (Rincón

Zapotec)

Education, teaching of Zapotec as a second language

Rayo runs a popular YouTube channel that promotes Zapotec languages and linguistics





Na Isa & Marco Salgado Secretary of Culture, Mexico City

Diidxazá is Na Isa's first language and Marco's second and heritage language

Both teach diidxazá and Marco just finished a master's tesis on Colonial Zapotec edicts from the Isthmus of Tehuantepec

Interests: revitalization, workshops, teaching, literacy, philology

Nelson Martínez Pérez

Holds a Master's degree in Applied Linguistics

Works at the National Institute of Indigenous Languages (INALI)

Language: Didza Xidza (Rincón Zapotec)

Responsibilities and interests: development and standardization of orthographies for Indigenous languages of Mexico, updates to the Catalog of National Indigenous Languages, translation, literacy and gramar of Didza Xidza





Edgar Pérez Ríos, PhD candidate

Heritage language: Di'zhke'

Interests: Communitybased education, language revitalization, local history

Martín Sánchez Blas

Studies Linguistics at the National School of Anthropology and History (ENAH)

Language: Isthmus Zapotec

Interests: Grammar, Phonetics, Language revitalization and preservation





Quetzaly Quintas Arista Student at the Escuela Nacional de Antropología e Historia

Heritage language: Guienagati Zapotec 'Dadi'idznu'

Interests: language contact, creation of educational materials for revitalization, language documentation

Beatriz Cruz López, ethnohistorian, PhD candidate at UCLA

Heritage languages: Villa Díaz Ordaz Zapotec & San Miguel Albarradas Zapotec

Language specialty: Colonial Zapotec

Interests: Colonial history, philology, Zapotec





Precisely because of the language endangerment crisis, Zapotecan linguistics is more relevant than ever

- Victoria Hernández Pérez
- Studied Linguistics at the ENAH
- Language: Titsa Kiriu of San Juan Atepec
- Interests: Diachrony, syntax, semantics, revitalization

"I'm interested in titsa kiriu because it's the language of my ancestors and for me to keep it alive is like keeping alive the memory of those who aren't here anymore, especially my dear grandmother. Thanks to her, I acquired some vocabulary. I try to use what I learned from studying linguistics to keep my language alive and teach it to my little niece and nephew." If humanity survives our current crises...

The most exciting time in Zapotecan linguistics is yet to come



Dixkix gó'

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## A copy of this presentation can be found at:

