

ESTUDIOS SOBRE TEXTOS COLONIALES
EN LENGUA INDÍGENA

THE ZAPOTEC LANGUAGE TESTAMENT OF
SEBASTIANA DE MENDOZA, c. 1675

EL TESTAMENTO DE SEBASTIANA DE MENDOZA
EN LENGUA ZAPOTECA, c. 1675

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SUMMARY. Here we present the language and content of the last will and testament of a Zapotec woman named Sebastiana de Mendoza prepared no later than 1675. We provide historical context for understanding how and why the document was written and preserved, and summarize what the text tells us about the testator. We make observations about the lexicon, structure, and speech conventions of the original Zapotec and provide both morphological analysis and translation of the Zapotec language text. As the first published morphological analysis and English translation of a complete Zapotec language text from the Mexican Colonial period, our analysis presented here benefits not only our understanding of Zapotec as it was used in that time period, but is also relevant to the study of living Zapotecan languages, spoken today by some 400,000 people primarily in Oaxaca.

KEYWORDS: Zapotec, ethnohistory, native women, Colonial Oaxaca, guelaguetza.

RESUMEN. Aquí presentamos la lengua y el contenido de un testamento escrito a más tardar en 1675 perteneciente a una mujer zapoteca llamada Sebastiana de Mendoza. Ofrecemos el contexto histórico para entender cómo y por qué fue escrito y preservado el documento, y resumimos lo que el manuscrito nos dice sobre la testamentaria. Hacemos observaciones sobre el léxico, la estructura y las convenciones del habla del zapoteco original y proveemos tanto un análisis morfológico como una traducción del texto zapoteco. Al tratarse de la primera publicación con análisis morfológico y la traducción al inglés de un documento completo en lengua zapoteca de la época colonial mexicana, el manuscrito que aquí presentamos no sólo nos beneficia para entender cómo se usaba el zapoteco en ese periodo, sino que también es relevante para estudio de lenguas zapotecas vivas, habladas hoy en día por aproximadamente 400 000 personas principalmente en Oaxaca.

PALABRAS CLAVE: zapoteco, etnohistoria, mujeres indígenas, Oaxaca Colonial, guelaguetza.

¹ The list of authors reflects the relative contributions of members of the UCLA Zapotexts group to this particular article. All have contributed in some way to the finding, copying, transcribing, translating and analysis of the original document.

Introduction

In this article we linguists and historians analyze the language and content of the last will and testament of a Zapotec woman named Sebastiana de Mendoza prepared no later than 1675.² First, we provide some historical context for understanding how and why the document was written and preserved, and summarize what the text tells us about the testator. Second, we make some observations about the lexicon, structure, and speech conventions of the original Zapotec. In our analysis of the language, we go beyond providing a transcription and translation of the text to show how we arrived at our translation. Our detailed analysis of Zapotec as it was written in the Valley of Oaxaca during colonial times is especially justified, considering that Zapotec is vastly understudied in comparison to other major languages of Mesoamerica, such as Nahuatl and the languages of the Mayan family. Finally, our analysis presented here benefits from and is relevant to the study of living Zapotecan languages, spoken today by some 400,000 people, primarily in Oaxaca.

In the sixteenth century, San Jerónimo Tlacoahuaya was a Dominican center for work on Zapotec language writing in the Valley of Oaxaca. It was in Tlacoahuaya (the hispanized version of a Nahuatl name; the Zapotec name for the community was Zuuni) that Fray Juan de Córdova compiled the *Vocabulario en lengua çapoteca*, printed in 1578. The last will and testament of Sebastiana de Mendoza, which comes from this town, is a fine example of a Zapotec language text, composed around but not before 1675. While there are a handful of publications in Spanish that present morphological analyses and translations of complete Zapotec language texts from this period, such as Oudijk (2008), Smith Stark et al. (2008), and Munro et al. (2017), as far as we know, this article is the first Zapotec language text from the Mexican colonial period published in whole with morphological analysis and translation into English.³

² We thank two anonymous reviewers of this article, as well as the editors of this volume, Karen Dakin and Lilián Guerrero. We are grateful to the Archivo General del Poder Ejecutivo del Estado de Oaxaca for allowing us to publish the image of this document. In addition, we are thankful to everyone who has helped us understand the structure of Valley Zapotec as written in the Colonial period, including past and present members of the Zapotexts group at UCLA, George Aaron Broadwell, Michel R. Oudijk, and the late Thomas Smith Stark. May Helena Plumb, Avery A. King, and Julie Gonzales assisted in the preparation of this manuscript.

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³ The English translation of one Colonial Valley Zapotec document is published in Restall, Sousa, and Terraciano (2005: 104–105) without morphological analysis. Additionally, there are a good number of publications in English that cite morphological analysis and translations of lines and excerpts from larger documents.

A copy of Sebastiana de Mendoza's will survives to date because it entered the legal record in 1707, when Sebastiana's grandson, Pedro de Mendoza, submitted the will as evidence in a court case, along with an informal Zapotec language bill of sale that was signed by a witness and a scribe.⁴ The bill of sale refers to a piece of land that Pedro's grandfather had purchased for four pesos in 1675 from a man named Pedro Andrés.⁵ That purchased land is mentioned in the will, along with other lands and personal effects that belonged to the testator. Sebastiana's grandson sought to return the land to the heirs of its previous owner, acknowledging that it had not been transferred properly (i.e., with the consent of royal officials), that it was actually worth about ten pesos, and that Pedro Andrés's family needed the land. But Sebastiana's grandson demanded a refund of the four pesos that his grandfather had paid for the land. This case suggests the fluidity and versatility of landholding arrangements among Zapotecs in this period.

Sebastiana was a native woman and was reasonably well-to-do. After arranging for her burial in the church, paying for masses and making offerings to various saints in the church, she bequeathed fields of land to three grandsons, Pedro, Nicolás, and Francisco. Nicolás also received 40 pesos. She gave ten magueys, a wool skirt, a cotton huipil, and ten pesos to her daughter Gerónima. She gave her two sons-in-law a yoke of oxen, but then instructed them to sell it for masses for her and her late husband. She gave her granddaughter and namesake, Sebastiana, five magueys and a picture of Saint Sebastian. She did not bequeath her house to anyone specifically, but she gave her daughter Lorenza a total of 35 magueys as incentive not to leave the house, which probably amounted to leaving the house in her charge. Magueys were valuable plants used for a variety of purposes, including indigenous medical and religious practices, the production of thread and rope, and especially to produce pulque, a fermented alcoholic beverage.

Perhaps the most striking aspect of this will is Sebastiana's reference to the key Zapotec concept of *guelaguetza*, a custom that persists to the present day by which people remember and record loans (usually turkeys, corn, cacao, other valuable goods, or money) to help relatives and neighbors with expenses associated with feasts and celebrations. (A description of the *guelaguetza* system of collaboration and exchange can be found in Flores-Marcial (2015).) Men from eleven households in a nearby community, San Juan Guelavía, owed Sebastiana *guelaguetza* that ranged from one to eight pesos. In this case, all the *guelaguetza* amounts enumerated were monetary, which demonstrates how Spa-

⁴ Actually, the legal proceedings refer to Pedro as Sebastiana's son, but the will identifies him as her grandson.

⁵ This bill of sale is accessible on the Ticha project website (Lillehaugen et al., 2015) at <https://ticha.haverford.edu/en/texts/Tl675a/> and its translation at <https://ticha.haverford.edu/en/texts/Tl675aT/>.

nish introductions transformed indigenous lifeways. The appearance of this concept here and in other colonial documents confirms the continued existence of a presumably pre-Columbian Zapotec tradition of lending and borrowing, or reciprocal gift-giving, for the mutual support of households. Sebastiana closed her will by allocating some of the guelaguetza money to pay for additional masses for her and her late husband.

Colonial Valley Zapotec

Sebastiana's will is written in Colonial Valley Zapotec (CVZ), our term for the form of Valley Zapotec used in written texts during the Colonial period. Valley Zapotec languages belong to the larger Zapotec language family. There is no agreement as to the number of languages in the Zapotec language family (part of the Otomanguean stock); claims range from ten or eleven (Kaufman, n.d.) to almost sixty (Simons and Fennig, 2017). CVZ likely represented spoken varieties that were the ancestors of many current languages of the Valley Zapotec subgroup of the family, including Tlacolula Valley Zapotec (cf., e.g., Munro and Lopez et al., 1999), some words from which are cited in our analysis of the document. Even though CVZ, like the modern languages, used many Spanish loanwords, CVZ is completely unrelated to Spanish (or any other European language).

Our exemplification of CVZ comes from three sources: early descriptions, principally those of Córdova (1578a, 1578b);⁶ documents written by native speaking scribes like the one we analyze here; and religious writings like Feria's *Doctrina christiana en lengua castellana y çapoteca* (1567), almost certainly written in collaboration with native speakers.

Because we have no audio recordings or clear phonological descriptions of the pronunciation of CVZ, we cannot be certain about the exact nature of any tone and phonation contrasts used in the phonology, though based on evidence from modern Valley Zapotec languages we might hypothesize that there must have been some tone and/or phonation contrasts. Both vowels and consonants are inconsistently represented in written CVZ. Alphabetic writing at the time exhibited much variation in spelling choices—for example, early modern Spanish orthography was also highly variable (Lapesa, 1988). Despite these ambiguities, documents like the one we analyze here serve as important

⁶ The print version of Córdova's dictionary goes only from Spanish to Zapotec, making it impossible to look up Zapotec words in this source directly. Two useful resources for this are the online, searchable version of Córdova's *Vocabulario en lengua çapoteca* (Oudijk, 2015) and Whitecotton and Whitecotton (1993).

sources of information on the syntax and morphology of 16th-18th century CVZ, supplementing the description in sources like Córdova's *Arte en lengua zapoteca* (1578b).

CVZ was typologically very similar to the modern Valley Zapotec languages. A language with basic VSO (verb-subject-object) word order (e.g. *nosauí lorenzo garcía xono peso* 'Lorenzo García owes eight pesos', ll. 47-48), it had no nominal case marking. Focused items, especially objects, often appeared before the verb, in OVS order (as in *chi toua huini guane...queca geronima...* 'Gerónima will take ten young magueys and...'; ll. 27-30) (see also Lillehaugen, 2016).

There were both bound pronouns, used to indicate subjects, possessors, and objects of prepositions (for instance, first person singular =*(y)a* is used in *rapaya* 'I have', *pelalattia* 'my body', and *xteniya* 'of me', all in ll. 2-3), and independent pronouns, used in apposition to noun phrases (*naa* in l. 1) and to indicate objects.

Verbs were marked with prefixes for aspect (e.g. habitual *rapaya* 'I have' (l. 2), irrealis *quitani* 'he will come' (l. 9), perfective *petoo* 'sold' (l. 26), neutral *nayo* 'are in' (l. 39); with time reference determined by these prefixes, adverbs, and context) and other concepts, such as causation. Topics relating to CVZ verbal aspect are discussed in Broadwell (2015), including the semantics of the habitual aspect. Causative verbs could include the prefix *o-*: thus, compare intransitive *quicachi pelalattia* 'my body will be buried' (l. 15) with causative *cocachini pelalattia* 'they will bury my body' (l. 12). See Operstein and Sonnenschein (2015) for more on causatives in Zapotec in general and Munro (2015) for causatives in Valley Zapotec with implications for CVZ.

Most prepositional concepts were expressed using words for body parts (e.g., *lao* 'face', expressing 'before' in *lao testigo* 'before the witnesses', l. 53) whose precise syntactic status in CVZ is uncertain. Lillehaugen has argued that the cognates of these body part locatives are grammatical prepositions in modern Valley Zapotec (2006) and that *lao* 'face' was likely grammaticized as a preposition even in CVZ (2014). Body part terms and other words were frequently incorporated into verbs, as for example with *ticha* 'word' in *quitogotichani* 'he will judge', literally 'he will cut the word'.

Adjectives like *huini* 'small' followed nouns, while numbers and other quantifiers preceded nouns, as shown by *chi toua huini* 'ten young magueys' (l. 27). CVZ numbers and other quantifiers could bear verbal aspect morphology (Munro, Sonnenschein, and Comrie, in preparation); for example, in *sechi toua* 'another ten magueys' (l. 38) definite marking (which otherwise indicates a definite future) expresses 'another'; irrealis marking (normally the most common future form) appears on a number in *quiropa lechalano* 'us two spouses', more literally 'the two of our spouses' (ll. 52-53).

The text

Below we provide the images of the Zapotec text (Archivo General del Poder Ejecutivo de Oaxaca, Alcaldes Mayores, legajo 42, expediente 10), with permission of the AGEO. This image is also available on the Ticha project website, where users can access a high-resolution, downloadable, color image at <https://ticha.haverford.edu/en/texts/Tl675b/>. The images of the Spanish translation, which we do not include in this publication, are also accessible on Ticha at <https://ticha.haverford.edu/en/texts/Tl675bT/>. A transcription of the Zapotec appears on the pages opposite the images. Following this, a line-by-line morphological analysis with English translation is provided.

We present the document in four lines for each original paleographic line. The first line represents a diplomatic transcription of the original manuscript, with original spelling and word divisions preserved. The second line contains the same words, rewritten to reflect our analysis of word boundaries (indicated with spaces), morpheme boundaries (indicated with hyphens), and clitic boundaries (indicated with the equals sign). Additionally, we move material from the beginning of one line to the end of the preceding line if the material in question completes a word from the preceding line (for example, the word *xteniya* breaks between ll. 2-3 of the original; we analyze it with l. 2). We use an open bracket “ [” to mark the beginning of material from the start of the following line. The third line is a gloss corresponding to the segmented items in the second. In some cases, two or more glosses in line 3 are underlined and an additional gloss is provided underneath those elements in cases where the meaning is not transparent, based on the meanings of the component parts, for example in l. 10 where ‘pueblo’ and ‘earth’ come together to mean ‘world’. The fourth line is an English translation of the Zapotec.

Periods separate elements of multiword glosses or cases where morphologically complex elements are not separately glossed. Compounds and various other multimorphemic elements are glossed as described above, with the glosses of the morphemes involved underlined, and the resulting gloss for the entire item underneath.

EL TESTAMENTO
DE SEBASTIANA DE MENDOZA

Na Sebastiana demendo za fiza caya quella qui chalani
 de la latia che la rapaya que la rize que la traca peaxte
 niza tije li la chial toui tica Dios que la ca bi tuo ni naca
 na soma trinidad touli. Dios. che la tije li la chial chitaa
 lo que la nali ni la articulo de la fee que la chi xi baaxi
 ticha Dios che la cayo xi baacache xi baaxi cha xi nara
 Santa yglesia che la rize la chial y o fi pexua na les uchristo
 qui ta ni qui togo ti chani qui na li beni na bani la benosi
 la chi que toui qui toui que che la yo lamaca ni roma testa
 men to anitna xte nari go ya la chial na Bexuana na Dios
 si cari pe la latia co ca chi ni lani y hoto lichi Dios ala
 si cari ni cabia

- Y tinipea go na lao qui rabeogo chona tonin 3 ps
- Y tinipea gona lesa cayo la roa qui cachi pe la latia 4 ps
- Y tinipea gona lesa cabou missa vi gilla chonapeso 2 ps
- Y tinipea gona lani casa xteni lo qui xonaxi 2 ps
- Y tinipea gona lani casa xteni les sus anata remo 2 ps
- Y tinipea gona lani casa xteni lannico las 2 ps
- Y tinipea ro teago na lao qui xonaxi de la soledad 1 ps
- Y tinipea alari toui que la yo na ruanesa xana yaga qui chiron
 na chaga uisa frañ Luis ruari lla ne lo an na que ca ni yaga
 mendosa hui ni xiagaya che la tinipea se toui que la yo
 na ruane sayo na chaga bisa y masis Santiago que ca
 frañ hui ni xiagaya tinipea toui que y ho ni lachi
 ni pe too que too pedro an dros que cal pedro xia
 gaya tinipea a lani chi toua pti ni guane
 ni lani bi soti qui cha guane toui bitani billa chi
 xilla guane chi peso que ca gero ni ma ximi chapa
 ya tinipea chi toua hui ni guane chaga bitani
 xilla guane chipeso che la tipea se tuape so
 rosa naya lachina xiagaya ni co las mendosa
 hui ni tinipea toui nesa bi chiniagona rosa
 naya lachina thomas martin que ne lucas
 Luis xeni ypochia totou ni coniti missa xtema
 guane xteni che la ya tinipea sega le bipayo
 to uaroo que ana lachina xini chapaya loren za

TRANSCRIPTION

1. Naa Sebastiana de mendoza tiza caya quela qui cha lani 2. pela latia che la ra pa ya que la rijeni quela racapeaxte 3. niya tije li la chia toui sica Dios gua lica bitoo ninaca 4. Dios vixoce Dios xinij Dios espiritu santo chona perso 5. na ssma trinidad tovisi Dios che la tije li la chia chitaa 6. lo quela na lij ni la articulo dela fee chela chij xibaaxi 7. ti cha Dios che la cayo xi baa ca che xibaa xticha xiñana 8. santa yglesia chela rije la chia yobi bexua na Jesu christo 9. quitani quitogo ti chani qui rali beni nabani labenicoti 10. la chi que toui quitoui que che layo laniacani ronía testa 11. mento anima xtenia rigo ya lachiña Bexuanana Dios 12. si cani pe la latia cocachini laniyfoto lichi Dios ala —13. sicari ricabia —.

14. tinipea gona lao quirabecogo chona tomin	3 ts
15. tinipea gona lesa cayho laya roaqui cachi pe lalatia	4 ts
16. tinipea gona lesa catoui missa vigilla chona peso	3 ps
17. tinipea gona lani caja xteni coquij xonaxi Ros	2 ts
18. tinipea gona lani caja xteni Jesus denasareno	2 ts
19. tinipea gona lani caja xteni Sannico las	2 ts
20. tinipea ro tea gona lao coqui xonaxí de la soledad	1ps

21. tinipea alarij toui cue layo na rua nesa xana yaga qui chiroa 22. na chaga nisa franco luis rua rillañe cobicha queca nicolas 23. mendosa huini xiagaya — chela tinipea seto ui cuelayo 24. na ruane sayo na chagabisa ynasio Santiago queca 25. franco huini xiagaya — tinipea toui cue yho ui llachi 26. ni petoo que tao pedro an dres queca pedro xia 27. gaya — ti ni pea a lari chi toua huini gua ñeto 28. ui lari bi soti quicha guaño toui bitani billa chi 29. xi lla gua ñe chi peso queca geronima xini chapa 30. ya — tini pea chi toua hui ni guaño chaga bitani 31. xi lla guaño chi peso —che la tipea se tua peso — 32. rosanaya la chiña xiagaya nico las mendosa 33. huini — tinipea toui nesabi chiña gona rosa 34. naya lachiña tho mas martin guaño lucas 35. Luis xini yhochia cotaoni conini missa xtenia 36. guaño xteni le chelaya — tinipea sega le bigayo 37. toua roo queana lachiña xini chapaya lorenza

Niate ni queacani posana Lagirijoj - chela sechifo-
 ua nayo xua lichí rei mundo de la Cruz queana lachí-
 na Luca Loren sa xima conini missa xigilla xte nia
 chí que be Sari peña chela seguio tobadaw queca Sebas
 tiana xiagaya quaxe setbol Loa san sebas tiana
 chela timi peña nasarii que la queza xte nia san Juan que
 Savia Lichí Lucas Luis chí ui topa tomin Lichí Bartolo
 me de los angel chí tomines Lichí pedro no lasco chí ui
 topa tomines Lichí Saluador mendozatoru peso Lichí
 pedromendes chí ui topa tomines chela nosaui Lorenso
 garcia xonopeso pedromendes nosaui ni xopa peso no
 saui rey mundo de la Cruz cayopeso no ja ni queto
 Lorenso Lopes chonapeso - Fran de agila nosaui
 ni chonapeso geroni moperes no saui ni chonapeso
 quira tomin xiri que gixeni cacamissa xte ni qui
 xopa leche lano Sao torigo fran Luis regi dor Sal
 uador nunes regi dor Lucas peres Sao Mar

La Misa de S. Maria ayte de la cam de seoubana Menora
 que con la S. M. de S. J. de Ube g. - Sp.
 Por otra misa de oración por el alma de orick
 Nihondo y por que con la S. M. de S. J. de Ube g. - Sp.
 Fr. Diego Franco

Marcial no nomo
 par dia do #
 Sp.
 Sp.
 Sp.

38. Niate ni queacani cosana laniyhorij — chela sechito— 39. ua nayo rua lichi reimundo dela cruz queana lachi— 40. ña laca lorensa xinia conini missa vigilla xtenia 41. chi que be lari peña chela segayo tobarau queca Sebas 42. tiana xiagaya guaño setovi Loa San Sebas tiana 43. chela tini pea nasau quela queza xtenia SanJuan que 44. laulia li chi lucas luis chi uitopa tomin lichi Bartolo 45. me delos angel chi tomines lichi pedro no lasco chiui 46. topatomines lichi Saluador mendoza toui peso lichi 47. pedro mendes chiui topa tomines che la nosau lorenzo 48. garcia xonopeso pedro mendes no sauini xopa peso no 49. saui rey mundo dela cruz cayopeso nosau quetoo 50. lorenzo lopes chona peso — franco de agilar nosau 51. ni chona peso geroni moperes no sauini chona peso 52. quira tomin niri que gixeni caca missa xteni qui 53. ropa leche lano lao testigo franco luis regidor Sal 54. ua dor nunes regidor lucas Peres Lao Naa 55. Marcial 56. garcia, SSno nombrado.

MORPHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS AND TRANSLATION

1. Naa Sebastiana de mendoza tiza caya quela qui cha lani
 Naa Sebastiana de mendoza ti-zaca⁷=ya quela⁸=quicha⁹ lani
 PRON.1S Sebastiana de Mendoza HAB-suffer=1S NOM=be.sick stomach
I, Sebastiana de Mendoza, I suffer sickness in
2. pela latia che la ra pa ya que la rijeni quela racapeaxte
 pela-lati¹⁰=a chela r-apa=ya quela=ri-jeni¹¹ quela=r-acapea xte[ni=ya
 flesh-body=1S and HAB-have=1S NOM=HAB-understand NOM=HAB-know of=1S
my body, and [but?] I have understanding [and] knowledge.¹²
3. niya tije li la chia toui sica Dios gua lica bitoo ninaca
 ti-jelilachi¹³=a toui=si=ca Dios gualica¹⁴ bitoo ni n-aca
 HAB-believe=1S one=only=EMPH God truly god REL NEUT-be
I believe in only one God, truly god, who is
4. Dios vixoce Dios xinij Dios espiritu santo chona perso
 Dios vixoce Dios xinij Dios espiritu santo chona perso[na
 God father God child God spirit holy three person
God the father, God the son, God the holy spirit, three persons,

⁷ Córdova 297: “Padecer como quiera qualquier cosa. Tiçàcaya...”

⁸ *Quela*= is more commonly used as a nominalizer before freestanding words (as in l. 2), though here it is nominalizing a bound stem.

⁹ Córdova 165: “Enfermo estar o enfermar...tiquijchaya...”

¹⁰ Normally we see a *x-* prefix on ‘flesh’ in this construction. (But the same thing recurs in ll. 12 and 15 below.)

¹¹ Córdova 173: “Entender lo que leo o lo que me dizen. Tiènia.” The noun in the document is related to the modern Tlacolula Valley Zapotec (TVZ) word *gabll rii ehny* ‘consciousness, mind, conscience’ (Munro and Lopez et al., 1999: 117). Sebastiana is saying she has all her faculties, so perhaps in the context of making a will ‘consciousness’ is a better gloss.

¹² Zapotec inalienable ‘have’ is often expressed with the object possessed. Thus, this is ‘my consciousness [and] knowledge’ (or perhaps ‘consciousness [and] my knowledge’).

¹³ Córdova 97v: “Creer...tèelàchia, tielijlàchia...” Perhaps the *li* in the second form (seen here) is ‘straight’ or ‘true’; the first form is seen in l. 8 below.

¹⁴ Córdova 423v: “Verdaderamente. Hualijca.” This word consists of the root *li* ‘be straight’ and =ca, an emphatic clitic.

5. na ssma trinidad tovisi Dios che la tije li la chia chitaa
 ssma trinidad tovi=si Dios chela ti-jelilachi=a chi-taa
 most.holy trinity one=only God and HAB-believe=1S ten-four
the most holy trinity, [but] only one God, and I believe in the fourteen
6. lo quela na lij ni la articulo dela fee chela chij xibaaxi
 lo quela=na-lij ni la articulo de la fee chela chij xibaa¹⁵ xi[-ticha
 face NOM=ADJ-true REL NEUT.be.named article of the faith and ten section POSS-word
aspects of the truth which are called the articles of the faith and the ten commandments of
7. ti cha Dios che la cayo xi baa ca che xibaa xticha xiñana
 Dios chela cayo xibaa cache xibaa x-ticha xi-ñā=na
 God and five section seven section POSS-word POSS-mother=1P
God,¹⁶ and the five articles, the seven articles, the words of our mother
8. santa yglesia chela rije la chia yobi bexua na Jesu christo
 santa yglesia chela ri-jelachi=a yobi¹⁷ bexuana Jesu christo
 holy church and HAB-believe=1S same lord Jesus Christ
the holy church,¹⁸ and I believe in the same Lord Jesus Christ
9. quitani quitogo ti chani qui rali beni nabani labenicoti
 qui-ta=ni qui-togo¹⁹-ticha=ni qui-ra=li²⁰ beni na-bani=la
 IRR-come=3 IRR-cut-word=3 IRR-all=EMPH person NEUT-be.alive=and
 judge²¹

¹⁵ Córdoba 40v: “Articulo o parte...si es escriptura. xipàa....”

¹⁶ Córdoba 256v: “Mandamiento de dios los diez &c. Tijchij xibàa, quelalào tènì dios....”

¹⁷ *Yobi* ‘same’ was also used as a type of honorific in CVZ, as attested seen in Córdoba 428v: “Vuestra merced. Yòbina, xiquela naachiyòbina”

¹⁸ The Spanish translation of the preceding list has “y creo en los catorse articulos de la fee, y tambien lo que nos manda Dios en los dies mandamientos y en los sinco mandamiento de nra sta madre iglesia [and I believe in the fourteen articles of the faith and also what God has commanded us in the ten commandments and in the five commandments of our holy mother church]”.

¹⁹ Córdoba 94v: “Cortar algo generalmente. Totògoa....”

²⁰ This =*li* seems to be an emphatic clitic comparable to TVZ =*ta*, which has a strong affinity for quantifiers (Munro and Lopez et al., 1999: 337). Cf. Córdoba 404: “Todo assi entero....quitòbilij...” with a similar =*li* following an irrealis form of ‘one’. Alternatively, perhaps this is ‘be straight’ / ‘true’, but that seems unexpected here.

²¹ Córdoba 227: “Iuzgar sentenciando. Totògo ticha ya....”; Córdoba 84v: “Condenar por sentt cia.... toto-gotichaya....”; Córdoba 225v: “Iuez ordinario ò como quiera. Iuez. I. huetògoticha....”; Córdoba 248v: “Lugar donde juzgan.... làtetitògotichani.”

beni co-ti[=la
 person PERF-die=and

[*who*] *will come and judge all the living people and dead people*

10. la chi que toui quitoui que che layo laniacani ronia testa
 chi que-toui qui-toui²² queche-layo laniacani r-oni=a testa[mento
 day IRR-one IRR-one pueblo-land for.this.reason HAB-do=1S will
 world

[*on*] *the day for each world: for this reason I make a will,*

11. mento anima xtenia rigo ya lachiña Bexuanana Dios
 anima xteni=a ri-go=ya lachi-ña Bexuana=na Dios
 soul of=1S HAB-put=1S heart-hand lord=1P God
I put my soul in the hands of our lord God —

12. si cani pe la latia cocachini laniyphoto lichi Dios ala —
 sicani²³ pela-lati=a c-ocachi²⁴=ni lani yphoto lichi Dios ala²⁵
 as.to flesh-body=1s IRR-bury=3 stomach church POSS.house God so
As to my body, they will bury [it] in the church house of God. So,

13. sicari ricabia —
 sica=ri²⁶ ri-cabi²⁷=a —
 thus=PT HAB-grant=1S —
thus I grant —

14. tinipea gona lao quirabecogo chona tomin 3 ts
 ti-nipea²⁸ gona lao qui-ra becogo chona tomin 3 ts
 HAB-order.1s offering face IRR-all altar three tomin 3 ts
I order an offering to all of the altars, three tomimes 3 ts

²² Reduplicating ‘one’ gives ‘each’: cf. Córdoba 65v: “Cada qual. Tòbi tóbigáa.”

²³ Córdoba 105v: “Cerca o acerca. s[cilicet]. de aquel negocio q[ue] dezis. . . cicani. . .”

²⁴ Córdoba 173v: “Enterrar otra cosa....Tocàchia....”

²⁵ Córdoba 333: “Pues...ála”.

²⁶ This word is likely composed of *sica* ‘thus’ (Córdoba 42v: “Assi. Cíca”) and =*ri* ‘point’, cognate to modern SLQZ =*di*’, which occurs on certain clause-initial conjunctions and with *zi’cy=di* ‘thus’; (Munro and Lopez et al., 1999: 107).

²⁷ Córdoba 296: “Otorgar...ticàbia....”

²⁸ We will translate this word consistently as ‘order’, but it often seems to mean something more like ‘state’ here; it is in fact translated ‘declaro’ in Spanish on p. 2. Note too that this verb ought to include 1sg =(y)a; this apparent haplogy is repeated every time this inflected verb occurs below in this document (in each of the following lines). This could mean, then, that for this writer the verb is not –*nipea* but just –*nipe*.

15. tinipea gona lesa cayho laya roaqui cachi pe lalatia 4 ts
 ti-nipea gona le.saca²⁹ yho laya³⁰ roa³¹ qui-cachi
 HAB-order.1s offering cost house sacred place.where IRR-be.buried
 pela-lati=a 4 ts
 flesh-body=1s 4 ts
I order an offering [for] the cost of the chapel where my body will be buried 4 ts³²
16. tinipea gona lesa catoui missa vigilla chona peso 3 ps
 ti-nipea gona le.saca toui missa vigilla chona peso 3 ps
 HAB-order.1s offering cost one mass vigil three peso 3 ps
I order an offering [for] the cost of a vigil mass, three pesos 3 ps
17. tinipea gona lani caja xteni coquij xonaxi Ros 2 ts
 ti-nipea gona lani caja xteni coquij xonaxi Ros 2 ts
 HAB-order.1s offering stomach box of honored.person lady Rosario 2 ts
I order an offering in the box³³ of the Honored Lady Rosario 2 ts
18. tinipea gona lani caja xteni Jesus denasareno 2 ts
 ti-nipea gona lani caja xteni Jesus de nasareno 2 ts
 HAB-order.1s offering stomach box of Jesus of Nazareth 2 ts
I order an offering in the box of Jesus of Nazareth 2 ts
19. tinipea gona lani caja xteni Sannico las 2 ts
 ti-nipea gona lani caja xteni San nicolas 2 ts
 HAB-order.1s offering stomach box of St. Nicholas 2 ts
I order an offering in the box of St. Nicholas 2 ts

²⁹ TVZ has a peculiar word *sabc* (noun? verb?) that is used in expressions about ‘worth’ and ‘cost’ (Munro and Lopez et al., 1999: 328). Córdova 96 has “Costar precio o por precio...le çaca”. The *le* at the beginning may be the same syllable that occurs in other words such as ‘spouse’ (e.g. in l. 53) and ‘companion’ and may be a type of nominalizer.

³⁰ Córdova 293v: “Oratorio donde oran o casa de oracion. Yóholàya, . . .”. The word *yho* could also be analyzed as ‘land’, in which case, this expression would be translated as ‘consecrated land’ instead of ‘chapel’.

³¹ Córdova 146: “Donde en lugar . . . tóa . . .”

³² The Spanish translation identifies the cost of “la sepultura en donde entierren mi cuerpo [the tomb in which they bury my body]” as two reales.

³³ Presumably this is an offering box on the altar of the saint.

20. tinipea ro tea gona lao coqui xonaxí de la soledad 1ps
 ti-nipea r-ote=a gona lao coqui xonaxí de la soledad 1ps
 HAB-order.1s HAB-give³⁴=1s offering face honored.person lady of solitude 1ps
I order; I give an offering to the honored lady of Solitude 1ps
21. tinipea alarij toui cue layo na rua nesa xana qui chiroa
 ti-nipea alarij toui cue-layo n-a rua nesa xana
 HAB-order.1s item one field-land NEUT-lie mouth way buttocks
 yaga quichi³⁵ roa
 tree thorn place.where
 carob tree³⁶
I order; item, one field [that] is³⁷ on the road under the carob tree where
22. na chaga nisa franco luis rua rillañe cobicha queca nicolas
 na-chaga nisa franco luis rua ri-llañe³⁸ cobicha qu-eca³⁹ nicolas
 NEUT-meet way Francisco Luis mouth HAB-go.out sun IRR-take Nicolás
 east⁴⁰
[it] borders with Francisco Luis[’s land] on the east, Nicolás
23. mendosa huini xiagaya — chela tinipea seto ui cuelayo
 mendosa huini⁴¹ xiaga=ya — chela ti-nipea se-toui⁴² cue layo
 Mendoza small grandchild=1s — and HAB-order.1s DEF-one piece land
Mendoza the younger, my grandchild, is to take, and I order another field
24. na ruane sayo na chagabisa ynasio Santiago queca
 n-a rua nesayo na-chaga bisa ynasio Santiago qu-eca
 NEUT-lie mouth road⁴³ NEUT-meet border.marker Ignacio Santiago IRR-take
[that] is at the edge of the road that borders with Ignacio Santiago[’s land],

³⁴ Córdova 347v: “Regalar halagando como a niño. Totèea. . .”

³⁵ Córdova 186v: “Espina o espinas. Quéchi.”

³⁶ Córdova 36: “Arbol espinoso con vnas algarrobillas. Yagaquiche....” (*Algarroba* is ‘carob’.)

³⁷ We translate the positional verb *na* ‘is lying’ as simply ‘is’ since this is a neutral way to express location; see Foreman and Lillehaugen (2017) for more on positional verbs in CVZ.

³⁸ Córdova 369v: “Salir el sol la luna o assi. Tillànicopijcha....”

³⁹ Córdova 251: “Lleuar tomando assi del lugar lo q̃ puse o truxe tornar aquitar. Tèccàaya.pe.”

⁴⁰ Córdova 295: “Oriente parte do sale el sol....tòatillànicopijcha....”

⁴¹ Córdova 110v: “Chica cosa pequeña. Nahuini....”

⁴² As noted in our introduction, ‘one’ marked definite means ‘another’.

⁴³ Córdova 69r: “Camino ancho real. . . nèzayòo. . .”

25. franco huini xiagaya — tinipea toui cue yho ui llachi
 franco huini xiaga=ya — ti-nipea toui cue yho-uillachi⁴⁴
 Francisco small grandchild=1s — HAB-order.1s one piece land-sown.area
Francisco the younger, my grandchild, is to take. I order [that] one piece of sown land
26. ni petoo que tao pedro an dres queca pedro xia
 ni pe-too⁴⁵ quetao pedro andres qu-eca pedro xia[ga=ya
 REL PERF-sell late Pedro Andrés IRR-take Pedro grandchild=1s
that the late Pedro Andrés sold, Pedro my grandchild is to take.
27. gaya — ti ni pea a lari chi toua huini gua ñeto
 — ti-nipea alari chi toua huini gua ñe to[ui
 — HAB-order.1s item ten maguey small and one
I order; item, ten young magueys and one
28. ui lari bi soti quicha gua ñe toui bitani billa chi
 lari⁴⁶ bisoti⁴⁷ quicha⁴⁸ gua ñe toui bitani⁴⁹ bi-llachi⁵⁰
 clothing skirt hair and one huipil PERF-be.woven
wool skirt and one huipil woven of
29. xi lla gua ñe chi peso queca geronima xini chapa
 xilla gua ñe chi peso qu-eca geronima xini-chapa[=ya
 cotton and ten peso IRR-take Gerónima child-girl=1s
cotton and ten pesos, Gerónima, my daughter, is to take:

⁴⁴ Córdoba 177v: “Era de ortaliza ya hecha. Pilláche, pilláchi...”; Córdoba 383v: “Solar de casa ò quadra. Cêhe yòho, pilláchi yòho.”; Córdoba 407v: “Traça de casa o assieato...zêhe, pilláche yòho.”

⁴⁵ The vowel in the root ‘sell’ here and in l. 35 is different than what is given in Córdoba, “tòtia” (p. 421v). Surprisingly the forms seen here are more similar to the intransitive form provided by Córdoba: “Vendêrse o vendido ser. Titâho...” (p. 421v), though it is clear from the context that the verb is transitive in our text.

⁴⁶ Córdoba 364: “Ropa qualquiera...Lâti...”

⁴⁷ Córdoba 368v: “Saya de muger. ... xiçótipenigònná”. Córdoba also lists *Lati-piçotiquicha* in the entry “Fundá o almoada ò colchon [pillowcase, pillow, or mattress]” (202), suggesting that ‘wool skirt’ may not be the correct translation here. However, the contemporaneous Spanish translation of this document also interpreted *lari bisoti quicha* as a piece of clothing, translating it as “naguas de lana”.

⁴⁸ No current expression referring to ‘wool’ uses this word, but Córdoba lists many.

⁴⁹ Whitecotton and Whitecotton 1993: “**bitaani** (TI) huipil ó camisa”; Córdoba 69: “Camisa de muger india f. huaypil. Lâtipitâni peni-gonná.”

⁵⁰ Córdoba 400: “Texido ser assi...tiláchi...”

30. ya — tini pea chi toua hui ni guaÑe chaga bitani
 — ti-nipea chi toua huini guaÑe chaga⁵¹ bitani
 — HAB-order.1s ten maguey small and one huipil
I order ten young magueys and one cotton huipil
31. xi lla guaÑe chi peso —che la tipea se tua peso —
 xilla guaÑe chi peso — chela ti-[ni]pe=a se-tua peso —
 cotton and ten peso — and HAB-order.1s DEF-forty peso —
and ten pesos.⁵² And I order [that] another forty pesos
32. rosanaya la chiña xiagaya nico las mendosa
 r-osana=ya lachi-ña xiaga=ya nicolas mendosa
 HAB-leave=1s heart-hand grandchild=1s Nicolás Mendoza
I leave in the hands of my grandchild, Nicolás Mendoza
33. huini — tinipea toui nesabi chiña gona rosa
 huini — ti-nipea toui nesa⁵³ bichiña go-na r-osa[na=ya
 small — HAB-order.1s one yoke deer PERF-plow HAB-leave=1s
 OX
the younger. I order [that] one yoke of oxen, I leave
34. naya lachiña tho mas martin guaÑe lucas
 lachi-ña thomas martin guaÑe lucas
 heart-hand Tomás Martín and Lucas
in the hands of Tomás Martín and Lucas
35. Luis xini yhochia cotaoni conini missa xtenia
 Luis xini-yhochi⁵⁴=a c-otao=ni c-oni=ni missa xteni=a
 Luis child-son.in.law=1s IRR-sell=3 IRR-do=3 mass of=1s
Luis, my sons-in-law, [that] they will sell [so that] they can have a mass for me

⁵¹ There are two CVZ words for ‘one’: *tóbi* and *chága*. In his grammatical description of CVZ, Córdova explains that the second word is part of a set of numbers that are used for long things, like clothes, wood, etc.: “Es de notar que a donde dize Tóbi, tópa, chóna, tápa, vno, dos, tres, quatro, fe puede dezir, chága, cáto, cáyo, táa, y es para cofas largas. *scilicet*. ropa, madera. &c.” (Córdova 1578b: 105v). In modern TVZ *chab*, the cognate to CVZ *chága*, is only used to count tortillas or breadstuffs (Munro & Lopez et al., 1999: 96). Note that in l. 28 *toui*, the more common word for ‘one’, is used before *bitani* ‘huipil’, so there is variation in how huipiles are being quantified even within this text.

⁵² Ll. 30-31 repeats the fuller bequest in ll. 27-29.

⁵³ The classifier for ‘yoke’ (or ‘pair’) of oxen is the same as the word for ‘way’ (as in ll. 21-22) both in CVZ and in modern TVZ (Munro and Lopez et al., 1999: 175).

⁵⁴ Córdova 228: “Yerno mio marido di mi hija o nieta. Xiniòchia....”

36. gũañe xteni le chelaya — tinipea sega le bigayo
 gũañe xteni le.chela⁵⁵=ya — ti-nipea SE-gale-bi-gayo
 and of spouse=1s — HAB-order.1s DEF-twenty-and-five
and for my spouse. I order [that] another twenty-five

37. toua roo queana lachiña xini chapaya loreña
 toua-roo qu-eana lachi-ña xini-chapa=ya loreña
 maguey-big IRR-remain heart-hand child-girl=1s Loreña
big magueys will remain in the hands of my daughter Loreña

[p. 2 of the document begins here]

38. Niate ni queacani cosana laniyhorij — chela sechito—
 Niateni⁵⁶ qu-eaca⁵⁷=ni co-sana⁵⁸ lani yho rij — chela se-chi to[ua
 because IRR-become=3 PERF-bear stomach house this — and DEF-ten maguey
 mother⁵⁹
so that she will become mother in this house,⁶⁰ and [that] another ten magueys

39. ua nayo rua lichi reimundo dela cruz queana lachi—
 na-yo rua lichi reimundo de la cruz qu-eana lachi[-ña
 NEUT-be.in mouth⁶¹ house Reymundo de la Cruz IRR-remain heart-hand
[that] are at the doorway of the house of Reymundo de la Cruz will remain in the hands of

40. ña laca loreña xini conini missa vigilla xtenia
 laca loreña xini=a c-oni=ni missa vigilla xteni=a
 same Loreña child=1s IRR-do=3 mass vigil of=1s
the same Loreña, my child, for her to have a vigil mass for me

⁵⁵ Córdoba 187: “Esposo o esposa. Lèchelani....” TVZ has *chiè’ll* (Munro and Lopez et al., 1999: 99). Regarding the initial *le*, see the note to l. 15.

⁵⁶ Córdoba 322 “Porque respondiendõ. Nija, nijatèni...”.

⁵⁷ Córdoba 58: “Boluerse assi vt carne en tierra. Teácaya...”.

⁵⁸ Córdoba 301v: “Parir la hembra. Tizáanaya, coxáanaya, ...”.

⁵⁹ Córdoba 252v: “Madre. Xinàacoxàna.”, Córdoba 252v: “Madre q[ue]...o pare: Vide castiza. Cozàana, pinij.” and Córdoba 167: “Engendradora que engendra o pare. Cozàana.”

⁶⁰ The Spanish translation has “porque quede por madre de familia de esta casa [so that she can remain as the mother of the family of this house]”.

⁶¹ Another possible analysis is that *rua* is ‘place where’ as in l. 15 and l. 21, which would mean this could read ‘[that] are where the house of Reymundo de la Cruz is’.

41. chi que be lari peña chela segayo tobarau queca Sebas
 chi qu-ebe⁶² lari peña⁶³ chela se-gayo toba-rau
 when IRR-take.off clothes mud/sorrow and DEF-five maguey-big
 mourning clothes⁶⁴
 qu-eca Sebas[tiana
 IRR-take Sebastiana
*that Sebastiana when she takes off mourning clothes, and another five⁶⁵ big magueys
 Sebastiana*
42. tiana xiagaya guaÑe setovi Loa San Sebas tiana
 xiaga=ya guaÑe se-tovi Loa⁶⁶ San Sebastian
 grandchild=1s and DEF-one image St. Sebastian
my grandchild is to take, along with another picture of St. Sebastian,
43. chela tini pea nasaui quela queza xtenia SanJuan que
 chela ti-nipea na-sau⁶⁷ quelaqueza xteni=a San Juan que[lauia
 and HAB-order.1s NEUT-be.owing guelaguetza of=1s San Juan Guelavía
*and I order [that] my guelaguetza is owing [i.e., there is guelaguetza owing to me] in
 San Juan Guelavía.⁶⁸*
44. lauia li chi lucas luis chi uitopa tomin lichi Bartolo
 lichi lucas luis chi-ui-topa tomin lichi Bartolo[me
 POSS.house Lucas Luis ten-and-two tomin POSS.house Bartolomé
in the house of Lucas Luis, twelve tomines; in the house of Bartolomé

⁶² Córdova 366v: “Sacar lo que meti. Tebëea....” There’s no indication that this verb can be intransitive, so it appears that this clause has no subject.

⁶³ Córdova 247v: “Lodo tierra mojada....Pénne, otros dizen pánne.” This word seems to have been re-shaped based on Spanish *peña*.

⁶⁴ Córdova 364: “Ropa. Làti....”; 249: “Luto por el muerto. Làti pènne.”; TVZ *lahidy babnny* ‘black head cloth a woman wears for a funeral’ (Munro and Lopez et al., 1999: 144), which includes *babnny* ‘mud’ (Munro and Lopez et al., 1999: 61).

⁶⁵ The Spanish translation has “quarto [four]”, but it is clearly ‘five’ in the Zapotec.

⁶⁶ Córdova 315v: “Pintura la pintado....lohuàa.”; Córdova 230: “Ymagen de alguna cosa.... Lòohuàa....”

⁶⁷ Córdova 137v: “Deuda la que se deue. Ninazàbi....” [includes relative *ni*, i.e. ‘that which is owing’]. Cf. ll. 47ff.

⁶⁸ We follow the Spanish translation here, which has “y tambien declaro que me deven guelaguesa en San Juan Guelavia [and also I state that they owe me guelaguetza in San Juan Guelavía]”. Possibly, though, given that additional debts to the testator are noted in l. 47, what she’s saying here is that she owes guelaguetza to the people listed. Just as in modern TVZ, no preposition is necessary to express ‘in’ a placename or ‘in’ the word for possessed ‘house’ (or ‘home’), CVZ *lichi*, as in ll. 44 ff. (Munro 2012: 309).

45. me delos angel chi tomimes lichi pedro no lasco chiui
 de los angel chi tomimes lichi pedro nolasco chi-ui-[topa
 de los Angeles ten tomimes POSS.house Pedro Nolazco ten-and-two
de los Angeles, ten tomimes; in the house of Pedro Nolazco, twelve
46. topatomimes lichi Saluador mendoza toui peso lichi
 tomimes lichi Saluador mendoza toui peso lichi
 tomimes POSS.house Salvador Mendoza one peso POSS.house
tomimes; in the house of Salvador Mendoza, one peso; in the house of
47. pedro mendes chiui topa tomimes che la nosai lorenzo
 pedro mendes chi-ui-topa tomimes chela n-osai⁶⁹ lorenzo
 Pedro Méndez ten-and-two tomimes and NEUT-owe Lorenzo
Pedro Méndez, twelve tomimes; and Lorenzo García owes
48. garcia xonopeso pedro mendes no sauini xopa peso no
 garcia xono peso pedro mendes n-osai=ni xopa peso n-o[saii
 García eight peso Pedro Méndez NEUT-owe=3 six peso NEUT-owe
eight pesos; Pedro Méndez,⁷⁰ he owes six pesos; Reymundo de la Cruz owes
49. saui rey mundo dela cruz cayopeso nosaii quetoo
 reymundo de la cruz cayo peso n-osaii quetoo
 Reymundo de la Cruz five peso NEUT-owe late
five pesos; the late Lorenzo López
50. lorenzo lopes chona peso — franco de agilar nosaii
 lorenzo lopes chona peso — franco de agilar n-osaii[=ni
 Lorenzo López three peso — Francisco de Aguilar NEUT-owe=3
owes three pesos; Francisco de Aguilar, he owes
51. ni chona peso geroni moperes no sauini chona peso
 chona peso geronimo peres n-osaii=ni chona peso
 three peso Gerónimo Pérez NEUT-owe=3 three peso
three pesos; Gerónimo Pérez, he owes three pesos.

⁶⁹ Córdova 137: “Deuer algo. Nozàbia...”

⁷⁰ Is this the same Pedro Méndez as in l. 47?

52. quira tomin niri que gixeni caca missa xteni qui
 qui-ra tomin niri⁷¹ qu-egixe⁷²=ni c-aca missa xteni qui[-ropa
 IRR-all tomin this IRR-pay=3 IRR-be mass of IRR-two
All this money⁷³ they should pay, [that] will be [for] masses for us two
53. ropa leche lano lao testigo franco luis regidor Sal
 le.chela=no lao testigo franco luis regidor Sal[uador
 spouse=1P face witness Francisco Luis Regidor Salvador
spouses.⁷⁴ Before the witnesses, Francisco Luis, Regidor; Salvador
54. ua dor nunes regidor lucas Peres Lao⁷⁵ Naa
 nunes regidor lucas Peres Lao Naa
 Núñez Regidor Lucas Pérez face PRON.1S
Núñez, Regidor; (and) Lucas Pérez, before me,
55. Marcial
 Marcial
 Marcial
Marcial
56. garcia, SSno nombrado⁷⁶
 garcia SSno nombrado
 García scribe named
García, appointed scribe.

⁷¹ Córdova 189v: “Este, esta, esto, este tal...nitij...”

⁷² Córdova 297v: “Pagar deuda o lo recebido . . . tequíxea . . .”

⁷³ Lockhart (1992: 611) notes that without a specific amount mentioned tomin probably means ‘money’.

⁷⁴ More literally, ‘of the two of our spouses’.

⁷⁵ These two words and lines 55-56 are in a different hand from the rest of the document.

⁷⁶ The *do* is written under *no*.

Abbreviations

1P	first person plural
1S	first person singular
3	third person
ADJ	adjective
DEF	definite
EMPH	emphatic
HAB	habitual
IRR	irrealis
NEUT	neutral
NOM	nominalizer
PERF	perfective
POSS	possessed
PRON	free pronoun
PT	point
REL	relativizer

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