TWO STATIVES IN COLONIAL VALLEY ZAPOTEC

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Colonial Valley Zapotec

- Colonial Valley Zapotec (CVZ) is the form of Zapotec from the Valley of Oaxaca during the Spanish colonial period (ca 1550-1810).

- CVZ is known to us from written documents only. Several closely related but distinct Zapotec languages are spoken in this area now.

- CVZ may represent
  - A single Zapotec language, whose dialects have developed into some of the modern languages.
  - A somewhat standardized written form of a few closely related Zapotec languages.

ZAPOTEC VERB MORPHOLOGY

- Zapotecan lgs typically show a small set of inflectional categories for verbs:
  - Aspect
  - (Repetition/Direction)
- Pronouns are typically enclitics on verbs
- A typical verb template might be:

ASPECT-(repetition/direction)-ROOT(=applicative)(=subject clitic)(=object clitic)

Ù-tyùg=bì=ny 'He cut it'   (SDOZ)
perf-cut=3:hum=3:inan
ASP-ROOT(=subj)(=obj)

CONSERVATIVE AND INNOVATIVE ASPECT SYSTEMS IN ZAPOTEC

- Zoogocho (N. Zap) -- a conservative system
  - ch- Imperfective (habitual & progressive)   (< pZp *tyi=)
  - b- ~ gw- ~ g- Perfective   (< pZp *kwe=, *ko=)
  - gw- ~ g- ~ y- +^{H} Potential   (< pZp *ki=, *k=)
  - [gw- ~ g- ~ y-] Dubitative (with some verbs)
  - n- stative (< pZp *na=)

- Only the Dubitative appears to be innovative relative to Proto-Zapotec.

MODERN VALLEY ZAPOTEC ASPECT SYSTEMS

- A typical aspect system for a Valley Zapotec system is seen in San Dionisio Ocotepec (SDOZ):

Aspect	Realization	Uses
Habitual	r-	customary/habitual acts
Progressive	ka-	ongoing act
Potential	gi- ~gu- ~ *fortition* +^{H}	event not yet begun; control complement
Definite Future	zi- ~ s-	event not begun, but emphasized
Perfective (*or* Completive)	(g)u- ~ bi-	Completed telic past
Unrealized	ni- ~ ny-	Counterfactuals
Stative	na-	stative events

EVOLUTION OF ASPECT SYSTEMS

- How do we get from four aspects in Proto-Zapotec to seven in modern Valley Zapotec languages?

- How do we get from four aspects in Proto-Zapotec to eight in modern Isthmus Zapotec?

- An important part of understanding the history is careful consideration of how aspect markers are used in CVZ

ASPECT IN COLONIAL VALLEY ZAPOTEC

○ Smith Stark (2008) is an important outline of aspect morphology of CVZ. He includes the following:

ASPECT LABEL	ORTHOGRAPHIC REPRESENTATIONS	PROBABLE PHONEMICIZATION	SMITH STARK'S NAME
T	<ti, te, to, t>	/ri-, r- e-, r- u- , r-/	habitual
P	<bi, pi, be, pe, b, p, co, go, c, g>	/bi, be, b; gu, g/	completivo
Q	<qui, que, qu, y, c>	/ki, k, i/	potencial
WA	<hua, hue, oa>	/wa/	perfecto
NA	<na>	/na/	participio estativo

WA- 'PERFECT'?

- A focus of this talk is how the aspect marker <oa-~hua-> fits into this overall system of aspect marking.

- Isthmus Zapotec retains the clearest reflex of it.

- Grammars of modern Valley Zapotec languages do not typically list an aspect prefix that is cognate

- However, I will suggest a perhaps unexpected cognate – (b)á=, meaning 'already' in many Valley Zapotec languages.

Isthmus Zapotec Aspect

- In addition to the seven aspects found in many modern Valley Zapotec, Isthmus Zapotec has an eighth aspect marker:

  - *Hua- 'perfect'*

  Ma' huay-eeda Betu chonna tiru

  now perf-come Betu three   time

  'Beto ya vino trez veces.'

  'Beto has come three times now.'

  (Pickett, Black, & Marcial Cerqueda 2001:54)

CORDOVA ON HUA-

- The primary grammar of Colonial Valley Zapotec (Cordova 1578) mentions <hua-> and says
  - "Ytem vale tanto *ya*, vt ya esta hecho' *huayàcachahui*, ya estoy comiendo, *huataǧoa*. Y si ha comido *huayàgolo*, Ya esta podrido, *huayoocho*."
  - [And it also means 'already', and 'it is already done' is *huayàcachahui,* 'I am already eating' is *huataǧoa.* And if 'you have eaten', *huayàgolo,* 'It is already rotten' is *huayoocho*.] (Cordova 1578:55v)
- This correctly captures some of the range of use for WA-, but the use of this form in text is more complex than Cordova's description.

WA- AS PERFCT

10 Word   Yaca   channa   , acalaati   Cocooni

Morphemes   yaca   channa   aca   laa   =ti   cocooni

Lex. Gloss   NEG   father, priest   NEG   focus?   PT/NEG2   virgin

yonna   Cocooni   nataa   nacani   ,

yonna   cocooni   na-   taa   n   aca   =ni

intact virgin   virgin   STA   pure   STA   be(not-PERF/PRF)   3

huayannacani   , huayooni   cani   tolla   gueche

huay-   anna   =ca   =ni   huay-   ooni   =ca   =ni   tolla   gueche

PRF   know   EMPH   3   PRF   do   EMPH   3   sin   pueblo

layoo   .

layoo

land

Free Eng No Father, she was not a virgin, because she already knew the sins of the world.

Spn No Padre, no era Virgen, porque ya sabia de pecados de mundo.

Aguero 1666:f26

EVALUATIVE SENSE

1.2 **Word** benicani oayopaga cacapea la[chini ,

Morphemes beni cani yopaga c- acapea lachi =ni

Lex. Gloss person this quickly IRR know heart 3

nàtichani , oatij beni tana[ni quiba ,

nà ticha =ni oa tij beni t- ana =ni quiba

*** thing 3 PRF exist person HAB know 3 metal

tocoçàni quibatij

to- co- çà =ni quiba =tij

HAB:CAUS CAUS walk 3 metal this

Free Eng truly some person is in charge of this clock, and governs it

Spn verdaderamente alguna persona tiene a cargo este relox, y lo rige y govierna.

Lit. Eng This person will quickly know that there must be a person who knows this metal and causes it to run.

Durative or Evaluative sense

huatijcaxa   Dios
hua-tij=ca=xa   dios
PRF-sit=EMPH=EMPH   God
'God certainly exists.'
'Está o ay ciertamente Dios.' (Cordova 1578:51v)

Huazócicani
hua-zó=ci   cani
PRF-be.standing=only   this
'It is still there.'
'Todavía está allí.' (Cordova 1578:

COMPLICATIONS FOR THE DESCRIPTION OF WA-

- Cordova's description suggests that WA- is a member of the same set of prefixes as the other aspect markers

- But the texts show that there are also two patterns with WA-.

- One pattern is where WA- occupies the regular aspect slot in the verbal morphology template:

  ASP-(caus/repet)-ROOT(=applic)=subj=obj

- A second pattern is where WA- appears before the regular aspect marker, in a slot that I will call Pre-Aspect:

  (PreASP)=ASP-(caus/repet)-ROOT(=applic)=subj=obj

WA= AS A HABITUAL IN CVZ

- CVZ texts show a form not previous discussed in colonial grammars or modern work.
  - oa=ASP-VERB ~ hua=ASP-VERB
- This form is attested primarily on verbs of speech and thought. The aspect marker is usually T- 'imperfective' or NA- 'stative'.
- The contexts of use show that this form generally seems to be habitual (repeated) or continuous (extended stative) in its semantics.
- The readings are approximately 'X always Vs' or 'X has always V-ed'
  It is often not easy to distinguish between habitual and continous readings in texts.
- Less frequently, there are uses that seem emphatic

HABITUAL/CONTINUOUS SENSES

oatizabi lachi		bezeloo , chela	coçacani
oa= ti- zabilachi		bezeloo chela	co-çaca =ni
WA=HAB-desire		devil and	PERF-cause=3
queni tono	tola...		
qu-eni =tono	tola…		
IRR do 1pl	sin		

'the devil desires and causes us to do sins' (Feria f55)

Desea el demonio, y p[ro]cura que pequemos

⇒ Habitual 'the devil habitually wants…' or

⇒ Continous 'the devil always wants'

CONTINUOUS SENSES

4.2 Word	Cicani	quela	tiyelijlachi	,
Morphemes	cica =ni	quela=	ti- yelijlachi	
Lex. Gloss	thus 3	NOM	HAB believe(?-heart)	

oatielijca				lachini	tobici	Dios	,
oa	ti-	elij	=ca	lachi =ni	tobi =ci	dios	
PRF	HAB	believe(?-heart)	EMPH	heart 3	one only	God	

yagaca	coceteni		, yagaca	cònini	
yaga =ca	co- cete	=ni	yaga =ca	c- òni =ni	
NEG EMPH	PERF adore	3	NEG EMPH	PERF do 3	

xibitooni		quiela	,
xi- bitoo	=ni	quie =la	
POSS great.spirit(life.force-great)/"god" 3		stone and	

Free Eng But they believe firmly in only one God, and they don't believe in idols

Spn pero creen verdadera y firmemente en vn solo dios, y no adoran a los ydolos,

'continue to believe'

EMPHATIC SENSES?

4.1 Word   Tebela   beni   Españoles

Morphemes   tebela   beni   Españoles

Lex. Gloss   if   person   Spanish

oaticiguelaya   , oaticij tuaya

oa=		ti-	ciguela	=ya	oa=		ti-	cij tua	=ya
PRF(pre-asp)	HAB	confess	1s		PRF(pre-asp)	HAB	confess	1s	

oatinilija   , oalij catonini   quela

oa=		ti-	ni	=lij	=a	oalijca	t-	oni	=ni	quela=
PRF(pre-asp)	HAB	say	emph	1s		true		HAB	do	3	NOM

huexihui   , quelacobànala   , quela   tiguiñe

hue-	xihui		quelacobàna	=la	quela=	ti-	guiñe
AGN	sin(w/CAUS)		theft	and	NOM	HAB	hit(not-PERF)

leçaani   , quela cobèxela   , q[ue]la

leçaa	=ni	quela=	co-	bèxe		=la	quela
wife	3	NOM	PERF	dissolute, disreputable, slutty	and		NOM

Spaniards, I confess, I say, commit sins of theft and wife-beating and fornication, and... (Feria 1567:64v)

1 Word	quela	ninaquiña	çaloneza				,	çalo	
Morphemes	quela =	ni	quiña	ça	lo	neza		ça	lo
Lex. Gloss	NOM	REL	be.necessary	walk	face/to:through:from; to	road		walk	face/to:through:from; to

queya	tobi tobi	queche	: la	oanacalo				coníya	, la
queya	tobi tobi	queche	= la	oa =	n	aca	= lo	coníya	= la
market	every one	pueblo	or	PRF(pre-asp)	STA	be(not-PERF/PRF)	2s	merchant	or

oanacalo				còona	, la	anacalo			cobeche	,
oa =	n	aca	= lo	còona	= la	a-	n	aca	= lo	cobeche
PRF(pre-asp)	STA	be(not-PERF/PRF)	2s	worker	or	PRF	STA	be(not-PERF/PRF)	2s	official

oazij		ooachibaa	tete	çacalo		: quechela		
oa	zij	ooa- chibaa	tete	çaca	= lo	qu-	e-	chela
PRF	affliction	PRF misery	very	cause, create	2s	IRR	RE	reach? obtain? (w/RE)

lo		quichaa	guechelayoo	.
lo		quichaa	gueche layoo	
face/to:through:from; to		property	pueblo land	

Free Eng In acquiring this you will have to work because it is necessary that you go through the path and through the markets from town to town being merchant, laborer, official, and have to go through many bad chances: to reach the earthly goods.

Spn El adquirir loste ha d costartrabajo, por que es ne cessario, que andes por los caminos y por los mercados, de pueblo en pueblo: ora seas mercader, ora seas labrador, ora seas official, has de passar mucha mala ventura: para alcançar losbiencs terrenales.

WA-NA- CONTINUOUS?

Huananalo		,tevela ra- calachi		cochaagañaani				guiloobilachitooni			?
hua =	n-ana	=lo	tevela r- acalachi	co-	chaaga	=ñaa	=ni	gui- toobilachi	too	=ni	
prf (pre-asp)	STA-know	=2s	if HAB want; want	PERF	join	=with	=3	IRR do with all your heart	great	=3	

Sabes si se quieren casar con todo su corazon?

Do you know if they want to marry with all their hearts?   Vellon 1808:121

14 Word   Hua   naríj   xtoolo   ?

Morphemes	hua =	na-	ríj	x-	too	=lo
Lex. Gloss	PRF(pre-asp)	STA	exist	POSS	lover	2s

Free Eng Are you living with a lover?

   Spn Estás amancebado?

15 Word   Hualijca   channa   , hua   rij

Morphemes	hua	lij	=ca	channa	hua-	rij
Lex. Gloss	PRF	straight, true	EMPH	father, priest	PRF	exist

xtooya   .

x-	too	=ya
POSS	lover	1s

Free Eng Yes father, I am living with a lover

   Spn Si Padre, amancebado estoy

Aguero 1666:f31

A Syntactic Restriction on WA-

- When a clause has a fronted element, it almost never shows WA-; instead it reverts to the more usual aspect marking (T- or NA-)

Oatacalachito cacapeato, oalijca

Oa=t-acalachi=toc-acapea=to oa-lij=ca

PRF=HAB-want=2PL IRR-know=2PL PRF-straight=EMPH

cani	tobici	bitoo	tobici	D	natij?
cani	tobi=ci	bitoo	tobi=ci	D	na-tij
this	one=only	God	one=only	God	NA-exist

Do you want to know that truly this is the only god, the only God exists? (Feria 1567:21v)

MODERN VALLEY ZAPOTEC

- Modern Valley languages have an á= ~ bá= clitic that corresponds in function to the Colonial wa=.
- This clitic attaches to the left of the perfective or stative aspect in most languages.

Ne chi   a=b-dxial=tɨ=by,   gul=tixtee lua=a te par chalee   cha-tozaca=by
and when prf=com-find=2pl=3s imp:pl-tell to=1s so for pot:1s:go pot:1s-worship=3s
'And when you have found him, tell me so that I can also go and worship him.' (Guelavía Matt 2:8)

te   che   a=bi-dxäl=tu=ni   jiädnii=tu lo=ä te   näjza narä cha-gaṇ=ä=ni
and when prf=com-find=2p=3s tell=2p   to=1s and also I   pot:1s-worship=1s=3s
And when you have found him, tell me so that I can also go and worship him.' (Mitla)

THE MITLA CLITIC

- The clearest description is in Briggs (1961:59-60), who writes that *á=* ~ *bá=* is a completive for "something has been (in fact, or in one's mind)".

- *á=* and *bá=* apparently have the same meaning, but *á=* is the normal word-initial form and *bá=* is the non-initial form.

- Some examples show the clitic repeated:

Á=n̠a=bá=bi-dzun=a̋.
prf=now=prf=com-arrive=1:s
I have now arrived.

The Albarradas Clitic

- Probably also cognate is the *ya=* clitic in Santo Domingo Albarradas (Adam 2003).
  - Some conflation with Spanish *ya* 'already' seems likely, but the grammar is not consistent with a regular borrowed adverb.
- *Ya=* attaches to the bare verb stem without its aspect prefix.

Abi' chi **ya**=dxejli=di laax, laa gol gol gajc naj, din në naj chigzuxib loj=x
when when prf=find=2s him:m then pl:imp tell 1s so that 1sg 'go worship' to=3m
And when you have found him, tell me so that I can also go and worship him.'

DEVELOPMENTS OF IMPERFECTIVE IN CVZ

- The aspect labeled T in this chart is named 'habitual' in Smith Stark (2008), and derives from PZap *tyi- 'habitual' (Kaufman 2003).
- Broadwell (2015) argues that 'habitual' is probably not the best label for this aspect. It is best labeled 'imperfective'.
- Reflexes of *tyi- in many Zapotec languages (are used in a wider range of contexts, including progressive contexts.
  - Northern Zapotec languages: Zoogocho (Sonnenschein 2005), Choapan (H. Lyman 2007:73) and Macuiltianguis (Foreman 2006)
  - Southern Zapotec languages Coatec Zapotec (Beam de Azcona in prep).

IMPERFECTIVE IN CVZ: HABITUAL USES

- T- aspect in CVZ is also not 'habitual', since it is used in both habitual and progressive contexts.
- The following example shows a habitual use of T-

Tua cani n-aca   cobicha   to-zani=ni

in   this stat-be sun   impf:caus-illuminate=3

chi…

day

'In this, the sun illuminates the day...' (Feria 1567:10v)

An Extended Example

Alaa	cicatij			taca,	chi	tizaà		beni	neza
alaa	cica	=tij	t-	aca	chi	ti-	zaà	beni	neza
now	like	=dem	T	be	when	T	walk	person	road

quelacahui:		ciani	liaçataca,			cani	nacacî		
quela=	cahui	ciani	liaça	t-	aca	cani	n-	aca	=cî
NOM=	dark	many	time	T	be	this	STA	be	=only

yaga,	nacaci			quie,	zoo	tua	neza:
yaga	n-	aca	=ci	quie	zoo	tua	neza
wood	STA	be	=only	stone	stand	at.edge.of	road

ticilooni				beniato
ti-	ciloo		=ni	beniato
T	think, believe		=3	people

'Passa ansi que quando vn hombre va camino de noche escuro, muchas vezes acaesce que los arboles y las piedras se le hazen hombres'.   (Feria 1567:f22v)

'It happens that when a man goes walking in the dark of night, often times it happens that the trees and the rocks appear to be people'. (Lit., Now it is like this, when a person walks the road (when) it has become dark: many times it is this, it is only a tree, it is only a stone that stand at the edge of the road: he believes it is a person.)

Progressive Uses of the T- Aspect

- T- can also show progressive aspect:

nachi   …   toniya   memoria   testameto
na chi   …   t-oni=ya   memoria   testamento
today day   T-do=1sg   memory   testamento

xitini yanâ
xi-tini=ya   na
poss-possession=1sg   1sg

'Today… I make my memory and testament.'
(Testament of Pablo Pichana 1596)

IMPERFECTIVE IN CVZ: PROGRESSIVE USES

Anna	tiñabaya			lato	,	copalaxa			quela
anna	ti-	ñaba	=ya	lato		copala		=xa	quela
now	T	ask	=1s	2pl		how many times		=emph?	NOM

cobana		xiquichaa		Dios	nitij	penito			colàla
co-	bana	xi-	quichaa	Dios	nitij	p-	eni	=to	colàla
PERF	steal	POSS	property	God	this	PERF	do	=2pl	after?

cetanicito	?
cetanici	=to
grow	=2pl

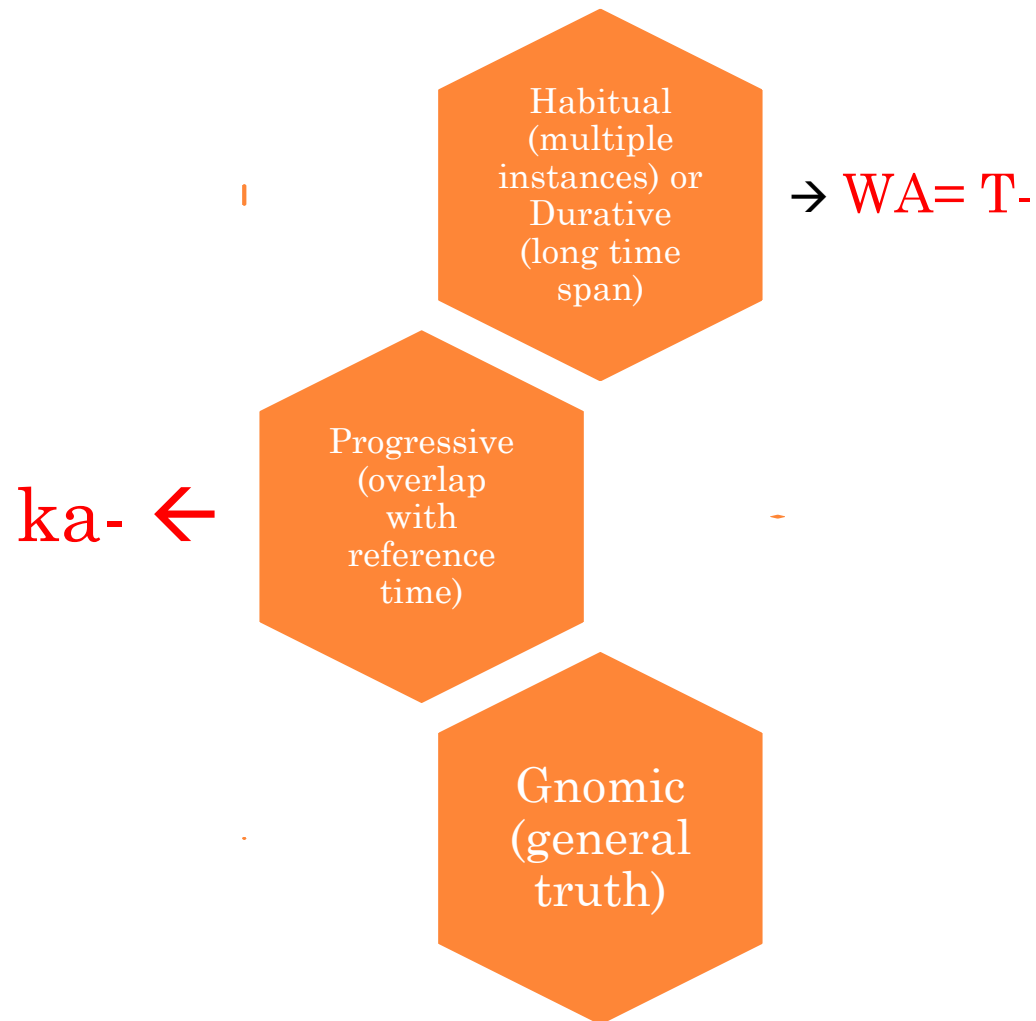Pregunto os ahora quantos hurtos destos aveis hecho esiste(en este?) mundo

despues que teneys uso de razõ.

Now I ask you, how many thefts of these have you committed in this world after

you had the use of reason. (Feria f 26)

TENSION IN THE CVZ IMPERFECTIVE

Habitual (multiple instances) or Durative (long time span)

→ WA= T-

Progressive (overlap with reference time)

ka- ←

Gnomic (general truth)

/KA-/ AS AN INNOVATIVE PROGRESSIVE

- Broadwell (2015) argues that /ka-/ is an innovative progressive aspect marker which is still in an early stage in the colonial texts.

Co-na-chahui=to   *ticha ca-nni=a.*

perf-hear-well=2pl   word prog-say=1sg

'Hear well the words I am saying' (Feria 1567:88)

- The progressive is not obligatory in CVZ. This contrasts with modern Valley Zapotec
- Innovation of a distinctive way to show progressives is one way of resolving the imperfective tension.

Tension in the CVZ Imperfective: Stative verbs

Habitual (multiple instances)

→ WA= T-

→ WA= N-

Simple identity

NA- ←

Extended state

→ WA
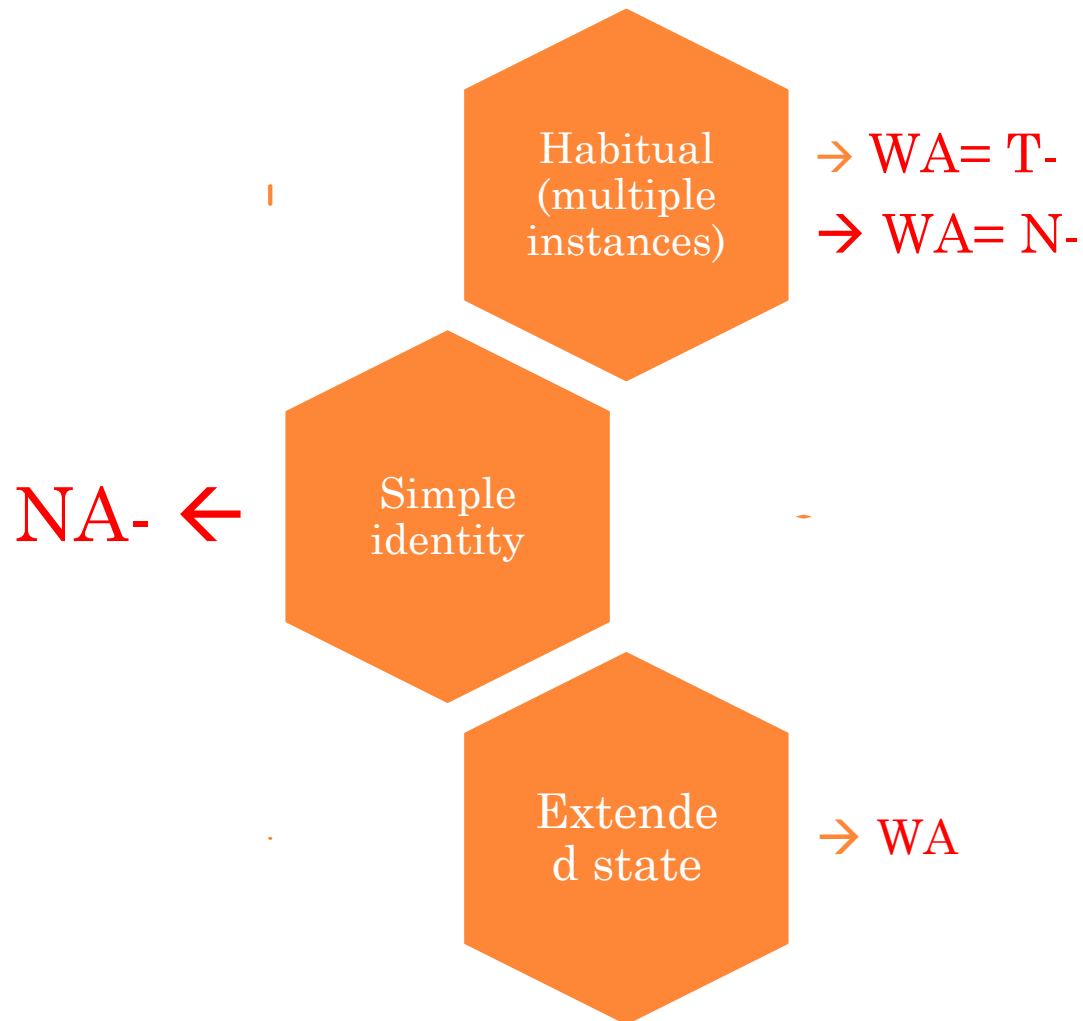
Na- vs Wa- on Statives

- Na- as simple stative; wa- as extended stative

  Oarij lechelalo?

  Oa-rij lechela=lo?

  WA-exist spouse=2sg

  'Are you married?' (Lit. Does your spouse exist?)

  (Aguero 1666 f26)

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