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THE DEVELOPMENT OF 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 1521-1810).
- 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 Ocotepc (SDOZ):

Aspect	Realization	Uses
Habitual	r-	customary/habitual acts
Progressive	ka-	ongoing act
Potential	gi- ~gu- ~ <i>fortition</i> + ^H	event not yet begun; control complement
Definite Future	zi- ~ s-	event not begun, but emphasized
Perfective (<i>or</i> 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?
- We need to see the aspectual systems of Zapotec not as a fixed set of morphological and semantic distinctions, but as an evolving system.
- In this system
 - Some morphological elements (typically particles and verbs) get reinterpreted as aspectual prefixes
 - The range of meanings of the prefixes changes over time
 - Some elements become obsolete when their meanings are taken over by other elements.
- An important part of understanding the history is careful consideration of how aspect markers are used in the colonial texts of the 16th and 17th century.

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, *huatağoa*. 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 *huatağoa*. 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 Coooni
Morphemes yaca channa aca laa =ti coooni
Lex. Gloss NEG father, priest NEG focus? PT/NEG2 virgin

yonna Coooni nataa nacani ,
 yonna coooni 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.

INFERENTIAL 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

tocoçani 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 reloj, y lo rige y gobierna.

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

PERFECT > INFERENTIAL

- The use of perfects to express inferentials has been noted as a general typological tendency (Comrie 1976; Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca 1994) and is particularly well-known in Scandinavian languages (Haugen 1972).

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)
- The distinction between na- and wa- seems similar to the familiar stage-level vs individual-level distinction (Carlson 1977, Kratzer 1995).
- However not all examples of wa- fit neatly into the individual-level group (e.g. 'It is still there.')

NA-/WA- CONTRASTS

3.2 Word	yobi	zaa	oachaba	nacani		oate	nacani
Morphemes	yobi	zaa	oa chaba	n aca	=ni	oa te	n aca =ni
Lex. Gloss	same	wax	PRF be.dirty	STA be(not-PERF/PRF) 3		PRF sticky	STA be(not-PERF/PRF) 3
:	çicani	yobi	too	nagati	nayaa	nacani	, tebela
çica =ni	yobi	too	na- gati	na- yaa	n aca	=ni	tebela
thus 3	same	wick	STA white, clean	STA be clean	STA be(not-PERF/PRF) 3		if
oaca chabatini						, tebela huaygo	tilla ni
oa ca			chaba =ti	=ni	tebela	hua ygo	tilla ni
PRF be(not-PERF/PRF)			be.dirty PT/NEG2 3		if	PRF be foul-smelling, disgusting	*** REL
xitenizaa		coxîni		cocaani		quelanipichagañenini	.
xiteni	zaa	co-	xî =ni	cu- caa =ni	quelani pi- chaga =ñe =ni =ni		
of(POSS-GEN)	wax	PERF	touched 3	PERF take 3	because PERF join with 3 3		

Free Eng The wax is dirty and sticky; the wick is white and clean: if it has any dirtiness or odor, the wax caused it by having been joined with it.

Spn El sevo es suzio y pegajoso: el pavilo es blanco y limpio: y si alguna suziedad o algun mal olor tiene, el sevo se lo pego por aver juntado con el.

Note that the dirtiness and stickiness of tallow are permanent qualities; the cleanliness and whiteness of the wick are temporary.

DURATIVE OR EVALUATIVE SENSE

huatijcaxa

Dios

hua-tij=ca=xa

dios

PRF-exist=EMPH=EMPH

God

'God certainly exists.'

'Está o ay ciertamente Dios.' (Cordova 1578:51v)

Huazócani

hua-zó=ci

cani

PRF-be.standing=only

this

'It is still there.'

'Todavía está allí.' (Cordova 1578:53v)

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 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 Type 1
- 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 Type 2

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 events) 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 continuous readings in texts.
- Less frequently, there are uses that seem emphatic

HABITUAL/CONTINUOUS SENSES

oatizabi lachi	bezelo , chela coçacani
oa= ti- zabilachi	bezelo 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
- ⇒ Continuous 'the devil always wants'

CONTINUOUS SENSES

4.2 Word Cicani quela tiyeljlachi ,
Morphemes cica =ni quela= ti- yeljlachi
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	Espanoles
Morphemes	tebela	beni	Espanoles
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)

WA-NA HABITUALS

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	conîya , la
queya	tobi tobi	queche	= la	oa =	n aca = lo conîya = 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 losbienes terrenales.

WA-NA- CONTINUOUS?

Huananalo ,tevela ra- calachi cochaagañaani guiloobilachitooni ?
 hua = n-ana =lo tevela r- acalachi co- chaaga =ñaá =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, the main almost never shows WA-; instead it reverts to the more usual aspect marking (T- or NA-).
- Possibly WA is associated with focus on the predicate.

Oatacalachito cacapeato,

oalijca

Oa=t-acalachi=toc-aca-pea=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.
- The interpretation is as a perfect, i.e. a completed event followed by a resultant state

Ne chi **a**=b-dxial = ti = 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 jiädni = tu lo = ä te näjza narä cha-gan = 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 $\acute{a}= \sim b\acute{a}=$ is a "completive" for "something has been (in fact, or in one's mind)".
- $\acute{a}=$ and $b\acute{a}=$ apparently have the same meaning, but $\acute{a}=$ is the normal word-initial form and $b\acute{a}=$ is the non-initial form.
- Some examples show the clitic repeated:

$\acute{A}=_{\text{na}}=b\acute{a}=_{\text{bi-dzun}}=\acute{a}$.

$\text{prf}=\text{now}=\text{prf}=\text{com-arrive}=1:\text{s}$

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 nē 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.'

FROM CVZ TO MODERN VALLEY AND ISTHMUS 1

- Most modern Valley Zapotec languages (e.g. San Lucas Quiaviní, San Dionisio Ocotepec, Mitla) do not have word-initial /wa/ sequences (apart from borrowings and onomatopoeia).
- Thus Mitla /bá=/ is not an unexpected reflex of colonial /wa=/. Most modern Valley lgs show /á=/.
- The Albarradas /ya=/ is puzzling, but perhaps due to conflation with Spanish *ya*.
- The modern Valley Zapotec lgs continue the Type 2 pattern in which this morpheme is a clitic preceding an aspect marker:
 - (PreASP)=ASP-(caus/repet)-ROOT(=applic)=subj=obj

FROM CVZ TO MODERN VALLEY AND ISTHMUS 2

- The semantic shift from CVZ to Modern Valley is
 - Stage 1:
 - Wa=(Stative/Imperfective)-Verb = habitual/durative **Type 2**
 - & Wa-Verb = Perfect **Type 1**
 - ↓
 - Stage 2: A=(Perfective)-Verb = Perfect **Valley**
- Stage 2 has the morphology of the Type 2, but the semantics of Type 1
- Isthmus Zapotec retains the morphology and semantics of Type 1, but has lost Type 2.

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