TWO STATIVES IN COLONIAL VALLEY Zapotec

George Aaron Broadwell
University at Albany, State University of New York
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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) ($< pZp \ast tyi=$)
  - b- $\sim$ gw- $\sim$ g- Perfective ($< pZp \ast kwe=, \ast ko=$)
  - gw- $\sim$ g- $\sim$ y- $^H$ Potential ($< pZp \ast ki=, \ast k=$)
  - [gw- $\sim$ g- $\sim$ y-] Dubitative (with some verbs)
  - n- stative ($< pZp \ast na=$)

- 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):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect</th>
<th>Realization</th>
<th>Uses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Habitual</td>
<td>r-</td>
<td>customary/habitual acts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Progressive</td>
<td>ka-</td>
<td>ongoing act</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potential</td>
<td>gi- ~gu- ~ fortition +^H</td>
<td>event not yet begun; control complement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Definite Future</td>
<td>zi- ~ s-</td>
<td>event not begun, but emphasized</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfective (or Completive)</td>
<td>(g)u- ~ bi-</td>
<td>Completed telic past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unrealized</td>
<td>ni- ~ ny-</td>
<td>Counterfactuals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stative</td>
<td>na-</td>
<td>stative events</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
E VOLUTION OF A SPECT 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect Label</th>
<th>Orthographic Representations</th>
<th>Probable Phonemicization</th>
<th>Smith Stark’s Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>&lt;ti, te, to, t&gt;</td>
<td>/ri-, r- e-, r- u-, r-/</td>
<td>habitual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>&lt;bi, pi, be, pe, b, p, co, go, c, g&gt;</td>
<td>/bi, be, b; gu, g/</td>
<td>completivo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>&lt;qui, que, qu, y, c&gt;</td>
<td>/ki, k, i/</td>
<td>potencial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WA</td>
<td>&lt;hua, hue, oa&gt;</td>
<td>/wa/</td>
<td>perfecto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA</td>
<td>&lt;na&gt;</td>
<td>/na/</td>
<td>participio estativo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 tres 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, huatañgoa. 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 huatañgoa. 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 Perfect**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>10th Word</th>
<th>Yaca channa , acalaati Cocooni</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Morphemes**
- yaca channa
- aca laa =ti cocooni

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

**yonna**
- Cocooni nataa nacani
- cocooni nataa n aca =ni
- intact virgin virgin STA pure STA be(not-PERF/PRF) 3

**huayannacani**
- , huayooni cani tolla guche
- huay- anna =ca =ni huay- ooni =ca =ni tolla guche
- 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.
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 reloj, 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:
  \[
  \text{ASP-}(\text{caus/repet})-\text{ROOT}(=\text{applic})=\text{subj}=\text{obj}
  \]
- A second pattern is where WA- appears before the regular aspect marker, in a slot that I will call Pre-Aspect:
  \[
  (\text{PreASP})=\text{ASP-}(\text{caus/repet})-\text{ROOT}(=\text{applic})=\text{subj}=\text{obj}
  \]
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 continuous 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'
'continue to believe'
Spaniards, I confess, I say, commit sins of theft and wife-beating and fornication, and... (Feria 1567:64v)
Wa-Na Habituals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>qua</th>
<th>niñquin</th>
<th>caloneza</th>
<th>calo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Morphem</td>
<td>qua =</td>
<td>ni quina</td>
<td>ca lo</td>
<td>neza ca lo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lex. Gloss</td>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>REL</td>
<td>be. necessary</td>
<td>walk face/to:through:from; to road</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to</td>
<td>tobi</td>
<td>tobi</td>
<td>queche</td>
<td>la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>queya tobi tobi queche</td>
<td>la</td>
<td>oa</td>
<td>n aca</td>
<td>lo coniya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>market</td>
<td>every one</td>
<td>pueblo</td>
<td>or</td>
<td>PRF(pre-asg)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oanacalo</td>
<td>còona</td>
<td>la</td>
<td>anacalo</td>
<td>cobech</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oanacalo =</td>
<td>n aca</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>lo còona</td>
<td>=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRF(pre-asg)</td>
<td>STA</td>
<td>be(not-PERF/PRF)</td>
<td>2s</td>
<td>worker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oazij</td>
<td>ooachibaa</td>
<td>tete</td>
<td>çaçalo</td>
<td>:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>œa zij</td>
<td>ooachibaa</td>
<td>tete</td>
<td>çaça</td>
<td>=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRF</td>
<td>affliction</td>
<td>PRF</td>
<td>misery</td>
<td>very</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lo</td>
<td>quichaa</td>
<td>guechelayoo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lo</td>
<td>quichaa</td>
<td>gueche</td>
<td>layoo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 costar trabajo, 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 los bienes terrenales.
**WA-NA- CONTINUOUS?**

Huananalo ,tevela ra- calachi cochaaginaani guiloobilachitooni ?

hu = n-ana → lo tevela r- acalachi co- chaaga = ñaa = ni gui- toobilachi too = ni

prf (pre-aspp) 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-aspp) STA exist POSS lover 2s

Free Eng. Are you living with a lover?

Spn Estás amancebado?

15 Word Hualiñca channa , hua ríj

Morphemes hua liñ = ca channa hua- ríj
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=to toc-acaapea=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 chí a=b-dxial=tí=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-dxál=tu=ní jiádnii=tu lo=a te nájza nará cha-gan=á=ní 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=ŋa=bá=bi-dzun=á.
  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 $ya=dxejli=di laax, laa gol gol gaje naj, din nē naj chigzuxib loj=x$
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.'
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 \[\text{impf:caus-illuminate}=3\]

  \[chi...\]

  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 veces 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
cobra bana xiquichaa 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
después que teneys uso de razó.

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)
- Progressive (overlap with reference time)
- Gnomic (general truth)

\[ \text{WA} = T \]
/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-

Simple identity → WA = N-

Extende d state → WA

NA- ←
**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)
REFERENCES