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THE DEVELOPMENT OF STATIVES IN COLONIAL VALLEY ZAPOTEC

George Aaron Broadwell
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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 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- ~ <em>fortition</em> +^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>
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:

<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, huataγoa. 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 huataγoa. 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**

### 10 Word

- Yaca channa, acalaati Cocooni
- yaca channa aca laa =ti cocooni
- NEG father, priest NEG focus? PT/NEG2 virgin
- yonna Cocooni nataa nacani
- yonna cocooni nataa n aca =ni
- intact virgin virgin STA pure STA be(not-PERF/PRF) 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PRF</th>
<th>know EMPH 3</th>
<th>PRF</th>
<th>do EMPH 3</th>
<th>sin</th>
<th>pueblo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

- huayanacani, huayponi cani tolla gueche
- huayan-anna =ca =ni huay-ooni =ca =ni tolla gueche

**Free** En

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

**Span** 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 e- acaapea lachi =ni

Lex. Gloss person this quickly IRR know heart 3

nàtichani , oani 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

Span 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.

Feria 1567:21r
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.')
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
huá-tij=ca=xa dios
PRF-exist=EMPH=EMPH God
'God certainly exists.'
'Está o ay ciertamente Dios.' (Cordova 1578:51v)

Huazócticani
huá-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:
  \[
  \text{ASP-(caus/repet)-ROOT(=appli)=subj=obj} \quad \text{Type 1}
  \]
- A second pattern is where WA- appears before the regular aspect marker, in a slot that I will call Pre-Aspect:
  \[
  \text{(PreASP)=ASP-(caus/repet)-ROOT(=appli)=subj=obj} \quad \text{Type 2}
  \]
CVZ texts show a form not previously discussed in colonial grammars or modern work.
- $oa=\text{ASP-VERB} \sim hua=\text{ASP-VERB}$

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 bezeloo, chela coçacani
- oa= ti- zabilachi bezeloo chela co-çaca =ni
- WA=HAB-desire devil and PERF-cause=3
- quenitono 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 tiyelijlachi,
Morphemes cica =ni quela = ti- yelijlachi
Lex. Gloss thus 3 NOM HAB believe(?-heart)

lachini tobici Dios,
oateliijca 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- ôni =ni
NEG EMPH PERF adore 3 NEG EMPH PERF do 3

quiela

xibitooni quiel;

xibitoon;

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

span pero creen verdadera y firmemente en vn solo dios, y no adoran a los ydolos,
Spaniards, I confess, I say, commit sins of theft and wife-beating and fornication, and... (Feria 1567:64v)
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.

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 los bienes terrenales.
**Wa-Na- Continuous?**

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Hua</th>
<th>naríj</th>
<th>xtoolo</th>
<th>?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Morphemes**
- hua =
- na- rij
- x- too = lo

**Lex. Gloss**
- PRF(pre-asp) STA exist POSS lover 2s

**Free Eng** Are you living with a lover?

**Esp** Estás amancebado?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Hualijca</th>
<th>channa</th>
<th>,hua rij</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**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

**Esp** 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-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.
- The interpretation is as a perfect, i.e. a completed event followed by a resultant state.

Ne chi a=b-dxial=ü=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 jiádnii =tu lo =ä te näjza narä cha-gañ = 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.' (Mitlá)
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.

$$Abi'\ chi\ \underline{ya}=dxejli=di\ laax,\ laa\ gol\ gol\ gaje\ naj,\ din\ nê\ naj\ chigzuxib\ loj=x$$
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.'
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 yα.

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
The semantic shift from CVZ to Modern Valley is
- **Stage 1:**
  \[ Wa=(\text{Stative/Imperfective})-\text{Verb} = \text{habitual/durative} \]
  \[ & Wa-\text{Verb} = \text{Perfect} \]
  - Type 2
  - Type 1

- **Stage 2:**
  \[ A=(\text{Perfective})-\text{Verb} = \text{Perfect} \]
  - 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.
REFERENCES


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