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THE DEVELOPMENT OF STATIVES IN COLONIAL VALLEY ZAPOTEC

George Aaron Broadwell
University at Albany, State University of New York
SSILA 2015
Colonia 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.
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)

'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) (\(<\text{pZp}\ star{tyi}=\))
  - b- ∼ gw- ∼ g- Perfective (\(<\text{pZp}\ star{kwe}=,\ star{ko}=\))
  - gw- ∼ g- ∼ y- \(+^H\) Potential (\(<\text{pZp}\ star{ki}=,\ star{k}=\))
  - [gw- ∼ g- ∼ y-] Dubitative (with some verbs)
  - n- stative (\(<\text{pZp}\ star{na}=\))

- 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>
**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.
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.
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, \(huata̱goa\). 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 \(huata̱goa\). 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
Morphemes yaca channa aca laa =ti cocooni
Lex. Gloss 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
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.

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

Aguero 1666:f26
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 , oati beni tana[ni quiba ,
nàticha =ni oa tij beni t- ana =ni quiba
*** thing 3 PRF exist person HAB know 3 metal
tocoçàni quibatij
tocoçà =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.

Feria 1567:21r
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
**huatij=ca=xa**  dios
**PRF-exist=EMPH=EMPH**  God

'God certainly exists.'

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

Huazócicani

**huazó=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:

\[ \text{ASP-}(\text{caus/repet})-\text{ROOT}(=\text{appl})=\text{subj}=\text{obj} \]  
Type 1

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

\[(\text{PreASP})=\text{ASP-}(\text{caus/repet})-\text{ROOT}(=\text{appl})=\text{subj}=\text{obj} \]  
Type 2
Wa= as a Habitual in CVZ

CVZ texts show a form not previous discussed in colonial grammars or modern work.
- \( \text{oa}=\text{ASP-VERB} \sim \text{hua}=\text{ASP-VERB} \)

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- zabilachì bezeloo chela co-çaca =ni
WA=HAB-desire devil and PERF-cause=3
quin 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 tobicci Dios ,
a =ca lachi =ni tobi =ci dios
PRF HAB believe(?-heart) EMPH heart 3 one only God
yagaca coc writeln , 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
Spa pero creen verdadera y firmemente en vn solo dios, y no adoran a los ydolos,

'continue to believe'
Spanish, 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>quela</th>
<th>ninaquía</th>
<th>caloneza</th>
<th>, ca lo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Morphemes</td>
<td>quela = ni quía ca lo neza ca lo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lex. Gloss</td>
<td>NOM REL be.necessary walk face/to:through:from; to road walk face/to:through:from; to</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>queya tobi tobi queche : la oanacalo conîya , la</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>queya tobi tobi queche = lo oa = n aca = lo conîya = lo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>market every one pueblo or PRF(pre-asp) STA be(not-PERF/PRF) 2s merchant or</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oanacalo côona , la anacalo cobeche ,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oa = n aca = lo côona = lo a- n aca = lo cobeche</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRF(pre-asp) STA be(not-PERF/PRF) 2s worker or PRF STA be(not-PERF/PRF) 2s official</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oazij ooachibaa tete çacalo : quechela</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oa zij ooachibaa tete çaca = lo qu e- chela</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRF affliction PRF misery very cause, create 2s IRR RE reach? obtain? (w/RE)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lo quichaa guechelayoo .</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lo quichaa gueche layoo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>face/to:through:from; to property pueblo land</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Free 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.

Sen 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?**

Huananaloo | tevela ra- calachi | cochaagañaani | guiloobilachitooni |
--- | --- | --- | --- |

huanana | lo | tevela r- | acalachi | co- chaaga | nna | 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 corazón?

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

14 Word | Hua | narij | xtoolo |
--- | --- | --- | --- |

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?

15 Word | Hualijca | channa |
--- | --- | --- |

Morphemes | hua lij = ca channa |

Lex. Gloss | PRF straight, true EMPH father, priest |

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-dxal=tì=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 cho a=bi-dxāl=tu=ni jìādnìi=tì lo=ā te nājza narā cha-gan=ā=nì
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 \( \acute{a} \sim \acute{b} \) is a "completive" for "something has been (in fact, or in one's mind)".
- \( \acute{a} \) and \( \acute{b} \) apparently have the same meaning, but \( \acute{a} \) is the normal word-initial form and \( \acute{b} \) is the non-initial form.
- Some examples show the clitic repeated:
  
  \[ \acute{a}=\text{tna}=\acute{b}=\text{bi-dzun}=\acute{a} \]
  
  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.

\[
\text{Abi' chi } \underline{ya=} \text{dxejli} = \text{di laax, laa gol gol gaje naj, din nē naj chigzuxib loj} = \text{x when when prf} = \text{find} = 2s \text{ him:mm then pl:imp tell 1s} \text{ so that 1sg 'go worship' to = 3m}
\]

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 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(=appliq)=subj=obj
FROM CVZ TO MODERN VALLEY AND Isthmus 2

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

- 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


- Carlson, Gregory. (1977). Reference to kinds in English. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Massachusetts, Amherst


