

THE MORPHOSYNTAX OF NEGATION IN COLONIAL VALLEY ZAPOTEC*

Carolyn Jane Anderson
McGill University
canders1@alum.swarthmore.edu

Brook Danielle Lillehaugen
Haverford College
blilleha@haverford.edu

Annual meeting of the Society for the Study of the Indigenous Languages of the Americas
January 9, 2015; Portland

All languages have a means to express (at least clausal) negation (Miestamo 2007:552) and a description of negation is necessary for a complete grammatical description of any language. Here we present an overview of negation in Colonial Valley Zapotec (CVZ). We provide a lexical inventory and describe negative constructions, including standard negation, negative existentials, and negative indefinites, which are of interest typologically (e.g. Jespersen 1917, Dahl 1979, Payne 1985). We offer some comparison to modern Valley Zapotec languages, in particular San Lucas Quiavini Zapotec (SLQZ). We note that the morpheme =*ti*, which is associated with negative constructions throughout Zapotec (Galant & Foreman 2010) and required in negative constructions in SLQZ, is not obligatory in negative constructions in CVZ.

1. INTRODUCTION

Valley Zapotec is part of the central branch of the Zapotec language family (Otomanguean) (Smith Stark 2003). Our research focuses on a historical form of Valley Zapotec, specifically the form attested in manuscripts written in the Mexican Colonial period. We use CVZ data from both published sources and our own analysis of documents, done in a FLEx database (Broadwell & Lillehaugen 2012).

Galant & Foreman 2010 presents an extensive comparison of negation in the Zapotec language family. Munro & Lopez et al. 1999, Lee 2006 and Munro et al. 2007 present data and analyses of negation in San Lucas Quiavini (SLQZ), a modern variety of Valley Zapotec. Broadwell 2011 analyzes the syntax of negation in San Dionisio Ocotepec Zapotec (SDOZ). Galant & Foreman 2010 gives a good summary of negation in several Valley Zapotec languages, including Mitla (as well as SLQZ and SDOZ). (We'll use SLQZ for comparison later on.)

To our knowledge, there is no work that seeks to present a description of negation in CVZ. However, data on CVZ negation can be found in Galant & Foreman 2010, which cites Cordova's *Vocabulario*, and Broadwell 2002, which focuses on coordination, but includes some data and discussion of disjunctive constructions.

* Thanks to George Aaron Broadwell, Daniel Plesniak, and especially Pamela Munro and Michael Galant for their comments on the development of this work. We are also grateful to audience members at the *Coloquio sobre Lenguas Otomangués y Vecinas VI: Mario Molina Cruz* in Oaxaca, where an earlier version of this work was presented. In addition to those mentioned above, we are thankful to the following people for helping us understand the grammar of Colonial Valley Zapotec: Michel R. Oudijk, †Thomas Smith Stark, and Kevin Terraciano. We are also grateful to the additional members of the UCLA Zapotexts group (Christina Esposito, Xóchitl Flores-Marcial, John Foreman, Mike Galant, Olivia Martínez, Julie Morgenlender, María Ornelas, Diana Schwartz, Aaron Sonnenschein, and Lisa Sousa) and the UNAM CVZ seminar (Rosa María Rojas, Bety Cruz, Uliana Cruz, Mercedes Montes de Oca, and Marita Martín). As always, we owe our thanks to our Zapotec language teachers, especially Roberto Antonio Ruiz, Josefina Antonio Ruiz (Tlacolula de Matamoros Zapotec) and Felipe H. Lopez (San Lucas Quiavini Zapotec). ¡Xtyozën yuad! All errors are, of course, our own.

2. NEGATION MORPHEMES IN COLONIAL VALLEY ZAPOTEC TEXTS

The most well known CVZ text is Cordova's 1578(b) *Vocabulario*, a 30,000-word Spanish-Zapotec dictionary. Cordova also directed the publication of a grammar (the *Arte en lengua zapoteca*) published in 1578 (Cordova 1578a), 8 years before the first of grammar of English was published.¹

The section on negatives in the *Arte* is quite short and can be seen in its entirety in Figure 1. This section is organized in four subparts, presented in (1). Each subpart is introduced with a Latin term (underlined in the analysis below). In (1)b "the same" likely refers to *háca*, which had just been presented. We interpret the *supra* in (1)d referring to (1)c. Three morphemes associated with negation are seen in this entry: *háca* and *yáca*, both of which we gloss as NEG. In addition to these negative morphemes, we see =*ti*, a morpheme that frequently occurs in negative sentences (discussed in §2.5); we gloss =*ti* as 'point' (PT), following Munro & Lopez, et al. 1999: 63).

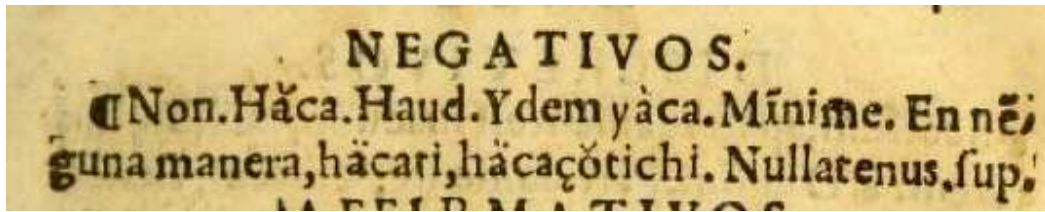


Figure 1. The section on negatives in the *Arte* (Cordova 1578a:48r)

(1) a. Non. **Háca.**² (Cordova 1578a:48r)³
 no NEG⁴
 'No, Háca 'no' '

b. Haud. Ydem **yáca.**
 not same NEG
 'Not, the same, yáca 'no' '

| | | | | | | | |
|----|---|---------------------------|-----------------|-------------|----------------|------|---------------------------------|
| | | | | NEG=TI | NEG | V=TI | S |
| c. | <u>Mínime.</u> | <i>En nē guna manera,</i> | háca=ti, | háca | çó=ti | | chi. |
| | not.at.all | in no manner | NEG=PT | NEG | be.standing=PT | day | 'the day doesn't exist (stand)' |
| | 'Not at all, in no way, hácati 'not', háca çóti chi 'never' ' | | | | | | |

d. Nullatenus. Sup[ra].
 never above
 'Never, [see] above'

¹ A digital edition of Cordova's *Arte* can be consulted on the Ticha project website: <http://ds.haverford.edu/ticha/arte.html>. This (in progress) edition contains modernization of the Early Modern Spanish and morphological analysis of Zapotec words.

² We believe the <h> was likely intended to be silent.

³ Latin words are underlined, Spanish words are in italics, and Zapotec words are in plain text. Glosses are added in single quotes after the Zapotec.

⁴ We use the following abbreviations: 1, first person; 3, third person; QUANT, quantifier; DEF, definite aspect; DEM, demonstrative; EMPH, emphatic; HAB, habitual; IRR, irrealis; NEG, negative; N, noun; NOM, nominalizer; OBJ, object; P, plural; PERF, perfective; POS, possession; PRF, perfect; PT, point; REL, relative; S, subject; SG, singular; ST, stative; V, verb.

The lexical entry for *no*, *adverbio negativo* [negative adverb] in the *Vocabulario* (Figure 2) shows two other negative morphemes, *yà* and *qui*, in addition to *hàca* and *yaca*, (2)a, as well as two example sentences illustrating the use of two of these morphemes, (2)b. We're also told that these four negative words are "put before" (but we are not told what—the clause? the verb?).

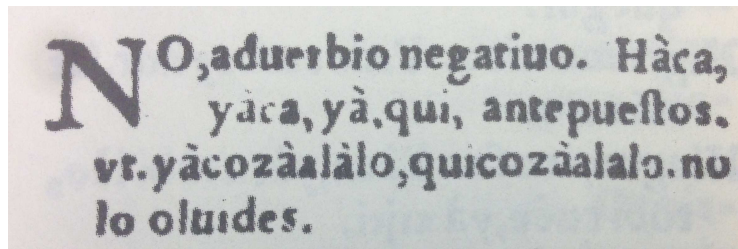


Figure 2. The entry *no*, *adverbio negativo* [negative adverb] in the *Vocabulario* (Cordova 1578b: 282r)

- (2) a. *No*, *adverbio negativo*. **Hàca**, | **yàca**, **yà**, **qui**, *antepuestos*. (Cordova 1578b: 282r)
 no adverb negative NEG NEG NEG NEG put.before
 'No, negative adverb. Hàca, yàca, yà, qui, put before'
- b. vt. **yà**=co-zàalà=lo, **qui**=co-zàala=lo. *no* | *lo* *olvides*.
 so NEG=PERF-forget=2SG NEG =PERF-forget=2SG no 3SG forget.PRES.2SG
 'So, yàcozàalàlo 'Don't forget', quicozàalalo 'Don't forget'. Don't forget it!'

The primary negation words found in these entries are summarized in (3). Note the similarity in forms between (3)a–c. In addition, the enclitic =*ti* is attested in the *Arte* entry, where it is shown cliticized to a negative word and to a verb. The two examples in the *Vocabulario* do not contain =*ti*. We see *haca* and *yaca* in contexts where it is clear they are independent words. *Ya*= and *qui*=, however, do not seem to occur independently, and we hypothesize that they are clitics.

- (3) a. *haca*
 b. *yaca*
 c. *ya*=
 d. *qui*=

There are hundreds of other extant texts that were written in Valley Zapotec during the Colonial period. They fall into two main types: (i) long type-set (often bilingual) texts, created under the auspices of the Catholic Church, such as doctrines of faith and confessionals and (ii) shorter, handwritten manuscripts written by Zapotec-speaking scribes, such as bills of sale and testaments (wills). (Publications of CVZ texts include: Cruz et al. to appear; Munro et al. to appear; and Oudijk 2008.) The beginning of one such testament can be seen in Figure 3 and pages from Feria's *Doctrina* can be seen in Figure 4, with parallel columns of Spanish and Zapotec text. We analyze the corpus in a FLEx database of texts (Broadwell & Lillehaugen 2012), some fully analyzed, others partially so. The concordance feature of FLEx allows us to search for strings of letters and instances of lexemes. Nevertheless, structures or sequences not attested in our data set should not necessarily be interpreted as ungrammatical or non-occurring.

Alma miserabile Coaxamo x chuy beo de febraro de 1708 años Bonina
 beonny quij cha chardobal la sazo memoria tosmo xij tij dya queleni
 ribesaa ya loy qola susdicia x tenny B. Dios quela besalla dya b. Dios
 Coaxo ba ya ny saa co la ya x p. rano xij llaany B. Dios chela huatichy
 la dya kuby ay caa dios huatichy b. Dios chela huatichy chonna perdon
 lny Santsi suma trinidad dios b. Dios xij ny dios spiritu s. chela
 huatichy la dya chij kaa xij baa ny aaditulos de la fe mola chij xij
 baa mo. ncha beo x tenny B. Dios chela caoyoo xij baa ny feronebeac
 xij mana Santa y. He cia chela huatichy la dya quij xatij baa
 ny chely la dya quij xatij baa chardobal xij llaany b. Dios
 Ya ca li ca li ca = amen = Jesus =

Figure 3. The testament of Christobal Basaro, 1708, Santa Caterina Quione (AGEO-AM Leg 42, Exp 12, 1734, 10r; published with permissions from the AGEO)

| Doctrina Xpiana | En lengua castellana y çapoteca. 9 |
|---|---|
| <p>es imagen y semejança de dios: criada para gozar eternamente de tu gloria en el cielo.</p> <p>¶ Por esto veres hijos mios, quan grande es vna ceguedad: q. siendo vna alma mas preciosa que todo el mundo: la ofreçes y dais de vna voluntad al demonio, por vn poquito de estercol y de barro.</p> <p>¶ Que es la dshonestidad, q. es la embriaguez, y que son todos los otros peccados, sino vn poco de estercol y de lodo? Por esto p. es dars vnas almas. Desventurados y miserables de vosotros. Por amor de dios os ruego que tengays en mucho de aqui adelante vuestras almas: y las guardays como cosa muy preciosa.</p> <p>¶ Eys aqui b. Dios os he declarado, de q. manera es el cuerpo, y de que manera es el alma. Agora os torno a dezir otra vez, que destas dos partes formo</p> | <p>dios a nuestro p. mer padre Adan: y formado Adan, puso dios en el vn sueño muy profundo, y estado durmiendo le saco vna costilla, de la qual formo su magestad la primera muger nuestra madre Eua.</p> <p>¶ La qual formada despo. to Adan, y como la vio durmiendo. Esta y verdaderamente es h. Dios mis huesos: y carne de mis carnes. Y en dicesse la dio dios por muger y compañera. Entonces hijos quando dios formo estos dos varon y muger, començola generacion de los hombres, estos fueron los primeros hombres que vyo en el mundo, y ellos fueron el principio de todos los de mas que ha auido y aura.</p> <p>¶ En estos dos hombres formo los dios de la manera que hemos dicho, al varon formo lo de tierra, y ala muger formo la de la costilla del varon. Despues saca todos los hombres son</p> |
| <p>oalica xilos: xibenabi Dios n. can, oalica peza bejoanana Dios animani cestoue nabantini, cini q. la gloriani quebaa,</p> <p>¶ Lo o ticha iijacapeachahuito xiiii, oayelate, coxene retenacato: quelani laaca anima xitenito tiri ninachono terezi, yaçaca looni quitobica billa yoo, laaca nititochigalachi yobito, rohuito bezeloo, niatenti lacitooci quicila beheia.</p> <p>¶ Xinaca que la co be xela, que la co rolala, que la tizochila? x. naca cechacue quitaaloo que la huexihui? oalica caniqui, canibenenacani. Laaca niatenti nititochigaro anima xitenico, chibaa tetelato, Niatenti Dios reyonia lacluro, quitobi loo chaona ana canchij cans chibaaro anima xitenito: cica quicha nachopo nachono tete capato anima xitenito.</p> <p>¶ Alaaci xini, pelohuyalato, xanacaxanaca pelalari, chela xanacaxanaca anima, Ana quini cerobilaçaya lato: oalica quitopaloo, qtopalaganiti pezaa</p> | <p>B. Dios bixocanitona Ad. i. che la chi coyaa yobi Adan, coloo B. Dios peçila xoolooni: china yacini, pebes, B. Dios tobichita texe xitenini: laaca chitracani pezaa bejoanana Dios benigno n. niro xihaxatono ni coajilani kua.</p> <p>¶ Chico yaa benigonacani, pehani Ad. i. chela chiconnani benigonat zoba looni conati, Oalica xichita yobia: xipela yobianaca benigno nitij. Chici bejoanana Dios pechigani benigonacani loo Adan ipenichis lechelani, peniche legami. Tuaritij xini cozoloo xitisa beniani, chipezaa bejoanana Dios quitropani nigui lo, gonala, benitij cozoloo que la beniani, Laçaca yobini pezobani tla quitaalij beniani nicoteteni: chela nicatecaleni: oalica çica pechigo pelala que la beniani cõca quitropani.</p> <p>¶ Quitopa benitij pezaa bejoanana Dios çica conia nobaa, yobibeni nigui lo pezaa bejoanana Dios laci yoo, cican benigonan xichita texe beni nigui lo pezaa bejoanana Dios. Pealoo canicanaxequelatichaga pelalari quitopa nigui lo.</p> |

Figure 4. A doctrine of Catholic Faith written in Colonial Valley Zapotec (Feria 1567: 8v-9r; image from John Carter Brown library)

In the corpus beyond Cordova we see an additional negative morpheme: *aca*. However, as word initial <h> can be silent, and *haca* isn't seen outside Cordova, we believe *aca* and *haca* represent the same morpheme.

(4) CVZ negatives

- a. *aca* (~ Cordova's *haca*), §2.1
- b. *yaca*, §2.2
- c. *ya=*, §2.3
- d. *qui=*, §2.4

2.1. *Haca* / *aca*

Aca can be used to mean 'no' in response to a question.

(5) **Aca** bixooce, naa **aca** n-anna=ya niquee (Vellon 98)

NEG father 1SG.FP NEG UNREAL-know=1SG 3PL

'No, father, me, I don't know (about) those [things]' [talking about sorcery]

(6) **Aca** channa, tapa=zi zoo laya pi-enni=lij=a (Agüero 4;1)

NEG priest four=only be.standing prayer PERF-understand=straight=1SG

'No, father, [there] are (stand) only four prayers I know' [not all the prayers]

Aca is seen negating nouns, including a borrowed noun in (7). In these cases it appear prenominally.

(7) t-e-nexillaa=tono na-ticha yoo **aca** quiña yoo **aca** estancia (Zi565;2)

HAB-1PL-donate_{1,2>1,2=1PL} ST-vacant land NEG sowed.land land NEG estancia⁵

yoo **aca** t-ana benj
land NEG HAB-plow person

'We give (to you) vacant land, not sowed land, not *estancia*, land [that] no person plows'

Aca also negates clauses (7) - (9).

(8) **aca** zoo chij **aca** zabi guela ca-naba=ja quinaa rij (Al642;25)

NEG stand day NEG float night IRR-ask=1S sowed.land this

'The day doesn't exist (stand), the night doesn't exist (float), that I will ask for this land'
('I will never ask for this land')

(9) Hua n-aca choona Dios? (Levanto;17)

Q ST-be three God

'Are there three Gods?'

Aca n-aca choona cani toobi=cii=ca Dios

NEG ST-be three but one=only=EMPH God

'[There] are not three, but only one God'

⁵ a type of private land holding

In the examples so far, =*ti* has not occurred anywhere in the clause. However, *aca* is also seen negating clauses with =*ti* occurring on the *aca* in (10) and on the verb, (11).

- (10) **áca=ti** zo-aca c-ochaga-ñaa=ni (Vellon 121; 25)
 NEG=TI DEF-can IRR-join-hand=3
 'they cannot get married'
- (11) **aca** n-anna=**ti**=a palla=*xa* lezaaca lati quee (Agüero 42; 8)
 NEG ST-know=TI=1SG how.many=EMPH value clothes DEM
 'I don't know how much that clothing is worth'

Aca is also used to negate quantifiers. In (12), *aca* negates the quantifier 'another'. In (13), *aca* negates the number 'one' and =*ti* attached to the number.

- (12) **aca** zee-toobi liaaza **que**=zee-zoochij=lo (Agüero 72)
 NEG DEF-one time NEG=DEF-be.drunk=2SG
 another
 '(that) you not be drunk not another time'
- (13) **aca** tobi=**ti** beni (Feria 78;12)
 NEG one=PT person
 'not (even) one person'

Finally, we also see *aca* in negative indefinite constructions, such as (14). This construction will be discussed further in §3.4.

- (14) **aca** xi pe-nni=**ti**=a loo benni niguijo (Agüero 31;6)
 NEG what PERF-do=PT=1SG face/to person male
 'I didn't do anything to (with) a man'

2.2. *Yaca*

Yaca is seen in the same range of constructions as *aca*, save two: we have not yet found an example of *yaca* negating noun phrases or in a negative indefinite, though we suspect these are likely just current gaps in our data. (15) shows *yaca* used as 'no' in response to a question.

- (15) **Yaca** channa, **aca** xi pe-nni=**ti**=a loo benni niguijo (Agüero 31;6) =expan. (14)
 NEG priest NEG what PERF-do-PT=1S face/to person male
 'No, father, I didn't do anything to (with) a man'

Yaca is used to negate clauses, either without =*ti* (16)-(18) and with =*ti* attached to the verb (19).

- (16) niatene **yaca** ti-zochij.tila=*ne*=ni xiniyochi=*a* (Al642;23)
 because NEG HAB-oppose.fight=*with*=3 son.in.law=1SG
 'because I don't have a complaint about it (with) my son in law'
- (17) *anima* **yaca** loxe=*ni* **yaca** g-àti=*ni* (Feria 7v; 12)
 soul NEG end=3 NEG IRR-die=3
 'the soul, it doesn't end, it will not die'

(18) *beni ni na-bani=ni, ni yaca c-ati yaca qui-bichi=ni* (Feria 47r)
 person REL ST-be.alive=3, REL NEG IRR-die NEG IRR-be.dry=3
 'people who are alive, who aren't dead, aren't dry'

(19) *yaca que-gába=ti=ni* (Feria 55)
 NEG IRR-be.counted=PT=3
 'they are not countable' (speaking of innumerable sins)

Yaca can also negate quantifiers. In (20), *yaca* negates *tobi* 'one', with =*ti* encliticizing to the number.

(20) *yaca tobi=ti beni co-yapi=ni tuacani* (Feria 35v)
 NEG one=PT person PERF-rise=3 there
 'not (even) one person went up there [heaven]'

2.3. *Ya*

Ya is used in fewer types of constructions than either *aca* or *yaca*. It is seen negating clauses with no =*ti*, as in (21) and in (22).

(21) *ya=c-ago-lij=to pela* (Feria;87r)
 NEG=IRR-eat-straight=2PL flesh
 'You (pl.) will truly not eat meat'

(22) *ya=go-ca.lachi=ni ni-ozeñelao=ni guelao=ga* (Te590;11)
 NEG=PERF-want(be-heart)=3 UNREAL-reveal(?-face)=3 first=EMPH
 'He did not want to reveal them at first'

Ya is seen negating clauses with =*ti*, as in (23). Example (24) is a bit more complicated; here =*ti* occurs after the verb root 'be' and before the apparently incorporated noun 'heart', cf. 'want' in (22).

(23) *ya=n-ànnà=ti=a* (Cordova 1578b: 228)
 NEG=UNREAL/ST?-know=PT=1SG
 'I don't know'

(24) *ya=r-aca=ti-lachi=a* (Agüero 78-79;1.3)
 NEG=HAB-be=PT-heart=1SG
 'I don't want'

Ya can negate noun phrases—in (25), a conjoined noun phrase. Note that it isn't used independently, but rather with an unidentified *la* morpheme (perhaps having some modal meaning) and the familiar =*ti*. This is consistent with our hypothesis that *ya=* is a bound morpheme.

(25) *cani tobi=ci=ca bitoo Dios na-tij=ni,* (Feria 21v)
 but one=only=EMPH god God ST-sit=3

ya=la=ti quie=la, yaga=la; cani na-lij bitoo Dios na-bàni
 NEG=modal?=PT stone=or wood=or but ST-straight god God ST-be.alive

'but only one God exists, not stone or wood, but truly, living God'

2.4. *Qui*

Apart from the example in the *Vocabulario* (repeated below), we have only identified one other example of *qui*= used as a negative in the corpus so far: (27). Because of the similarity in form to the irrealis prefix, it is possible that other examples exist that have been misidentified, though that doesn't seem sufficient to explain the paucity of examples found. Perhaps *qui*= is only used in negative imperatives?

- (26) **qui**=co-zàala=lo (Cordova 1578b: 282r) = (2)b
NEG =PERF-forget=2SG
'Don't forget'
- (27) **aca** zee-toobi liaaza **que**=zee-zoochij=lo (Agüero 72) = (12)
NEG DEF-one time NEG=DEF-be.drunk=2SG
'(that) you not be drunk again'

2.5. =*Ti*

Galant & Foreman show that **te'* appears in three of the four Zapotec branches in negative constructions, sometimes serving as the only negation marker (2010:1). As seen throughout the examples, =*ti* can occur in negative constructions in CVZ, but we have no examples of CVZ =*ti* being used as the marker of negation. CVZ =*ti* occurs in non-negative as well as negative constructions and so we don't analyze it as a negative morpheme. We gloss it as 'point' (PT) following Munro's glossing for =*di* in SLQZ ('up to (the point of), up until; at (the time of)' (Munro & Lopez, et al. 1999)).

In the *Arte*, Cordova notes that "este *ti* en esta lengua sirve de muchas cosas [this *ti* in this language is used for many things]" (61r), and his explanation includes the non-negative examples in (28). He notes that "Cuando se pospone al verbo con una negacion, es decir nunca, o jamas [when it is put after the verb with negation, it means never or never again]" (61r), (29).

- (28) a. *tálaya* "llegar [arrive]" c. *tágoa* "comer [eat]" (Cordova 1578a: 61r)
b. *tálati* "estar llegando [is arriving]" d. *tágotiá* "estar comiendo [is eating]"
- (29) a. *yácágotilo* "no lo comas nunca [don't ever eat it!]" (Cordova 1578a: 61r)
b. *yápénitía* "nunca tal hize [I never did so]"

2.6. *Ni-* (unreal aspect)

Galant & Foreman (2010: 9) identify **na* in all four branches of Core Zapotec as a negative marker and Kaufman (2014: 59) reconstructs **na* as a negative adverb to Proto-Zapotecan. Reflexes of **na* show up in the Valley as *na'c* (Mitla) and *nye'c* (SLQZ) (Galant & Foreman 2010: 9, Table 3). (The *c* at the end of these forms could be a reflex of the emphatic marker, seen in CVZ as =*ca*.)

We have found no *n-* initial negative words or morphemes to date. The aspect marker *ni-* is often used in negative constructions, as in (30) and (31), but we don't believe has any negative force itself. In negative constructions, it always co-occurs with *yaca*, *aca*, or *ya*. It is used in non-negative constructions, like (32). We call this aspect "unreal" for now and believe it is cognate to SLQZ *ni-*subjective.

- (30) **ya**=go-calachi=ni **ni**-ozeñelao=ni guelao=ga (Te590;11) =(22)
NEG-PERF-want(be-heart)=3 UNREAL-reveal(?-face)=3 first=EMPH
'He did not want to reveal them at first'

(31) **tebela ya=ni-aca.lachi** yobi=ni (Feria 31r)
 if NEG=UNREAL-want(be-heart) same=3
 'if he himself doesn't want'

(32) **tebela ni-ati=to** (Feria;22v-7)
 if UNREAL-die=2PL
 'if you (pl.) were to die'

3. NEGATION CONSTRUCTIONS IN COLONIAL VALLEY ZAPOTEC TEXTS

3.1. 'No' (response to question)

We have only found *yaca* and *aca* used to answer 'no' in response to a question. We have no examples of *ya=* or *qui=* used in this way.

(33) **Yaca channa, aca xi pe-nni-ti=a** loo benni niguijo (Agüero 31;6) =(15)
 NEG priest NEG what PERF-do-PT=1S face/to person male
 'No, father, I didn't do anything to (with) a man'

(34) **Aca bixooce, naa aca n-anna=ya** niquee (Vellon 98) =(5)
 NEG father 1SG.FP NEG UNREAL-know=1SG 3PL
 'No, father, me, I don't know (about) those [things]' [talking about sorcery]

3.2. Standard negation

A basic declarative clause is negated in CVZ by putting *aca*, *yaca* (35), or *ya* (36) at the beginning of the clause. There are no other changes in expected word order. We refer to this as "standard negation" following Payne 1985. (In Dryer 1988, all 18 verb-initial languages in the sample had clause initial negatives (p. 97), so this is unsurprising.)

NEG V
 (35) **yáca na-gába=ni** (Cordova 1578a: 5v)
 NEG ST-be.counted=3
 'It is not countable'

NEG=V
 (36) **yá=na-gába=ni** (Cordova 1578a; 5v)
 NEG=ST-be.counted=3
 'It is not countable'

(It's not clear that *qui=* can serve as the negative word in standard negation. We have only two examples: (37) is a negative imperative and in (38) *aca* appears clause initially.)

NEG=V
 (37) **qui=co-zàala=lo** (Cordova 1578b: 282r) = (2)b
 NEG =PERF-forget=2SG
 'Don't forget'

NEG=V
 (38) **aca zee-toobi liaaza que=zee-zoochij=lo** (Agüero 72) = (12)
 NEG DEF-one time NEG=DEF-be.drunk=2SG
 '(that) you not be drunk again'

Standard negation can occur without =*ti* [(35), (36)] or with =*ti* attached to the verb, (39) – (41).

- NEG V=TI
 (39) **yaca** pe-llohui=**ti**=lo (Agüero 4)
 NEG PERF-show=PT=2SG
 'you did not show [any contrition]'
- NEG=V=TI
 (40) **yà**=n-ànnà=**ti**=a (Cordova 1578b: 228) =(23)
 NEG=UNREAL/ST?-know=PT=1SG
 'I don't know'
- NEG V=TI
 (41) **yàca** n-ànnà=**ti**=a (Cordova 1578b: 228)
 NEG UNREAL/ST?-know=PT=1SG
 'I don't know'

This pattern, with a clause initial negative word and =*ti* attached to the verb, looks like standard negation in SLQZ, (42).

- NEG V=DI
 (42) **Queity** b-zhyuny=**di** mnii'iny. (SLQZ; Munro et al. 2007:125)
 NEG PERF-run=PT child
 'The child didn't run.'

In SLQZ, standard negation of clauses with irrealis verbs can work differently. In these cases, the enclitic =*di* attaches to the negative word (although irrealis clauses with verbs in an embedded clause can follow the basic pattern (Lee 2006:119)). In negated irrealis clauses, the subject appears before and after the verb. In example (43), =*di* is attached to *queity*, and the subject *mnii'iny* 'child' appears twice, after both the negative word and the irrealis verb.

- NEG=DI S IRR.V S
 (43) **Queity**=**di** mnii'iny y-zhyuny mnii'iny. (SLQZ; Munro et al. 2007:184)
 NEG=PT child IRR-run child
 'The child will not run.'

Example (44), illustrates something similar (though only one instance of the subject is present) with =*ti* appearing on the negation word before the verb.

- NEG=TI DEF-V
 (44) **áca**=**ti** zo-aca c-ochaga-ñaa=ni (Vellon 121; 25 = (10))
 NEG=PT DEF-can IRR-join-hand=3
 'they cannot get married'

However, this doesn't seem to be obligatory, as (45) and (45) follow the same pattern as the non-irrealis CVZ negated clauses above.

- NEG=IRR.V=S
 (45) **ya**=qui-chàga=ni ce-tobi=la beni (Feria 64v; 2)
 NEG=IRR-meet=3 DEF-one=modal? person
 'She does not meet another person.'

- NEG IRR.V=TI=S
 (46) **yaca** que-gába=**ti**=ni (Feria 55)=(19)
 NEG IRR-be.counted=PT=3
 'they are not countable' (speaking of innumerable sins)

Topicalized elements can occur before the negative word, as in (47) and (48), as can the head of a relative clause (49).

- TOP NEG₁ V₁=S₁ NEG₂ V₂=S₂
 (47) anima **yaca** loxe=ni **yaca** g-àti=ni (Feria 7v; 12)=(17)
 soul NEG end=3 NEG IRR-die=3
 'the soul, it doesn't end, it will not die'

- TOP NEG V=S
 (48) naa **aca** n-anna=ya niquee (Vellon 98)=(5)
 1SG.FP NEG UNREAL-know=1SG 3PL
 'Me, I don't know (about) those [things]' [talking about sorcery]

- HEAD.REL NEG V S
 (49) yoo **aca** t-ana benj _____ (Zi565;2)=(7)
 land NEG HAB-plow person
 'land [that] no person plows'

3.3. Negative existentials

Existentials can be made in various ways in CVZ, including with the verb *naca* 'is' and with positional verbs, which can be used existentially (Lillehaugen & Foreman 2013). In negating existential clauses with *naca* we have examples of *aca* (51) and *yaca* (52). Again, =*ti* doesn't seem to be required, but in contrast to standard negation, so far we only have examples of it appearing on the negative word (not the verb).

- (50) **Aca** n-aca choona cani toobi=cii=ca Dios (Levanto;17)=(9)
 NEG ST-be three but one=only=EMPH God
 '[There] are not three, but only one God'

- NEG=TI V
 (51) **aca=ti** n-aca na-zaaca niquee (Vellon 098;4)
 NEG=TI UNREAL?/ST?-be ST-good 3PL
 'They are not good'

- NEG=TI V
 (52) **yaca=ti** n-aca xi-tene çe-chacuee beche-lezaa=ya (Al642;12)
 NEG=PT UNREAL?/ST?-be POSS-GEN DEF-some brother.m-companion=1SG
 'It isn't of some other companion of mine' (It doesn't belong to some other companion of mine)

The common periphrastic expression for 'never' illustrates negative existentials with positional verbs, and examples of this phrase are ubiquitous in the corpus. *Aca*, *yaca*, and *ya=* are all seen, with and without =*ti*. From these examples it is clear that =*ti* was syntactically optional in this type of negative construction in CVZ. Its distribution may have been governed by some more subtle semantic or pragmatic difference.

(53) 'never' ('the day does not exist (stand), the night does not exist (hang), [that]...')

| | | | | |
|----|---|------|--|-------------------------------------|
| | NEG₁ V₁ | | NEG₂ V₂ | |
| a. | aca zoo NEG be.standing | chij | aca zabi day NEG be.floating | guela (Al642; 25) night |
| | NEG₁ V₁=TI₁ | | NEG₂ V₂=TI₂ | |
| b. | aca zoo= ti NEG be.standing =PT | chij | aca zabi= ti day NEG be.floating=PT | guela (Agüero 43) night |
| | NEG₁ V₁ | | NEG₂ V₂ | |
| c. | yaca zo NEG be.standing | chij | yaca zabi day NEG be.floating | quela (Feria 111r) night |
| | NEG₁=V₁ | | NEG₂=V₂ | |
| d. | ya =çòò NEG= be.standing | chij | yà =zàbi day NEG=be.floating | queela (Cordova 1578b:285) night |
| | NEG₁=V₁=TI₁ | | NEG₂=V₂=TI₂ | |
| e. | yà =çòò= ti NEG= be.standing=PT | chij | yà =zàbi= ti day NEG= be.floating =PT | quèela (Cordova 1578b:285) night |

3.4. Negative indefinites

In CVZ, negative indefinites are constructed by placing a negation word before a question word, as seen in (54)-(56) for 'no one' and 'nothing'. Both *yaca* (54) and *aca* (55) are seen in negative indefinite constructions. (We have yet to find a negative indefinite with *ya*=.) The verb follows the negative indefinite. Example (54) does not contain =*ti*, but in (55) and (56), =*ti* is attached to the verb.

(54) làni tobi quiña quie na-cobi tua (Feria 34v; 1)
stomach/in one tomb stone ST-new mouth/where

| | | | | | |
|-------------|---------------|-----------|---------|-------|--------|
| NEG | Q.WORD | V | | | |
| yaca | ro | qui-cachi | ce-tobi | cuela | beni |
| NEG | who | IRR-bury | DEF-one | ? | person |

'in a new stone tomb where no one will bury another person'

(55) **NEG** **Q.WORD** **V=TI**
aca xi pe-nni-**ti**=a loo benni niguijo (Agüero 31;6) =(14)
NEG what PERF-do-PT=1SG face/to person male
'I didn't do anything to (with) a man'

(56) **NEG** **Q.WORD** **V=TI**
aca xi n=apa=**ti**=a (Te614;27)
NEG what ST-have=PT=1SG
'I don't have anything'

The pattern with =*ti* seems structurally identical to the negative indefinite pattern in SLQZ, where a negative word appears before a question word and the enclitic =*di* is bound to the verb (Lee 2006:141).

NEG Q.WORD V=DI
 (57) **Que'ity tu** ny-ie'd=**di**'. (SLQZ; Munro and Lopez et al. 1999: 205)
 NEG who SUB-come=PT
 'There's no one that came.'

Example (58) contains a more complex negative indefinite, consisting of the negative word *aca* followed by the question word with =*ti* bound to the question word. There is also an additional noun following the negative indefinite: *beni* 'person', to mean something like 'no person'.

NEG Q.WORD=TI V
 (58) **quelani aca ru=ti** beni zo-aca ch-api quiebaa (Vellon 99)
 because NEG who=TI person DEF-can IRR-rise sky
 'Because no one (no person) can rise to the sky.'

4. CONCLUSIONS AND REMAINING QUESTIONS

Further work remains to be done on the morphology of the negative words in CVZ.

- (59) CVZ negatives
 a. *haca / aca ya?=ca* NEG=EMPH
 b. *yaca ya=ca* NEG=EMPH
 c. *ya=*
 d. *qui=*

This works also lays the foundation for further work on the development of the negative system in the Valley, including the relation between the negative words in Colonial and modern Valley Zapotec.

- (60) CVZ negatives SLQZ PZ
 a. *haca / aca*
 b. *yaca*
 c. *ya=* CVZ *ya=ti > a'ti'*
 d. *qui=* CVZ *qui=ti > quei'ty* ***kka**
 e. *nyèe'c* ***na**
 f. *teebag*⁶

While the enclitic =*ti* appears in negative constructions, its presence doesn't seem determined by syntax, unlike in modern SLQZ, which requires the reflex in negative constructions. We have examples of clauses negated without =*ti* in Vellon, written in 1808, which suggests that, if CVZ is a direct ancestor to SLQZ, that =*ti* did not become mandatory in negative constructions until at least the nineteenth century, after the end of the Mexican colonial period.

References

- BROADWELL, GEORGE AARON. 2002. The conjunctions of colonial and modern Valley Zapotec: Evidence from Feria (1567). ms: University of Albany, SUNY.
 BROADWELL, GEORGE AARON. 2011. Clausal Negation as Raising in San Dionisio Ocotepc Zapotec. *Proceedings of the Conference on Indigenous Languages of Latin America-V*, Austin, TX: online at http://www.ailla.utexas.org/site/cilla5_toc.html.

⁶ *Teebag* is used in negative indefinite and negative existential constructions (Munro & Lopez et al. 1999, Lee 2006:107, Munro et al. 2007:75).

- BROADWELL, GEORGE AARON & LILLEHAUGEN, BROOK DANIELLE. 2013. Building an electronic database for Colonial Valley Zapotec. Paper presented at the International Conference on Mesoamerican Linguistics, Fullerton.
- DE CORDOVA, FR. JUAN. 1578a. *Arte del idioma zapoteco*. Mexico: en casa de Pedro Balli. online: <https://archive.org/stream/arteenlenguazapo00juan#page/n3/mode/2up>
- DE CORDOVA, FR. JUAN. 1987 [1578b]. *Vocabulario en lengua çapoteca*, México: Ediciones Toledo (INAH).
- CRUZ, BETY, CRUZ, ULIANA, MONTES DE OCA VEGA, MERCEDES, OUDIJK, MICHEL R., ROJAS TORRES, ROSA MARÍA & SMITH STARK, THOMAS C. To appear. Un texto extraído de la Probanza de Santo Domingo Petapa. *Textos coloniales y decimonónicos en lenguas oaxaqueñas*, ed. by M. Swanton & M. Oudijk. Mexico City: Universidad Autónoma Nacional de México.
- DE LA CRUZ, VICTOR, WINTER, MARCUS, LÓPEZ CRUZ, AUSENCIA, LÓPEZ ZÁRATE, JOSÉ LEONARDO, SÁNCHEZ SANTIAGO, GONZALO, ARELLANES CANCINO, NIMCY & SMITH STARK, THOMAS C. 2009. 'Una lectura del texto zapoteco del mapa de Santo Domingo Níaa Guehui', *Cuadernos del Sur* 28, 9-46.
- DAHL, Ö. 1979. Typology of sentence negation. *Linguistics* 17: 79-106.
- DRYER, M. S. 1988. Universals of negative position. *Studies in syntactic typology* 17, ed. by E. Moravcsik, J. Wirth, and M. Hammond, 93-124. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- DE FERIA, PEDRO, 1567. *Doctrina christiana en lengua castellana y çapoteca*, Mexico City: En casa de Pedro Ocharte. online: <http://www.archive.org/details/doctrinachristia00feri>.
- GALANT, MIKE & FOREMAN, JOHN O., 2010. 'La negación en el zapoteco – hacia una tipología', paper presented at *Coloquio sobre Lenguas Otomangues y Vecinas IV: Thomas C. Smith Stark*, Oaxaca.
- JESPERSON, OTTO. 1917. Negation in English and Other Languages. Reprinted in *Selected Writings of Otto Jespersen*, 1962. George Allen and Unwin: London.
- KAUFMAN, TERRENCE C, 2006. Proto-Zapotec(an) Reconstructions. University of Pittsburgh: ms.
- KAUFMAN, TERRENCE C, 2014. Proto-Zapotec(an) Reconstructions. University of Pittsburgh: ms.
- LEE, FELICIA A., 2006. *Remnant raising and VSO clausal architecture*, *Studies in Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 66, Dordrecht: Springer.
- LEVANTO, LEONARDO, 1732. *Arte de la lengua zapoteca*, John Carter Brown Library. online <http://archive.org/details/artedelenguaza00leva>.
- LILLEHAUGEN, BROOK DANIELLE & FOREMAN, JOHN O. 2013. A first look at positional verbs in Colonial Valley Zapotec. Presented at the International Conference on Mesoamerican Linguistics, Fullerton.
- MIESTAMO, MATTI. 2007. Negation- an overview of typological research. *Language and Linguistics Compass* 1/5: 552-570.
- MUNRO, PAMELA. 2014. La constucción del "sujeto encubierto" en el zapoteco colonial del Valle. Presented at the Coloquio sobre Lenguas Otomangues y Vecinas-6: Mario Molina Cruz, Oaxaca.
- MUNRO, PAMELA. 2015. The Covert Subject Construction in Colonial Valley Zapotec. Presented at the annual meeting of the Society for the Study of the Indigenous Languages of the Americas, Portland. [this session]
- MUNRO, PAMELA, LILLEHAUGEN, BROOK DANIELLE & LOPEZ, FELIPE H. 2007. *Cali Chiu?: A Course in Valley Zapotec*, preliminary revised edition, New York: Lulu.com.
- MUNRO, PAMELA & FELIPE H. LOPEZ with OLIVIA V. MÉNDEZ, RODRIGO GARCIA & MICHAEL R. GALANT. 1999. *Di'csyonaary X:tè'n Di'zh Sah Sann Lu'uc (San Lucas Quiavini Zapotec Dictionary / Diccionario Zapoteco de San Lucas Quiavini)*. Los Angeles: UCLA Chicano Studies Research Center Publications.
- MUNRO, PAMELA, KEVIN TERRACIANO, XÓCHITL M. FLORES MARCIAL, MICHAEL GALANT, AARON HUEY SONNENSCHNEIN & DIANA SCHWARTZ. To appear. Un testamento zapoteco del valle de Oaxaca, 1614. *Textos coloniales y decimonónicos en lenguas oaxaqueñas*, ed. by M. Swanton and M. Oudijk. Mexico City: Universidad Autónoma Nacional de México.
- OUDIJK, MICHEL R., 2008. 'El texto más antiguo en zapoteca', *Tlalocan* 15:227-240.
- PAYNE, J. R. 1985. Negation. *Language typology and syntactic description, Vol I (Clause Structure)*, ed. by T. Shopen, 197-242. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- SMITH STARK, THOMAS C. 2003. Algunas isoglosas zapotecas. Paper presented at the III *Coloquio Internacional de Lingüística a Mauricio Swadesh*, México, D.F.
- VELLON, ANTONIO. 1981 [1808]. *Confesionario en lengua zapoteca de Tierra Caliente, o de Tehuantepec*. Patronato de la Casa de la Cultura.

Appendix 1: Table of CVZ documents referenced

| <i>Abbrev.</i> | <i>Year</i> | <i>Location</i> | <i>Document</i> | <i>Reference / Source</i> |
|----------------|-------------|-----------------------------------|---|--------------------------------------|
| Zi565 | 1565 | Zimatlan | declaration | FLEx, Oudijk 2008, UCLA ⁷ |
| Feria | 1567 | Oaxaca? Tectipac? ⁸ | doctrine of the Catholic faith | Feria 1567 |
| Cordova 1578a | 1578 | Tlacoahuaya | grammar | Cordova 1578a |
| Cordova 1578b | 1578 | Tlacoahuaya | dictionary | Cordova 1578b |
| Te590 | 1590 | Tectipac | land dispute between Domingo de Lerida and Baltasar Hernandez | FLEx, UCLA |
| Te593 | 1593 | Tectipac | bill of sale | FLEx |
| Te616 | 1616 | Tectipac | testament of Domingo Hernandez | FLEx, UCLA |
| Te618b | 1618 | Tectipac | decree | FLEx, UCLA |
| Al642 | 1642 | San Pedro el Alto | bill of land sale AGN 310 Tierras exp 2 | FLEx, UCLA |
| Agüero | 1666 | | religious miscellany | FLEx, Agüero 1666 |
| Tl675 | 1675 | Tlacoahuaya | testament of Sebastiana de Mendoza | FLEx, UCLA |
| Ti683b | 1683 | Tiltapac | testament of Marcos Antonio | FLEx, UCLA |
| Cruz et al. | 1695 | Santo Domingo Petapa | historical accounts | Cruz et al. to appear |
| Petapa | 1698 | Petapa | decree | FLEx, Oudijk |
| Co721 | 1721 | San Bartolomé Coyotepec | testament of María de la Cruz Dionisio | FLEx, UCLA |
| Levanto | 1732 | | Catechism | FLEx , Levanto 1732 |
| Tes740 | 1740 | | testament of Pedro Gomez | FLEx, UNR ⁹ |
| Vellon | 1808 | Oaxaca? ¹ | Confessional | Vellon 1808; FLEx |

⁷ These documents were originally analyzed by the “Zapotexts” group at UCLA, under the direction of Munro and Terraciano (see footnote marked with * on the first page). The analysis presented here reflects the authors’ current understanding of the grammar of CVZ and not necessarily the group’s original analysis.

⁸ Broadwell p.c., Oudijk p.c.

⁹ Originally analyzed in Lillehaugen's CVZ class at University of Nevada Reno, Spring 2012.