

The Andative and Venitive Construction in San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec*

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Complex motion verb constructions

In this talk, I examine complex motion verb constructions from a semantic lens, focusing on one particular construction: the andative/venitive construction in San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec.

1. Andative:

Rata rsily r-i-tyug Lia Petr gyia.
Every morning HAB-AND-cut Miss Petra flowers
'Every morning Petra goes and cuts flowers.'

2. Venitive:

Rata rsily r-ied-tyug Lia Petr gyia.
Every morning HAB-VEN-cut Miss Petra flowers
'Every morning Petra comes and cuts flowers.'

Goals:

- Work towards a semantic typology of complex motion verb constructions.
- Present a semantic analysis of the andative/venitive construction.
- Show that the relations of the thematic roles of each verb is a critical question for analyses of complex motion verb constructions.

San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec

- Western Tlacolula Valley Zapotec language
- Spoken in the village of San Lucas Quiaviní in Oaxaca, Mexico
- Endangered and underdocumented (Pérez Báez 2016)

The data presented here are from elicitation sessions in San Lucas Quiaviní with eight speakers of various ages, as well as, where noted, textual sources such as Munro et al. (2006), Munro & Lopez (1999), and online writings of SLQZ speakers (Lillehaugen 2016).

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SLQZ andative and venitives

SLQZ contains a complex motion verb construction called **andative** and **venitive** verb forms. Andative and venitive constructions are ones in which a motion verb, *ried* 'comes'¹ or *ria* 'goes', is inserted between the aspect marker and another verb.

- | | aspect | root | (adv) | (subj) | |
|----|--------|---------|-------------|--------|--|
| 3. | r- | tyug | -izy | =a | |
| | HAB | cut | only | =1s | |
| | | | | | 'I only cut' |
| 4. | Rata | rsily | r-i-tyug | Lia | Petr gyia. |
| | Every | morning | HAB-AND-cut | Miss | Petra flowers |
| | | | | | 'Every morning Petra goes and cuts flowers.' |

Andative and venitive constructions cannot take the normal *ca-* progressive aspect marker. Instead, they use the special *z-*progressive aspect marker for motion verbs, just like *ried* 'come' and *ria* 'go' outside of the construction.

5. (a) ca-dauw=ën
PROG-eat=1p
'We are eating' (Munro et al. 2006).
- (b) zo-dauw=ën
ZPROG.AND-eat=1p
'We are going and eating' (Munro et al. 2006).

Macro-event property

I take Bohnemeyer et al. (2007)'s Macro-Event Property as a semantic definition of a complex motion verb construction.

A construction has the **Macro-Event Property** if any time-positional operator, such as tense or a temporal adverbial, that locates one subevent entailed by the construction necessarily locates all other subevents in time (Bohnemeyer et al. 2007).

Andative and venitive constructions in SLQZ present only one event description at the level of tense and aspect marking and temporal modification. Andative and venitive constructions have only one aspect marker, which applies to both verbs. Perfective andative and venitive constructions obligatorily entail the completion of both the motion event and the event of the second verb (Munro et. al 2002).

¹I follow the standard practice of citing SLQZ verbs in their habitual form, since it is the one of the more regular forms. The morphology of aspect markers is highly irregular.

6. Context: Brook came to the market in order to buy a rug, but ended up buying shoes instead.

#Nai chi n-u=a logyia, b-ied-zi
 Yesterday when ST-locate=1s market PERF-VEN-buy
 Brook teiby tapet.
 Brook one rug

‘Yesterday when I was at the market, Brook came and bought a rug.’

Furthermore, temporal modifiers can only apply to the whole construction. Modifiers are not permitted to come between the two verbs.

7. Gu-to-ya Maria x-guan-ni.
 PERF.AND-sell-suddenly Maria POSS-bull=3s
 ‘Maria suddenly went and sold her bull.’

8. *Gu-ya-to Maria x-guan-ni.
 PERF.AND-suddenly-sell Maria POSS-bull=3s
 ‘Maria suddenly went and sold her bull.’

Temporal adverbials on the periphery are interpreted as applying to both verbs.

9. Context: Maria came yesterday but she danced today.

#B-ied-ya Maria nai.
 PERF-VEN-dance Maria yesterday
 ‘Maria came and danced yesterday.’

10. Context: Maria came the day before yesterday but danced yesterday.

#B-ied-ya Maria nai.
 PERF-VEN-dance Maria yesterday
 ‘Maria came and danced yesterday.’

Towards a semantic typology of complex motion verb constructions

Complex motion verb constructions vary along other semantic dimensions. In order to illustrate some of the semantic properties of the andative/venitive construction, I will contrast it with two complex motion verb constructions in English: adversative pseudo-coordination and the ‘go get’ construction.

English complex motion verb constructions

The ‘go get’ construction is a complex motion verb construction in English that has been discussed under the label of pseudo-coordination (Shopen 1971, Carden & Pesetsky 1977, Jaeggli & Hyams 1993, Pollock 1994, Ishihara & Noguchi 2000).

11. Esmeralda will go dress for dinner now.

A well-known property of the ‘go get’ construction is that in Standard English,² neither verb can be inflected (Shopen 1971, Carden & Pesetsky 1977).

12. Elinor will come send the letters after work.
 13. %Elinor came sent the letters before work.

As noted by Carden & Pesetsky (1971) and De Vos (2005), there is another kind of ‘go and get’ construction with a different truth conditions; most notably, it does not entail actual motion. I refer to this construction as the adversative construction, since it conveys a sense that the action of the subject is adverse or unfortunate.

14. Context: The speaker’s husband has been bedridden for many years, and did not physically move anywhere before dying.
 (a) My husband went and died.
 (b) #My husband came and died.

The adversative construction also differs morphosyntactically: it allows overt tense marking, so long as both verbs receive the same tense, and can only be formed with ‘go’.

Semantic variation

I illustrate four semantic properties of the andative/venitive construction.

Is the motion real?

Whether or not complex motion verb constructions describe actual motion is a point of semantic variation. In English, the adversative construction does not, while the ‘go get’ construction does:

15. ‘Go get’: #Alfred did go die in the hospital.
 16. Adversative: Alfred went and died in the hospital.

Context: Alfred died in the hospital after being confined to his hospital bed for weeks.

There are some examples of andative/venitive constructions that do not involve real motion. Consider 17, which describes a water-boiling situation.

²See Pullum (1990) for an in-depth discussion of dialectal variation in the bare morphology condition on ‘go get.’

17. Z-ied-dica=dihzy nyis ndaa chi
 ZPROG-VEN-appear=just water hot when
 b-siuw=a zhaa nyis.
 PERF-extinguish=1s under water.
 ‘The hot water had just appeared when I turned off the heat under it’
 (Munro & Lopez 1999).

Speakers felt that this sentence could describe a situation where the water is in a pot on the stove and speaker turns the burner off just as they see the water start to boil.

However, such examples that do not involve actual motion are quite restricted in range: they must describe a change of state, they only occur in the progressive, and they can only be formed with the venitive marker.

18. Z-ied-yahb yuu.de
 ZPROG-VEN-fall kitchen
 ‘The kitchen is coming and falling.’
 Comment: “It’s not really falling, but it’s leaning. It’s going to fall down.”
19. Z-i-yahb yuu.de
 ZPROG-AND-fall kitchen
 ‘The kitchen is going and falling.’
 Comment: “It’s moving— get out of the way before it collapses.”

Other than the change-of-state uses of the venitive construction, the motion must always be real.

20. #Gu-ro=ëng.
 PERF.AND-grow=3s
 ‘He went and grew up.’
21. Ladi gu-ro=ëng.
 Other.side PERF.AND-grow=3s
 ‘He went and grew up in the States.’

Except for change-of-state readings of progressive venitive constructions, then, the SLQZ andative and venitive construction requires actual motion.

Do the events overlap?

Another point of semantic variation is whether the time intervals of each of the events overlaps or follows a strict sequence.

In the ‘go get’ construction, the event described by the motion verb strictly precedes the event described by the second verb. By contrast, the events described by the andative/venitive construction may overlap.

22. Context: Mary will come here and smile.
 z-ied-zhiez Maria
 DEF-VEN-smile Maria
 ‘Maria will come and smile.’
23. Context: Mary will come here smiling.
 z-ied-zhiez Maria
 DEF-VEN-smile Maria
 ‘Maria will come and smile.’

Speakers accepted contexts in which the smiling and the coming event overlap, and in which the coming event strictly precedes the smiling event.

Are there restrictions on the second verb?

Complex motion verb constructions may also come with selectional restrictions for their second verb. The ‘go get’ construction in English does not allow stative interpretations of its second verb (Wulff 2006).

The andative and venitive construction in SLQZ may also impose constraints on its second verb. The chart below shows the distribution of andative/venitive forms in the Munro et al. (2006) conjugation chart, updated with what I have elicited in my own fieldwork.

Status	Munro et al. (2006)	Anderson
And/ven known	116	134
Lacks and/ven	54	48
Unknown	82	70

Whether the selectional restrictions are on aktionsarten is unclear. The construction allows a variety of seemingly stative verbs like *rzhilo* ‘is amazed at’, *ru* ‘is located’, and *ryulaz* ‘loves’.

The question is complicated by the fact that many SLQZ verbs can be used both statively and non-statively. For instance, *racxuw* can mean either ‘be sick’ or ‘get sick’; in the andative/venitive examples that it occurs in, it seems to have the latter meaning.

24. Queity ch-i-gac.xuw=u antes a ch-e=u
 NEG IRR-AND-get.sick=2s before already IRR-go=2s
 europa
 Europe
 ‘Don’t go and get sick before you go to Europe!’

The change-of-state interpretation of stative andative/venitive constructions is predicted by the facts about temporal overlap. If the beginning of the

event described by the second verb occurs after or simultaneously with the motion event, then a change-of-state interpretation arises naturally.

Is there an agentivity entailment?

A major difference between the andative/venitive construction and the ‘go get’ construction is that the ‘go get’ construction entails agentivity (Shopen 1971). A sentence like 25 sounds as if the subject intends to catch the flu.

25. Marie will come get the flu.

This property must come from the ‘go get’ construction itself, since it holds even when neither verb is itself agentive.

26. Context: Eve has set a trap that will cause Jenny to fall down the stairs when she arrives.
#Jenny will come fall down the stairs.

The andative/venitive construction does not entail agentivity. Although the construction requires animate subjects, it does not require that the subject purposefully performs the action.

27. (a) Z-ied-cha zhyet ni=a per queity
 ZPROG-VEN-warm cat feet=1s but NEG
 ca-cha=ëng ni=a r-acbe=di=ëng
 PROG-warm foot=1s HAB-know=PT=3s
 ‘The cat is coming and warming my feet but it doesn’t know that it warms my feet.’
 (b) The cat will come warm my feet, # but it won’t know that it is warming my feet.

Human subjects do not need to be acting intentionally either.

28. Context: Juan comes over and puts his book down somewhere in our house. Some time later, he realizes that he has lost it.
(a) B-ied-nity Jwany x-li’ebr=ni
 PERF-VEN-lose Juan POSS-book=3s
 ‘Juan came and lost his book.’
 (b) #John did come lose his book.

The English ‘go get’ equivalent is only felicitous if the subject is understood as intentionally losing the object.

Summary

I have discussed four point of semantic variation: whether the motion is real; whether the events overlap; whether there are selectional restrictions for the

second verb; and whether there is an agentivity entailment.

Any analysis of the semantics of the andative/venitive construction should account for its behavior with respect to these properties.

Desiderata for the semantics of the andative/venitive:

- Event descriptions should be combined into a macro-event description by the level of tense/aspect modification
- Event description combination mechanism should not be Boolean conjunction
- No agentivity entailment should be imposed on the macro-event
- Subject of the construction should saturate a thematic role of each verb
- Temporal ordering of events should allow for overlap

Combining descriptions of different events

Evidence from tense/aspect-marking and temporal modification suggests that the andative/venitive construction has only one event description available at the level of temporal modification. Therefore, any semantic account of the construction must explain how the event descriptions of the two verbs are combined.

One obvious solution would be to use Boolean conjunction. However, Boolean conjunction can only combine descriptions of the same event. In an andative/venitive construction like 29, Boolean conjunction would produce a description of an event that is both a motion event and a buying event.

29. b-ied-zi Brook teiby tapet
 PERF-VEN-buy Brook one carpet
 ‘Brook came and bought a carpet.’

But this cannot be, because a buying event is fundamentally distinct from a coming event.

Instead, I build upon Harris (2011), who analyzes the semantics of a complex motion construction in English using Non-Boolean Conjunction.

Non-Boolean Conjunction

Harris (2011) proposes an analysis of English complex motion verb constructions using Krifka (1990)’s Non-Boolean Conjunction to combine the events associated with each verb into a macro-event.

30. **Non-Boolean Conjunction:**

Given a function $f_{\langle \epsilon, t \rangle}$ and a function $g_{\langle \epsilon, t \rangle}$, Non-Boolean Conjunction produces a function $h_{\langle \epsilon, t \rangle}: \lambda e''. \exists e, e' [e'' = e \oplus e' \wedge [f(e) \wedge g(e')]]$

31. Sam will go and eat at the diner.
 $[[\text{go}_{\text{and}_{\text{NB}} \text{eat}}]] = \lambda e''. \exists e, e' [e'' = e \oplus e' \wedge [go(e) \wedge eat(e')]]$

Non-Boolean Conjunction combines the event descriptions into a macro-event prior to aspectual modification and negation.

I follow Harris (2011) by using Non-Boolean Conjunction to combine the event descriptions of the andative/venitive construction. However, I extend his work by accounting for the thematic roles of the event descriptions.

Non-Boolean Conjunction does not stipulate how the thematic roles of the two events relate to those of the macro-event. The identification of the subject with both the Patient of the unaccusative motion verb and the Patient or Agent of the second verb is not ensured by Non-Boolean Conjunction.

Three questions:

- Does the macro-event have a syntactically represented thematic role?
- What thematic roles do each of the verbs contribute?
- When do the event descriptions of the verbs combine?

Thematic roles and complex motion verb constructions

The critical difference between the andative / venitive construction in SLQZ and the English ‘go get’ construction is that the andative and venitive construction does not entail agentivity. The andative and venitive allows the unaccusative motion verb to combine either with an agentive verb, as in 32, or with another unaccusative verb, such as *raty* ‘dies’ in 33.

32. B-ied-si Brook teiby tapet.
 PERF-VEN-buy Brook one carpet
 ‘Brook came and bought a carpet.’
33. R-ied-gaty Jwany
 HAB-VEN-die Juan
 ‘Jwany comes and dies.’

Does the macro-event have its own thematic role?

Since there is no agentivity entailment for the andative/venitive construction, there is no evidence for a syntactically represented Agent argument for the macro-event.

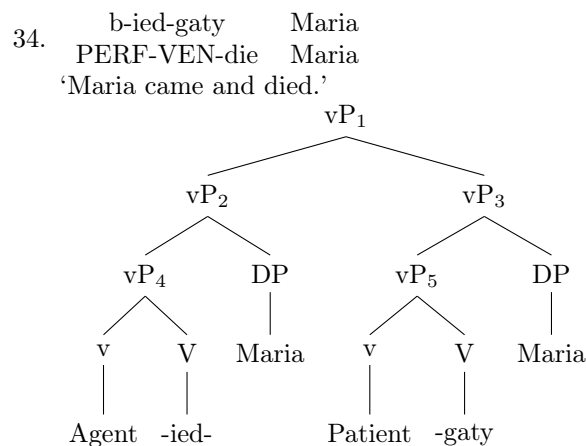
What are the thematic roles of each of the verbs?

The simplest solution is to assume that the thematic roles of the verbs are just what they would be outside of the andative/venitive construction. This ensures that the subject has the right relationship to each verb.

When are the two events combined?

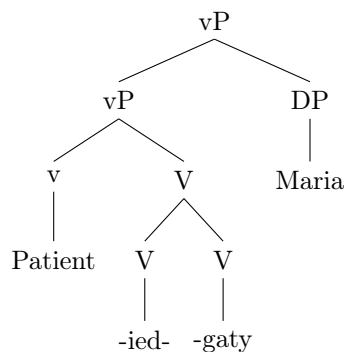
There are three possibilities to consider: prior to merging thematic roles; after the thematic roles are merged but before they are saturated; or after the thematic roles are saturated.

First, consider a theory in which the thematic roles of the event descriptions are saturated before the event descriptions are combined.



This would require merging the subject twice.

Second, consider a theory in which the event descriptions are coordinated before merging their thematic roles.



In this approach, there is no way of associating the subject with a thematic role of each verb. This theory predicts 35 and 36 to be felicitous, since there is a coming event followed by a dying event. However, speakers judged *Biedgaty Maria* infelicitous in contexts where Maria is not the Patient of both the motion event and the dying event.

35. Context: Maria went and killed someone else.

#Gu-gaty Maria
PERF.AND-die Maria
'Maria went and died.'

36. Context: Someone came and killed Maria.

#Gu-gaty Maria
PERF.AND-die Maria
'Maria went and died.'

Therefore, the event descriptions must be combined before they saturate their thematic roles in order for the subject to saturate the thematic roles of both event descriptions.

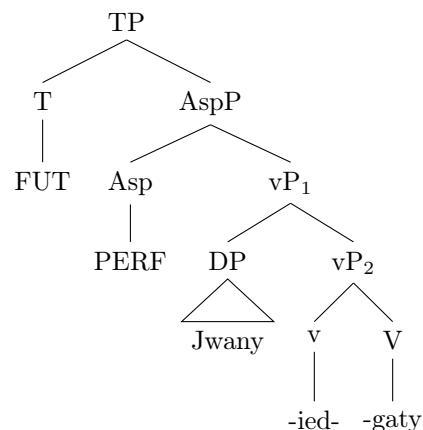
A semantic proposal for the andative/venitive

Proposal: the andative/venitive marker is an overt *v*-projection that combines with an event description of type $\langle e, \epsilon t \rangle$ via Non-Boolean Conjunction.

In the case of an unaccusative second verb such as *rgaty* 'dies', neither verb has a syntactically represented external argument, because they are both unaccusative.³ In this case, the andative/venitive marker is the only *v* projection.

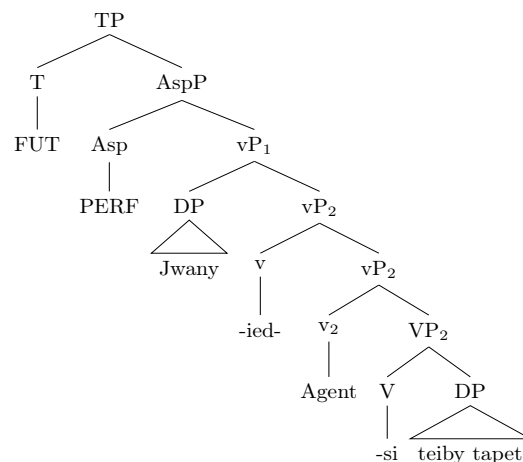
³I am not committed to this view of unaccusatives; a syntactically represented external Patient argument would not cause any problems for my account, since they could be handled in the way I propose for agentive verbs.

37. B-ied-gaty Jwany.
PERF-VEN-die Juan
'Juan came and died.'



In the case of transitive second verbs like *rsi* 'buy', there is an additional *v* projection in order to merge an Agent argument, since the second verb receives an agentive interpretation.

38. B-ied-si Jwany teiby tapet.
PERF-VEN-buy Juan one carpet
'Juan came and bought one carpet.'



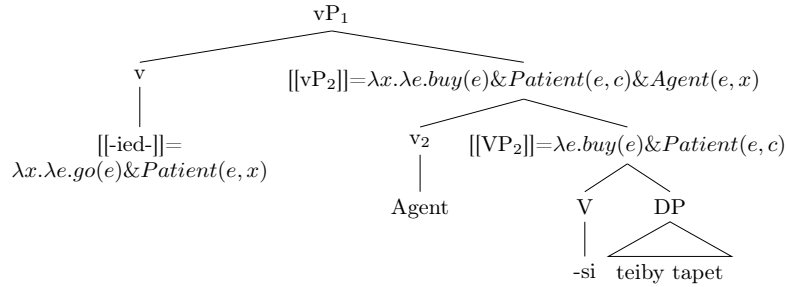
The syntactic structures above are motivated by the semantic composition,

since unless the transitive verb projects an Agent argument before coordination, it will be of a different type than the motion verb.

Modified Non-Boolean Conjunction

There is one issue with the syntax proposed above: Non-Boolean Coordination combines two event descriptions of type $\langle \epsilon, t \rangle$, but the conjuncts in 38 are of type $\langle e \langle \epsilon, t \rangle \rangle$.

39. B-ied-si Jwany teiby tapet.
 PERF-VEN-buy Juan one carpet
 ‘Juan came and bought one carpet.’



I propose a modified version of Non-Boolean Coordination that combines conjuncts of type $\langle e \langle \epsilon, t \rangle \rangle$.

40. Modified Non-Boolean Conjunction:

Given a function $f_{\langle e \langle \epsilon, t \rangle \rangle}$ and a function $g_{\langle e \langle \epsilon, t \rangle \rangle}$, Modified Non-Boolean Conjunction produces a function $h_{\langle e \langle \epsilon, t \rangle \rangle}$:

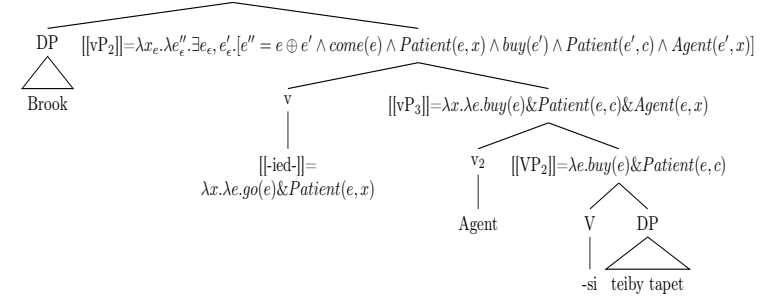
$$\lambda x. \lambda e''. \exists e, e' [e'' = e \oplus e' \wedge f(x)(e) \wedge g(x)(e')]$$

This approach allows the descriptions of two events to compose regardless of the thematic role that the subject saturates. It identifies the Patient argument of the motion verb with the Agent or Patient argument of the second verb, depending on the kind of thematic role that is unsaturated in the second verb.

An example derivation for a venitive construction with a transitive second verb is shown below.

41. B-ied-si Brook teiby tapet.
 PERF-VEN-buy Brook one carpet
 ‘Brook came and bought one carpet.’

$$[[vP_1]] = \lambda e''. \exists e, e' [e'' = e \oplus e' \wedge come(e) \wedge Patient(e, B) \wedge buy(e') \wedge Patient(e', c) \wedge Agent(e', B)]$$



42. B-ied-zi Brook teiby tapet.
 PERF-VEN-buy Brook one rug
 ‘Brook came and bought a rug.’

- (a) $[[\text{-si teiby tapet}]] = \lambda e_e. [buy(e) \wedge Patient(e, c)]$
 (b) $[[Agent]] = \lambda x_e. \lambda e_e. [Agent(e, x)]$
 (c) $[[VP_2]] = \lambda x_e. \lambda e_e. [buy(e) \wedge Patient(e, c) \wedge Agent(e, x)]$
 (d) $[[\text{-ied-}]] = \lambda x_e. \lambda e_e. [come(e) \wedge Patient(e, x)]$
 (e) $[[\text{-iedsi teiby tapet}]] = \lambda x_e. \lambda e''. \exists e, e' [e'' = e \oplus e' \wedge come(e) \wedge Patient(e, x) \wedge buy(e') \wedge Patient(e', c) \wedge Agent(e', x)]$
 (f) $[[\text{Brook -iedsi teiby tapet}]] = \lambda e''. \exists e, e' [e'' = e \oplus e' \wedge come(e) \wedge Patient(e, B) \wedge buy(e') \wedge Patient(e', c) \wedge Agent(e', B)]$

The transitive verb merges its Agent prior to combining with the venitive marker via Modified Non-Boolean Conjunction.

In the case of an unaccusative second verb, the derivation proceeds as shown in 43.

43. B-ied-gaty Jwany.
 PERF-VEN-die Juan
 ‘Juan came and died.’

- (a) $[[\text{-gaty}]] = \lambda x_e. \lambda e_e. [die(e) \wedge Patient(e, x)]$
 (b) $[[\text{-ied-}]] = \lambda x_e. \lambda e_e. [come(e) \wedge Patient(e, x)]$
 (c) $[[\text{-iedgaty}]] = \lambda x_e. \lambda e''. \exists e, e' [e'' = e \oplus e' \wedge come(e) \wedge Patient(e, x) \wedge die(e') \wedge Patient(e', x)]$
 (d) $[[\text{Jwany -iedgaty}]] = \lambda e''. \exists e, e' [e'' = e \oplus e' \wedge come(e) \wedge Patient(e, J) \wedge die(e') \wedge Patient(e', J)]$

This approach is unusual in that for transitive verbs, the Agent is introduced prior to the combination of the verbs, but saturated afterwards. Leaving the Agent unsaturated is critical for this analysis, because it ensures that the Patient argument of the motion verb and the Agent argument of the second verb will both be satisfied by the subject.

This analysis accounts for the real motion interpretation, since the motion verb retains its usual semantics. It also accounts for the lack of an agentivity requirement for the andative/venitive construction, since the motion verb itself assigns the subject a Patient thematic role.

In addition, if temporal restrictions are added to the Non-Boolean Conjunction event summation operator such that the second event cannot begin before the first event, the change-of-state readings for stative second verbs falls out naturally.

Grammaticalization

A concern my proposal might raise is that Non-Boolean Conjunction is in principal unrestricted. In my view, however, the motion verbs in this construction have been grammaticalized as overt *v*-projections.

There is also evidence of ongoing semantic bleaching of the andative/venitive markers: some SLQZ speakers can preface an andative/venitive construction with another motion verb of the same deictic value without any change in meaning.

44. Rata zhi r-ied Lia Petra r-ied-tyug gyia.
 Every day HAB-come Miss Petra HAB-VEN-cut flower
 ‘Every day Miss Petra comes and cuts flowers.’
 (Lit.: ‘Every day Miss Petra comes and comes and cuts flowers.’)
45. Z-e=ëng z-e-cudyag=ëng musc.
 ZPROG-go=3s ZPROG-AND-listen=3s music
 ‘She is going to listen to music.’
 (Lit.: ‘She is going and going and listening to music.’)

Discussion: towards a semantic typology of complex motion verb constructions

I have presented a semantic analysis for one complex motion verb construction: the andative/venitive construction in San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec. My broader aim is to work towards a semantic typology of such constructions.

Points of semantic variation:

- Motion entailment
- Temporal overlap of events
- Selectional restrictions
- Agentivity entailment

Semantic theories of complex motion verb constructions should specify the

mechanism for combining the event descriptions and the relation between the thematic roles of each verb.

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