The San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec Andative and Venitive

This paper presents new data and a semantic analysis of the andative and venitive construction in San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec (Otomanguean; ZAB)[4]. In this construction, ied[1] 'come' (venitive) or i 'go' (andative) appears between the aspect marker and main verb to describe a complex event where a motion event precedes the event of the second verb.

1.
Rata	rsily	r-i-tyug	Lia	Petr	gyia.
Every	morning	HAB-AND-cut	Miss	Petra	flowers[2]

   'Every morning Petra goes and cuts flowers.'

Using original fieldwork data, I explore the semantic properties of the andative/venitive construction. Based on evidence from adverbial modification, I present an event semantics analysis of the construction in which the motion event and the event of the second verb are combined via Non-Boolean Modification [2].

San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec is a Western Tlacolula Valley Zapotec language spoken in the town of San Lucas Quiaviní. While children are still acquiring the language, the rate of transmission is declining sharply due to migration [7]. Although a dictionary [6] and grammar [5] exist, semantic documentation is scarce, and the andative and venitive construction has not been described aside from brief sketches in Munro et al. (2006) and Lee (1999). This paper uses data from elicitation with eight speakers in San Lucas Quiaviní.

In the andative/venitive construction, a single aspect marker applies to both the motion event and the event of the second verb (Munro et. al 2002). The following perfective example entails the completion of the coming event and rug-buying event.

2. 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	Brook	teiby	tapet.
Yesterday	when	ST-locate=1s	marketplace	PERF-VEN-buy	Brook	one	rug

   Intended: 'Brook came to buy a rug.'

In addition, temporal adverbials obligatorily modify both events. Example 3 is judged infelicitous in the given context, because both the coming event and dancing event must have occurred yesterday.

3. Context: Maria came yesterday but danced today.

#B-ied-gya	Maria	nai.
PERF-VEN-dance	Maria	yesterday

   Intended: 'Brook came and danced yesterday.'

Since tense and aspect temporally locate the events of both verbs, the event descriptions contributed by the verbs must combine at a lower height. However, Boolean conjunction cannot be used to combine the two events, since they are distinct: a going event cannot be identical to a buying event. I build on Harris (2011)'s approach to English pseudo-coordination, which uses Non-Boolean Conjunction to form a macro-event from sub-events that separately satisfy the two event descriptions.

4. **Non-Boolean Conjunction (Krifka 1990)**:

$$\lambda e_\epsilon.f(e) \quad \lambda e_\epsilon.g(e) \quad \Rightarrow \quad \lambda e''.\exists e, e'[e'' = e \oplus e' \wedge [f(e) \wedge g(e')]]$$

Assuming the syntactic structure shown in 5a, Non-Boolean Conjunction yields the interpretation in 5b.

5. (a)
B-ied-gaty	Jwany
PERF-VEN-die	Juan

   'Juan came and died.'

   $[[_V \text{ -ied }][_V \text{ gaty }]]$

   (b) $\lambda e''_\epsilon.\exists e_\epsilon, e'_\epsilon.[e'' = e \oplus e' \wedge come(e) \wedge die(e')]$

In addition to accounting for the temporal modification facts shown above, I explore the subject restrictions for the construction, including the lack of an agentivity requirement, the existence of a change-of-state meaning for the venitive with a non-human subject, and the animacy restriction on actual motion usages of the construction. The semantic exploration of the andative/venitive construction in this paper contributes to the scarce semantic documentation of San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec, and provides insight into a construction that is under-discussed in semantic literature.

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[1] I use the orthography from Munro et al. (2002) throughout, which suppresses certain phonemic contrasts.

[2] Abbreviations: AND, andative; FUT, future; HAB, habitual; PERF, perfective; ST, stative; VEN, venitive.

References

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