

# THE ANDATIVE AND VENITIVE CONSTRUCTION IN SAN LUCAS QUIAVINÍ ZAPOTEC<sup>1</sup>

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Andative and venitive constructions are ones in which a motion verb, *ried* ‘comes’ or *ria* ‘goes’, is inserted between the aspect marker and another verb.

❶ **Andative:**

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

❷ **Venitive:**

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

The term andative is used for the construction formed with the ‘go’ verb, ‘ria’, while the term venitive refers to the form made with the ‘come’ verb, ‘ried’.

In 1, an example of the andative construction in San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec, the going event described by the andative marker precedes the cutting event described by *rtyug* ‘cuts.’ These constructions occur frequently in SLQZ. Multi-verb constructions that use deictic motion verbs are extremely common cross-linguistically.

They are theoretically interesting as well because they provide a glimpse inside the verbal projection. The verbs in such constructions combine at a low enough level that the event arguments are still available, which means that they provide fertile ground for exploring semantic mechanisms for combining properties of events.

## Overview:

- Introducing the San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec andative/venitive construction
- Semantic properties of the andative/venitive construction
- Towards a semantic typology of complex motion verb constructions
- A formal analysis of the semantics of the andative/venitive construction

I'll take Bohnemeyer's macro-event property to be a defining semantic characteristic of such constructions: the fact that they act as a single event description for the purpose of tense and aspect marking and temporal modification.

I'll present an analysis of the semantics of the andative/venitive construction, and suggest that a critical question for analyses of such constructions is how the thematic roles of each event are introduced and saturated.

San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec (SLQZ) is an endangered Otomanguean language of Oaxaca, Mexico (Pérez Báez 2016).

- Significant syntactic documentation in the form of a print dictionary (Munro & Lopez 1999), talking dictionary (Lillehaugen et al.), and pedagogical grammar (Munro et al. 2002).
- Previous work on the syntax of the language includes Lee (1999), Munro (2006), and Munro (2015).
- Data comes from fieldwork with 8 speakers in the village of San Lucas Quiaviní, as well as previous published work on SLQZ.

	aspect	root	(adv)	(subj)
3	r-	tyug	-izy	=a
	HAB	cut	only	=1s
	'I only cut'			

## ANDATIVE AND VENITIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

Constructions in which a motion verb, *ria* 'go' or *ried* 'come', is added to another verb to indicate that the subject moved towards or away from the deictic center to perform the action of the main verb.

- 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.

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

For instance, the andative morpheme *-i-* can be added to the verb *rtyug* 'cut' to form *rityug* 'goes and cuts', as used in 4 below.

Can't switch the order of the verbs.

They use the special *z*-progressive aspect marker for motion verbs, just like *ried* 'come' and *ria* 'go' outside of andative/venitive constructions.

It is important to note that SLQZ tolerates a high degree of homophony: for instance, in 1st person conjugations, *z*-progressive aspect marked verbs are homophonous with definite future marked verbs, although these aspects are phonetically distinct in other forms.

I am interested in a semantic typology of complex motion constructions. Therefore, I will give a semantic definition of a complex motion verb construction.

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

### MACRO-EVENT PROPERTY (BOHNEMEYER ET AL. 2007)

Any time-positional operator, such as tense or temporal adverbials, that locates one subevent entailed by the construction necessarily locates all other subevents in time.

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).

Andative and venitive constructions have only one aspect marker, which applies to both verbs.

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

#Nai      chi      nu=a      logyia,      b-ied-zi  
 Yesterday   when   locate=1s   marketplace   PERF-VEN-buy  
 Brook   teiby   tapet.  
 Brook   one   rug  
 Intended: 'Brook came to buy a rug.'



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

Temporal modifiers can only apply to the whole construction.

- 7 Context: Maria came yesterday but she danced today.  
 #B-ied-ya        Maria        nai.  
 PERF-VEN-dance   Maria   yesterday  
 ‘Maria came and danced yesterday.’
- 8 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

Points of semantic variation:

- Is the motion real?
- Do the events overlap?
- Is there an entailment of agentivity?

## IS THE MOTION REAL?

Speakers felt that the water in this scenario did not need to be physically moving; the sentence can 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.

There are some examples of andative/venitive constructions that do not involve real motion.

9      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).

## IS THE MOTION REAL?

For instance, in a scenario where a bamboo kitchen shed is leaning like it is going to fall down, only the venitive form is appropriate.

Such examples are quite restricted: they must describe a change of state, they only occur in the progressive, and they can only be formed with the venitive marker.

F0        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.”

F1        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.”

## IS THE MOTION REAL?

For instance, although it is possible to use the progressive venitive form of *rro* 'grows' to describe that a child is growing up, the perfective andative form cannot be used unless the person actually goes somewhere

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

- ❷ #Gu-ro=ëng.  
PERF.AND-grow=3s  
'He went and grew up.'
- ❸ Ladi gu-ro=ëng.  
Other.side PERF.AND-grow=3s  
'He went and grew up in the States.'

## DO THE EVENTS OVERLAP?

Speakers found it acceptable for the smiling and the coming event to overlap, or for the coming event to strictly precede the smiling event. In the 'go get' construction, the event described by the motion verb strictly precedes the event described by the second verb.

The events of the andative/venitive construction may overlap.

- 14 Context: Mary will come here and smile.

z-ied-zhiez Maria

DEF-VEN-smile Maria

'Maria will come and smile.'

- 15 Context: Mary will come here smiling.

z-ied-zhiez Maria

DEF-VEN-smile Maria

'Maria will come and smile.'

## IS THERE AN AGENTIVITY ENTAILMENT?

A similar construction in English, the 'go get' construction, entails agentivity (Shopen 1971).

- 16 #Marie will come catch chickenpox.

Context: Marie will come over and will accidentally catch chickenpox from one of the very contagious toddlers running around the house.

- 17 #Jenny will come fall down the stairs.

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

A sentence like 16 sounds odd because it sounds as if Marie intentionally plans to contract chickenpox.

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

'Come' and 'go' are unaccusative, yet, when combined with another unaccusative verb, such as 'fall', the entire construction has an obligatorily agentive interpretation.

## IS THERE AN AGENTIVITY ENTAILMENT?

The andative/venitive construction does not entail agentivity.

- P8            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.'

- P9 Context: Juan comes over and puts his book down somewhere in  
our house. Some time later, he realizes that he has lost it.

              B-ied-nity            Jwany            x-li'ebr=ni  
              PERF-VEN-lose    Juan    POSS-book=3s  
'Juan came and lost his book.'

except in the change-of-state uses of the venitive

Although the construction requires animate subjects, the construction does not require that the subject purposefully performs the action.

Human subjects do not need to be acting intentionally either.



### PROPERTIES OF MOTION VERB CONSTRUCTIONS

Property	SLQZ Andative/Venitive	English 'go get'
Real motion	✓	✓
Event overlap	X	✓
Agentivity entailment	✓	X

A semantic account of the andative/venitive must account for these three 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

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.

**Question:** How do the events combine?

One possibility is Boolean conjunction.

20      b-ied-zi      Brook   teiby   tapet  
PERF-VEN-buy   Brook   one   carpet  
'Brook came and bought a carpet.'

One obvious solution would be to use Boolean conjunction. However, Boolean conjunction can only combine descriptions of the same event. In the venitive construction below, Boolean conjunction would produce a description of an event that is both a motion event and a buying event. But this cannot be, because a buying event is fundamentally distinct from a coming event, even if they occupy the same timespan.

In addition, the events of the two verbs may, but do not necessarily overlap. If they were identical, then they would always have the same temporal span.

# COMBINING EVENT DESCRIPTIONS: NON-BOOLEAN CONJUNCTION

## STRATEGY

Use Non-Boolean Conjunction to build a description of a complex event out of descriptions of two distinct events as in Harris (2011).

### 21 Non-Boolean Conjunction Krifka (1990):

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

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

$$22 \quad [[\text{go and}_{NB} \text{eat}]] = \lambda e''. \exists e, e' [e'' = e \oplus e' \wedge [\text{go}(e) \wedge \text{eat}(e')]]$$

Harris (2011) proposes an analysis of pseudo-coordination in English using Non-Boolean Conjunction.

*go and eat* denotes the set of events  $e''$  for which there are two subevents  $e, e'$  that partition  $e''$  such that  $e$  is a going event and  $e'$  is an eating event.

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

Advantage: combines two event descriptions into a macro-event prior to aspectual and temporal modification. Solves our first two points!

Problem: Non-Boolean Conjunction does not specify how the thematic roles of the two events are related to those of the macro-event

This is a point of cross-linguistic variation: the English 'go get' construction entails agentivity, while the SLQZ andative/venitive does not. Furthermore, 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 alone.

# THE SEMANTICS OF THE ANDATIVE/VENITIVE: THEMATIC ROLES

## THREE QUESTIONS

- What thematic roles, if any, does the macro-event have?
- What thematic roles do the events of the two verbs have?
- When are the two event descriptions combined?

## THE SEMANTICS OF THE ANDATIVE/VENITIVE: THEMATIC ROLES

### QUESTION 1

**Does the macro-event has any thematic roles of its own?**

No, because there is no agentivity entailment.

### QUESTION 2

**What thematic roles are associated with the event of each verb?**

The simplest solution is that they are just what they would be ordinarily.

### QUESTION 3

**When are the event descriptions combined?**

Three possibilities:

- Before merging thematic roles
- After merging thematic roles but before saturating them
- After saturating the thematic roles

‘Go get’ has an obligatorily agentive interpretation, while the andative/venitive does not, even though the unaccusative motion verb may combine with either an agentive or unaccusative verb.

The evidence that *raty* ‘dies’ is unaccusative comes from the fact that is part of a transitive alternation pair with *rguty* ‘kills’. SLQZ has a non-productive *-gw-* causative marker that is grammaticalized in many such pairs (Munro 2015). Another example is the pair *ruu* ‘is located inside; exists in a location’, and *rgu* ‘puts something into, deposits’, which are both found in andative/venitive constructions (Munro et al. 2006).

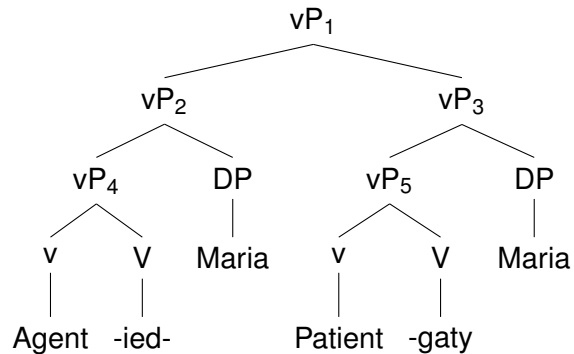
Therefore, there is no evidence for a syntactically represented Agent of the macro-event.

## WHEN ARE THE EVENT DESCRIPTIONS COMBINED?

Now we're stuck. This requires merging the subject twice.

After merging and saturating thematic roles:

- 23 b-ied-gaty Maria  
PERF-VEN-die Maria  
'Maria came and died.'





## WHEN ARE THE EVENT DESCRIPTIONS COMBINED?

Before merging thematic roles:

- 24 Context: Maria went and killed someone else.

#Gu-gaty Maria

PERF.AND-die Maria

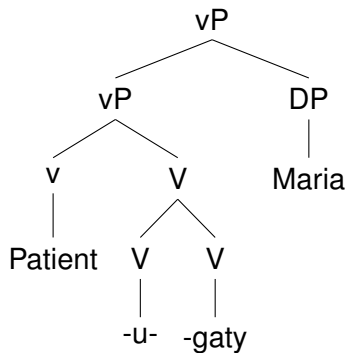
'Maria went and died.'

- 25 Context: Someone came and killed Maria.

#Gu-gaty Maria

PERF.AND-die Maria

'Maria went and died.'



**Conclusion:** the event descriptions combine after their thematic roles are introduced, but before they are saturated.

In this approach, however, there is no way of associating the subject with a thematic role of each verb.

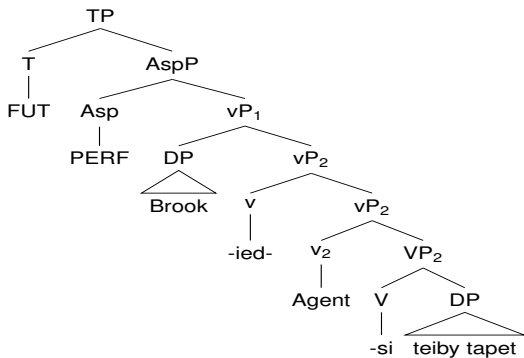
We would expect these to be felicitous, since there is a coming event followed by a dying event. However, speakers judged *Biedgaty Maria* infelicitous in contexts where Maria is not both the Patient of the motion event and the Patient of the dying event.

Without a thematic role of *rgaty* 'dies' that is saturated by the subject, Maria's relationship to the individual coming and dying events is unspecified.

## SEMANTIC PROPOSAL FOR THE ANDATIVE/VENITIVE

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

- 26 B-ied-si Brook teiby tapet.  
PERF-VEN-buy Brook one carpet  
'Brook came and bought a carpet.'



In the case of an unaccusative second verb such as *rgaty* 'dies', neither verb has a syntactically represented external argument, because they are both unaccusatives.

In the case of transitive second verbs like *rsi* 'buy', there is an Agent, since the second verb receives an agentive interpretation.

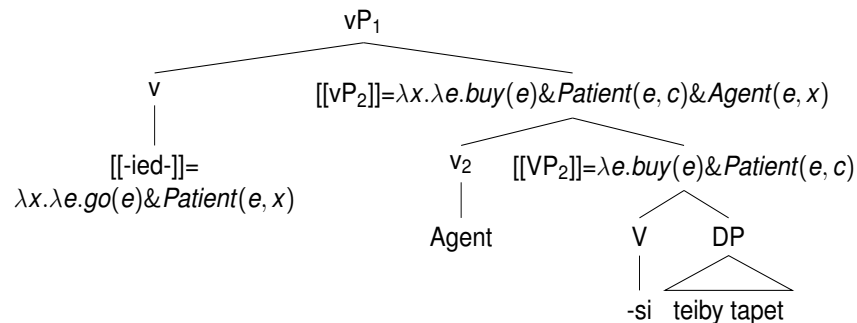
If the transitive verb does not project an Agent argument before coordination, it will be of a different type than the motion verb, which, as an unaccusative verb, will have an unsaturated Patient argument.

Furthermore, it is important that the Patient argument of the motion verb is identified with the Agent argument of the second verb, because they must both be satisfied by the subject of the construction.

There is one issue with the syntax proposed above: it is not compatible with Non-Boolean Coordination.

Non-Boolean Coordination combines two event descriptions of type  $\langle \epsilon, t \rangle$ , but the conjuncts in 26 are of type  $\langle e \langle \epsilon, t \rangle \rangle$ .

27



## 28 Modified Non-Boolean Conjunction:

Given a function  $f_{\langle e\langle \epsilon, t \rangle \rangle}$  and a function  $g_{\langle e\langle \epsilon, t \rangle \rangle}$ , 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 allows the descriptions of two events to compose regardless of the thematic role that the subject plays.

I propose a modified version of Non-Boolean Coordination that combines conjuncts of type  $\langle e\langle \epsilon, t \rangle \rangle$ . With this small change to Non-Boolean Coordination, we can account for the andative/venitive construction in a straightforward way.

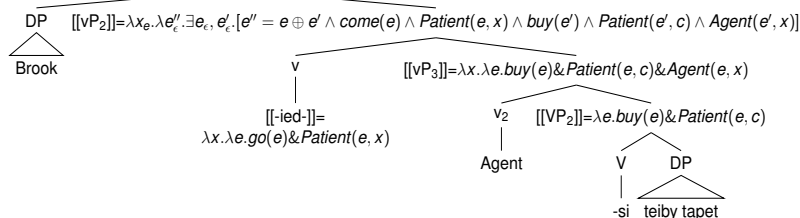
It correctly identifies the Patient argument of the motion verb with the Agent or Patient argument of the second verb, depending on the kind of thematic role that is left unsaturated in the second verb.

# MODIFIED NON-BOOLEAN CONJUNCTION

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

29 B-ied-zi Brook teiby tapet.  
 PERF-VEN-buy Brook one rug  
 'Brook came and bought a rug.'

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



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

## DISCUSSION: TOWARDS A SEMANTIC TYPOLOGY OF COMPLEX MOTION VERB CONSTRUCTIONS

Complex motion verb constructions vary on (at least) three semantic dimensions:

Points of semantic variation:

- Motion entailment
- Temporal overlap of events
- 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**.

My analysis has also highlighted the necessity of understanding how the thematic roles of each event description are related. My analysis relies on Non-Boolean Conjunction to combine the event descriptions into a macro-event at a point where each still carries an unsaturated thematic role. This allows the subject of the construction to saturate a thematic role of each event description.

In order to let the agentivity entailment of the English 'go get' construction, however, a different kind of approach is needed in order to derive the agentivity entailment.

Complex motion verb constructions in other languages may allow yet more configurations of the thematic roles of the event descriptions that they combine.

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30

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.')

31

Z-e=ëng z-e-cudyag=ëng musc.  
 ZPROG-go=3s ZPROG-AND-listen=3s music  
 'She is going and listening to music.'  
 (Lit.: 'She is going and going and listening to music.')

These examples involve just one motion event, providing evidence of an ongoing grammaticalization process for the andative and venitive markers.

A concern my proposal might raise is that Non-Boolean Conjunction is in principal unrestricted. I do not want to suggest that all Zapotec verbs can embed a vP. In my view, rather, the motion verbs in this construction have been grammaticalized as little v-projections.

In fact, there is evidence of ongoing semantic bleaching of the andative/venitive markers: some speakers can preface an andative or venitive construction with another motion verb to reinforce the motion meaning.

This is only possible with a motion verb of the same deictic value, i.e. *ria* before *i*, *ried* before *ied*, and does not have the durative or iterative meaning that 'She wrote and wrote' has in English.



## ARE THERE RESTRICTIONS ON THE SECOND VERB?

There are restrictions on the verbs that can occur in andative/venitive constructions, but it is not clear whether they are restrictions on the aktionsarten of the verbs.

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

32 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 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.

The interpretation of stative verbs in andative/venitive constructions as change-of-state predicates 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 will arise naturally.

In the example above, the interpretation will be that the sickness starts after the motion ends— in other words, a state change.

When the second verb is unaccusative, the derivation proceeds as shown below.

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

- 1  $[[\text{-gaty}]] = \lambda x_e. \lambda e_\epsilon. [\text{die}(e) \wedge \text{Patient}(e, x)]$
- 2  $[[\text{-ied-}]] = \lambda x_e. \lambda e_\epsilon. [\text{come}(e) \wedge \text{Patient}(e, x)]$
- 3  $[[\text{-iedgaty}]] = \lambda x_e. \lambda e'_\epsilon. \exists e_\epsilon, e'_\epsilon. [e'' = e \oplus e' \wedge \text{come}(e) \wedge \text{Patient}(e, x) \wedge \text{die}(e') \wedge \text{Patient}(e', x)]$
- 4  $[[\text{Jwany -iedgaty}]] = \lambda e'_\epsilon. \exists e_\epsilon, e'_\epsilon. [e'' = e \oplus e' \wedge \text{come}(e) \wedge \text{Patient}(e, J) \wedge \text{die}(e') \wedge \text{Patient}(e', J)]$