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A Definite Mystery

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Zapotec languages indicate tense, aspect, and modality with "aspect" prefixes on verbs. The most widely used of these prefixes mark Habitual, Perfective (or Completive), and Irrealis (or Potential), but a number of languages have additional, sometimes less well understood, aspect forms. In this paper I consider two similar Zapotec aspect markers, one indicating a definite future, the other (used only on motion verbs) with a quite different meaning. Are they one morpheme or two? It's a definite mystery—but my conclusion, based on both internal and comparative evidence, is that they are separate.

1. Introduction

Tlacolula Valley Zapotec (TVZ; Ethnologue code ZAB) has been described as having seven aspects (Munro and Lopez, et al., 1999), illustrated in (1) for the verbs 'runs' and 'puts on (a shirt)'.

rzh:ùu'nny 'runs' (1) Habitual: Perfective: **b**zh:ùu'nny 'ran'

Progressive: cazh:ùu'nny 'is running'

Neutral:

vzh:ùu'nny 'will run' Irrealis:

Subjunctive: **n**zh:ùu'nny '(if...) had run'

ra'ahcw 'puts on (a shirt)' gwu'aht 'put on (a shirt)'

cava'ahcw 'is putting on (a shirt)' naa'cw 'is wearing (a shirt)'

ga'acw 'will put on (a shirt)'

nya'ahcw '(if...)

had put on (a shirt)'

za'ahcw 'will surely put on (a shirt)' Definite: x:ùu'nny 'will surely run'

¹ The TVZ examples discussed here reflect the dialect of San Lucas Quiaviní (often called SLQZ): some were provided by my collaborator Felipe H. Lopez, who has graciously discussed all the issues I raise here; others come from a collection of texts about the immigration experience (Lopez and Munro, eds., in preparation). Great thanks also to Christopher Adam, Rosemary Beam de Azcona, Cheryl Black, John Foreman, Felicia Lee, Rosa María Rojas Torres, and Aaron Sonnenschein, who provided helpful data and discussion, as well as to Michael Galant, Brook Lillehaugen, Bernard Comrie, Alexandra Aikhenvald, and other members of the BLS audience and the UCLA American Indian Seminar for their helpful comments.

The examples show both that the shape of many (boldfaced) aspect prefixes varies from verb to verb (conditioned both phonologically and lexically), and also that some aspects don't occur for all verbs.

The Definite proper, indicated by z- before vowels and s- (sometimes assimilated, as with 'will surely run' in (1)) before consonants, is a 'modal aspect' (Lee 1999, 2006), used to specify futures that the speaker is certain will occur, as in (2) and (3). (All z- verbs are boldfaced in this paper, with their translations underlined. TVZ is a VSO language; subjects are indicated by nouns or names or by clitic pronouns.)

- 'Juan will surely go to Tlacolula.'² (2) **Z**-eheh **Jwaany** Ba'ahc. def-go Juan Tlacolula
- S-tòo'oh Gye'eihlly ca'rr. 'Mike will surely buy the car.' (3) def-buy Mike car

Such examples contrast with Irrealis sentences like those in (4)-(5); the Irrealis (which has many other modal uses) is a much more common way to show futures, but speakers describe these as less certain.

- **(4)** Ch-iia Jwaany 'Juan will go to Tlacolula.' Ba'ahc. irr-go Juan Tlacolula
- (5) Y-tòo'oh Gye'eihlly ca'rr. 'Mike will buy the car.' irr-buy Mike car

Another z- prefix occurs only with a small set of motion verbs (in TVZ, these are rihah 'goes', rie'd 'comes', and rihah 'goes home' (paradigmatically distinct from 'goes')) in examples like (6). For now, I will gloss this second z- prefix as 'z2', and will use that term to refer to such verbs for most of this paper.

'Juan was going to Tlacolula.' (6) Z-èe Jwaany Ba'ahc. z2-go Juan Tlacolula

Out of context, sentences like (6) typically have progressive translations; they strongly suggest a reference to going or coming only one way, without completing the trip. This progressive sense seems to fill an important gap in the aspectual paradigm shown in (1), since the three verbs of motion that can be used in with

² TVZ data is presented in the academic orthography of Munro and Lopez et al. (1999). Abbreviations used include an : animal, anap : anaphoric, and : andative, cop : copula, dct : deictic, def : definite, dst: distal, emph: emphatic, form: formal, hab: habitual, inf: informal, irr: irrealis, neut: neutral, opp.sex.sib: opposite sex sibling, perf: perfective, pl: plural, pron: pronoun base, prf: perfective, prg: progressive, prx: proximate, pt: point (second position negative), rsp: respectful, sbj: subjunctive, z2: 'non-future definite'; person and number are shown with 1, 2, 3, s, p. Clitic boundaries are shown with =.

This work

This verb can also express directed motion into other enclosed areas.

the z2 prefix cannot be used with the Progressive *ca*- prefix.

The z- prefixes in both (6) and (2) (as well as the s- in (3)) have been called "Definite" (Lee 1999, 2006; Munro and Lopez, et al., 1999): Munro and Lopez et al. (1999) and Lee (1999, 2006) call the z2 form in (6) the "non-future Definite", assuming it to reflect a separate but related use of the modal aspect prefix in (2). (I will refer to Definite proper forms like those in (2)-(3) as "future Definites" below to distinguish them from z2 forms.)

In contrast, in Munro (2006) I asserted that there are two forms involved (with the z2 form in (6) analyzed as non-modal); Munro, Lillehaugen, and Lopez (in preparation), a textbook currently being used in first-year Zapotec classes native speaker Felipe H. Lopez is teaching at UCSD, call z2 the "z-progressive", following the Lopez's intuitions about sentences like (6), in contrast with the Definite in (2)-(3).

Only motion verbs exhibit both future Definite and z2 forms; all other verbs only have the future Definite. However, in most Zapotec languages forms of 'go' and 'come' can be incorporated at the front of a verb stem, following the aspect prefix, forming "andative" and "venitive" verb forms, which can also appear with both types of z- prefixes. All other derivatives of 'go' and 'come', such as 'bring'/'take' verbs, also have both forms. (I won't discuss these derived forms in this paper.)

2. Lee's Analysis

Lee (2006) writes that the Definite "can express either emphatic future readings [as in (2)] or incomplete events in the immediate past [as in (6)]" (201); "while past events expressed with Perfective verbs are understood as being fully completed at UT [utterance time], those expressed with Definite verbs are interpreted as being initiated, but not yet fully culminated" (260). Her sophisticated analysis of the syntax of these verbs considers their behavior both as matrix verbs and when embedded under verbs of saying; she argues that both represent the same aspect, with a modal meaning of necessity, thus suggesting an insightful way to reconcile the seemingly disparate meanings of the z- verbs in (2)-(3) and (6).

... Definite-marked verbs (on both their future and non-future readings) describe events that haven't been completed yet, but are strongly believed by speakers to be inevitable: in the future Definite case, the event described has not begun yet, but the speaker emphatically believes it will occur; in the non-future case, the event is believed by the speaker to have been initiated, but not yet completed (and the eventual completion of the event is assumed). (p. 263)

...the future and non-future Definite are, despite their differences in temporal interpretation, manifestations of the same aspect and not merely different aspects that accidentally resemble each other. (p. 266)

3. The Problem

However, z2 forms have a considerably wider range of uses than is illustrated in

⁴ Alas, Munro and Lopez et al. (1999) also somewhat inconsistently use the term 'realis Definite'.

- (6), especially in texts. First, Munro and Lopez et al. (1999) cite z2 forms that express punctual rather than progressive events, such as (7):
- (7) Chih b-raguèe'll=ih, **z-eèe'**=ëng No'rt. when perf-be.next.day=3s.dst z2-go=3s.prx North 'When the next day came (i.e., when it was the next day), he went to the United States.'

This does not seem like an incomplete event in the immediate past (as (6) might be); the speaker is describing events that occurred years ago.

- (7) is taken from a 200-page collection of TVZ narratives about the immigration experience (Lopez and Munro, eds., in preparation) that provides many examples of z2 verbs, as well as some future Definites of motion verbs, such as (8), where the 'surely' sense of the Definite is contrasted with the less certain Irrealis, or (9)-(10), which are additional punctual past examples.
- (8) Lla'az=a' dàa'ru' g-ya'=a'sye'mmr z-ya'=a'neut?.think some.day irr-go.home=1s always def-go.home=1s que'ity r-ahcbiì=a' nyèe'c nà=a' pehr uu'c hab-know=1s when but even pron=1s not g-ya'=a'nih g-ya'=t=a'ba'i irr-go.home=1s that irr-go.home=emph=1s well. 'I thought that some day I would go home, I would surely go home for good, but I didn't know when I would go back, go back for good.'
- ra bèe'll=ëng, (9) Pehr ra bzyaàa'n=ëng, pehr as.for pl opp.sex.sib=3s.prx pl sister.w.s=3s.prx as.for nvèe'c=za' làa'=rih que'ity g-àann=rih càa nehehz irr-know=3p.dst even=wow pron=3p.prx not where way x:ta'ad=rih; z-èe=ta' bùunny=ih. canzaa z2-go=emph person=that poss-father=3p.prx neut.wander 'As for her brothers and sisters, even they don't know where their father went off to; that person just left.'
- (10)Chiru' nnah supervisor x:tèe'n=a', 'Xi ni'ih a then neut.say supervisor of=1s what for already **z-e'=ùu**'?' chiru' r-e'ipv=a' la'a=i nnà=ih, z2-go=2s.inf neut.say=3s.dst then hab-tell=1s pron=3s.dst zi'cy g-uhc nìih z-a'=a'. thus perf-be that z2-go=1s'Then my supervisor said, "Why did you go?" he said, so I told him how it was that I left.'

As (9)-(10) show, z2 'go' sentences without a directional object are often translated with 'leave'.

Z2 verbs may also express ofther aspectual notions. For example, my collabo-

rator Felipe Lopez feels that the Perfective and z2 verbs in (11)a-b could replace each other. Perfective *b-ìe'd* in (a) could be z2 **z-i'ìe'd**, and z2 **z-i'ìe'd=ëng** in (b) could be Perfective *b-ìe'd=ëng*:

```
(11) a. — Xi iihahz b-ìe'd Cho'nn re'nn nah?...
what year prf-come Chona here now
'What year did Chona come here, now?'
b. — Loh sete'nntayseiz z-i'ìe'd=ëng.
in seventy.six z2-come=3s.prx
'She came in seventy-six.'
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Similarly, the z2 verb in (12), in which a narrator discusses the behavior of young immigrants returning to Oaxaca, could be replaced by a Habitual verb:

```
(12)
      Chih z-i'ìe'd=rih
                                laad
                                       rèe'
                                              àa'?
                                                            Α
       when z2-come=3p.dst
                               side
                                              what.about
                                                            already
                                       here
          b-chùu=rih
                                ba'i.
          prf-change=3p.dst
                                well
       'And when they come back here? They've really changed.'
       (z-i'ìe'd=rih could be Habitual r-ìe'd=rih)
```

The narratives also contain z2 forms whose meaning seems clearly progressive (describing ongoing motion), much like the elicited example (6):

```
R-e'ipy=a'
                     làa'=rih
                                    nehz.ahg.zahgu=ih
                                                                    z-a'=a'.
(13)
       hab-tell=1s
                     pron=3p.dst
                                    way.just=that
                                                          already
                                                                    z2-go=1s
          'Tòo','
                     nnah=rih,
                                        'tye'nn
                                                  g-uuny=ùu'
                                                                 compa'anny'
          let's.go
                     neut.say=3p.dst
                                                  irr-do=2s.inf company
                                       so.that
          zi'cy nih r-chàag=za'
                                                      sa'=nìi'.
                                       ra mnìi'ny
                 rel hab-meet=wow
                                       pl kid
                                                      fellow=anap
       'I told them I was going that way. "Let's go," they said, "then you can
       keep [us] company"— the way kids get together with each other.'
```

Of course, cross-linguistically progressives of motion verbs often develop into future expressions, which may explain why (14) below seems to have a somewhat less ongoing, more future reference. In fact, other z2 verbs sometimes express unaccomplished notions that are more clearly neither present nor past, as in (15), whose z2 form. Lopez feels, could be replaced by an Irrealis verb (though not by a future Definite).

- (14)n-àann=a' chih z-i'ìe'd Xmahnnsa'ann, chih A neut-know=1s when zprog-come already when Easter z-i'ìe'd lohnih. chih z-i'ìe'd Iihahz Cweeby, chih z2-come fiesta when z2-come vear new when z-i'ìe'd, r-x:èe'll=a' mùuully loh=rih ba'i. z2-come hab-send=1s money to=3s.dst well 'I know when Easter is coming, when the fiesta is coming, when New Year's is coming, when they're coming, so I send them money.'
- (15) B-èi'ny=a' x:ja'ab **z-yàa'll=a'**.
 prf-do=1s thought z2-come=1s
 'I thought of coming.' (**z-yàa'll=a'** could be Irrealis *ch-a'=a'*)

Other apparently "modal" (or as I would rather say "non-actual", following Chung and Timberlake 1986) notions expressed by z2 verbs are seen in

- que'ity=zhy=a' (16)Mahssuu **z-èe** fami'lly, lla'az=a'. pehr z2-go wife neut?.think=1s but not=must=1s even.if n-daà=a' làa'=rëng ch-ie=rëng. Chingaad, mejoor zèèi'ny sbj-let=1s pron=3p.prx irr-go=3p.prx damn better work lahty ch-u'=rëng g-uuny=a' y-sàa'=a' ba'i. irr-do=1s irr-make=1s place irr=be.in=3p.prx well. 'Even if [my] wife leaves, I think, even then I wouldn't let them [my children] go. Damn, I'd rather work in order to have a place for them to live.'
- Nii (17)nàa te'ihby rrepo'rt nih ca-lde's=ih. nnah=rih, that cop one report rel prg-lift=3s.dst neut.say=3p.dst tye'nn pahr z-voo'=ëhnn pahrtra's steeby. a because for already z2-go.home=1p back again 'That was a report that he was making, they said, so that we could go back again.'
- (18)Chiru' dannoo=ëhnn tèe'gwag rsoon=di' ba'i chiru' хi well then pron=1p neg what message=pt then dannoo=ëhnn càa làa'=rëb cay-u'=rëb gahllrzyàa' pron=3p.rsp prg-be.in=3p.rsp worry pron=1p where nehz **z-oo'=ëhnn** cëhmm nàadìi'zh zèi'ny=ih vaya way z2-go=1pwell because supposed.to work=3s.dst zòo'nn vava. z2-go=1p well

'At that point we had [sent] no messages, so they must have been worrying about us, where we <u>had gone</u>, because we were supposed to <u>be going</u> to work.'

Crucially, it seems, non-actual z2 verbs like these either convey the idea of

progressive ideas in the future, as in the second z2 form in (18) (and possibly also (14)), or refer to possibility rather than necessity (as in (16) and (17)).

4. Comparative Data

A number of other Zapotec languages appear to have cognates of both types of TVZ z- forms; I will note here only data from two closely related Valley Zapotec languages, 5 and from one quite distantly related language. 6

Adam (2003:69; glosses adapted) writes that in Santo Domingo Albarradas Zapotec (Dihidzx Bilyáhab) "The definite⁷ is used in any tense to convey a pending action or event", but also "Another one of the definite's uses is to show incompletion of an act of 'going' which has already begun as opposed to the perfective which shows completion of the act of 'going' with a 'return'" (70). However, the same aspect prefix is also used in apparently punctual textual examples like

(19) **Z-é=b** zhan nejez=gin g-ijti=b. def-go=an butt road=dct perf-die=an 'He fell down below that road and died.' (Adam 2003:249 and p.c. 2007)

Adam (p.c.) has confirmed to me that these two "definite" forms are at least sometimes morphologically distinct, with the cognate of the future Definite form in (20)a and that of the z2 verb in (20)b:

(20) a. future Definite **z-ej**|**e**|=**zh** in z-*ej*|*e*|=zh yá 'will he go?' in $m\acute{a}z$ -ée=zh 'did he already start going?'

As in TVZ, the future Definite may be used with (virtually) any verb, while the z2 form is restricted to a small class of motion verbs.

López Cruz (1997; glosses adapted) analyzes the San Pablo Güilá Zapotec cognate of the future Definite in (21)a as the "futuro" and the cognate of the z2 verb in (21)b as an allomorph of the "progresivo":

(21) a. **s-yéed** Jwâany là'¢ def-come Juan field 'Juan <u>vendrá</u> al campo [Juan <u>will come</u> to the field].' (p. 90)

⁵ I cannot discuss here data from another closely related Valley language, Santa Ana del Valle Zapotec, kindly provided by Rosa María Rojas Torres, which seems in line with the Adam and López Cruz data summarized below.

⁶ There are also apparently two distinct *z*- forms in the Colonial Valley Zapotec descriptions by Córdova (1578a, 1578b).

⁷ Adam now refers to this form as "Alethic", p.c. 2007.

b. **s-yeed** Jwâany là'¢
z2-come Juan field
'Juan viene al campo [Juan comes/is coming to the field].' (p. 89)

As (21) shows, these forms are morphologically distinct:. López Cruz's data also shows that "progresivo" forms of motion verbs can have a punctual sense (again often suggesting one-way motion), 8 as in

(22) s-êe Jwâany là'¢
z2-go Juan field
'Juan se fue al campo (no ha regresado)
[Juan went to the field (he has not returned)].' (pp. 91-92)

Finally, Black (2004) identifies two separate cognate aspects in Quiegolani Zapotec (a much more distantly related language of the Southern branch of Zapotecan), a special z- prefix "used to express progressive action" with verbs of motion (2004:27), such as those in ((23)) (p.c. 2007), and an s- Future prefix that can be used with a wider range of verbs (2004:19), again including the motion verbs, as in ((24)) (p.c. 2007):

- (23) z-a (progressive, 'go away from base' [cf. TVZ 'go']) z-ya (progressive, 'go to base' [cf. TVZ 'go home'])
- (24) s-a (Future, 'go away from base') s-ya (Future, 'go to base')

5. Are There Two z- Aspects, or One?

5.1.

The z2 usage only occurs with a few verbs of motion and their derivatives, while the future Definite occurs with (almost) every verb. The comparative data, particularly from languages as distantly related as Quiegolani, supports the idea that this situation is quite archaic.

If the z2 usage is just another manifestation of the same aspect as the future Definite, why should this very different z2 usage occur only with a small and semantically restricted group of verbs, in so many languages? There seems to be no explanation of why the very different z2 usage — even if related — should be restricted to a small group of motion verbs.

5.2.

While the future Definite is a "modal" aspect, used to refer only to non-actual events, most z2 uses refer to actual events in the present or past and thus do not

⁸ López Cruz (1997:91-92) also mentions two additional forms of 'ir' which she suggests may be additional aspects; these look like forms of TVZ 'goes home'.

⁹ Bernard Comrie and Alexandra Aikhenvald reminded me during the discussion at BLS of special aspectual uses of motion verbs. So maybe this is not as unexpected as all that.

seem "modal". While there may be a connection between non-actuality and incompleteness, many z2 usages with non-future reference do not describe incomplete events. There doesn't seem to be anything incomplete about the z2 examples like (7), (9)-(10), or the first z2 form in (18), or several others here. These don't seem to fit Lee's notion of "initiated but not fully culminated". However, they might be amenable to a different sense of "incompletive" like that described for the Mayan language Mam by England (2007), since punctual z2 forms generally occur in texts, where they serve to advance a narrative that (when the forms are used) is not yet complete. The lack of completion, then, is metalinguistic, and does not refer to the real-world status of the referenced event.

As we've seen above, z2 forms can be also used to refer to clearly "non-actual" events, as with (15)-(17), the second z2 form in (18), and perhaps also (14). As Lee (1999, 2006) makes clear and I discuss in Munro (2006), there is not a precise overlap between "modal aspect" and modal or non-actual reference. For example, the "non-modal" Perfective aspect is used for imperatives and can also refer to non-actual events to be completed in the future, as in

(25) Yzh:ii chih y-zëhnny=a', al b-da'uhGye'eihlly. tomorrow when irr-arrive=1s already perf-eat Mike 'When I arrive tomorrow, Mike will have already eaten.' (Lee 2006:13, ex. 36)

But the contrast between the future Definite and the full range of both modal and non-modal uses of the z2 forms seems striking.

5.3.

Almost all z2 forms are pronounced slightly differently from corresponding Definite proper forms, as shown by a comparison of (2) vs. (6), or the paradigms in Table 1 on the next page. ¹⁰ However, the first person forms, both singular and plural, are the same for both the future Definite and z2 in each case. As other Zapotec specialists know, first person forms tend to be irregular in a variety of ways (note that the first person stems of all three verbs are quite aberrant in these and all other aspects; those of 'comes', in particular, are fully suppletive).

Although it might be clearer that there were two separate aspects if all the forms were distinguished, Zapotec tolerates a high degree of homophony and near homophony (for example, many verbs that are distinguished in the Habitual are neutralized in the Perfective; conversely, 'goes' and 'goes home' are identical in the Habitual but differentiated in every other aspect). There would be no explanation for the differences shown in Table 1 if the future Definite and z2 forms were the same aspect.

¹⁰ TVZ distinguishes six third persons (proximate, distal, respectful, animal, familiar, and reverential; cf. Munro 2002). Second person formal forms and third person plural forms, which tend to be more regular, are not shown in the table, but all of them distinguish the future Definite and z2 forms.

Table 1. Future Definite and z2 Forms of Three TVZ Motion Verbs

hab	rihah 'goes'		rihah 'goes home'		rìe'd 'comes'	
	future	<i>z2</i>	future	<i>z2</i>	future	z2
	Definite		Definite		Definite	
def	zeheh	zèe	zihah	ziia	zìe'd	zi'ìe'd
1s	za'a'		zya'a'		zyàa'lla'	
2sinf	zèu'	ze'ùu'	zìu'	zi'ùu'	zìe'dùu'	zi'ìe'dùu'
3sprx	zèe'ëng	zeèe'ëng	zyèe'ëng	zyeèe'ëng	zìe'dëng	zi'ìe'dëng
3sdst	zèèi'	ze'èi'	zyèèi'	zi'èi'	zìe'dih	zi'ìe'dih
3srsp	zehëhb	zeeëhb	zyiehëhb	zieëhb	zìe'dëhb	zi'ìe'dëhb
3san	zehëhmm	ze'ëhmm	zyiehëhmm	zye'ëhmm	zìe'dëhmm	zi'ìe'dëhmm
3sfam	zehahzh:	zeeahzh:	zyiehahzh:	zieahzh:	zìe'dahzh:	zi'ìe'dahzh:
3srev	zehihny	zeihny	zyiehihny	zyieihny	zìe'dihny	zi'ìe'dihny
lр	zoo'ëhnn		zyoo'ëhnn		zyoo'pëhnn	
2pinf	zehahd	zeeahd	zyiehahd	zieahd	zìe'dahd	zi'ìe'dahd

5.4.

The z2 verb lacks certain structural peculiarities of the future Definite.

First, sentences with z2 verbs may be negated (26), while, as Lee (2006:261) notes, future Definite verbs 'are dispreferred in clausal negation constructions':

- (26) Que'ity **z-èe**=dy=ëng Jwaany ri'cy nài'. neg z2-go=pt=3s.prx Juan there yesterday 'Juan didn't go there yesterday.'
- (27) *Que'ity z-eheh=di' Jwaany ricy zhii. neg def-go=pt Juan there tomorrow 'Juan will definitely not go there tomorrow.'

Second, as Lee (2006:261-62) reports, the z2 form allows standard focus fronting¹¹ (28), while the future Definite does not (29):

¹¹ Instead of future Definite sentences like (29)a, my collaborator Felipe Lopez prefers topic constructions like (i) or the variant focus construction in (ii). Like a topic structure, but unlike a standard focus sentence, the variant focus construction (ii) has a noticeable pause following the initial constituent; unlike the topic structure, however, there is no resumptive element following the verb. Lopez feels that the (ii) construction is strongly contrastive.

⁽i) Jwaany, **z-eheh** Jwaany Ba'ahc. 'Juan, he <u>will surely go</u> to Tlacolula' Juan def-go Juan Tlacolula

⁽ii) Jwaany... **z-eheh** Ba'ahc. 'JUAN...<u>will surely go</u> to Tlacolula' def-go Tlacolula

(28)	a.	Jwaany	z-èe	Ba'ahc.	'JUAN was going to Tlacolula.'
		Juan	z2-go	Tlacolula	(cf. (6))
	b.	Ba'ahc	z-èe	Jwaany.	'Juan was going to TLACOLULA.'
		Tlacolula	z2-go	Juan	
(29)	a.	*Jwaany	z-eheh	Ba'ahc.	'JUAN will surely go to Tlacolula.'
		Juan	def-go	Tlacolula	(cf. (2))
	b.	*Ba'ahc	z-eheh	Jwaany.	'Juan will surely go to TLACOLULA.'
		Tlacolula	def-go	Juan	

Lee proposes a plausible structural explanation for these differences, but it's not clear that it requires that the two verb forms in question be the same.

5.5.

Thus, there seem to be good reasons to distinguish the future Definite from the z2 form, which is only used with three verbs of motion and which has a much wider range of both temporal and modal interpretations than the Definite. Certainly the semantics of the z2 form are complex, and worthy of further study: while it often overlaps with other aspects, speakers use it for particular effect, especially in narrative.

The question of what to call the z2 form remains. "Progressive" no longer seems appropriate, at least for TVZ (more comparative work is needed to discover whether languages like Quiegolani and SPGZ have a similar range of uses for their cognate forms, and thus what the use of the ancestor of all these forms might have been). A term like "Incomplete Motion" might seem appropriate for the TVZ form, but is a bit unweildy for us to use in our textbook (Munro, Lillehaugen, and Lopez in preparation). We've decided, therefore, to call this form the Incompletive, a name that pays tribute to Lee's analysis (though we reject the notion that this form is just another use of the Definite) — but a name which can only be understood through an insight like that England proposed concerning aspect in Mam.

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