1 Introduction to Colonial Valley Zapotec

Valley Zapotec is a group of languages spoken in the Oaxaca Valley, Mexico. There are religious and legal documents, such as testaments and bills of sale, from the Colonial era written by native speakers of Colonial Valley Zapotec (CVZ). These documents may be used to learn about the language and culture of the Zapotec people in Colonial times. (The specific documents referenced in this study are listed in §7.1.)

2 Conjunction Typology

Position of the conjunction (Haspelmath 2004: 6-10):

- **MONOSYNDETIC** (*Matthew, Mark, and Luke*)
  - BISYNDETIC (*Matthew and Mark and Luke*)
  - ASYNDETIC (*Matthew, Mark, Luke*)
- **PREPOSITIVE** (*and-Matthew and-Mark*)
- **POSTPOSITIVE** (*Matthew-and Mark-and*)

Possible distinctions between different conjunctions (Haspelmath 2004: 10-14):

- **SYNTACTIC SENSITIVITY**: different conjunctions for conjoining different types of phrases
  - Haspelmath (2004: 11-12) proposes the implicational sequences:
    - [NP – VP – clause] and [NP – AP – VP].
    - If you draw a box around the syntactic range of a conjunction, the box must be continuous.
      
      | correct | incorrect |
      |----------|-----------|
      | NP – VP – clause | NP – VP – clause |

- **SEMANTIC SENSITIVITY**:
  - different conjunctions for conjoining proper vs. common noun phrases
  - different conjunctions for conjoining tight pairs (*mother and father*) vs. loose pairs (*a piano and a grapefruit*)

3 Conjunctions in CVZ

3.1 Previous literature

- Fray Juan de Cordova’s grammar: *chela* and =*la* (1578a: 50r)
- Cordova’s dictionary: *chela* (1578b: 393v)
- Whitecotton and Whitecotton: *chela, huanee*, and =*la* (1993: 45, 125, 143)
  (index of the Junta Columbina’s 1893 vocabulary)
- Broadwell 2002: coordination in the *Doctrina* by de Feria (1567)

---

1 I am greatly indebted to Brook Danielle Lillehaugen for her thoughtful discussion of this topic and to George Aaron Broadwell for his initial research. A previous version of this talk was presented at COLOV-6 in April 2014; I thank the attendees for their helpful comments. My further thanks go to the SSILA reviewers, my fellow students in LING215 at Haverford College (Fall 2013), Isabel Gross, and Jack Rasiel. All errors are, of course, my own.
In this paper I discuss the four primary Zapotec conjunctions observed in the corpus of handwritten documents written native speakers, as well as in the *Doctrina*.

### 3.2 The four CVZ conjunctions

**Chela**: monosyndetic or bisyndetic

1. \(50 \text{ pesos to the treasury of our lord God King and three months in jail and three dozen lashes at the whipping post} \) (Al642;31-32)

2. \(20 \text{ pesos and one month in jail and three dozen whippings at the whipping post} \) (Ti700;11)

**Huane**: monosyndetic or bisyndetic

3. \(\text{wool and cotton and silk} \) (Doc-10v;5)

**Asyndetic conjunction:**

4. \(\text{the field Quecoyohuea, the field Lachiyalana, the field Lachizaque, [and] the field Queco.} \) (Al697-62v;10-11)

For data on the syndeticity of the conjunctions, see see §7.2. While variants of these conjunctions, such as *hua*, *ñe*, *chelañe*, and *huachela* are seen in the documents, they are extremely infrequent and I have not been able to draw any conclusions about their use.

None of these conjunctions show any sign of semantic or syntactic sensitivity. For example, *chela* may be used for both tight (5) and loose (6) conjunction.

5. \(\text{one turkey hen, two sterile native turkeys, and six hens} \) (Te618-1;40)

---

2 I use the following abbreviations in the glosses: 1S, first person singular pronoun; 3, third person pronoun; ASP, aspect marker; DEF, definite; H/P, habitual/progressive; IRR, irrealis; LOC, locative; PERF, perfective; POSS, possessive; REL, relativizer; ST, stative.

3 CVZ uses body part words in locative constructions (see Lillehaugen 2014).
6. xilla  **chela**  gui-ona  na-guichela  tomines
   saddle  and  PERF-three  ST-serve_people  tomines
   ‘a saddle and three (to serve the people) tomines’  (Te626-3;20-21)

Table 1 shows a summary of the use of CVZ conjunctions across the corpus. Evidence for these assertions may be found in §7.3 and §7.4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mono/ Bisyndetic</th>
<th>Noun phrase/ Clause</th>
<th>Common/ Proper NPs</th>
<th>Tight/Loose</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chela</td>
<td>both</td>
<td>both</td>
<td>both</td>
<td>both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huanees</td>
<td>both</td>
<td>both</td>
<td>both</td>
<td>both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=la</td>
<td>bisyndetic</td>
<td>both</td>
<td>both</td>
<td>both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asyndetic</td>
<td>null</td>
<td>both</td>
<td>both</td>
<td>tight</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. The use of CVZ conjunctions.

Notes on this summary:
- I have not found an example of loose asyndetic conjunction, due to the difficulty of finding examples of asyndetic conjunction in general; this is not a strong restriction.
- I could not find any phonological restriction (as in Spanish, with the use of *y* versus *e*). However, it is difficult to talk specifically about the phonology of CVZ as it is purely written (Smith Stark 2003, Broadwell 2013, Lillehaugen et al. 2014)
- The difference between tight and loose conjunction is very culturally specific. However, in most cases I was able to find very clear examples of both tight and loose conjunction.
- None of the conjunctions seem to be connected to a specific geographic area or time range (see §7.4)

3.3 Contextual sensitivity

When investigated individually, none of the conjunctions appear to have any semantic or syntactic sensitivity. However, the conjunctions may take on a CONTEXTUAL SENSITIVITY. In (7), *huanees* (*CONJn*) is sensitized for the tight conjunction, while *chela* (*CONJn*) is sensitized for loose conjunction.

7. 

    ti-ni=a  guitao  
    H/p^4-say=1S  in_total  
    CONJUNCT_A1  CONJUNCT_B1  CONJn  CONJUNCT_B2  CONJn  
    one  horse  and  seat  and  
    CONJUNCT_A1 
    gui-ona  na-guichela  tomines  c-aca  gona  xiteni=a 
    PERF-three  ST-serve_people  tomines  IRR-be  offering  POSS=1S

   ‘I say that in total [one horse and a saddle] and [the three, to serve the people, tomines] shall be my offering.’  (Te626-3;20-21)\(^5\)

---

4 This aspect marker is used for both habitual and progressive. See Broadwell 2013 ms.
5 In this translation, boldfaced brackets denote the upper level of conjunction and underlining denotes the second level of conjunction. In future examples, parentheses will denote a third level of conjunction.
This semantic sensitivity is temporary; it applies only to this specific construction. Earlier in the same document, *chela* (CONJ_B) is used for tight conjunction and *huanee* (CONJ_A) for loose, as shown in (8).

8. CONJUNCT_A1  CONJUNCT_B1  CONJ_B  CONJUNCT_B2  CONJ_A  CONJUNCT_A2
   gui-ropa neza bichinagona chela macho huanee
   IRR-two yoke ox and mule and mirror

   CONJ_C  CONJUNCT_C2
   chela biga
   and jewel

   ‘[the two yokes of oxen and mules] and [a mirror and jewel]’ (Te626-3;11-12)

Conjunctions can also have contextual syntactic sensitivity. In (9), *chela* is used for verb phrase conjunction (CONJA) while *guanee* (another spelling of *huanee*) is used for noun phrase conjunction (CONJB).

9. CONJUNCT_A1  CONJUNCT_B1  CONJ_B  CONJUNCT_B2  CONJ_A  CONJUNCT_A2
   r-oni=a gona pos guanee çeche canpa --- 1 pos
   H/P-do=1S offering peso and ring? bell? one peso

   CONJ_A  CONJUNCT_A2
   chela ti-ni=ya r-oni=a cona lani casas xiteni xonasi sancta
   and H/P-say=1S H/P-do=1S offering stomach.LOC box POSS lady holy
   (CONJUNCT_A2)
   ma tapa tomines
   Maria four tomines

   ‘[I do offer a peso and a ringing of the bell -- one peso --] and [I say that I do offer four tomines in the box of our lady Holy Maria].’ (Te626-1;27)

This contextual sensitivity may be used to define a hierarchy in very long constructions, as in (10), where *huanee* functions as the ‘primary’ conjunction (CONJA) and other conjunctions are used to connect items which are specifically related.

10. CONJUNCT_A1  CONJ_A  CONJUNCT_A2  CONJUNCT_B1  CONJ_B  CONJUNCT_A3
    c-apa=ni gui-ropa yoho lichi=aa huanee puerta
    IRR-have=3 IRR-two house home=1S and door
    (CONJUNCT_A2)  CONJ_A  CONJUNCT_A3
    huacaa guiba huanee tobi guïña caxa huacaa guiba chela huanee
    filled? metal and one box box filled? metal and and
    (CONJUNCT_A3)  CONJ_A  CONJUNCT_A4
    CONJUNCT_B2  CONJUNCT_C1 =CONJ_C  CONJUNCT_C2 =CONJ_C
    batao niño Jesus huanee taa =la pecogo =la
    life_force child Jesus and mat =and altar =and
The Pragmatics of Conjunction in Colonial Valley Zapotec • May Helena Plumb • SSILA 2015

4 Further Discussion

4.1 Conjunction in modern Zapotec languages

Table 2 shows the conjunction in modern Zapotec languages. None of the modern languages seem to have retained the system of contextual sensitivity.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Conjunction</th>
<th>Construction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>San Dionicio Octepec (Broadwell 2002)</td>
<td>cu'ín</td>
<td>mono/bisynthetic (between conjuncts); Broadwell suggests that cu'ín is actually a preposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>=nà</td>
<td>bisynthetic, postpositive clitic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Lucas Quiaviní (Munro &amp; Lopez et al. 1999)</td>
<td>nah</td>
<td>bisynthetic, postpositive (after every conjunct)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cēhnh, cwehnh*</td>
<td>conjunction/preposition (between conjuncts)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mitla (Briggs 1961)</td>
<td>nāj, nājza</td>
<td>bisynthetic, prepositive (between conjuncts)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isthmus (Pickett and Black 1997)</td>
<td>ne'</td>
<td>bisynthetic, prepositive (between conjuncts)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Bartolome Zoogocho (Sonnenschein 2004)</td>
<td>na'</td>
<td>prepositive, between conjuncts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macultlangus (Foreman 2006)</td>
<td>=nna</td>
<td>mono/bisynthetic, postpositive clitic</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Spanish borrowing

These appear to be derived from the CVZ word nee, is listed in Whitecotton and Whitecotton as both a conjunction (postponed) and a comitative marker (1993: 186), although it is not as common in the documents as the conjunctions discussed above.
4.2 Conjunction or comitative marker?

Except for very specific situations (e.g. the girl with the dog with the collar), comitative markers do not occur in lists of three or more items (Haspelmath 2004: 18). Since all of these conjunction methods may be used with three or more items, they must be conjunctions, not just comitative markers. However, there are cases where a conjunction may have a comitative meaning, as in (11).

11. tobi guïña caxa huacaa guiba chela huance batao niño Jesus
   one box box filled? metal and life_force child Jesus
   ‘one box with a lock and a baby Jesus’ (Te626-3;9-10)

It is ambiguous as to whether the Jesus statue is a separate item or an adornment on the box. So it is possible that some of these conjunctions could also have been used as comitative markers.

4.3 Other CVZ conjunctions

The Spanish conjunction y is used occasionally in the documents, mostly in lists of names, as in (12), and in Spanish numbers, as in (13).

12. Jesus Ma y Jusphe
   Jesus Maria and Joseph
   ‘Jesus, Maria, and Joseph’ (Al697-1;1)

13. beoo de Agosto yzaa de mill setesientos y Beynte
   month of August year of thousand seven hundred and twenty
   ‘the month of August of the year one thousand seven hundred and twenty’ (Co721-1;3)

In some cases, y appears to take on contextual sensitivity. In (14), y is used for noun phrase conjunction and chela is used for verb phrase conjunction. (However, y is also conjoining Spanish borrow words, which makes this use more expected.)

14. CONJUNCTA3 CONJUNCTB1 CONJ1B CONJUNCTB2 CONJ3A CONJUNCTA5
    nayohu çiane ya=granados y menbrillo chela nayoo
    are.located many tree=pomegranate and quince and are.located
    ciane pia
    many prickly.pear

    ‘[In the fields] there are many pomegranate and quince trees and there are many prickly pear cacti.’ (Te618-1;31-32)

In the current CVZ FLEEx database, there are two places where the conjunction chela huane appears.

15. tobi guïña caxa huacaa guiba chela huane batao niño Jesus
   one box box filled? metal and and life_force child Jesus
   ‘one box with a lock and a baby Jesus’ (Te626-3;9-10)

6 See examples (1)-(4).
From just these two tokens, it's impossible to draw many conclusions about the usage of this conjunction. Strangely it's used independently in different contexts, in wills from different towns, separated in time by nearly a century.

Other conjunctions (e.g. hua, chelañee, huachela) are used in the documents and are referenced in CVZ dictionaries, but they are extremely rare. The conjunctions appear to be different permutations of a set of morphemes.

5 Conclusion

Although CVZ conjunctions do not have inherent syntactic or semantic sensitivity, they make take on sensitivity in a specific context. There is room for further research on the use of more infrequent CVZ conjunctions and on potential patterns of use in a specific town or by a specific speaker.

6 References


de Feria, Fr. Pedro. 1567. *Doctrina Cristiana en lengua castellana y zapoteca*.


# Appendix: Further Data

## 7.1 Documents used in this study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Al642;line</td>
<td>1641 San Pedro el Alto, Bill of Sale. Archivo General de la Nación, Tierras, Leg. 310, Exp 2, 40r-40v; Originally analyzed by the UCLA Zapotexts group.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al697-page;line</td>
<td>1697 San Pedro el Alto, Testament of Maria Barbula. Archivo General de la Nación, Tierras, Leg. 310, Exp 2, 62r-63r. Originally analyzed by LING215, Haverford College, Fall 2013.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co721-page;line</td>
<td>1721 San Bartolome Coyotepec, Testament of Maria de la Cruz Dionisio. Archivo General del Poder Ejecutivo de Oaxaca, Alcaldias Mayores, Leg. 21, Exp 12. Originally analyzed by the UCLA Zapotexts group.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc-page;line</td>
<td>de Feria, Fr. Pedro. 1567. <em>Doctrina Cristiana en lengua castellana y zapoteca</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te614;line</td>
<td>1614 San Juan Tectipaque, Testament of Sebastian Lopez. Archivo General de la Nación, Tierras, Leg. 256, Exp. 2, 104r-104v. Originally analyzed by the UCLA Zapotexts group.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te618-page;line</td>
<td>1618 San Juan Tectipaque, Testament of Juan Lopez. Archivo General de la Nación, Tierras, Leg. 256, Exp. 2, 112r. Originally analyzed by the UCLA Zapotexts group.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te626-page;line</td>
<td>1626 San Sebastian Tectipaque, Testament of Juan Lopez. Archivo General de la Nación, Tierras, Leg. 256, Exp. 2, 88r-90r. Originally analyzed by the UCLA Zapotexts group.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ti700;line</td>
<td>1700 San Andres Tiltepec, Bill of Sale. Archivo General de la Nación, Tierras, Leg. 310, Exp. 2, 48v. Originally analyzed by the UCLA Zapotexts group.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## 7.2 Syndeticity of chela and huanee

**Chela** may be monosyndetic:

a. `n-apa=ya tobi porcellana tobi escudilla chona plato chela yaga lona st-have=1s one china one bowl three plates and wood bed `I have one (piece of) china, one bowl, three plates, and a wooden bed.’ (Te618-1;38)

---

**Chela** may be bisyndetic:

b. 50 `pesos cama xiteni xi-coquiv=ttoo=na dios reys chela chona 50 pesos treasury POSS POSS-king=big=1p God King and three peo lichi quiba chela chona tozena azote lao picota month home metal and three dozen flogging face.LOC whipping_post ‘50 pesos to the treasury of our lord God King and three months in jail and three dozen lashes at the whipping post’ (Al642;31-32)

---

7 Initial analysis for all of these documents is from the CVZ FieldWorks FLEX database (Broadwell & Lillehaugen 2012). In some places I have modified this analysis to reflect my current understanding of CVZ.

8 The UCLA Zapotexts group transcribed and analyzed several documents used in this study; in these cases I have referenced both the original analysis and the analysis in the CVZ FLEX database. In some places I have modified this analysis to reflect my current understanding of CVZ.
Huanee may be monosyndetic:

c. tobi lari lace tobi çahuel rarihui çe-tobi cuello **huanee** tobi sunbrero
one cloth cloak one ?? DEF-one collar and one hat
‘one cloak, one [??], one collar, and one hat’ (Te618-1;36-37)

Huanee may be bisyndetic:
d. que-xe=ni 20 pos **huanee** tobi beo lichi quiba **huane**
IRR-pay=3 twenty peso and one month house metal and
3 tozena azoti loo picota
three dozen lash face. LOC whipping_post
‘He/they shall pay twenty pesos and one month in jail and three dozen lashes at the whipping post.’ (Ti700;11)

7.3 Lack of global semantic/syntactic sensitivity

Chela may conjoin noun phrases:
e. n-apa=ya tobi porcellana tobi escudilla chona plato **chela** yaga lona
ST-have=1s one china one bowl three plates and wood bed
‘I have one (piece of) china, one bowl, three plates, and a wooden bed.’ (Te618-1;38)

Chela may conjoin clauses:
f. hua-ti-yelijcalachi=a chitaa quelalij ni là articulos de
PERF-H/P-truly_believe=1s fourteen truth REL be.named articles of
la fee chela ti-yelijlachi=a xi-ticha xi-ñaña sancta yglesia
the faith and H/P-believe=1s POSS-word POSS-mother holy church
‘I truly believe the fourteen truths that are named the articles of the faith and I believe the words of our mother the holy church’ (Doc-115v;13-16)

Chela may conjoin proper noun phrases:
g. gabriel de sactana marcos átoni **chela** naa
Gabriel de Santa_Ana Marcos Antonio and 1s.fp
‘Gabriel de Santa Ana, Marcos Antonio, and I’ (Al642-26)

Chela may conjoin tight conjuncts:
h. tobi pere-gozana topa pere coconi hualachi **chela** xopa gozana
one turkey-hen two turkey sterile native and six hen
‘one turkey hen, two sterile native turkeys, and six hens’ (Te618-1;40)

Chela may conjoin loose conjuncts:
i. xilla **chela** gui-ona na-guichela tomines
saddle and PERF-three ST-serve_people tomines
‘a saddle and three (to serve the people) tomines’ (Te626-3;20-21)

Huanee may conjoin noun phrases:
j. tobi lari lace tobi çahuel rarihui çe-tobi cuello **huanee** tobi sunbrero
one cloth cloak one ?? DEF-one collar and one hat
‘one cloak, one [??], one collar, and one hat’ (Te618-1;36-37)

Huanee may conjoin clauses:
k. g-atí=a **huanee** qui-xee=nij tobij missa
ASP-die=1s and IRR-pay=3 one mass
‘I shall die and he/they shall pay one mass’ (Co721-2;4)
Huanee may conjoin proper noun phrases:

1. Anprosio **huanee** Jacinto **huanee** lichela=ya Madgalena
   Ambrocio and Jacinto and spouse=1s Magdalena
   ‘Ambrocio and Jacinto and my spouse Magdalena’ (Te626-3;7)

Huanee may conjoin tight conjuncts:

m. topa bara pigaa **huanee** topa pee
   two pottery necklace and two ring
   ‘two pottery necklaces and two rings’ (Te626-2;11)

Huanee may conjoin loose conjuncts:

n. macho **huanee** guehuana
   mule and mirror
   ‘mules and a mirror’ (Te626-3;12)

=la may conjoin noun phrases:

o. beni na-bani =la beni coti =la
   person ST-alive =and person dead =and
   ‘the dead and the living’ (Tes740;19)

=la may conjoin clauses:

p. nii pe-zaa=nii llaayoo =laa nii pe-[za]=nii cabilaa =laa
   REL PERF-create=3 land =and REL PERF-create=3 hell =and
   ‘that he created the land and that he created hell’ (Tes740;5-6)

=la may conjoin proper noun phrases:

q. Agostatino =la Pedro mulino =la
   Agostatino =and Pedro mulino =and
   ‘Agostatino and Pedro Mulino’ (Al697-62v;22)

=la may conjoin tight conjuncts:

r. quelazij =la quelachibaa =la quelacobiña =la quelahuechaganiça =la
   affliction =and misery =and hunger =and thirst =and
   nalla =la nagui =la
   cold =and heat =and
   ‘affliction and misery and hunger and thirst and cold and heat’ (Doc-27v;20-22)

=la may conjoin loose conjuncts:

s. guicha =la, xilla =la, seda =la
   wool =and cotton =and silk =and
   ‘wool and cotton and silk’ (Doc-10v;5)

Asyndetic conjunction may conjoin noun phrases:

t. quinaa quecoyohuea quinaa lachiyalana quinaa lachizaque quinaa queco
   field Quecoyohuea field Lachiyalana field Lachizaque field Queco
   ‘the field Quecoyohuea, the field Lachiyalana, the field Lachizaque, [and] the field Queco.’ (Al697-62v;10-11)

Asyndetic conjunction may conjoin clauses:

u. qui-ta=ni qui-togo.ticha=ni
   IRR-come=3 IRR-judge=3
   ‘He shall come and he shall judge’ (Tl675b;9-10)
Asyndetic conjunction may conjoin proper noun phrases:

v. tes P° ernades testico Fracisgo luis p° mural testico
   witness Pedro Hernandes witness Francisco Luis Pedro Morales witness
   que-ona bene xiini
   IRR-three person child

‘witness Pedro Hernandes, witness Francisco Luis, Pedro Morales (witness), [and] the three children.’
(A697-62v:22-23)

Asyndetic conjunction may conjoin tight conjuncts:

w. tobi chamara azul tobi par manga na-cobi tobi cuello riyahui
   one jacket blue one pair sleeve ST-new one collar old

‘one blue jacket [and] one new pair of sleeves [and] one old collar’ (Te626-2:4-5)

I have found no examples of obvious loose conjunction. However, asyndetic conjunction is by nature difficult to locate in a corpus, so this may not be a strong constraint.

7.4 Use of the conjunctions across time and location

Table A1 shows the spread of the four conjunctions throughout several of the analyzed documents from the FLEx database (Broadwell & Lillehaugen 2012). Each conjunction is found in a variety of locations, showing no evidence of a local distinctions.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Document</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Chela</th>
<th>Huane</th>
<th>=la</th>
<th>Asyndetic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Al697</td>
<td>San Pedro el Alto</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co721</td>
<td>San Bartolome Coyotepec</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oc686</td>
<td>San Sebastian Octolán</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te626</td>
<td>San Sebastian Tectipac</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ti700</td>
<td>San Andres Tiltpec</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ti709</td>
<td>San Andres Tiltpec</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tl675b</td>
<td>San Jerónimo Tlacochahuaya</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Za719</td>
<td>Zaachila</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table A1. Distribution of conjunctions in documents.

---

9 This is not an exhaustive list (of towns or documents), but is demonstrative of the trend.
Table A2 is organized chronologically, showing a relatively even spread of the conjunctions across time.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Document</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Chela</th>
<th>Huaneé</th>
<th>=la</th>
<th>Asyndetic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Doc</td>
<td>1567</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te577</td>
<td>1577</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te589</td>
<td>1589</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te590</td>
<td>1590</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te610</td>
<td>1610</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te614</td>
<td>1614</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te618</td>
<td>1618</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te626</td>
<td>1626</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al642</td>
<td>1642</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hu659</td>
<td>1656</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tl675b</td>
<td>1675</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oc686</td>
<td>1686</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al697</td>
<td>1697</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ti700</td>
<td>1700</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te702</td>
<td>1702</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ti711a</td>
<td>1711</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oc715</td>
<td>1715</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Za719</td>
<td>1719</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co721</td>
<td>1721</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tes740</td>
<td>1740</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table A2. Temporal distribution of conjunctions.