A Descriptive Grammar of San Bartolomé Zoogocho Zapotec

Aaron Huey Sonnenschein

2005
LINCOM EUROPA
Table of Contents

Dedication i
Acknowledgments ii
List of Tables iii
List of Figures iv
Abbreviations and glossing conventions v

1 Introduction 1
1.1 Basic information about San Bartolomé Zoogocho Zapotec 3
1.2 The sociolinguistic situation 5
1.3 Genetic and dialectal information 5
1.4 Previous research 9
1.5 Non-Zapotec languages spoken in the region 9
1.6 Other geographic and ethnographic information 9
1.7 Typological characteristics 11
1.8 Theoretical framework 11

2 Phonetics and phonology 13
2.1 Orthography and inventory of sounds 15
2.2 Consonants 16
2.2.1 Examples 17
2.2.1.1 Stops 17
2.2.1.2 Nasals 17
2.2.1.3 Laterals 18
2.2.1.4 Fricatives 18
2.2.1.5 Affricates 19
2.2.1.6 Glides 19
2.2.1.7 The glottal stop 19
2.2.2 Loans 19
2.2.3 Labialization 20
2.2.4 Consonant clusters 20
2.3 Vowels 24
2.3.1 Phonation 25
2.3.2 Tone 25
2.3.3 Intonation 26
2.4 Syllable structure 26
2.5 Stress 26
2.6 Phonological word 27

3 Pronominal forms 29
3.1 Introduction 31
3.2 Independent pronouns 31
3.3 Dependent forms 34
3.4 Experiencer and instrumental forms 35
3.5 Dependent pronominal forms for the object 38
3.6 Emphatic pronouns 39
3.7 Co-occurrence restrictions between subject and object clitics 40
3.8 The classification of the forms described above 42

4 Morphology 49
4.1 Introduction 51
4.2 Nominal morphology 51
4.2.1 Possession 51
4.2.2 Lexical compounds 52
4.2.3 Nominal template 53
4.3 Verbal morphology 53
4.3.1 General overview 53
4.3.2 Primary aspect 53
4.3.3 Other, more rarely encountered preverbal aspectual markers 73
4.3.4 Plural marking for third person subjects 74
4.3.5 Secondary aspect 76
4.3.6 Andative/venitive 78
4.3.7 Imperatives 80
4.3.8 Infinitives 80
4.3.9 Valence changing operations 81
4.3.10 Incorporated nouns 83
4.3.11 Adverbal suffixes 84
4.3.12 Pronominal clitics 85
4.3.13 Verbal template 55
4.4.1 Adjectives 85
4.4.2 Quantifiers 86
4.5 The morphological typology of SBZZ 86

5 Simple constructions 91
5.1 Introduction 93
5.2 Basic Word Order 93
5.3 The noun phrase 95
5.3.1 Adjective-noun order 95
5.3.2 Cardinal numbers and quantifiers 96
5.3.3 Plural marker 97
5.3.4 Demonstratives 97
5.3.5 Possession 97
5.3.5.1 Introduction 97
5.3.5.2 A brief overview of attributive possession in Zoogocho Zapotec 98
5.3.5.3 Discussion of attributive possession in the literature 100
5.3.5.4 A processing explanation of the formal marking 104
5.3.5.5 The use of attributive possession in three Zoogocho Zapotec texts 107
5.3.6 Determiners 110
5.3.7 The directional clitic 111
5.3.8 Overall NP ordering 111
5.4 Declarative clauses 112
5.4.1 Intransitive clauses 113
5.4.2 Transitive clauses 113
5.4.3 Ditransitive clauses 114
5.4.4 Negation 114
5.4.5 Adverbs 115
5.4.5.1 Time 116
5.4.5.2 Place 116
5.4.5.3 Manner 116
5.4.5.4 Time/Manner/Place 117
5.5 Pragmatic fronting of elements 118
5.5.1 Topicalization 118
5.5.2 Focus 118
5.5.3 Fronting of non-core arguments 119
5.6 Interrogative sentences 119
5.6.1 Overall 119
5.6.2 Yes/no 119
5.6.3 Content questions 120
5.6.3.1 no 120
5.6.3.2 bate' 122
5.6.3.3 ga/gan 122
5.6.3.4 bal/bale' 123
5.6.3.5 kaka 125
5.6.3.6 nake' 125
5.6.3.7 bicheen 125
5.6.3.8 bi 126
5.6.4 Interrogative clauses-a synopsis 127
5.7 Zoogocho Zapotec and Greenberg's universals 128

6 Complex Constructions 137
6.1 Causatives 139
6.1.1 Morphological causative 139
6.1.2 Syntactic causative 140
6.1.3 Differences between the two constructions 140
6.2 Instrumentals and comitatives 140
6.3 IO 'lowering' and benefactive constructions 142
6.3.1 IO 'lowering' 142
6.3.2 The basic expression of beneficiaries 142
6.3.3 Beneficiaries or recipients? 144
6.3.4 What is whose? 144
6.4 The reflexive of possessive construction 146
6.4.1 Introduction 146
6.4.2 Binding conditions 147
6.5 Constructions with multiple verbs 149
6.5.1 Introduction 149
6.5.2 Infinitival constructions 150
6.5.3 Verbs borrowed from Spanish 151
6.5.4 Auxiliary constructions 152
6.5.5 Complementation 153
6.5.6 Argument sharing 156
6.5.7 Relative clauses 156
6.5.8 Coordination 159
6.5.9 Adverbial clauses and indirect questions 161
6.6 Comparatives 162
6.7 Conditionals 163

7 Lexical classes 165
7.1 Introduction 167
7.2 Verbs 170
7.2.1 Auxiliary verbs 171
7.2.2 Positional verbs 172
7.3 Adverbs 176
7.4 Nouns 177
7.4.1 Nouns 177
7.4.2 Reflexives and reciprocals 178
7.4.3 Pronouns 179
7.4.4 Generic nouns 180
7.5 Adjectives 181
7.6 Quantifiers 182
7.7 Noun and verb adjuncts 182
7.8 Demonstratives 184
7.9 Question words 186
7.10 Conjunctions 187
7.11 Other closed classes 188
7.12 The relational noun/locative preposition continuum 192
7.12.1 Introduction 192
7.12.2 Heine et al. 193
7.12.3 Mixtecans 195
7.12.4 MacLaury and Ayoquesco Zapotec 197
7.12.5 An initial description and textual exploration of relational nouns in Zoogocho Zapotec 198
7.12.6 Non-body part derived prepositions 202
7.12.7 The cognitive development of body part terms in Zoogocho Zapotec 203
Lexical classification of body part terms
Comparison with Valley Zapotec
Conclusion

A performance approach to VSO order in Zoogocho Zapotec
Introduction: Basic word order properties
Structural approaches to the typology of verb initial languages
Payne's restatement of Keenan
Dryer
Polinsky
A pragmatic approach to word order variation in verb initial languages: Du Bois and 'The Discourse Basis of Ergativity'
A processing approach to VSO order
Textual data from SBZZ
Methodology
Corpus
Coding
Data
Types of data
Quantitative data and analysis
Comparison with similar studies
Topic and focus
Conclusions

Conclusion
Appendix: Text
Bibliography