Table of Contents

[Chapter 1 7](#_Toc69230649)

[1.1 About this work 7](#_Toc69230650)

[1.2 The language and its speakers 7](#_Toc69230651)

[1.2.1 Economic, cultural and linguistic context 10](#_Toc69230652)

[1.3 Previous research on TdVZ 11](#_Toc69230653)

[1.4 Methodological considerations 12](#_Toc69230654)

[1.4.1 The approach to language description 12](#_Toc69230655)

[1.4.2 The approach to subordination 14](#_Toc69230656)

[1.4.3 Data 16](#_Toc69230657)

[1.4.4 Presentation and special conventions 17](#_Toc69230658)

[1.4.5 Orthographic representation 18](#_Toc69230659)

[1.5 General outline 20](#_Toc69230660)

[Chapter 2 21](#_Toc69230661)

[2.1 Segmental inventory 21](#_Toc69230662)

[2.1.1 Consonantal phonology 21](#_Toc69230663)

[2.1.2 Vowels 23](#_Toc69230664)

[2.1.2.1 Phonation types 24](#_Toc69230665)

[2.1.2.2 Vowel length 25](#_Toc69230666)

[2.1.2.3 Diphthongs 25](#_Toc69230667)

[2.2 Tone 26](#_Toc69230668)

[2.3 Prosody 27](#_Toc69230669)

[2.3.1 Syllabic structure 27](#_Toc69230670)

[2.3.2 Phonotactics 29](#_Toc69230671)

[2.3.3 Prominence 30](#_Toc69230672)

[2.4 Morphophonology 32](#_Toc69230673)

[2.4.1 Roots, affixes and Clitics 32](#_Toc69230674)

[2.4.1.1 Roots 32](#_Toc69230675)

[2.4.1.2 Affixes & Clitics 34](#_Toc69230676)

[2.4.1.3 Affixes 34](#_Toc69230677)

[2.4.1.4 Clitics 35](#_Toc69230678)

[2.4.1.5 Free function words 39](#_Toc69230679)

[2.5 The Phonological and Morphosyntactic words in TdVZ 40](#_Toc69230680)

[2.5.1 The Phonological Word (p-word) 40](#_Toc69230681)

[2.5.2 The morphosyntactic word (m-word) 43](#_Toc69230682)

[2.5.3 The phonological *vs* the morphosyntactic word 45](#_Toc69230683)

[2.5.3.1 The m-word smaller that the p-word 45](#_Toc69230684)

[2.5.3.2 The m-word bigger than the p-word 46](#_Toc69230685)

[2.6 Morphophonological and tonal processes 46](#_Toc69230686)

[2.6.1 Pronominal enclitic laryngeal Displacement 46](#_Toc69230687)

[2.6.2 *ny* Metathesis 47](#_Toc69230688)

[2.6.3 Tone Sandhi 48](#_Toc69230689)

[2.6.4 Countour Levelling 49](#_Toc69230690)

[2.6.5 Regressive Mid Tone Spreading 49](#_Toc69230691)

[2.7 Remarks on chapter 2 50](#_Toc69230692)

[Chapter 3 51](#_Toc69230693)

[3.1 Word classes and phrases, an overview 51](#_Toc69230694)

[3.2. Nouns *vs* Verbs in TdVZ 54](#_Toc69230695)

[3.2.1 Noun morphology and syntactic distribution 54](#_Toc69230696)

[3.2.2 Verb morphology and syntactic distribution 56](#_Toc69230697)

[3.2.2.1 Verb morphology: TAM and valence increasing affixes 56](#_Toc69230698)

[3.2.2.2 Valence increasing devices 59](#_Toc69230699)

[3.2.2.3 The syntactic distribution of verbs 61](#_Toc69230700)

[3.3 Adjectives 62](#_Toc69230701)

[3.3.1 The morphology of adjectives 62](#_Toc69230702)

[3.3.2 The syntactic distribution of adjectives 64](#_Toc69230703)

[3.3.2.1 Adjectives within Noun Phrases 64](#_Toc69230704)

[3.3.2.2 Predicative adjective constructions 65](#_Toc69230705)

[3.4 Adverbs 66](#_Toc69230706)

[3.4.1 The morphology of adverbs 66](#_Toc69230707)

[3.4.2 The syntactic distribution of adverbs 68](#_Toc69230708)

[3.5 Noun phrase 70](#_Toc69230709)

[3.5.1 Possessive constructions 74](#_Toc69230710)

[3.5.1.1 Alienable possession 75](#_Toc69230711)

[3.5.1.2 Inalienable possession 76](#_Toc69230712)

[3.6 Constituents within a clause 78](#_Toc69230713)

[3.8 Functional categories 84](#_Toc69230714)

[3.8.1 Relational nouns and prepositions 84](#_Toc69230715)

[3.8.1.2 Relational nouns 84](#_Toc69230716)

[3.8.1.3 Prepositions 86](#_Toc69230717)

[3.8.2 Conjunctions 86](#_Toc69230718)

[3.8.2.1 Conjunctions in TdVZ 87](#_Toc69230719)

[3.8.2.2 Coordinating conjunctions 87](#_Toc69230720)

[3.8.2.3 Subordinating conjunctions in TdVZ 89](#_Toc69230721)

[3.9 Remarks on chapter 3 95](#_Toc69230722)

[Chapter 4 97](#_Toc69230723)

[4.1 The simple TdVZ clause 97](#_Toc69230724)

[4.1.1 Background in defining ‘a simple clause’ 97](#_Toc69230725)

[4.1.2 The basic clause(s) in TdVZ 99](#_Toc69230726)

[4.2 Valency changing mechanisms 105](#_Toc69230727)

[4.2.1 Valence increasing devices 105](#_Toc69230728)

[4.2.2 The comitative marker 106](#_Toc69230729)

[4.2.3 Syntactic causatives 107](#_Toc69230730)

[4.2.4 Constructions treated as valence decreasing mechanisms in Zapotec 108](#_Toc69230731)

[4.2.4.1Reflexives 108](#_Toc69230732)

[4.2.4.1Reciprocals 109](#_Toc69230733)

[4.3 Interrogatives in TdVZ 110](#_Toc69230734)

[4.3.1 Polar and content questions 110](#_Toc69230735)

[4.3.2 Polar questions in TdVZ 111](#_Toc69230736)

[4.3.3 Content questions in TdVZ 112](#_Toc69230737)

[4.4 Negation in TdVZ 116](#_Toc69230738)

[4.4.1 Clausal negation 116](#_Toc69230739)

[4.4.2 Position and scope of the negative marker *kēd*= 120](#_Toc69230740)

[4.4.3. Negation of potential mood clauses (not yet expressions) 121](#_Toc69230741)

[4.4.4 Negation of Existential predication 122](#_Toc69230742)

[4.4.5 Indefinite pronouns 123](#_Toc69230743)

[4.5 Serial verbs constructions in TdVZ 124](#_Toc69230744)

[4.5.1 SVC in TdVZ 125](#_Toc69230745)

[4.6 Focus and Topic in TdVZ 128](#_Toc69230746)

[4.6.1 How Focus and Topic are understood in this work 128](#_Toc69230747)

[4.6.2 Focus in TdVZ 130](#_Toc69230748)

[4.6.3 Topic in TdVZ 132](#_Toc69230749)

[4.7 Remarks on chapter 4 135](#_Toc69230750)

[Chapter 5 137](#_Toc69230751)

[5.1 Relative clauses: theoretical background 137](#_Toc69230752)

[5.2 Types of relative clauses in TdVZ 139](#_Toc69230753)

[5.2.1 Headed Relative Clauses 142](#_Toc69230754)

[5.2.2 Relativization with relative pronoun strategy 146](#_Toc69230755)

[5.2.3 Relativization with no subordinator 147](#_Toc69230756)

[5.2.4 Summary and discussion of the basic relativization strategy 148](#_Toc69230757)

[5.2.5 Relativization of possessors and complements of relational nouns 148](#_Toc69230758)

[5.3 Headless relative clauses 150](#_Toc69230759)

[5.3.1 Light headed RCs 150](#_Toc69230760)

[5.3.2 Super free [-H]RC 151](#_Toc69230761)

[5.3.3 Free [-H]RC in TdVZ? 152](#_Toc69230762)

[5.3.3.1 Maximal free [-H]RC 154](#_Toc69230763)

[5.3.3.2 Existential free [-H]RC 158](#_Toc69230764)

[5.3.3.3 Free choice marker [-H]RC 162](#_Toc69230765)

[5.4 Noun phrase accessibility to relativization 164](#_Toc69230766)

[5.5 Negation in relative clauses 167](#_Toc69230767)

[5.6 Tone change in Relative clauses 168](#_Toc69230768)

[5.7 The functions of RC 169](#_Toc69230769)

[*5.7.1* *loni*= relative clauses as temporal adverbial modifiers 169](#_Toc69230770)

[*5.7.2* RC in comparative function 169](#_Toc69230771)

[5.8 Remarks on chapter 5 170](#_Toc69230772)

[Chapter 6 171](#_Toc69230773)

[6.1 Theoretical background 171](#_Toc69230774)

[6.2 Complement clauses in TdVZ: introduction 174](#_Toc69230775)

[6.3 Non-reduced Complement clauses 177](#_Toc69230776)

[6.3.1 Declarative complements (with optional complementizer) 177](#_Toc69230777)

[6.3.2 Interrogative complements 180](#_Toc69230778)

[6.4 Reduced complements 182](#_Toc69230779)

[6.4.1 Reduced complement clauses with realis and irrealis modalities 182](#_Toc69230780)

[6.4.2 Reduced complement clauses with restricted aspect 185](#_Toc69230781)

[6.4.4 Reduced complement clauses with loosely copied aspect 188](#_Toc69230782)

[6.4.5 Reduced complement clauses strictly copied aspect 190](#_Toc69230783)

[6.4.6 Types of complements: summary 192](#_Toc69230784)

[6.5 The semantics of complement taking predicates. 194](#_Toc69230785)

[6.5.1 Utterance predicates 194](#_Toc69230786)

[6.5.2 Propositional attitude predicates 196](#_Toc69230787)

[6.5.3 Predicates of knowledge or acquisition of knowledge 197](#_Toc69230788)

[6.5.4 Immediate perception predicates 199](#_Toc69230789)

[6.5.5 Pretence predicates 200](#_Toc69230790)

[6.5.6 Desiderative predicates 200](#_Toc69230791)

[6.5.6.1 Predicates of fearing 201](#_Toc69230792)

[6.5.7 Manipulative predicates 202](#_Toc69230793)

[6.5.8 Achievement predicates 204](#_Toc69230794)

[6.5.9 Committing and reneging predicates 205](#_Toc69230795)

[6. 5.10 Phasal predicates 206](#_Toc69230796)

[6. 5.11 Summary of section 207](#_Toc69230797)

[6.6 Control in complement structures 209](#_Toc69230798)

[6.6.1 Predicates that trigger inherent control in TdVZ 212](#_Toc69230799)

[6.6.1.2 Pretence predicates 212](#_Toc69230800)

[6.6.1.3 Phasal predicates 213](#_Toc69230801)

[6.6.1.4 Desiderative predicates 213](#_Toc69230802)

[6.6.1.5 Achievement predicates 214](#_Toc69230803)

[6.6.1.6 Committing and reneging predicates 215](#_Toc69230804)

[6.6.1.7 Other predicates that trigger inherent control 215](#_Toc69230805)

[6.6.1.7 Manipulative predicates 216](#_Toc69230806)

[6.6.2 Predicates that trigger control by default in TdVZ 217](#_Toc69230807)

[6.6.2.1 Acquisition of knowledge predicates 217](#_Toc69230808)

[6.6.2.2 Propositional attitude predicate 218](#_Toc69230809)

[6.6.2.3 Achievement predicates 218](#_Toc69230810)

[6.6.2.4 Committing and reneging predicates 219](#_Toc69230811)

[6.6.3 Remarks on complementation control in TdVZ 219](#_Toc69230812)

[6.7 Remarks on chapter 6 220](#_Toc69230813)

[Chapter 7 221](#_Toc69230814)

[7.1 Theoretical background 221](#_Toc69230815)

[7.2 Adverbial clauses that compete with single word adverbs 223](#_Toc69230816)

[7.2.1 Temporal adverbial clauses with *txi=* ‘when’ 224](#_Toc69230817)

[7.2.1.1 txi= ‘when’ / gāxh= ‘then’ clauses 224](#_Toc69230818)

[7.2.1.2 txi= ‘when’ + progressive prefix 226](#_Toc69230819)

[7.2.1.3 txi= ‘when’ + á= ‘done’ 227](#_Toc69230820)

[7.2.1.4 Integration of the events in txi= ‘when’ clauses 228](#_Toc69230821)

[7.2.1.5 Negation in txi= ‘when’ clauses 230](#_Toc69230822)

[7.2.2 Other strategies for temporal modification 230](#_Toc69230823)

[7.2.3 Locative Adverbial Clauses 232](#_Toc69230824)

[7.2.4 Manner Adverbial Clauses 233](#_Toc69230825)

[7.2.4.1 TAM relations in manner AdvC 234](#_Toc69230826)

[7.2.4.2 Negation in manner AdvC 234](#_Toc69230827)

[7.2.4.3 Control in manner AdvC? 235](#_Toc69230828)

[7.3 Adverbial clauses that do not compete with single word adverbs 235](#_Toc69230829)

[7.3.1 Purpose and Reason Adverbial Clauses introduced by *té*= 236](#_Toc69230830)

[7.3.1.1 +Integrated purpose clauses 238](#_Toc69230831)

[7.3.1.2 Negation of +integrated purpose clauses 239](#_Toc69230832)

[7.3.1.3 Counterfactual prefix on +integrated purpose clauses 240](#_Toc69230833)

[7.3.1.4 -Integrated purpose clauses 240](#_Toc69230834)

[7.3.1.5 Negation of -integrated purpose clauses 241](#_Toc69230835)

[7.3.1.6 Reason AdvCs with té= 242](#_Toc69230836)

[7.3.1.7 Negation of reason AdvCs with té= 243](#_Toc69230837)

[7.3.2 Reason (explicatory) Adverbial Clauses with *kom*= 244](#_Toc69230838)

[7.3.2.1 TAM relations in reason AdvCs with kom= 245](#_Toc69230839)

[7.3.3 Result clauses with *lā̰yn ní=* 246](#_Toc69230840)

[7.3.4 Conditional clauses: introduction 248](#_Toc69230841)

[7.3.4.1 Conditional clauses in TdVZ 249](#_Toc69230842)

[7.3.4.2 Hypothetical conditional clauses 250](#_Toc69230843)

[7.3.4.3 Speech act conditionals 255](#_Toc69230844)

[7.3.4.4 Concessive conditional clauses & concessive adverbial clauses 257](#_Toc69230845)

[7.3.4.5 Negation in conditional clauses 260](#_Toc69230846)

[7.3.5 Concessive adverbial clauses with *masy* 261](#_Toc69230847)

[7.3.6 Simultaneous clauses 262](#_Toc69230848)

[7.3.7 Consecutive clauses 265](#_Toc69230849)

[7.3.8 Additive clauses 266](#_Toc69230850)

[7.3.9 Substitutive Clauses 267](#_Toc69230851)

[7.4 Remarks on chapter 7 268](#_Toc69230852)

[Chapter 8 270](#_Toc69230853)

[8.1 Contributions 270](#_Toc69230854)

[8.2 Further research 272](#_Toc69230855)

[Appendix A 273](#_Toc69230856)

[References 276](#_Toc69230857)

**Abbreviations**

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| adv | Adverb | intg | Interrogative |
| aff | Affective | intg.pol | Polar interrogative |
| affve | Affirmative | intsf | Intensifier |
| anml | Animal | loc | Locative |
| c.cond | concessive conditional | mann | Manner |
| caus | Causative | mdr | Multiplier |
| cntf | Counterfactual | neg | Negative |
| comit | Comitative | pl | Plural |
| comp | Complementizer | pol | Polar |
| compl | Completive | poss | Possessive |
| cond | Conditional | pot | Potential |
| conj | Conjunction | progr | Progressive |
| d.e | Discursive Element | pron | Pronoun |
| dem | Demostrative | prox | Proximal |
| disj | Disjunction | qdr | Quantifier |
| dist | Distal | r.n | Relational Noun |
| dub | Dubitative | recip | Reciprocal |
| expl | Expletive | rel.loc.pron | Relative locative pronoun |
| f | Formal | rep | Reportative |
| foc | Focus | rest | Restorative |
| fut | Future | sg | Singular |
| hab | Habitual | stat | Stative |
| i.art | Indefinite Article | sub | Subordinator |
| if | Informal | temp.sub | Temporal Subordinator |
| imp | Imperative | top | Topic |
| inan | Inanimate | v.psl | Positional verb |

# Chapter 1

**Introduction**

# About this work

This dissertation provides a basic synchronic description of the phonology, lexical categories and morphosyntax of Teotitlán del Valle Zapotec (TdVZ), (ISO 639-3: [zab]), and a more in-depth study of three types of subordinated clauses in this Central Zapotec language: relative, complement and adverbial clauses.

The goals of this work are of two-fold. The first part of this dissertation (the phonology, lexical categories and morphosyntax description) aims on complementing the work on this language by Gutiérrez (2014) and highlighting the differences amongst them when relevant. This in turn, contributes to a more fine grained account of various aspects of TdVZ not treated in depth by Gutiérrez (2014) such as the phonology and the word classes of TdVZ. Secondly, the study of subordinate clauses in TdVZ, building on the grammatical description, gives a detailed account of relative, complement and adverbial clauses in a Central Zapotec language, which has received little attention in empirical and theoretical studies in Zapotec. This, in turn, aims at providing empirical evidence for confirming or revising current theoretical views of central subordination concepts. This work is the product of more than five years of fieldwork, analysis, and writing, and is an attempt to provide as thorough and as accurate a treatment of the subject as possible, all in the language’s own terms. Before moving on to the analysis and description, this chapter provides a background for the work, which begins with an introduction to the language and speakers in §1.2. An overview of previous research on the language is given in §1.3, which is followed by various methodological considerations in §1.4. The chapter ends with a brief outline of the remainder of the work in §1.5

# The language and its speakers

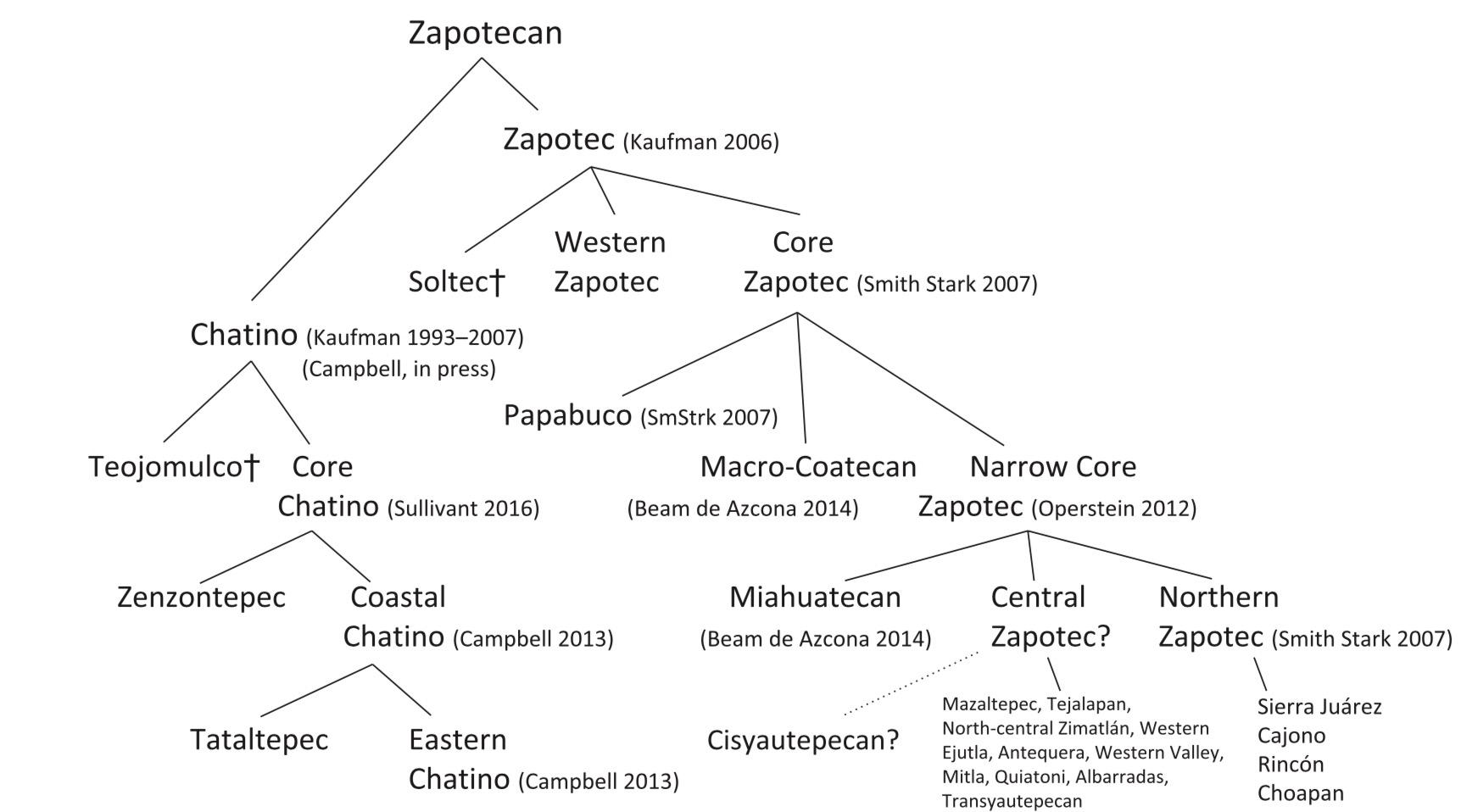
Teotitlan del Valle Zapotec (TdVZ) receives its name from the community that speaks it. Glottolog groups this language together with Jalieza, San Martin Tilcajete, and San Juan Guelavía Zapotec within Western Tlacolula Valley Zapotec. The glottocode for this subgroup of Zapotec languages is **sanj1284** and its iso code is **zab**.

TdVZ belongs to the Otomanguean Family. In the following diagram, I show where TdVZ is situated; First, I show where Zapotec languages are situated as part of the Otomanguean Family, then I show more specifically where TdVZ is situated within the Zapotec group.

Figure 1.1 The Otomanguean Family, according to Campbell (2017a)



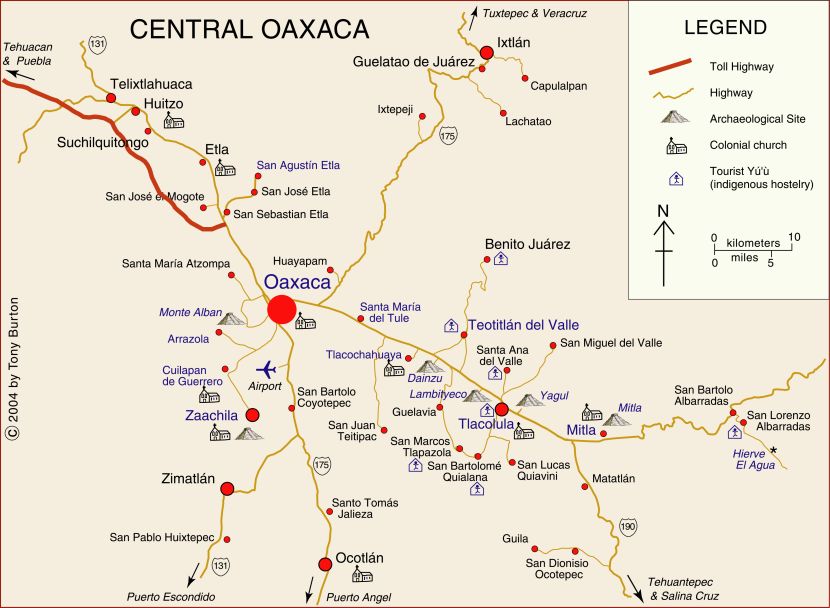
Figure 1.2 Teotitlán del Valle Zapotec within the Zapotec languages (Adapted from Campbell 2017b)



Teotitlán del Valle Zapotec

Zapotec languages are spoken mainly in the state of Oaxaca, Mexico. Teotitlán del Valle (TdV) is located in the Valley of Oaxaca. Thus, it is close the capital city, 18 miles away approximately. The Valley of Oaxaca can be seen in its broader geographical context in Figure 1.3, which shows other Zapotec communities that surround Teotitlán del Valle.

Figure 1.3 Teotitlán del Valle and its neighbors (from Uchihara and Gutiérrez 2019)



According to the 2020 census (INEGI 2020), TdV has 6 392 inhabitants, many of which are bilingual (Zapotec - Spanish). The current total number of TdVZ speakers is difficult to determine, due in part to a lack of more specific parameters to define what is to be a Zapotec speaker and also due to a more meticulous census to verify that those parameters are met. As a member of the community, I notice that young children are growing monolingual in Spanish since parents of recent generations are socializing them only in Spanish. Also, in the adult vocabulary, Spanish loans are becoming more frequent. However, various ongoing projects are focusing on revitalizing the language, as I discuss below.

## Economic, cultural and linguistic context

Most of Teotitlán del Valle’s economy is currently based on the sale of woven handicrafts: rugs and tapestries. There are also small local businesses that offer food as well as various services to locals. These economic activities complement the economic infrastructure of TdV. According to various elders I have worked with, TdV has change a lot during recent years, that is, people went from farming to handcrafting during the last century. Weaving improved the community economically, but it put aside farming.

Teotitlán del Valle is among of the communities in Oaxaca that have a *Usos y costumbres* government. This broadly means that TdV is ruled by various government institutions that are formed and elected locally (within the community). The president is considered the highest authority, but he has a group of people called *cabildo municipal*, with whom he proposes and discusses the projects for the community; all the projects and decisions, however, must be approved by the community in a meeting.

Each ‘government institution’ within the community is usually called a committee. There is a committee for almost each service in the community: the committee for taking care of the land, the committee for taking care of the water system, the church, schools, drainage, and various other services. Most members of the community must be part of a committee at some point during their lifetime.

Although there is no intervention of the church in the government, the committee of the church and the *cabildo municipal* co-organize and participate together in various activities for the community e.g., festivals in honor to saints.

People in Teotitlán del Valle have deeply ingrained its customs and traditions, that is, every festival or celebration to honor a saint is a big celebration and there is usually a ritual (itinerary) that must be followed. Rockets and music are heard during most part of the day during these celebrations.

Language shift (from Zapotec (in)to Spanish) is noticeable in TdVZ, but within the last two decades people are more aware of this situation (I believe it was after a (local) radio station started to have some programs or broadcasters speaking in Zapotec (around 2003- 2005)). Thus, various groups of people have started to consider writing and discussing topics related to the revitalization of the language. Moreover, in 2009, one of the high school systems which focuses on community knowledges was created/located in TdV: *Bachillerato Integral Comunitario* No 29. This school has in its curriculum the study of Zapotec as a second language. In addition, in 2017 a Cultural Center was founded in the community and it is currently offering Zapotec courses to children and adults.

# Previous research on TdVZ

Previous scholarly work on Teotitlan del Valle Zapotec (TdVZ) is scarce. A few published articles contain discussions of specific phonological topics: Uchihara and Gutiérrez (2019) present the phonological and tonal systems of the language using a folktale to explicitly show their analysis while Uchihara and Gutiérrez (2020a) describe the complex distributions of the two allophones of the mid-front vowels. These authors have also explored how agentivity is a salient category in TdVZ (Uchihara and Gutiérrez 2020c). Moreover, in their (2020b) paper, these authors propose that TdVZ should be categorized as a transitivizing language since transitive verbs in this language are morphologically more complex and derived from their intransitive counterpart, and that the intransitive counterparts can have the passive function, thus an ‘activizing’ language.

Kalivoda and Zyman (2015) explored relative clauses and argue for an analysis of these constructions within a generative framework. This is one of the first papers that discusses the syntax of TdVZ from a specific theoretical point of view. However, this paper has significant shortcomings that make it difficult to evaluate their findings. Problems with Kalivoda and Zyman include various ‘non-natural’ calques of English constructions (into Zapotec) and the fact that the role of tone in syntax is not considered.

Other published papers for this variety includes Fenton (2010), which describes and discussed the demonstrative system of TdVZ. Lastly, probably the oldest paper of this language is by Jaime de Angulo (1926). In his paper, this author lays out various aspects of the language including the aspectual system.

There are other unpublished works that discuss TdVZ: Gutiérrez (2014), Beers (2010), and Lowes & Lopez Cruz (2005).

Although not scholarly focused, there is a vocabulary for this language elaborated by Gutiérrez et al. (2020). In this vocabulary, nouns and verbs are grouped in various paradigms based on phonation and tone. Also, it is important to mention that Troi Carleton (2015) has been documenting TdVZ and provides an online dictionary together with an overview of the grammar and transcribed texts for this variety. Other resources for TdVZ are its online talking dictionary, which provides recordings of (mostly) individual words. Although this latter work is an important tool for the language, it has some shortcomings: 1) the writing system does not consistently represent the phonological features of the language (vowel phonation and fortis/lenis distinction in consonants); and 2) tone is not represented at any level.

# Methodological considerations

## 1.4.1 The approach to language description

The perspective of a ‘Framework free grammatical description’ guided the analysis and presentation of the linguistic facts presented here (Haspelmath 2008). In accordance with this approach, languages should be described in their own terms since all languages have different categories.[[1]](#footnote-1) Describing a language in its own term does not mean that describers should ignore the insights from comparative linguistics and general theoretical ideas. What it means is that the categories chosen for description are not determined by the typologists or language theorists (Haspelmath 2020).

This dissertation, then, has been written in a broadly accessible manner, without being couched in a specific formal framework. However, functional andformal theories have influenced the description and analysis, helping to expand empirical coverage, such that the dissertation is as typologically and theoretically informed as possible. Therefore, typological (frame)works have been an important source to observe the various phenomena that occur across languages and these have given insights on various areas/phenomena to explore in TdVZ.

Since this dissertation is intended to be data-driven and framework-free, I have tried to avoid making claims that rely on theoretically motivated concepts, although such concepts are adopted ocassionally with the goal of aiding in the presentation of descriptive data, in order to provide testable claims that can serve as the basis of future work. Throughout this work, I have made every attempt to be explicit about reliance on theoretically driven concepts, to point out where other views exist, and to be fair in the presentation of competing analyses. As appropriate, I freely introduce new concepts and terminology, but have also made every effort to be clear about how terminology is being used, and how it is defined in terms of the structure of TdVZ—whether in the application of new terminology or where there is potential confusion in the use of existing terminology.

I also agree with the idea that language description should strive for descriptive adequacy, both in terms of their extent and justification. This means that grammars ought to be as comprehensive as possible, and linguistic phenomena should be described in sufficient detail. Both the evidence and accompanying analyses should be presented in a way that allows the reader to understand the argument, and to connect it to the rest of the grammar.[[2]](#footnote-2) Thus, one of my main goals in this dissertation is to completely and adequality represent the kind of phenomena I find in TdVZ.

## The approach to subordination

This section lays out a definition of subordination as understood in this dissertation. First, I will be referring to clausal subordination. Thus, any other construction/phrase discussed as subordinated is not considered here.

Traditionally, the term subordination has been used to refer to a construction containing a clause that is embedded or linked to another clause or element to which it is subordinated (Lehman 1988; Foley and Van Valin 1984;). In this construction, there is usually an element, i.e., a subordinator, that introduces the dependent clause. This subordinator defines the construction as being subordinated (Noonan 2007).

Subordination is also typically contrasted with coordination, that is, a common method to distinguish subordinate clauses is to compare them with clauses that are considered to be more independent while being part of the same sentence (construction). The independence of a clause is tested on the grounds of morphosyntactic and phonological criteria. Thus, an independent clause can be modified as any monoclausal construction and it can be uttered by itself. On the other hand, subordinate clauses do not usually show these properties. Nevertheless, Givón (1984:847) states that coordinated clauses are not truly independent of their immediate clausal environment; instead, most of the time, clauses are linked to discourse-pragmatic factors. This idea differs from other studies since they define coordination as the absence of dependency.

With the idea of establishing a better parameter to differentiate subordination from coordination or other multiclausal constructions, Foley and Van Valin (1984) propose a third type of relation between clause linkage: co-subordination. These authors propose that while subordination is +dependent and +embedded, cosubordination refer to clauses that do not show any marker of dependence to another element, thus, it is assumed to be more independent in this way. However, it lacks morphological or syntactic aspects that it can get from another clause. Thus, in this way it is subordinated.

Most of the traditional studies define subordination based on the terms ‘dependency’ and ‘embedding’ (Foley and Van Valin 1984, Van Valin and LaPolla 1997, Givón 1984, Noonan 1985, Dixon and Aikhenvald 2006, etc.). In these cases, ‘dependency’ is understood as a clause that cannot stand alone as a sentence. Furthermore, although ‘embedding’ refers to an internal part of the structure of the clause that functions as a core argument (i.e., a complement clause), embedded can also refer to a clause that modifies another sentence (i.e., relative and adverbial clauses). However, authors disagree on the way they use these terms, and most of the time this disagreement causes confusion when using these terms.

If we only rely on morphosyntactic features such as the notion of embeddedness, the use of a complementizer, or the form of the verb in the subordinate clause, various types of TdVZ subordinate clauses would not qualify since they do not take any subordinator, and TdVZ lacks non finite verb forms. Thus, following Cristofaro (2003), in this work, I will consider a more functional definition of subordination.

Cristofaro (2003) defines subordination as a particular cognitive relation between two events, such that one of them (the dependent event) lacks an autonomous profile and is construed in the perspective of the other event (the main event). This definition is largely based on the one provided in Langacker (1991).

Studying subordination within a functional framework rather than from a morphosyntactic perspective leaves more room to include in our analysis language data that displays different linking/ subordinating strategies that are unexplained under the morphosyntactic view. Overall, the functional approach focuses on presenting a fine gradation of major factors of the level of integration that provide a more systematic and nuanced study of complementation, adverbials, relatives, coordination, and the multiple routes towards complex predicates. This is useful because it allows us to explore different degrees of inter clausal constructions. In this dissertation, it involves the three levels of grammar (i.e., syntax, semantics and pragmatics).

Cross-linguistically, studies show that languages can encode the same construction by using different strategies. Thus, we cannot take for granted the existence of strongly homogeneous behavior with respect to clause combining in general. Second, there are differences in the way certain terms are used in the literature (e.g., embedding, dependency, subordination, adjunction, and so on). Therefore, we cannot assume that the descriptions out there are uniform in their use and interpretation of the same terminology. To address this issue, this dissertation pays attention to what functions are performed by a specific type of clause in TdVZ, rather than focusing only on its formal characteristics. That is, I understand for subordination that an embedded clause is a clause functioning as a constituent of another clause; I also consider the way in which the events expressed by linked clauses are perceived and conceptualized (e.g., how distinctions are made between the conceptual semantic, pragmatic and cognitive levels), as well as the status that they have in the discourse context (Cristofaro 2003:24).

TdVZ has various strategies to indicate subordination. Thus, subordinate clauses cannot be classified by only using one criterion; rather, TdVZ data requires a combination of different criteria to understand its system (Cristofaro 2003, 2005).

Even though I will adopt a functional definition of subordination to include all the various dependent constructions discussed here, most of the subordinated clauses discuss here do contain a subordinating element. In fact, when discussing adverbial clauses, I will only focus on those that contain a subordinating element. I made this decision because adverbial clauses have not been explored in Zapotec languages, thus I will first define those that have subordinators so that the data provided here can be used for comparison with similar constructions among other Zapotec languages or other languages.

What matters here is that the functional definition pertains to cognitive relations between events, not any particular clause type. This means that the notion of subordination is independent of the way in which clause linkage is realized across the constructions discussed here.

Having shown this panorama, in the chapters where I discuss subordinating clauses, I explore more deeply each type of construction and propose various degrees of integration and various means to codify subordination.

## Data

The data for this dissertation comes primarily from a 10-hour corpus of transcribed naturalistic speech. This includes transcribed and translated texts of folklore, ethnographic or personal histories, conversations, and instructions for various cultural activities. It should be noted that I am a native speaker of TdVZ, thus, I generally communicate with other speakers in Zapotec. In some cases, especially with young speakers, I elicited translations from Spanish or vice versa.

Since I started fieldwork in 2016, I have worked/collaborated with three (other) speakers of TdVZ to teach them linguistic strategies for exploring their language. We would meet once per week, at least eight weeks during my summer fieldworks and at least 12 weeks during my Spring and Fall semesters in Teotitlán del Valle. During our (weekly) sessions, I would ask them to produce lists of words as well as written Zapotec stories (myths and legends). These texts were glossed and translated into Spanish language. These materials are also used as part of my corpus since they were created in Zapotec.

Texts were developed in Word, Excel and ELAN[[3]](#footnote-3) with the help of members of the community whom I have trained to transcribe texts. To date, I have 10 hours of texts, transcribed and translated. There are several more hours of text that are not glossed but, since I am a native speaker, I am/was able to search freely through it. All these created texts will be converted into PDF or a more supported files (i.e., .txt or .csv) for their archiving and preservation.

Finally, as a native speaker of TdVZ, I commonly use my own intuitions to create grammatical (and ungrammatical) constructions, but I always consult and discuss these with other native speakers. Thus, many of my examples throughout this dissertation come from my own production to test particular restrictions or alternative ways/strategies to express the same events/situations/things, especially when they are not found in texts.

The analysis thus combines various techniques including review of written materials on TdVZ (and, in some cases, other languages), text analysis, manipulation of textual examples, and elicitation. The text analysis included extraction of examples of different types of bi-clausal subordinate clause constructions and manipulation of their form to separate relevant constraints and functions. Elicitation mostly included grammaticality judgments, translations, and examples based on short narratives.

## Presentation and special conventions

Sentential examples in this work are given in four lines, as in (1). The first line provides a compromise between a phonological and phonetic transcription. Thus, here I break the elements into syllables and indicate prominent syllables with the primary stress symbol (ˈ).[[4]](#footnote-4) The second line in the examples show a morphological breakdown of the sentence, accounting for all form of the elements before morphophonological as well as tonal processes apply. Note that, there are underlying floating tones that are represented using IPA conventions (except for low tone, which is presented with no symbol). The representation of tone is discussed in Chapter 2 and throughout the dissertation. In this line second line, clitics (separated by ‘=’) and affixes (separated by ‘-’) are distinguished from each other. The third line gives glosses to the morphemes and a free (English) translation is given in the fourth line.

(1) *bǽll.ˈdxî ˈtxḭ̂w*?

bǽll=dxi tx´-æ=ṵ

intg.how.many=day pot-go=2sg.if

‘How many days are you going?’ (elic.)

Here, and in examples throughout the dissertation, at the end of the translation line the source of the example is provided, whether from the text corpus (txt.) or elicitation (elic.). Examples that provide basic lexical content generally do not have this information and should be assumed to be elicited or come from my own production (as a native speaker).

One important caveat with the first line is that the representation can be subphonemic or slightly differ from the form of the morpheme in the second line. That is, it can represent allophonic variation or variation in the form of an element. This will ultimately allow the examples used here to reflect the variation that exists in the language and the way texts have been transcribed in the data corpus. On the other hand, in the second line, in which morpheme breaks are given, the underlying form of the item is always provided so that the underlying forms are always consistent. This means that there can be mismatches between the two levels/ lines, at times.

A representative example of this is shown in (2), in which the first line shows the form *xtḛ̂ ‘*prep.of’, however, in the second line it is shown as *xtḛ̂ny* ‘prep.of’. Thus, the first line is more reflective of its pronunciation, but the underlying form is *xtḛ̂ny*. In various cases, a form such as *xtḛ̂ny* would not be found in texts, and for this reason, the split-layered approach is adopted.

(2) *ˈyu’ ˈxtḛ̂ ˈJwáyn*

yu’ xtḛ̂ny Jwáyn

building prep.of Juan

‘Juan’s building’

## Orthographic representation

There is no consensual orthography for TdVZ. That is, there is no a standard way to write the language among its speakers nor among the linguists working on this language. Unfortunately, this is a common situation in Oaxaca and it is not particular to TdVZ. The discussion is centered on the representation of sounds that are not part of Spanish language inventory. Another characteristic that people/users don’t agree on is the representation of tone in a ‘practical’ orthography. Due to these disagreements, in this work, I will follow the conventions listed on the first left column of the Table below.[[5]](#footnote-5) This is a compromise between practical symbols and standard symbols used by the International Phonetic Alphabet. For comparison, I show how the people I work with write it ‘Practical orthography’ and how other people in the community propose to write it ‘Other practical orthography proposals’. As can be observed, the disagreements are centered in various sounds not found in Spanish language, which is the language used in schools in Mexico.

Table 1 Orthography(ies) for TdVZ

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Orthography used in this dissertation | International phonetic alphabet | Practical orthography | Other practical orthography  proposal(s) |
| p | [p] | p | p |
| b | [β] | b | b |
| mm | [m:] | mm | m |
| m | [m] | m | m |
| f | [f] | f | f |
| t | [t] | t | t |
| d | [d] | d | d |
| nn | [n:] | nn | n |
| n | [n] | n | n |
| rr | [r] | rr | r |
| r | [ɾ] | r | r |
| s | [s] | s | s |
| z | [z] | z | z |
| ll | [l:] | ll | l |
| l | [l] | l | l |
| ts | [t͡s] | ts | ts / tz |
| dz | [d͡z] | dz | dz |
| x | [ʃ] | x | xh / sh |
| xh | [ʒ] | xh | x / ll / sh |
| tx | [t͡ʃ] | tx | tx / ch |
| dx | [d͡ʒ] | dx | dx /sh |
| k | [k] | k | k |
| g | [ɡ] | g | g |
| kw | [kʷ] | kw | ku |
| gw | [ɡʷ] | gw | gu |
| y | [j] | y | y |
| j | [x] | j | j |
| w | [w] | w | w |
| a | [a] | a | a |
| æ | [æ] | æ | e / æ |
| i | [i] | i | i |
| ɨ | [ɨ] | ɨ | ɨ |
| o | [o] | o | o |
| u | [u] | u | u |
| Laringealized vowel(s): v̰ | [ v̰ ] | Doubling the vowel (e.g. aa) | Doubling the vowel (e.g. aa) / a› |
| Glottalized vowel(s): v’ | [ vʔ ] | v’ | v’ |
| Tones: low (v); mid (v̄); high (v́); rising (v̌); falling (v̂) | low (v̀); mid (v̄); high (v́); rising (v̌); falling (v̂) | low (v); mid (v̄); high (v́); rising (v̌); falling (v̂) | not represented |

# 1.5 General outline

This dissertation is organized into two parts. Part I includes Chapters 1-4 that covers topics on phonology, lexical categories, and morpho-syntax, with a strong focus on the syntax of simple clauses. Chapter 2 discusses the phonology of the language. In this chapter I lay out how a ‘word’ is understood in this work. Chapter 3 discusses lexical categories: nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs. Here I also discuss the concept of phrases at the nominal and verbal domains. Chapters 4 deals with basic clause(s) in TdVZ. It includes a discussion of valency increasing devices, interrogation, negation and topic and focus.

Part II, Chapters 5-8, covers the study of three subordinate clauses in TdVZ. Chapter 5 provides a discussion of relative clauses. Chapter 6 deals with complement clauses while Chapter 7 describes various types of adverbial clauses in the language. A summary and conclusions are presented in Chapter 8.

# Chapter 2

***The phonology and morpho-phonology of TdVZ***

In this chapter, I describe the phonology of TdVZ. I start with a description of the segmental inventory. Then, I discuss the phonotactics and suprasegmentals of the language. Before discussing the phonological and morphosyntactic word, I offer a description of the main types of roots, affixes and clitics that exist in TdVZ. In the last section, I show various phonological and morphophonological processes that occur in the language.

# 2.1 Segmental inventory

## 2.1.1 Consonantal phonology

TdVZ has twenty-eight consonants,[[6]](#footnote-6) as shown in Table 1. In this table, phonetic symbols are shown in square brackets when they differ from the orthographic representation used here.

Table 1. TdVZ Consonant Phonemes

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Labial | | Labio-dental | Dental /  alveolar | | Palato-  alveolar | | Palatal | Velar | | Labio-  velar | |
|  | *F* | *L* |  | *F* | *L* | *F* | *L* |  | *F* | *L* | *F* | *L* |
| stop | p | b |  | t | d |  |  |  | k | g | kw | gw |
| nasal | mm[m:] | m |  | nn[n:] | n |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| tap |  |  |  |  | r[ɾ] |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| trill |  |  |  |  | rr[r] |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| fricative |  |  | f | s | z | x[ʃ] | xh[ʒ] |  | j[x] |  |  |  |
| lateral |  |  |  | ll[l:] | l |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| affricate |  |  |  | ts | dz | tx[tʃ] | dx[dʒ] |  |  |  |  |  |
| semi-vowel |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | y[j] |  |  |  | w |

Most consonants in TdVZ exhibit a Fortis-Lenis (*F* and *L* respectively) distinction as other varieties do (Chávez-Peón 2010; Arellanes 2009; Nellis and Hollenbach 1980), except for /r/ and those borrowed from Spanish, /f/ and /rr/. These two latter only appear in loanwords.

Fortis obstruents are voiceless, never fricated if they are stops, and relatively long. Lenis obstruents are often voiced, variably fricated, and relatively short. For sonorants the main difference between fortis and lenis is duration (Uchihara & Gutiérrez 2020c; Chávez-Peón 2010). In Table 2, I show the fortis vs lenis contrast in word initial and final positions. Empty cells indicate that fortis vs lenis do not contrast in this position.

Table 2. Contrast between consonants in TdVZ

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Word initial | | Word final | |
| /p/ vs /b/ |  |  | *ˈrǔp*  ‘both (of them)’ | *ˈrǔb*  ‘pot.be.sprinkled’ |
| /t/ vs /d/ | *ˈtūp*  ‘gray hair’ | *ˈdúp*  ‘short’ | *ˈlǣt*  ‘empty / free (of work)’ | *ˈlǣd*  ‘space between two things / places’ |
| /k/ vs /g/ | *ˈká*  ‘pot.be.pasted’ | *ˈgá*  ‘pot.be.ripe’ | *ˈxǐk*  ‘bushy (flowers)’ | *ˈxhǐg*  ‘type of wasp’ |
| /kw/ vs /gw/ | *ˈkwæ’*  ‘side of’ | *ˈgwæ’*  ‘(S/he) drank’ | *ˈbækw*  ‘dog’ | *ˈbægw*  ‘shell’ |
| /mm/ vs /n/ |  |  | *ˈlǎ̰m*  ‘3sg.anml’ | *dǎmm*  ‘owl’ |
| /nn/ vs /n/ | *ˈnnaxy*  ‘chocolate (drink)’ | *ˈnaxy*  ‘sweet’ | *yaˈgunn*  ‘cazahuate tree’ (Ipomoea arborescens)’ | *ˈgun*  ‘alms’ |
| /s/ vs /z/ | *ˈsa’*  ‘party (for wedding) | *ˈza’*  ‘completed’ | *ˈnis*  ‘water’ | *ˈniz*  ‘mazorca’ |
| /x/ vs /xh/ | *ˈxyag*  ‘topil (local police)’ | *ˈxhyag*  ‘grandchild of’ | *ˈgix*  ‘grass’ | *ˈgixh*  ‘zacate (dry cornfield) / garbage’ |
| /ll/ vs /l/ | *ˈllâ’*  ‘I will break’ | *ˈlâ’*  ‘huaje (Leucaena leucocephala)’ | *ˈrāll*  r-āll  ‘hab-reach’ | *ˈral*  r-al  ‘hab-mature / ripen’ |
| /ts/ vs /dz/ | *ˈtsɨ̰*  ‘ten’ | *ˈdzɨ̰ly*  ‘lots of (liquid)’ |  |  |
| /tx/ vs /dx/ | *ˈtxa̰*  ‘apaxtle (recipient)’ | *ˈdxa̰*  ‘domestic animal(s)’ | *ˈratx*  r-atx  ‘hab-hatch’ | *ˈradx*  r-adx  ‘hab-get.wet’ |

Of the native consonants, two have restricted distributions. The voiceless bilabial stop /p/ does not appear in word initial position. It occurs in the onset only when re-syllabification occurs due to morpheme concatenation, as in (1a). /p/ does occur in the coda and word final positions, as shown above and repeated in (1b) and (1c).

(1) a. *rā.ˈpán* b*. ˈrǔp* c. *ˈdúp*

r-ap=an ‘both (of them)’ ‘short’

hab-have=3sg.if

‘S/he has’

The voiced alveolar affricate /dz/ only occurs in the onset position and it is typically followed by the high-mid vowel /ɨ/. In addition, among some, especially young, speakers, this sound is in free variation with the fricative /z/. When /z/ occurs, there is usually a change in the vowel quality that follows, that is, /z/ cooccurs with /u/. For instance, the word for *work* shows free variation between [dzɨ̰yn] and [zṵyn]*.*

Although I treat /mm / and /m/ as distinct, their contrast is marginal. These sounds only contrast in the coda position. In the onset position only /mm/ occurs. In fact, in syllable final positions /m/ only occurs when indicating the third singular person animal pronoun, as in (2). Therefore, throughout this dissertation, I represent the fortis consonant in onset position with *m,* and in coda position with *mm*.

(2) a. *gu.ˈzam* b. *ˈdâmm*

gu-za=(u)m dâmm

compl-walk=3sg.anml ‘plump’

‘It (animal) walked.’

In addition, /n/ is typically realized as [ŋ] in the coda position when preceded by a non-high vowel. In rapid speech /n/ may assimilate to following consonants in place of articulation, as in /*ru****n****bæ̰*/ - [*ru****m****bæ̰*] ‘to know (someone/place)’.

## 2.1.2 Vowels

This language has six phonemic vowels, as shown in Table 3. Of these vowels, /ɨ/ has a restricted distribution, and it generally occurs only after the affricate sounds /dz/ or /ts/, and as mentioned above, it sometimes varies with /u/ when the /dz/ goes to /z/.

Also, /o/ appears only in a limited number of words. Nevertheless, in some areas of the village (considered the High area), /o/ appears in some other words where /u/ is more common for speakers of other areas (Center and Low). That is, words such as *gup* ‘humidity’ and *guts* ‘yellow’ show variation with *gop* and *gots* respectively.

In addition, /æ/ may occur as [e] before a [+high, -back] consonant ((/y/, /ʧ/, /ʤ/, /ʃ/, /ʒ/ or palatalized consonants) or /w/. The vowel /æ/ is also realized as [e] when it is preceded by a [+high, -back] consonant in a closed syllable (Uchihara and Gutiérrez, 2020a). Given that the complementary distribution of these sounds depends on complex phonological factors, i.e., height of the adjacent consonant, syllable structure and accent, I will represent both allophones throughout this dissertation.

Table 3. Vowels in TdVZ

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | FRONT | MID | BACK |
| HIGH | i | ɨ | u |
| MID-HIGH |  |  | o |
| MID-LOW | æ |  |  |
| LOW |  | a |  |

Examples that show the contrast among the most common vowels are shown in (3). In (4), I show the few words that contain /o/. Notably, all of them are numbers.

(3) /i/ ˈ*ri* ‘(It) is piled’

/u/ ˈ*ru* ‘cough’

/a/ ˈ*ra* ‘(It) gets ripen’

/æ/ ˈ*ræ* ‘(It)goes’

(4) ˈ*tyōp* ‘two’

ˈ*xop* ‘six’

ˈ*xōn* ‘eight’

### 2.1.2.1 Phonation types

The vowels in TdVZ have a three-way distinction in phonation (Uchihara & Gutiérrez 2019), that is, modal vowels /a, æ, i, ɨ, u, o / contrast with creaky / a̰, æ̰, ḭ, ɨ̰, ṵ, o̰ / and glottalized /aʔ, æʔ, iʔ, ɨʔ, oʔ, uʔ / vowels, as shown in Table 4 with the (near)minimal triplets contrasting only in the phonation types. Creaky vowels are continuously phonated but move into creakiness, whereas glottalized vowels have a glottal interruption followed often by a slight phonated release. Creaky vowels are represented throughout this dissertation with the IPA symbol ( ̰ ) while glottalization is represented with an apostrophe (’).

Table 4. Phonation contrast in TdVZ

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Modal Vowel | Creaky | Glottalized |
| *ˈgyæ*  ‘stone’ | *ˈgyæ̰*  ‘flower’ | *ˈgyæ’*  ‘market / plaza’ |
| *ri.ˈga*  ri-ga  ‘hab-trim’ | *ri.ˈga̰*  ri-ga̰  ‘hab-strech’ | *ri.ˈga’*  ri-ga’  ‘hab-pour’ |
| *ˈbæ*  ‘cochineal’ | *ˈbæ̰*  ‘red ant’ | *ˈbǣ’*  ‘mushroom/ ring’ |

### 2.1.2.2 Vowel length

Vowel length is mostly predictable from the position of prominence and the consonant that follows (Uchihara & Gutiérrez 2020c). That is, in prominent syllables the vowel is usually long when the syllable does not have a coda, as in (5a), or when the coda is a lenis consonant[[7]](#footnote-7), as in (5b). When the syllable has a fortis consonant as its coda, the vowel is short, as shown in (5c).

(5) a. [gi:] ‘fire’ b. [gæ:z] ‘cigarette’ c*.* [gæs:] ‘pot’

Many loanwords, however, have a long vowel even though they are followed by a fortis consonant (e.g. *lláːpy* ‘pencil’, *rró:s* ‘rose’). Therefore, I assume then that loanwords do not adapt completely to the phonology of TdVZ.

### 2.1.2.3 Diphthongs

There are no diphthongs in TdVZ, but vowel + glide sequences (/y/ and /w/) do occur, as in (6). These glides cannot form a distinct syllable nucleus, so it is not possible to have two (different) tones when there is a vowel followed by a glide, as shown in (7). Another piece of evidence against the heterosyllabic analysis of the V+ glide sequences comes from the fact that the high tone that is assigned by the mid tone (§ 3.4.3.3) does not dock on the glide but in the following syllable as exemplified in (8).

(6) a. *ˈrwa̰* b. *ˈraw* c. *ˈrya* d. *ra.ˈnǎy*

r-wa̰ r-aw r-ya ra-nǎy

hab-carry hab-eat hab-melt hab-rotate

‘(S/he) carries.’ ‘(S/he) eats.’ ‘(It) melts.’ ‘(It) rotates.’

(7) a. \**raw̄* b. \**ra-ˈnāý*

r-aw ra-nǎy

hab-eat hab-rotate

‘(S/he) eats.’ ‘(It) rotates.’

(8) a. \**riˈdūý* *ˈda’* b. *riˈdūy* *ˈdâ’*

ri-dūy da’ ri-dūy da’

hab-be.wrapped palm.mat hab-be.wrapped palm.mat

‘The palm mat is wrapped.’ ‘The palm mat is wrapped.’

# 2.2 Tone

As in any other Otomanguean language, tone is a salient feature in this language. TdVZ has five contrastive tones (Uchihara and Gutiérrez 2019), which are represented here as follows: high (´), mid ( ̄ ), rising ( ̌ ), falling ( ̂ ), and low tone is unmarked. In Table 5 I show minimal and (near)minimal pairs that justify that tone is contrastive. In this language, triplets are not common much less quadruplets, so I contrast each tone at a time.

Table 5. Tonal Minimal pairs in TdVZ

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **TONE** | Mid | High | Rising | Falling |
| Low | ˈ*za*  ‘grease’  ˈ*zā*  ‘cloud’ | ˈ*dxi*  ‘day’  ˈ*dxí*  ‘calm!’ | ˈ*dyag*  ‘ear’  ˈ*dyǎg*  ‘hare’ | ˈ*xhi’*  ‘nose’  ˈ*xhî’*  ‘flu’ |
| Mid |  | ˈ*xhḭ̄ly*  ‘cotton’  ˈ*xhḭ́ly*  ‘sheep’ | ˈ*nā*  ‘cop’  ˈ*nǎ*  ‘I am’ | ˈ*gā*  ‘carrizo basket’  ˈ*gâ*  ‘pot.trim/cut’ |
| High |  |  | ˈ*bǽd*  ‘Pedro (name)’  ˈ*bæ̌d*  ‘oval’ | ˈ*xhí’*  ‘pot.be.spilled’  ˈ*xhî’*  ‘flu’ |
| Rising |  |  |  | *ba*.ˈ*lǎw*  ‘raven’  *ba*.ˈ*lâw*  ‘eye’ |

# 2.3 Prosody

## 2.3.1 Syllabic structure

Most native roots in TdVZ are only one or two syllables in length; roots of more than two syllables are (generally) morphologically complex.

The syllable structure of native words is fairly constrained, but due to the fossilization of morphological components or due to the adaptation of loan words, especially (in) nouns, TdVZ has several types of syllables, as shown in Table 6. In this table, I show examples of nouns, verbs and other lexical categories because each type of word has different morphological components that interfere with its syllabic structure: verbs require a TAM prefix while nouns do not. However, nouns and other lexical categories show complex fossilized morphology. Thus, for nouns and other lexical categories, I separate those that I consider monosyllabic and monomorphemic from those that are disyllabic bimorphemic (at least historically). On the other hand, for verbs, I differentiate between monosyllabic bimorphemic vs disyllabic bimorphemic. Gray cells indicate that that syllable shape in question has not been attested in this context.

Table 6. Syllable structure in TdVZ

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Nouns** | | **Verbs** | | **Other word categories** | |
| Type of syllable | monosyllabic monomorphemic | disyllabic bimorphemic | monosyllabic bimorphemic | disyllabic bimorphemic | monosyllabic monomorphemic | disyllabic  bimorphemic |
| cv | **ˈ*bi***  ‘air’ | *bi.ˈ****za̰*** ‘bean’ | ***ˈræ***  r-æ  hab-go | *ri.ˈ****bæ***  ri-bæ  hab-sit | ***ˈxhí*** ‘tomorrow’ | *xhī.ˈ****xhí***  ‘every day’ |
| cvc | *ˈ****dull***  ‘guilt’ | *ba.ˈ****tæp*** ‘chayote’ | *ˈ****rāll***  r-āll  hab-reach | *ri.ˈ****git***  ri-git  hab-play | *ˈ****zit***  ‘far’ |  |
| cyv | *ˈ****lyu***  ‘land’ | *bi.ˈ****kyæ̰̂***  ‘nit’ | *ˈ****rya***  r-ya  hab-melt | *ri.ˈ****tyu’***  ri-tyu’  hab-cut |  |  |
| cvy | *ˈ****luy***  ‘2sg.if’ | *ba.ˈ****llay***  ‘type of hawk’ | *ˈ****rṵy***  r-ṵy  hab-talk | *ra.ˈ****nǎy***  ra-nǎy  hab-rotate | *ˈ****nna̰y***  ‘yesterday’ | *na.ˈ****rúy***  ‘playful’ |
| cvw | *ˈ****low***  ‘face’ | *ba.ˈ****da̰w***  ‘baby’ | *ˈ****raw***  r-aw  hab-eat | *ru.ˈ****sḛw***  ru-sḛw  hab-close |  | *ga.ˈ****low***  ‘(at) the beginning’ |
| cvcy | *ˈ****gidy***  ‘leather’ | *bi.ˈ****gǐdy***  ‘butterfly’ | *ˈ****raty***  r-a**ty**  hab-die | *ru.ˈ****tsɨly***  ru-tsɨ**ly**  hab-destroy |  | *gu.ˈ****xinny***  ‘night’ |
| ccv | *ˈ****nga’***  ‘blue’ |  |  |  | *ˈ****ndǣ***  ‘pron.dem.dist’ |  |
| ccvc | *ˈ****ngæ̌s***  ‘black’ | *bedy.ˈ****ngul***  ‘turkey’ |  |  |  |  |
| ccvw | *ˈ****ngḭw***  ‘male’ |  |  |  |  |  |
| ccyvw | *ˈ****ndyo’w***  ‘fat’ |  |  |  |  |  |
| ccvcy |  |  |  |  | *ˈ****ndēky***  ‘pron.temp.dem’ |  |
| ccyvcy | *ˈ****xtyéxhy***  ‘garlic’ |  |  |  |  |  |
| cccvc | *ˈ****xhndán***  ‘Santa Ana del Valle (town name)’ |  |  |  |  |  |
| cvcc | *ˈrú****ng***  ‘incomplete’ |  |  | *ru.ˈ****xung***  ru-xung  hab-wrangle |  | *na.ˈ****lǎnd***  ‘stinky (like fish)’ |
| cvccy |  | *ri.ˈ****gǎndy***  ‘pitcher’ |  |  |  |  |

As noted, the onset is obligatory except for very few native words (e.g., *iz* ‘year’) and more recent versions of loanwords (e.g., *úr* for Spanish *hora* ‘hour’). In older loans, an onset was inserted (*gúr* ‘hour’) or a vowel in onset position was deleted (e.g., *llijǎndr* for Spanish *Alejandro*) to avoid onsetless syllables. Also, complex onsets usually occur in word initial positions; in the word-medial positions they are much less common unless the second syllable in a compound corresponds to a root with a complex onset (e.g., *bedy.****ng****ul* ‘turkey (chicken+male)’).

The syllable structure in TdVZ then, is the following. However, I have only found two roots with CCCVC structure.

* (C) (C) C (G) V (C)(C)(G)

## 2.3.2 Phonotactics

As mentioned above, onset clusters are not common in TdVZ and mostly restricted to the sequences discussed below. This contrasts with other Central Valley Zapotec varieties in which onset clusters are common due to the loss of vowel in prefixes or in unstressed positions (Chávez Peón 2010: 13-16). Below I show common onset clusters in TdVZ.

* a consonant + a glide

*ˈgyæ* ‘stone’

*ˈllwâ’* ‘Oaxaca’

*bi.ˈdwa̰* ‘banana’

* a nasal + a homorganic lenis consonant[[8]](#footnote-8)..

*ˈngâ’* ‘blue’

*ˈngḭw* ‘man’

*ˈndyo’w* ‘fat’

* a sibilant + a consonant

*ˈxsǐly* ‘morning’

*ˈxkwi* ‘tunilla (a type of fruit from cactus)’

*ˈxtyéxhy* ‘garlic’

Any consonant may occur in the coda position except /dz/, and coda clusters are uncommon except for a consonant + /y/ sequences and /n/ + an homorganic consonant, as shown below. Almost all consonants can be followed by /y/ in coda position, except /ts/, as shown in Table 7. Also, the palato-alvelar consonants /xh/, /x/, /dx/ and /tx/ are usually followed by a /y/ in the coda position (or the presence or absence of /y/ in this position may not be contrastive).

Table 7. Coda clusters in TdVZ

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Consonant + /y/ sequences | /n/ + consonant sequences |
| *ˈbedy* ‘chicken’  *ˈyety* ‘rainbow’  *ˈbaly* ‘star’  *ˈgǔlly* ‘tadpole’  *ˈyuby* ‘brains’  *ˈgæpy* ‘belly button’  *ˈnasīnny* ‘intelligent’  *ˈreny* ‘blood’  *ˈr-asy* ‘hab-sleep’  *ˈr-a̰zy* ‘hab-distribute’  *ˈr-eky* ‘hab-burn’  *ˈgḛgy* ‘ice’  \**dzy* (does not occur in word or syllable final)  \**tsy* | *ˈrú****ng*** ‘incomplete’  *na.ˈlǎ****nd*** ‘stinky (like fish)’ |

## 2.3.3 Prominence

A crucial aspect of TdVZ is the distinction between prominent and non-prominent syllables. This distinction allows to predict the occurrence of tone processes and the status of various morphemes in the language. At minimum and at maximum one syllable in a ‘(phonological) word’ is prominent. The prominent syllable is the position of more phonological contrasts. On the other hand, in non-prominent syllables, segmental and suprasegmental contrasts are limited, and in some cases, they are neutralized (Uchihara & Gutiérrez, 2020c). In Table 8, I summarize the features of prominent vs non-prominent syllables. These characteristics are for the prototypical cases, and exceptions do exist.

Table 8. Prominent vs Non-prominent syllables in TdVZ

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Features | **Prominent**  **syllables** | **Non-prominet**  **syllables** |
| Form | C(C)VC(C) | C(C)V |
| Tones  occurring | Level / contour tones | Level tones[[9]](#footnote-9) |
| Phonation  occurring | Modal/ laryngealized/  glottalized vowels | Modal vowels[[10]](#footnote-10) |
| Vowel length in word final position,  or when followed by  a lenis consonant | Yes | No |

In TdVZ, as in other Central Valley Zapotec varieties (Arellanes 2009: Ch.5; Chávez Peón 2010: Ch.2; 2015; Uchihara & Pérez Báez 2016), a prominent syllable (represented throughout this dissertation with /ˈ/) has to be at least bimoraic (cf. McCarthy and Prince 1986). This requirement can be satisfied either by a syllable with a long vowel (with or without a coda consonant, as in (9) and (10) respectively), or a short vowel + a fortis consonant in the coda position, as in (11).

(9) *ˈzæ:d*  ‘salt’

μ μ

(10) *ˈza*: ‘grease’

μ μ

(11) ˈ*gæt* ‘tortilla’

μ μ

Monomoraic syllables cannot constitute a prominent syllable in TdVZ, as shown in (12).

(12) a. \**ˈ*da b. \**ˈ*dad

μ μ

# 2.4 Morphophonology

## 2.4.1 Roots, affixes and Clitics

In this section, I will describe the different types of roots and morphological elements that exist in TdVZ. This will include affixes and clitics since they are an important part of the language.

TdVZ has at least two major and extensive classes of roots: verbs and nouns. There are fewer adjective and adverb roots, but they exhibit morphological components as well.

### 2.4.1.1 Roots

Roots are generally classified by structural requirements: bound vs free. Free roots do not require morphological elaboration, while bound roots do. In this respect, in TdVZ, verb roots are bound since they always require a TAM prefix to occur with them, as shown in (13). In this example I show that verb roots can be intransitive or transitive. On the other hand, nouns are free roots given that (synchronically) they do not need to combine with other morphological elements to occur, as shown in (14).

(13) a. ˈ*ryab* b. ˈ*rwa̰* c. *ru*.ˈ*llṵb*

r-yab r-wa̰ ru- llṵb

hab-fall hab-carry hab-sweep

‘(It) falls’ ‘(It) carries (something)’ ‘(S/he) sweeps (at somewhere)’

(14) a. ˈ*nis* ‘water’ b. ˈ*gi* ‘fire’ c. ˈ*bi* ‘air’

Adjective and adverb roots are much fewer in number, but they do exist in TdVZ. Adjectives roots, like nouns, are (synchronically) free roots, as in (15). Adverbs are compound roots, there are some that are free, as I shown in (16).

(15) a. ˈ*gǽgw* ‘hollow’ b. ˈ*ní* ‘sour’ c. ˈ*dúp* ‘short’

(16) a. ˈ*gaxy* ‘close’ b. ˈ*zit* ‘far’ c. ˈ*gyâ̰* ‘up’

Even though most of the roots in TdVZ are monomorphemic (and monosyllabic), there are compound roots. That is, verb and noun roots have combined with other morphemes to form new lexical elements. Verbs roots usually form compounds with body parts, as in (17a), adjectives, as in (17b), or common nouns, as in (17c). Compounds of two verb roots are not common in TdVZ. Noun roots, on the other hand, form compounds only with other nouns, as in (18a). However, there are a few noun + verb compounds, as in (18b).

(17) a. *ri.bix.ˈla̰z* b. *ruyn.ˈsrū* c. *ri.za.ˈgi*

ri-bix+la̰z r-uny+srū ri-za+gi

hab-turn.over+essence hab-do+good hab-walk+fire

‘(S/he) is disgusted’ ‘(S/he) fixes / improves’ ‘(It) inflames’

(18) a. *lizˈgḭb* b. *nisˈdo̰w*

liz+gḭb nis+do̰w

house.of+metal water+calm

‘jail’ ‘ocean / sea’

As mentioned above, there are only a few adjectives roots in TdVZ, most of the elements that have this function in this language seem to come from verb roots (see §3.3 for more information on adjectives). Thus, compound adjectives may not exist in this language. Adverbs, on the other hand, show compounding and reduplication, as I show below.

(19) a. *dxī.ˈla̰z* b. *ga.ˈlǎy c.* *gu.du.ˈbḛ̄w*

*dxī+lâ̰z* ga+*lǎy gudu+bḛ̄w*

quiet+essence base+middle completive?[[11]](#footnote-11)+moon

‘calmly’ ‘in the middle’ ‘last month’

(20) a. *dxī.ˈdxí* b. *gad.ˈgaty* c*.* *gúk.ˈgǔk*

dxī+dxī gaty+gaty gǔk+gǔk

quiet+quiet ?+? when+when

‘slowly’ ‘over and over’ ‘sometimes’

### 2.4.1.2 Affixes & Clitics

TdVZ has affixes and clitics. Affixes are more prosodically integrated than clitics. That is, in a phonological word, the prominent syllable corresponds to the syllable of the suffix. Clitics, besides not being incorporated to the phonological word, they do not generally trigger phonological processes[[12]](#footnote-12), and are combinatorically more promiscuous. In the table below, I show the various characteristics that define affixes and differentiate them from clitics.

Table 9. Affixes vs clitics in TdVZ

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Characteristics** | **Affixes** | **clitics** |
| Prosodically integrated | Incorporated to the phonological word | Not incorporated to the phonological word |
| Interruptibility | The host and the affix  cannot be interrupted | The host and the clitic  may be interrupted by a lexical or free function word |
| Mobility | Cannot move to other positions  within a clause or the ‘word’ | May move to other positions within a clause |
| Trigger or undergo mophophonological processes | More prone to have suppletive alternations | Less prone to have suppletive alternations |
| Promiscuity | Only one type of host | Several types of hosts |

### 2.4.1.3 Affixes

**Nominal affixes**

The possessable noun marker *x*- is the only nominal prefix. It appears on alienable nouns when possessed. Since this prefix is composed by only one consonant, it forms one phonological element with the noun. Also, the affective -*æ’ny/-i’ny* is also the only suffix that appears with nouns. Even though the affective shows clitic-like properties (i.e., it attaches to any lexical category as well as to free function words), it is considered an affix since it falls within the domain of accentuation.

**Verbal affixes**

Verbs take an obligatory TAM prefix (§3.2.2) and two optional verbal suffixes: the comitative -*nǣ*, and the affective -*æ’ny/-i’ny*, which, as mentioned above, may attach to any part of speech, but is considered a suffix due to its prosodic integration with its host.

### 2.4.1.4 Clitics

Traditionally, clitics are defined as morphemes which constitute a syntactic terminal element that is phonologically defective and must join with another syntactic terminal element to form a prosodic word (Zwicky 1985; Spencer & Luís 2012; Haspelmath 2015; among others). This holds true for clitics in TdVZ since they do constitute a phonological word (p-word), nor are they prosodically integrated into the p-word as affixes are, but rather are adjoined to it . TdVZ exhibit proclitics and enclitics that cover various functions in the language, as discussed below.

**Proclitics**

Proclitics cover a wide range of functions in TdVZ. Besides their position, proclitics differ from enclitics in that they show more independence, that is, they allow a pause between them and their host while enclitics do not. Non-prominent proclitics include those shown in Table 10. On the right side of this table, I indicate their grammatical category or function.

Table 10. Proclitics in TdVZ

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **Grammatical category** | **Examples** |
| Negative markers | kēd=‘clausal negator’  ádí= ‘focus negator’  gád= ‘potential mood clausal negator’ |
| Conjuctions | txirú= ‘and (then)’  gulá= ‘or’  ni=‘relative subordinator’  txi= ‘when’  té= ‘so that, because’  ka(ni)=‘as / like’  komm= ‘because’  masy= ‘although’ |
| Interrogatives | (l)á= ‘polar interrogative’  xá= ‘how’  xī= ‘what’  tū= ‘who’,  kā(lí)= ‘where’  gǔk= ‘when’  tā= ‘rhetorical interrogative’ |
| adverbials | á= ‘already’ |
| Other | gūl= ‘plural imperative’  gal=‘nominalizer’ |
| Noun modifiers | d´=‘plural’  dū=‘1pl’  te=‘indefinite article’  dā=‘Mr.’ |
| Discursive elements | á=‘topicalizer’ |

**Enclitics**

Enclitics are quite prolific in TdVZ. Many of them have adverbial functions, but there are others that have discursive functions, as observable in the table below.

Table 11. Enclitics in TdVZ

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Grammatical category | Examples |
| Negative marker(s) | =di ‘second part of  the monoclausal negative marker’. |
| Adverbials | =xhgá ‘first’  =ga‘at the same time as’  =pkā ‘always’  =kā ‘after all’  =txa ‘maybe’  =zī ‘without motives’  =zá ‘also’  =rú ‘more’ |
| Discursive elements | =ēn / =īn ‘focus marker’  =bā ‘well/ right?’,  =x ‘then/ you see!’ |

All the adverbial enclitics shown above occur post-verbally in an indicative clause, but move after the focused NP in focus constructions, or after the negative marker *kēd=* in negative constructions.[[13]](#footnote-13) On the other hand, =*di*, =*ga* and =*xhga* are not as monile as the other enclitics, but they do move to the preverbal position in other cases. For instance, *=di* moves with the negative marker *gád*= (§), and *=xhga* with modal adverbials.

Also, these adverbial enclitics occupy the same slot in the template since some of them cannot co-occur. Table 12 shows the position in which these enclitics generally appear. The enclitics appearing in the same column cannot co-occur.

Table 12. Non-prominent adverbial enclitics

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| root | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| host | =pkā ‘always | =zá ‘also’ | =rú ‘more’ |
| =kā ‘after all’ |  |  |
| =txa ‘maybe’ |  |  |
| =zī ‘only / without motives’ |  |  |
| =ga ‘as’ |  |  |
| =xhgá ‘first’ |  |  |

Another set of the enclitics in TdVZ are pronominal. These appear after the adverbial enclitics if any. These pronominal enclitics encode the subject of a verb (§4), the possessor in an NP phrase ((§4), and the complement of a numeral (§4). The 3rd person enclitics may also encode an object of a verb (if the subject is higher in the following hierarchy 1/2>3.animate>3.inanimate). The pronominal enclitics in TdVZ are listed below.

Table 13. Pronominal enclitics in TdVZ

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | sg | pl |
| 1.incl | =a̰ | =un |
| 1.excl | =ūn |
| 2.informal | =ṵ | =tū |
| 3.informal | =an | =dán |
| 3.formal | =ān | =dān |
| 3.animal | =um | =dúm |
| 3.deity | =en/=in | =dén |
| 3.inanimate | =ēn/=īn | =dēn |

TdVZ also have demonstrative enclitics that attach to the final position of a noun phrase, and can distinguish four categories according to the distance and temporality: =*rǽ/* =*ræ̂’* ‘this, close to the speaker’, =*rǽn* / =*kán* ‘that, close to the hearer or both speech act participants’, =*rǣ* ‘that, far from both the speaker and the hearer, visible’, and =*kī* / *=kīn* ‘that, temporarily distant (in the past) from the speaker and the hearer, generally invisible’. How these demonstratives are used is shown below.

(21) *ˈdbénny.rǽ’ ˈgwǽ*

d´=bēnny=ræ’ gu-æ

pl=person=dem.prox compl-go

‘These people went.’

(22) *ˈdbénny.rǣ ˈgwǽ*

d´=bēnny=rǣ gu-æ

pl=person=dem.dist compl-go

‘Those people went.’

(23) *ˈdbénny.kán ˈgwǽ*

d´=bēnny=kán gu-æ

pl=person=dem.med compl-go

‘Those people (near the hearer or both participants) went.’

(24) *ˈdbénny.kī ˈgwǽ*

d´=bēnny=kī gu-æ

pl=person=temp.dem compl-go

‘Those people (that we know/talked about) went.’

Lastly, final enclitics may occur at the end of a clause and have discourse functions: =*bā* ‘well/ right?’, =*x* ‘then/ you see!’. A demonstrative enclitic and a final clitic may also follow the verb stem (and pronominal enclitics), when the verb is in the final position of a relative clause, as in (25).

(25) *ˈbēnny ní.gu.ˈdí.nyán.kīx*

bēnny ni=gu-dīny=an=kī=x

person sub=compl-kill=3sg.if=temp.dem=d.e

‘The person who he killed, then.’

### 2.4.1.5 Free function words

There is another type of word category between clitics and words in TdVZ, I will call these free function words (Zec 2005). These are peculiar in that they are prominent elements (thus constitute phonological words), and behave as independent morphosyntactic elements in various contexts. Nevertheless, they cannot stand alone or form a complete idea by themselves nor subcategorize for a major part of speech. Also, these elements are not attracted to the negative marker *kēd*= in negative constructions, and they rarely move to a preverbal position.

Free function words have adverbial or intensifying functions as shown in the examples below with *dḭ* ‘without contribution’, *tæ̰* ‘very’, *dâ̰n* ‘a lot’, and *dǔxtæ̰* ‘very much’, respectively. These elements occur closer to the root/base, and before any enclitic.

(26) *ˈgwæ ˈdḭ ˈJwáyn*

gu-æ **dḭ** Jwáyn

compl-go without.contribution Juan

‘Juan went but he didn’t contribute/cause a change where he went.’

(27) *ˈgwæ ˈtæ̰/ˈda̰n* *ˈJwáyn yu.ˈda̰w*

gu-æ **tæ̰**/**da̰n** Jwáyn *yuda̰w*

compl-go intsf/ intsf Juan church

‘Juan went several times to the church.’

(28) *ˈgwæ dǔx.ˈtæ̰* *ˈJwáyn yu.ˈda̰w*

gu-æ **dǔxtæ̰** Jwáyn *yuda̰w*

compl-go intsf Juan church

‘Juan went very, very, often (exaggeratedly) to the church.

# 2.5 The Phonological and Morphosyntactic words in TdVZ

A common approach to the notion of word is to define a phonological and a grammatical ‘word’ in the studied language (e.g., Dixon 2009, Dixon & Aikhenvald 2002). That is, based on solely phonological (or morphosyntactic) criteria one determines a domain in which phonological (or morphosyntactic) principles converge. In some languages, the phonological word and the grammatical word may coincide. In other languages, the grammatical and phonological word will coincide in most cases, but with a number of instances where one grammatical word may consist of more than one phonological word and/ or vice versa.

Gutiérrez et al (2019) show that neither a phonological nor a morphosyntactic word are satisfactorily defined for TdVZ. Applying several phonological and morphosyntactic tests, multiple phonological and morphosyntactic domains are identified, since they depend on the different morpheme sequences and the various processes or tests which are applied to them. Thus, it is unclear which domain should be considered the phonological or morphosyntactic word. Nevertheless, these authors consider that both phonological and morphosyntactic words are motivated in TdVZ. According to them, the best candidate for a phonological word is the ‘utterance’, and the morphosyntactic word corresponds to the verb (or noun) root + affixes. Both domains are justified by the number of convergences within a sequence of morphemes in the verbal and nominal domain.

In this dissertation, I will follow these authors in considering that the morphosyntactic word in TdVZ corresponds to the domain where a verb or noun root stands with affixes. However, the phonological word will be considered as the domain where one and only one prominent syllable occurs. These are defined below.

## 2.5.1 The Phonological Word (p-word)

In TdVZ a p-word can be defined as a domain in which one and only one prominent syllable occurs, whether or not it stands alongside non-prominent syllables. That is, the p-word in TdVZ can consist of a simple root (of the forms CV or CVC), or a root and a prefix and/or a suffix, or of compounded roots; all of which must contain one and only one prominent syllable.

In the case of a simple root (29), or when the prefix and the root (30) or the root and suffix constitute only one syllable (31), the single syllable corresponds to the prominent syllable.

(29) a. *ˈdæ* b. *ˈyu*

‘ash’ ‘soil’

(30) a. *ˈra* b. *ˈxta’*

r-a x-da’

hab-ripen poss-palm.mat

‘(It) ripens’ ‘someone’s palm mat’

(31) *ˈgi’n*

gi-i’n

fire=aff

‘little fire’

If a prefix constitutes its own syllable and the root another syllable, the prominent syllable still corresponds the root syllable. The forms in (32) are verbs with tam prefixes, and the forms in (33) are nouns with fossilized[[14]](#footnote-14) prefixes.

(32) a. *ri.ˈzu* b. *gu.ˈza* c. *ká.ˈnīsy*

ri-zu gu-za ká-nīsy

hab-fly compl-walk progr-grow

‘(It) flies’ ‘(It) walked’ ‘(It) is growing’

(33) a. *ba.ˈlǎw* b. *bi.ˈzin* c. *gu.ˈzḭw*

‘raven’ ‘mouse’ ‘thunderbolt’

When a root and a suffix constitute independent syllables, the prominent syllable corresponds to the syllable of the suffix and the root preceding these suffixes generally becomes a non-prominent syllable. This stress-shift is more evident when the verbal root has a creaky vowel, as in (34b), which is neutralized with a modal vawel when it loses prominence. In (35) notice that only one glottal stop remains even though each element that compose this word has a glottal.

(34) a. *ri.git.ˈnǣ* b. *ri.nni.ˈnǣ*

ri-git-nǣ ri-nnḭ-nǣ

hab-play-comit hab-say-comit

‘(It) plays with’ ‘(It) talks to’

(35) a. *gú.ˈnæ’n* b. *gu.bá.ˈni’n*

gû’n=æ’ny gubâ’ny=i’ny

bull=aff broom=aff

‘little bull’ ‘little broom’

In compounds, the prominent syllable corresponds to the last root of the compound, whether nominal (36) or verbal (37). Notice that the first member of the compound loses prominence. Concomitantly, laryngealization is lost, as in (b), ()a, and ().

(36) a. *bed(y).ˈgǐdy* b. *dixh.ˈtíly*

bedy-gǐdy dḭdx-tíly

chicken-leather? word-(cas)tilla

‘hen’ ‘Spanish (or Castillian)’

(37) a. *ru.kwa.ˈdyag* b. *ri.nnye.ˈbla̰z*

ru-kwa̰-dyag ri-nnya̰b-la̰z

hab-throw-ear hab-ask.for-essence

‘listen to’ ‘yearns (for)’

In TdVZ the phonological-word, then, can be defined as an element that contains one and only one prominent syllable. Another criteria that selects this domain as the p-word in TdVZ is the constraint of two consecutive syllables with glottalized vowels \*(CV’CV’)ω. This constraint is discussed below.

**\*(CV’CV’)ω Constraint**

TdVZ may have a constraint against consecutive syllables with glottalized vowels within the phonological word: \*(CV’CV’)ω. This constraint is evident when the *affective* morpheme (which itself has a glottalized vowel) is attached. When a root containing a glottalized vowel co-occurs with the affective this the glottalization on the root is lost, as shown in the following examples.

(38) a. *gú.ˈnæ’n* b. *di.ˈni’n*

gû’n-æ’ny di’n-i’ny

bull-aff debt-aff

‘small bull’ ‘small debt’

This constraint is also observable in compounds. In (39), both members of the compound, *ru’* ‘mouth’ and *r-yu’* ‘hab-enter’ have a glottalized vowel, but the glottalization of ‘mouth’ is lost when these two elements are compounded.

(39) (*ruˈryu’*)ω

ru’+r-yu’

mouth+hab-enter

‘entrance (of a room)’

Nevertheless, there are still compounds in which both glottalized vowels occur, but this form shows free variation with the form in which the glottalized vowel of the first component is deleted, as shown in the examples below. Thus, these compounds may be analyzed as one or two phonological words.

(40) a. *ˈyu’.ˈlæ’* ~ *yu.ˈlæ’* b. *ˈru’ˈyu’* ~ *ru.ˈyu’*

yu’+læ’ ru’+yu’

house+outside? mouth-house

‘hut’ ‘eaves of a roof’

## 2.5.2 The morphosyntactic word (m-word)

As mentioned in the introduction to this section, a grammatical or morphosyntactic word (m-word) in TdVZ corresponds to the sequence of a root[[15]](#footnote-15) (verbal / nominal) + the affixes that may attach to this root. In the nominal domain, the only prefix that may occur with it is the possessable marker and it may be followed by an affective suffix, as shown in (41). Nevertheless, if an adjective occurs, the affective suffix would attach to the adjective, as in (42). Thus, the sequence of a nominal root + adjective(s) forms one m-word in TdVZ (cf. Broadwell 2000; Munro 2002; 2004). In the case of a verb root, a TAM prefix is obligatory and it can be followed by a comitative suffix and/or the affective suffix, as shown in (43). Therefore, only one possessive prefix for nouns or only one tam prefix for verbs can appear per morphosyntactic word (m-word) even though the base to which these prefixes attached may be compounded by two roots, as in the case of the nominal shown below.

(41) *xki.bya.ˈgæ’n ˈBǽd*

x-gḭb+yag-æ’ny Bǽd

poss-metal+stick-aff Pedro

‘Pedro’s ax (how nice!) / Pedro’s little ax’

(42) *xki.ˈbyag kú.ˈyi’n ˈBǽd*

x-gḭb+yag kúy-æ’ny Bǽd

poss-metal+stick new-aff Pedro

‘Pedro’s new ax (how nice!).’

(43) *ri.git.ˈně’.nyan ˈBǽd*

ri-git-nǣ-æ’ny=an Bǽd

hab-play-comit-aff=3sg.if Pedro

‘He plays with Pedro (how nice!).’

The sequence shown above for the nominal and verbal domains cannot be interrupted by any type of element (such as a free word or clitic) and their order is fixed. Also, any of these elements can be extracted (move to the focus position). Thus, I use these morphosyntactic properties (Haspelmath 2011) define the m-word in this language.

In addition, as discussed by Beam de Azcona and Cruz (2016), in Zapotec languages, second position clitics[[16]](#footnote-16) select m-word(s) as their host. Thus, the position of non-prominent (second position) clitics can be considered another criteria to define an m-word in TdVZ, especially since this can test any element (or any other lexical categories) that do not exhibit affixation (i.e., adjectives, adverbs, numerals). In the examples below, the words that host the second position clitic, highlighted in boldface, constitute an m-word.

(44) ˈ*nna̰y.zá* ˈ*byô’n̄*

nna̰y=**zá** b-yô’=ūn

yesterday=also compl-compl.go.1pl=1pl.excl

‘We went yesterday also.’

(45) *te.*ˈ*tyōp.zī.dān* ˈ*gwæ̂*

tetyōp=**zī**=dān gu-æ

a.few=only=3pl.f compl-go

‘Only a few of them went.’

Notice that a second position clitic cannot intervene within a compound which constitutes one m-word, as in (46), while it intervenes phrasal compounds that constitute two m-words, as in (47).

(46) a. ˈ*rak.*ˈ*mḭ̄d.zá*  b. \*ˈ*rak.zá* ˈ*mḭ̄d*

r-ak+*mḭ̄d*=**zá** r-ak=**zá** *mḭ̄d*

hab-occur+dirt=also hab-occur=also dirt

‘(It) also gets dirty.’ Intended reading: ‘(It) also gets dirty.’

(47) ˈ*rak.zá* ˈ*dzɨyn*

r-ak=**zá** *dzɨyn*

hab-occur=also work

‘Work is also done.’

A morphosyntactic word in TdVZ then can be defined as the sequence of a root + its suffixes or any other element that has a strict order and cannot be interrupted by a free word or non-prominent second position clitic.

## 2.5.3 The phonological *vs* the morphosyntactic word

Even though in most instances the phonological word coincides with the morphosyntactic word, this is not always the case; that is, an m-word can consist of an element that does not constitute a p-word or vice versa. In the following, I will give an example of each case.

### 2.5.3.1 The m-word smaller that the p-word

In TdVZ there are (pro)clitics that do not constitute a phonological word, but non-prominent (second position) clittics select them as hosts; thus, based on the diagnostic of the placement of (second position) enclitics, they behave as independent m-words. In the examples below I show that the the negator *ádí*= is a clitic (48), but it can host (second position) clitics.

(48) *ádí.ˈrēky ˈgwâ’*

ádí=rēky gu-â’

neg.foc=loc.temp.adv compl-go.1sg

‘I didn’t go there.’ / ‘Not there I went.’

(49) *ˈá.dí.zá ˈrēky ˈgwâ’*

ádí=zá rēky gw-â’

neg.foc=also loc.temp.adv compl-go.1sg

‘I didn’t go there either.’ / ‘Not there either I went.’

Nevertheless, when proclitics, especially negators, host a non-prominent (second position) clitic, these proclitics acquire prominence, possibly due to the requirement that a proclitic must constitute a p-word in order to host a non-prominent (second position) clitic and form a phonological word.

### 2.5.3.2 The m-word bigger than the p-word

As discussed above, the sequences of a noun root + adjective(s) and the sequences of a verb root + a noun (in compounds) cannot be interrupted by any morpheme, nor can any part of it be extracted, nor a pause is not possible between these elements and thus each constitute one m-word (cf. Broadwell 2000; Munro 2002; 2004). However, in such sequences each member of the sequence maintains its prominence and thus constitute two phonological words, as shown below.

(50) a. *ˈyu’.ˈrô’w.kī*[[17]](#footnote-17) b. *ˈlady*.*ˈkúy*.*kī*

yu’+rô’w=kīlady+kúy=kī

house+big=temp.dem cloth+new=temp.dem

‘that big building’ ‘the new clothes’ / ‘those new clothes’

# 2.6 Morphophonological and tonal processes

TdVZ is rich in predictable morphophonological and tonal processes. Here, I discuss only two segmental processes (laryngeal displacement and /ny/ metathesis) and three tonal processes (i.e., tone sandhi, tone levelling and mid-tone spreading). These processes interact directly with (re-) syllabification due to the cliticization of the pronominal morphemes that indicates the subject. Thus, this is relevant for the discussion that I carry out in later chapters.

## 2.6.1 Pronominal enclitic laryngeal Displacement

Pronominal enclitic laryngeal displacement[[18]](#footnote-18) is a process where the creakiness of a pronominal enclitic vowel (1sg or 2sg informal) is displaced to a vowel of the adjacent previous syllable or to syllable nucleus of monosyllabic words, as represented in (51). For this process to occur, the syllable that these pronominal clitics attach to must have a lenis consonant in coda position and a vowel with low or high tone. In (52), the form in (a) has a modal stem vowel followed by a lenis consonant; this modal vowel alternates with a creaky vowel when the 2sg enclitic =*ṵ* is attached, as shown in (52b). In (53), I show that the laringealized feature of this pronoun occurs in the syllable nucleus of the monomorphemic word. On the other hand, in (54), I show that this process does not occur if the preceding syllable is followed by a fortis consonant. Therefore, this process applies between two syllables in adjacency that exhibit the phonological conditions already mentioned. Whether or not Laryngeal Displacement is applied, these pronominal clitics are accompanied by a final glottal stop at the utterance-final position, while they are realized as creaky or modal elsewhere.

(51) Laryngeal Displacement

V(CL) =V

=

[+constricted glottis]

(52) a. *ˈryab* b. *ˈrya̰.bu’*

r-yab r-yab=ṵ

hab-fall.down hab-fall.down=2sg.if

‘(It) falls down’ ‘You fall down’

(53) a. *ˈlow* b. *ˈlo̰w*

‘face.of ’ low=ṵ

face.of=2sg.if

‘your face’

(54) a. *ru.ˈzyuk* b. *ru.ˈzyu.ku’* (\**ru.ˈzyṵ.ku’*)

ru-*zyuk* ru-zyuk=ṵ

hab-bend hab-bend=2sg.if

‘(It) bends (something).’ ‘You bend (something).’

## 2.6.2 *ny* Metathesis

/ny/ Metathesis is a process where the underlying sequence of /n/ and the glide /y/ is metathesized in coda position (55) (Uchihara & Gutiérrez 2020c). The underlying /ny/ sequence is justified by the fact that this sequence occurs unchanged in onset position, as in (16b). When the preceding vowel is a front vowel (i.e., /i/, /e/ or /æ/), /y/ is deleted after metathesis in this position since TdVZ does not allow these sequences, as shown in (57).

(55) *ny* Metathesis and elition

*ny* → *yn* /\_]σ : y→ ø / V[+front] \_\_

(56) a. *ˈruyn* b. *ˈru.nyan*

r-uny r-uny=an

hab-do hab-do=3sg.if

‘do’ ‘S/he does.’

(57) a. *ri.ˈgīn* b*. \*ri.ˈgīyn*

ri-gīny ri-gīny

hab-kill hab-kill

‘(It) kills’ ‘(It) kills’

## 2.6.3 Tone Sandhi

Tone Sandhi is a process whereby a mid tone (and one type of high tone which is derived from a mid tone) assigns a high or a falling tone to the following syllable which lexically has a low or mid tone (Uchihara and Gutiérrez 2019).

(58) Tone Sandhi

σ σ

=

M L

The following examples illustrates this process. Notice that in (59a), the mid-tone of the verb root assigns a high tone to the pronominal clitic that lexically has a low tone (second line). In (59b), the mid-tone of the 3rd person formal pronominal clitic assigns a high tone to the beginning syllable of the following noun *bada̰w* ‘baby’, which lexically has a low tone. This process applies within the same sentence, or utterance. If there is a pause or the second element belong to a different sentence, tone sandhi does not apply, as shown in (60).[[19]](#footnote-19) In this example, the mid tone of the third person enclitic does not assign a high tone to word *zit* ‘far’ since each syllable belongs to a different utterance.

(59)a*. ri.*ˈ*dxā̰.gán*  ˈ*luy* b*. ru.*ˈ*ya̰.nān*  *bá.*ˈ*da̰w*

ri-dxā̰g=an luy ru-ya̰n=ān bada̰w

hab-get.along.with=3sg.if 2sg.if hab-feed=3sg.if baby

‘S/he gets along with you.’ ‘S/he feeds the baby.’

(60) ˈ*zit*ˈ*tæ̰ ˈmědy* ˈ*gū.pān,* ˈ*zit*ˈ*tæ̰* ˈ*mědy* ˈ*gū.pān*

zit tæ̰ mědy g-ūp=ān zit tæ̰ mědy g-ūp=ān

far? intsf money compl-have=3sg.f far? intsf money compl-have=3sg.f

‘He had a lot of money, he had a lot of money.’

## 2.6.4 Rising Tone Levelling

Contour Levelling is a process where a rising tone (which is analyzed as a sequence of a mid tone and a high tone) is split into a mid tone on one syllable and a high tone on the next syllable. This process occurs when a morpheme with a rising tone is followed by an enclitic with a low or mid tone that is vowel-inital, as can be observed in (62b). Notice that this process is also a result of resyllabification. Thus, this process does not apply if the following syllable has an onset and there is no resyllabification, as in (63).

(61) Contour Levelling

CV(C) V(C)

= =

MH L / M

(62) a. *ri.ˈbǐg* b. *ri.ˈbī.gá*

ri-bǐg ri-bǐg=a̰

hab-get.close hab-get.close=1sg

‘get close’ ‘I get close.’

(63) a. *ri.ˈbǐg* b. *kēd.rí.ˈbǐg.dyu*

ri-bǐg kēd=ri-bǐg=di=ṵ

hab-get.close neg=hab-get.close=neg=2sg.if

‘(It) gets close’ ‘You don’t get close.’

## 2.6.5 Regressive Mid Tone Spreading

Lastly, Regressive mid Tone Spreading is a tone spreading process where a mid tone spreads to the preceding syllable when its lexical tone is low.

(64) Regressive Mid Tone Spreading

CV CV

=

L M

This process is illustrated below. The roots of the forms in (65) are a minimal pair in terms of low vs. mid tone, *gits* ‘paper’ and *gīts* ‘metate (stone for grinding)’. This tonal contrast is neutralized when the focus enclitic =*ēn*, with a mid tone, is attached and then its mid tone spreads to the root.

(65) a. *ˈgī.tsēn* b. *ˈgī.tsēn*

gits=ēn gīts=ēn

paper=foc metate=foc

‘(It is) paper’ ‘(It is) metate’

# 2.7 Remarks on chapter 2

In this chapter I have presented the phonological properties of TdVZ. As demonstrated, this language contrasts fortis and lenis in its consonant inventory, while vowels have three phonation types and five tones that combine with phonation when docked on the vowel. The syllabic structure is fairly constrained, but due to fossilized items, the syllabic structure is not simple. Prominence is a property that facilitates the identification of a phonological word as well as various phonological processes in this language. Besides defining how the phonological word is understood in this work, I discussed how it contrasts with the morphosyntactic word since in many instances these two categories do not coincide.

In addition to this, I showed the types of roots that are found in the language: verbal, nominal, adjectival, and adverbial. Verb roots require a TAM prefix and two suffixes: the commitative and the affective. The only prefix that occurs with (alienable) nouns is the possessable marker and it can also take the affective morpheme, which is considered a suffix given that it is integrated into the phonological word. Adjective roots are not salient in this language while adverbial elements show various processes in their composition. Another highlighting characteristic of TdVZ is that it is abundant in clitics. These cover a wide range of functions that range from adverbial to pronominal to grammatical.

Finally, I described four morphophonological processes that interact with clitics and tone. As noted, tone is pervasive in this language and it interacts with many aspects of TdVZ grammar, as I show in further chapters.

# Chapter 3

***Lexical categories & types of phrases in TdVZ***

In this chapter I discuss various types of word classes in TdVZ. I provide language-specific criteria that distinguish and motivate the various lexical word classes. As I will show, nouns and verbs are robustly distinguished in this language, while adjectives share some distributional properties with verbs, they constitute a distinct word class. There are a few lexical adverbs since many of the adverbs are clitics in this language. Moreover, I discuss the nominal phrase/constituent and the various phrases/constituents that may occur in a (basic) clause. Also, I briefly discuss coordinating and subordinating conjunctions, though these conjunctions are treated more broadly throughout the dissertation. Before I discuss each type of element, some relevant definitions and a typological overview is defined.

# 3.1 Word classes and phrases, an overview

For the purpose of grammatical description, words are organized around various categories; these are commonly referred to as parts of speech or word classes. Although most of the word class distinctions can be made in most languages, word classes are language-specific categories in a few important senses (Croft 2000, 2001; Rijkhoff 2007; Schachter and Shopen 2007; inter alia). First, certain word classes are not motivated in all languages. For instance, some languages do not have a motivated adjective class (e.g., Northern Iroquioan; Chafe 2012). Secondly, even where different word classes can be identified, the criteria that distinguish them may not be the same among across languages.

Word classes can be broadly distinguished according to whether they are lexical or functional. Lexical words generally refer to those that denote things, events and properties. That is to say nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs (Haspelmath 2001). Functional words inherently denote relational and/or abstract concepts. Thus, adpositions, conjunctions, auxiliaries and various noun modifiers such as articles or demonstratives are within this classification. As noted, functional words relate two or more things, events or properties in a temporal, spatial or aspectual frame. For instance, in (1), the demonstrative *=rǣ* ‘that’ relates the noun *yu’* ‘building’ with the spatial deictic context; =*rǣ* is, therefore, a functional category. The noun *yu’* ‘building’, on the other hand, denotes a time-stable entity and therefore it is a lexical category.

(1) ˈ*yū’.rǣ gú.ˈzyǣ̰n*

yu’=rǣ gu-zḭ=ān

building=dem.dist compl-buy=3sg.f

‘S/he bought that building.’

Another property that distinguishes word classes is the open-closed class distinction (Schachter and Shopen 2007). Open classes can receive new members through borrowing, the lexicalization of polymorphemic forms, and onomatopoeia. Closed classes generally are closed to the aforementioned processes that create new members.[[20]](#footnote-20) The boundary between open and closed is not completely discrete. One reason for this is that an open class morpheme can become a member of a closed class through grammaticalization or a member of the closed class can become a member of the open class through lexicalization.

There is a strong correlation between the lexical/functional status and the open/closed status of parts-of-speech categories. That is, lexical words tend to be open class while functional words tend to be closed class.

In addition to discussing the various word classes, in this chapter I will discuss the noun phrase (NP) and the various phrases that may occur in a clause. A phrase is understood as a configuration of elements that form a constituent, i.e., that function as unit with respect to grammatical processes (Carnie 2010: 18). The words that form a constituent maintain a syntactic relation in an asymmetric way, such that one element is the head and the other(s) is/are the dependent. The following sentence exemplifies a clause containing two noun phrases.

(2) *gu.ˈzḭ ˈbēnny gú.ˈbīn.kī té.ˈyu’ gu.ˈlǎl*

gu-zḭ bēnny gubin=kī te=yu’ gulǎl

compl-buy person stingy=temp.dem i.art=building ancient

‘The stingy person bought an ancient building.’

Each noun phrase forms a constituent in as much as it can be pronominalized, as in (3), or each may move to the (preverbal) focus position (permutation; Van Valin 2001), as in (4). Also, each type of phrase may be coordinated with another of the same type, as in (5).

(3) *gu.ˈzyǣ̰.nēn*

gu-zḭ=ān=ēn

compl-buy=3sg.f=3sg.inan

‘He bought it.’

(4) *ˈbēnny gú.ˈbīn.kī gú.ˈzḭ̂ té.ˈyu’ gu.ˈlǎl*

bēnny gubin=kī gu-zḭ te=yu’ gulǎl

person stingy=temp.dem compl-buy i.art=building ancient

‘The stingy person (and not someone else) bought an ancient building.’

(5) *te.ˈyu’ gu.ˈlǎl txi.rú.tu.ˈllā’ ˈlyû gu.ˈzḭ̂*

te=yu’ gulǎl txirú=tullā’ lyu gu-zḭ

i.art=building ancient conj=one.piece land compl-buy

*ˈbēnny gú.ˈbīn.kī*

bēnny gubin=kī

person stingy=temp.dem

‘The stingy person bought an ancient building and a piece of land.’

The distinction between a head and a dependent in a phrase can be discerned based on three criteria. The first criterion is that of endocentricity (Bloomfield 1933). According to this criterion, the dependent is an accessory to the head in the following sense: the head of a phrase is a precondition for the occurrence of the dependent in a sentential context. For example, in the sentence where the phrase *teyu’ gulǎl* ‘an ancient building’ occurs, the omission of *yu’* ‘building’ makes the sentence ungrammatical. However, the omission of *gulǎl* ‘ancient’ does not result in an ungrammatical sentence. Therefore, *yu*’ ‘building’ is the head and *gulǎl* ‘ancient’ is the dependent according to the criterion of endocentricity.

Even though, the same considerations cannot apply to the relationship between the verb and the arguments in this context,[[21]](#footnote-21) the following further criteria define the verb as the head of the clause.

The second criterion used to distinguish a head from a dependent is subcategorization; the head implies the occurrence of, or subcategorizes for, its dependent(s). Another way of understanding this criterion is in terms of syntactic frames. A head has a number of frames that must be filled by members of specific syntactic categories. The transitive verb *zḭ* ‘buy’ is the head of the dependents *bēnny gúbīnkī* ‘the stingy person’ and *teyu’ gulǎl* ‘an ancient building’ by the criterion of subcategorization. The verb root *zḭ* ‘buy’ subcategorizes for two noun phrase arguments. The first one, which occurs right after the verb must be understood as its subject, and the following one as its object. Furthermore, the verb cannot be omitted since two juxtaposed NPs of this kind are ungrammatical.

Another criterion for distinguishing heads and dependents is the semantic *type-of* criterion (Hudson 1987; Zwicky 1993). According to this criterion, the dependent denotes a subtype of the concept denoted by the head. In the context of the sentence in (2), this criterion again identifies the verb *zḭ* ‘buy’ as the head and the two noun phrases *bēnny gúbīnkī* ‘the stingy person’ and *teyu’ gulǎl* ‘an ancient building’. The reason is that the meaning of the whole sentence can plausibly be thought of as a type of buying event, but not as a subtype of a stingy person or an ancient building. The type-of criterion might be thought as applying to the noun construction as well. For instance, *teyu’ gulǎl* ‘an ancient building’ is a type of ‘building’, and not a type of ‘ancient’.

With the foregoing definitions as a foundation, I will now discuss word classes and phrases in TdVZ. I will present each lexical category, the NP constituent, and the constituents within a clause. I will close with a discussion of some functional categories.

# 3.2. Nouns *vs* Verbs in TdVZ

## 3.2.1 Noun morphology and syntactic distribution

In TdVZ, nouns and verbs are robustly distinguished due to their morphology and syntactic distribution.Starting with morphology,nouns do not exhibit productive affixation. The only prefix that occurs with nouns is the possessable marker *x*-, as shown in (6). In fact, only alienable nouns (§3.5.1.1) show this prefixation.

(6) *ˈxkû’n* *ˈBǽd*

**x**-gû’n Bǽd

poss-bull Pedro

‘Pedro’s bull’

Given this characteristic of nouns, they are better defined based on their syntactic distribution. There are various elements that can only precede nouns: a quantifier, as in (7a), a preposition, as in (7b), or a relational noun, as in (7c). Also, nouns may host the (proclitic) indefinite article *te*=, as in (8a), or the pluralizer *d*´=,[[22]](#footnote-22) as in (8b). These elements do not occur before verbs.[[23]](#footnote-23)

(7) a. *ˈrá ˈbénny* b*. ˈxtḛ̂n ˈBǽd* c. *ˈlæ’n ˈgæs*

**rá** bēnny **xtḛ̂ny** Bǽd **læ’n** gæs

qdr.cont.all person prep.of Pedro r.n.stomach pot

‘all (the) people’ ‘of Pedro / Pedro’s’ ‘inside (the) pot’

(8) a. *te.ˈdxap*  b. *ˈdgæ̂s*

**te**=dxap **d´**=gæs

i.art=girl pl=pot

‘a girl’ ‘pots’

Nouns have a negative marker that is different from verbs; the negative marker that occurs with a noun is the existential negator *kěty* ‘there is no’, as in (9), while verbs are negated with the markers *kēd*= and =*di* (see §3.2.2.3).

(9) *ˈkěty ˈxtxā’ nnâ’.ˈdxi*

**kěty**  xtxā’ nna’dxi

neg.exist light today

‘There is no light (electricity) today.’

Nouns are followed and modified by adjectives, as in (10). Notably, while some verbs are followed by adjectives, the sequence verb + adjective may be understood as a compound rather than a verb being modified by an adjective.

(10) a. *te.ˈdxap ˈzyṵ̂l* b. *te.ˈgæs ˈgwěn*

te=dxap **zyṵ̂l**  te=gæs **gwěn**

i.art=girl tall i.art=pot small

‘a tall girl’ ‘a small pot’

A noun can also be followed by an affective morpheme and a demonstrative enclitic,[[24]](#footnote-24) as in (11a), and (11b) respectively. These elements, however, attach to specific noun constituents, thus I will discuss them more in detail in §3.5. Suffice it to say here that the affective morpheme has to occur after adjectives, if any, and demonstrative enclitics[[25]](#footnote-25) occur at the right edge of the NP.

(11) a. *ba.da.ˈwæ’n* b. ˈ*læ’n* ˈ*gæs.kī*

bada̰w-**æ’ny** læ’n gæs=**kī**

baby-aff r.n.stomach pot=temp.dem

‘little baby’ ‘inside that pot (we know about)’

Lastly, nouns functioning as arguments must follow the verb in main declarative sentences, as in (12).

(12) ˈ*byā ˈlyû*

b-yā lyu

compl-be.cleaned land

‘(The) land was cleaned.’

## 3.2.2 Verb morphology and syntactic distribution

### 3.2.2.1 Verb morphology: TAM and valence increasing affixes

Contrary to nouns, verb roots have various affixes: TAM prefixes and valence increasing devices. In TdVZ verbs roots take an obligatory TAM prefix. In the list below, I show the verb -*sæ̰d* ‘practice/study’ with the different TAM prefixes that may occur on it. All these TAM prefixes have allomorphs, as I discuss below.

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| *ru.ˈsæ̰d*  **ru**-sæ̰d  hab-practice | practice |
| *ká.ˈsæ̰d*  **ká**-sæ̰d  progr-practice | is practicing |
| *ba.ˈsæ̰d*  **ba**-sæ̰d  compl-practice | practiced |
| *zu.ˈsæ̰d*  **zu**-sæ̰d  fut-practice | will practice |
| *gu.ˈsæ̰̂d*  **gu´**-sæ̰d  pot-practice | will practice |
| *n(y)u.ˈsæ̰̂d*  **n(y)u´**-sæ̰d  cntrf-practice | was going to practice |

The habitual prefix is *ri*-, and it occurs as *r*- before vowel initial verbs. Throughout this work, however, the habitual prefix is segmented as *ru*- or *ra*-. This is because I include the causative (*u*-) or restorative (*a*-) fossilized vowel as part of the prefix (see below for details on these prefixes). Since Zapotec languages tend to disallow vowel sequences (Kaufman 1988), the vowel /i/ of the prefix was/is elided when one of these valence increasing morpheme vowels occur(ed).

The progressive prefix is *ká*-, and it occurs as *káy*- before vowel initial verb roots. There is also a suppletive form of this aspect (i.e., *z*´-) that occurs with some motion verbs (e.g., -*æ* ‘go’, -*ǣ̰d* ‘come’)as in *zǽ* ‘(s/he) is going’.

The allomorphs of the completive prefix are *bi*-, *ba*-, and *gu*-. These may occur as *b*- or *g*- (respectively) before vowel initial verb roots. The occurrence of *bi*-, *ba*-, or *gu*-, however, is not predictable phonologically nor morphosyntactically. There may be some tendencies in the distribution of *bi*- and *ba*-: *bi*- appears with (inchoative) intransitive verbs and *ba*- with their derived transitive pair verbs. However, the distribution of *gu*- does not show any clear pattern. For this reason, in the table below I show three main verbal classes based (mainly) on the allomorphs that a verb takes in the completive aspect and the potential mood (Kaufman 1987; Smith-stark 2002).

The future prefix is *zi*-, and it occurs as *z*- before vowel initial verb roots. Just as with the habitual, for some verbs, the future prefix will be glossed as *zu*- or *za*- since I gloss the causative (*u*-) or the restorative (*a*-) fossilized vowel as part of the prefix.

The allomorphs of the potential prefix are *Ø-, gu-, tx(y) -,* as well asallomorphs formed throughthe *mutation/fortition* of the initial consonant of the verb root*.* Each of these cooccur with a high tone that docks on the vowel of the verb root. *gu*- may occur as *g*- in vowel initial verb roots. Nevertheless, just as with the completive prefix allomorphs, the occurrence of *Ø-, gu-* or *mutation/fortition* is not predictable phonologically nor morphosyntactically. Thus, the verb classes in Table 1 show the distribution of these allomorphs. Note that I consider there to be a *ga*- prefix for this category; this, as I mentioned, is because I segment the (fossilized) restorative prefix together with the TAM prefix.

The counterfactual prefix is *ni*-, which occurs as *n*- before vowel initial verb roots. This prefix, just as with the potential, cooccurs with a high tone that docks on the vowel of the verb root. Even though the vowel of this TAM prefix tends to get deleted before a vowel, it may also occur as a semi-consonant before the fossilized causative or restorative vowel, as in***n****(****y****)a-gíz* ‘(it) would have hardened’.

In the following table I show all the TAM allomorphs discussed here. As mention above, in this table, verbs are classified in three main classes. These classes are based (mainly) on the allomorphs that verbs take in the completive aspect and the potential mood (Kaufman 1988; Smith-Stark 2002).[[26]](#footnote-26) Note that, in the potential and the counterfactual mood, in addition to the prefix, TdVZ use a (high) tone to indicate these moods. This tone causes changes in the lexical tone of the verb root.

Table 1. Verbal Classes in TdVZ

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **CLASS A**  This class has four sub-classes, and is distinct from the other classes because it has /b-/ in the prefix for the completive. The potential prefix has *g(V)*- except for the first subclass that has no prefix. | | | | | | | | |
|  |  | Habitual | Progressive | Comple-tive | Future | Potential | Counter-factual | English |
| subclasses | A  consonant | ***ri****-ga* | ***ká****-ga* | ***bi****-ga* | ***zi****-ga* | ***ø****-gâ* | ***ni****-gâ* | get trimmed / shave |
| A non-consonant | ***r****-ull* | ***káy****-ull* | ***b****-illy* | ***z****-ull* | ***g****-ǔll* | ***ni****-ǔll* | sing / read |
| A causative | ***ru****-txa* | ***ká****-txa* | ***ba****-txa* | ***zu****-txa* | ***gu****-txâ* | ***ni****-dxâ* | fill |
| A restorative | ***ra****-gīz* | ***ká****-gīz* | ***ba****-gīz* | ***za****-gīz* | ***ga****-gíz* | ***n****(****y****)****a****-gíz* | harden |
| **CLASS B**  This class has three subclasses and is distinct from class A since it has *gu*- in the completive. In the potential, there is no prefix but the initial lenis consonant change to its fortis counterpart, except for /b-/ initial roots. The vowel initial subclass varies from the consonant initial subclass since it takes *g*- in the potential. On the other hand, the third subclass does not take *gu*- in completive, but a change in the beginning consonant (/k/ 🡪 /kw/). However, it has the same paradigm for rest of the TAM conjugation. Thus, I consider it a subgroup of this class. | | | | | | | | |
| subclasses | B  consonant | ***ri****-llā’* | ***ká****-ll(y)ā’* | ***gu****-llā’* | ***zi****-llā’* | ***ø****-llá’* | ***ni****-ll(y)á’* | break (tr.) |
| B  vocalic | ***r****-æ’* | ***káy****-æ’* | ***gu****-æ’* | ***z*-***æ’* | ***g****-æ̂* | ***ni-****æ̂’* | drink |
| B  K-initial | ***ri****-kā’* | ***ká****-kā’* | ***k****wā’* | ***zi****-kā’* | ***ø-****ká’* | ***ni****-ká’* | get |
| **Class C**  This class also takes *gu*- in the completive, but is distinct from class B because the completive form of the verb exhibits a mutation of the stem-initial consonant. Also, in the potential, the beginning consonant mutates: /b/🡪 /kw/ and g 🡪 /k/. | | | | | | | | |
|  |  | ***ri****-gixh* | ***ká****-gixh* | ***gu****-dixh* | ***zi-****gixh* | ***k****íxh* | ***ni-****gîxh* | pay |

### 3.2.2.2 Valence increasing devices

Verbs in TdVZ exhibit the remnant of a causative or restorative morpheme. That is, in several transitive verbs, one can observe the fossilized causative morpheme (e.g., *u*-)[[27]](#footnote-27) which increased the valence of the verb and allowed an agent subject to be expressed, as shown in (13). The restorative morpheme (i.e., *a*-) may have indicated a change in the state of the subject without the direct intervention of a (human) agent, as in (14). Most of the verbs that preserve the remnant of the restorative are verbs may be considered middle voice verbs (Uchihara and Gutiérrez, 2020b). It is important to mention that there is no evidence that these prefixes cooccurred. Therefore, I assume they shared the slot between the TAM prefix and the verb root.

(13) a. *ri.ˈdxa* b. *ru.ˈtxa̰n*[[28]](#footnote-28)

ri-dxa r-**u**-txa=**an**

hab-get.filled hab-**caus**-get.filled=**3sg.if**

‘(It) gets filled’ ‘S/he fills.’

(14) a. *ra.ˈdxa* b. *ra.ˈgull*

r-**a**-dxa r-**a**-gull

hab-rest-get.filled hab-rest-get.withered

‘(It) gets (fill) thick / fat ‘(It) gets withered

(with food (over time)).’ (e.g., because of the weather).’

Synchronically, verb roots can be modified by the andative or venitive morphemes. These occur between the TAM prefix and the verb stem, as in (15a) and (15b) respectively. These elements do not occur with nouns.

(15) a. *gwe.ˈsæ̰d.dán* b. *bēd.ˈtí.xhán*

gu-**æ**-sæ̰d=dán b-**ǣd**-tixh=an

compl-go-ven.study=3pl.if compl-come-ven.pay=3sg.if

‘S/he went to study.’ ‘S/he came to pay.’

Also, verb roots can take an applicative comitative suffix (i.e., -*nǣ*), as in (16). This increases the valence of the verb because it adds one more participant to an event. These morphosyntactic properties are exclusive for verbs, therefore are part of what uniquely characterizes and defines the TdVZ verb.

(16) a. *ru.ˈyā’ ˈJwáyn* b. *ru.yā’.ˈnǽ ˈJwáyn ˈNdǔn*

ru-yā’ Jwáyn ru-yā’-**nǣ** Jwáyn Ndǔn

hab-dance Juan hab-dance-comit Juan Antonia

‘Juan dances’ ‘Juan dances with Antonia’

### 3.2.2.3 The syntactic distribution of verbs

Verbs are the head of a predicate and in non-focused clauses must precede the nominal subject and, if required, the nominal object in main declarative sentences, as in (17). The nominal subject or the nominal object can precede the verb only when they move to the preverbal position in derived structures such as focalization or topicalization (see details of this topic in §4.6).

(17) *ba.ˈya’ ˈbækw ˈBǽd*

ba-ya’ bækw *Bǽd*

compl-bite dog Pedro

‘The dog bit Pedro.’

Verbs are negated with *kēd*= and =*di*, as in (18), while nouns are negated with *kěty*, as was shown in (9) above.[[29]](#footnote-29)

(18) *kēd.bá.ˈyâ’.di ˈbækw ˈlǎ̰n*

**kēd**=ba-ya’=**di** bækw lǎ̰n

neg=compl-bite=neg dog 3sg.if

‘The dog didn’t bite him/her.’

Verbs can be followed by free function word intensifiers and non-prominent (second position) adverbial enclitics, as in (19). These appear before the nominal arguments in declarative clauses. Intensifiers cannot follow nouns and adverbial enclitics only follow nouns in derived structures, such as focalization, or when the noun is in a predicative nominal construction, as in (20a) and (20b) respectively.

(19) *ˈræ’ ˈtæ̰.zá ˈBǽd ˈbadx*

r-æ’ *tæ̰*=**zá** *Bǽd badx*

hab-drink intsf*=*also Pedro tepache

‘Pedro also drinks lots of tepache (type of drink).’

(20) a. *ˈBǽd.zá gu.ˈxḛ̂l.dān* b. *ˈmǎyn.zá ˈnǎm*

Bǽd=**zá** gu-xḛl=dān mǎyn=**zá** nā=um

Pedro=also compl-send=3pl.f animal=also cop=3sg.anml

‘They also sent [Pedro]foc (somewhere).’ ‘It is also an animal.’

# 3.3 Adjectives

In Zapotec languages, the category ‘adjective’ is still under scrutiny. For instance, Padilla (2010) has argued that there are only a few ‘true’ adjectives in a Central Zapotec variety, Santiago Apostol Zapotec. By ‘true’ adjectives he refers to those elements that without any further modification can modify a nominal (Beck 2002). This author demonstrates that in this language, there are a few adjective roots and that most of the noun modifiers are verb roots since they can take other TAM prefixes in the language.

Even though for many of the ‘adjectives’ in TdVZ their verb origin is evident due to their form and a fossilized stative prefix, I consider that synchronically, adjectives are a well-defined lexical category in TdVZ due to their morphology and syntactic distribution, as I discuss below.

## 3.3.1 The morphology of adjectives

Morphologically, adjectives may be classified into three groups: 1) those that originated from verbs:[[30]](#footnote-30) most of these preserve a fossilized stative prefix (assumed to be *n(a)*-), as in (21a); 2) those that originated from other sources, such as composition or derivation,[[31]](#footnote-31) as in (21b); and 3) those that can be considered ‘true’ adjectives since they do not exhibit any remnant of an extra morphological component, as in (21c). For the first group I propose a ternary sub-classification according to the occurrence of the stative prefix and a tone change on the root. Moreover, the second group is also classified according to the possible etymological origin of the adjective: between those where the synchronic analysis is possible and those where it is not. The classification and subclassifications for adjectives in TdVZ are shown in Table 2.

(21) a*.* ˈ*lady* ˈ*nadx* b.ˈ*xhṵb nā.*ˈ*zá* c.ˈ*yag* ˈ*gǽgw*

lady n(a)-adx xhṵb nā+za yag gǽgw

cloth stat-get.wet soup cop+fat stick hollow

‘wet clothes’ ‘oily soup’ ‘hollow stick’

Table 2. Adjectives classified based on their morphology

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Verb origin | | | Other origins | | True adjectives |
| fossilized  Prefix and no tone change (in comparison with the verb) | fossilized Prefix + tone change | No prefix but tone change (in comparison with the verb) | Composition  copula + another element | Derivation?  (not synchronic) | No extra morpho-logical modification |
| *ˈnadx*  ‘wet’ | *ˈnyǎn*  *‘*burning / spicy*’* | *ˈdxǔk*  ‘incomplete’ | *nā.ˈzá*  ‘fatty / oily’ | *bi.ˈxhuy*  bi-xhuy  ‘green’ | *ˈgǽgw* ‘hollow’ |
| *na.ˈgṵz* ‘suave’ | *na.ˈbǐx(y)*  ‘weighted’ | *ˈlæ̌s*  ‘thin’ | *nā.ˈrúy*  ‘playful / mischievous’ | *gu.ˈlǎl*  gu-lǎl  ‘ancient’ | *ˈtip*  ‘strong’ |

Note that those adjectives that are derived from verbs with a tone change look similar to those composed by the copula + another element. However, those derived from verbs have a verb counterpart (without the tone change) that can take other TAM prefixes while those composed by the copula *nā* + another element do not (or cannot?).

As evident in the table above, adjectives have different formal properties according to their origin, thus, it is difficult to unify their morphological characteristics. However, in this section I show that any of these adjectives can receive the possessable marker that alienable nouns take, as shown in (22). Adjectives cannot receive any of the verbal morphology discussed in §3.2.2.1 either, as I shown in (23) with the aspectual prefixes.

(22) a. \**ˈxtip*[[32]](#footnote-32) *ˈJwáyn* b*. \*ˈxkǽgw ˈyag*[[33]](#footnote-33)

x-tip Jwáyn x-gǽgw yag

poss-strong Juan poss-hollow tree

Intended reading: ‘Juan’s strength’ Intended reading: ‘the hollow of the tree’

(23) a. \**ri.ˈtip* b. \**ra.ˈgǽgw*

ri-tipra-gǽgw

hab-strong hab-hollow

Inteded reading ‘be /become strong’ Intended reading: ‘be/become hollow’

Those adjectives that were derived from verbs may challenge the last assumption; however, these adjectives are not only formally different from their verb counterpart due to the fossilized stative prefix and /or the tone change, but they have a different syntactic distribution, as I discuss in the following section. Here I want to highlight that even those adjectives that were derived from verbs but do not have any prefixation cannot receive any other TAM prefixes, as shown in (24) where I contrast the adjective and the verb.

(24) a. \**ba.ˈlæ̌s* b. *ba.ˈlæs*

ba-læ̌sba-læs

compl-thin compl-get.thin

Intended reading: ‘(It) became thin.’ ‘(It) became thin.’

## 3.3.2 The syntactic distribution of adjectives

Adjectives occur in noun phrases or in predicative adjective constructions. Thus, their syntactic distribution is dependent upon the type of construction (or function) they appear. Below I will show each type of construction and the position of adjectives in them. Verbs or nouns do not take these positions.

### 3.3.2.1 Adjectives within Noun Phrases

Within a noun phrase (NP) or in attributive function, adjectives must follow the head noun, and no element can interrupt the sequence *Noun* + *Adjective(s)*. The adjective, then, may host the affective morpheme, as in (25a), or be followed by intensifiers that modify it, as in (25b). Intensifiers are canonical adjective modifiers in TdVZ, and more than one of them can modify an adjective.

(25)a*.* ˈ*lady gwē.* ˈ*nî’n* b. *te.*ˈ*yu’ na.*ˈ*xhén dǔx.*ˈ*tæ̰*

lady gwěn-i’n te=yu’ naxhén dǔxtæ̰

cloth small-aff i.art=building wide intsf

‘Small clothes (how nice!)’ ‘a very, very wide building’

Adjectives in this position/function cannot host non-prominent (second position) adverbial enclitics unless the modified noun is in focus position. In this case, these enclitics cliticize to the adjective. As we would expect, adjectives in this function/position cannot be negated.

In attributive function, when more than one adjective occurs, their typical order has a direct relation to its semantics. Thus, first comes the adjectives referring to colors, then size, and then human propensity adjectives (Dixon 2004). More than four adjectives modifying a noun is uncommon.

Before finishing this section, it is important to mention that there are adjective roots in TdVZ that exhibit a quirky behavior in attributive function. That is, when the adjective follows a noun, it does not take any kind of extra (derivative) modification, as in (26a). However, when these roots are in a predicative function (the first element in the phrase) they must occur with the (derivative) prefix *na*- or *gu*-, as in (26b).[[34]](#footnote-34)

(26) a. *te.*ˈ*bækw* ˈ*yux* b*.* *gu.*ˈ*yux* ˈ*nǎm*

te=bækw **yux gu**-**yux** nā=um

i.art=dog old gu-old cop=3sg.anml

‘an old dog’ ‘It (an animal) is old.’

### 3.3.2.2 Predicative adjective constructions

In predicative adjective constructions, the adjective is the first element in the construction. It must be followed by the copula *nā*, and the NP subject, as in (27). This construction then has the following structure *predadjective* + *cop* + *npsubject*. In this construction, adjectives not only can be followed by intensifiers, but they can host non-prominent (second position) clitics, as shown in (27b). Thus, adjectives in this function are more similar to verbs.

(27)a.ˈ*nadx* ˈ *nā* ˈ*lâdy.kán* b. *nā.*ˈ*zá.zá* ˈ*nā* ˈ*xhṵ̂b.kī*

nadx nā lady=kán nāzá=**zá** na xhṵb=kī

wet cop clothes=dem.med oily=also cop soup=temp.dem

‘Those clothes are wet.’ ‘That soup was also oily.’[[35]](#footnote-35)

However, when negating a phrase containing an adjective in predicative function, it is not the adjective that host the negative markers (as verbs do), but the copula, as shown in (28). Note that the order of the elements in the negative counterpart take the canonical word order (VSO). Interestingly, adjectives can take the negative markers directly, as in (29), but the semantics of each type of negation is different. In (28), there is a declarative clause and there is no presupposition involved. However, in (29), the speaker expects the clothes to be wet.

(28) *kēd.*ˈ*ná.dí* ˈ*lâdy.kī* ˈ*nâdx*

kēd=nā=di lady=kī nadx

neg=cop=neg clothes=temp.dem wet

‘The clothes are/were not wet.’

(29) *kēd.*ˈ*nâdx.di* ˈ*nā* ˈ*lâdy.kán*

kēd=nadx=di nā lady=kán

neg=wet=neg cop clothes=dem.med

‘Those clothes are not wet (as I expected).’

As I have shown, there are particular characteristics that distinguish adjectives from nouns and verbs: first, the impossibility of their receiving nominal or verbal morphology; second, their position when functioning as attributes of nouns. Nouns or verbs do not typically follow other nouns in order to modify them. In fact, when they do, the constructions they form refer to other grammatical phenomena (compounding or relativization); the final difference is their behavior in predicative constructions: adjectives require a copula, and they cannot be negated unless there is certain presupposition involved.

# 3.4 Adverbs

There are not many lexical adverbs in TdVZ; those that exist, however, exhibit specific properties that define them as a lexical category in this language. Adverbs, just as adjectives, do not exhibit inflection so I will define them based on their syntactic distribution and semantics. These will show that they are different from nouns, verbs and adjectives. Notice that there are some ‘dependent’ adverbs that were discussed in (§3). Thus, these are not discussed here. In this section I only discuss free form lexical adverbs that can occur in a preverbal or post-verbal position. In this last case, they must occur after the NP arguments.

## 3.4.1 The morphology of adverbs

Adverbs are elements whose source may be the most varied in TdVZ, that is, different morphological processes (reduplication / derivation / compounding) as well as lexicalization processes are observed in this category. Since I do not intend to provide a profound analysis on this type of word, I will only classify them as simple or compound elements. By simple, I mean that the adverb is one morpheme and that no other (fossilized) prefix or morpheme can be traced to assume that the element is a compound. In Table 3 I show a set of examples of adverbs in TdVZ; these are grouped in semantic categories and whether they are simple or compound.

Table 3. Adverbs in TdVZ

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Temporal | Manner | Locative | Frequency | Positional | Affirmative |
| Simple | ˈ*nna̰y*  ‘yesterday’ |  | ˈ*gax(y)*  ‘near’ |  |  |  |
| Compound | *gu.du.*ˈ*biz*  ‘last year’ | *dxī.*ˈ*dxí*  ‘slowly’ | *ga.*ˈ*lǎy*  ‘in the middle’ | *gad(y).*ˈ*gaty*  ‘over and over’ | *gu.*ˈ*rllów*  ‘face down’ | *gu.*ˈ*llí*  ‘truly’ |

Notably, some adverbs are formed by reduplication (*dxīdxí* ‘slowly’, *gad(y)gaty* ‘over and over’) or by the prefixation of some kind of derivational morpheme *gu-* (*+r´-*) */ ga*- (e.g., *gu-r-llów* ‘upside down’*, gu-llí* ‘truly’ *ga-lǎy* ‘in the middle’). Also, perhaps more synchronically, adverbs are formed through the clitization of the distributive enclitic =*ga*. This clitic together with a numeral, quantifier or adjective produce adverbs in this Zapotec variety, as I show in (30). In (31), I show how these (derived) adverbs occur within a clause.

(30) a. *txō.*ˈ*nngâ* b. *tu.*ˈ*bru’*.ˈ*ga* c. *srū.*ˈ*gâ* d. *na.*ˈ*da̰w.*ˈ*ga*

txōnn+ga tubru’+ga srū+ga nada̰w+ga

three+distr a.little+distr good+distr calmed+distr

‘in threes’ ‘little by little’ ‘carefully’ ‘calmly’

(31) *srū.ˈgâ / na.ˈda̰w.ˈga gu.ˈbī.gán ˈrēky*

srū+ga / nada̰w+ga gu-bǐg=an rēky

good+distr / calmed+distr compl-get.close=3sg.if loc.temp.adv

‘S/he approached there (the place) carefully / calmly.’

As mentioned, adverbs do not inflect nor can they receive nominal or verbal affixes, as I show in (32a) with the possessable marker and in (32b) with an aspectual prefix.

(32) a. \**xga.ˈlǎy* *yag* b. \**ru.ˈllí* *ˈrā.kēn*

x-galǎy yag ru-llí r-ak=ēn

poss-in.the.middle tree hab-truly hab-occur=3sg.inan

Intended reading: ‘The center of the tree.’ Intended reading: ‘It is true that it happens.’

## 3.4.2 The syntactic distribution of adverbs

Adverbs generally precede verbs, thus, within a clause, they appear in a position considered a focus position, as in (33). However, they may also follow the verb and its arguments if they are not the focus of the sentence, as in (34).

(33) ˈ*nna̰y* *gu.*ˈ*di.xhan* ˈ*xtxā’*

**nna̰y** gu-dixh=an xtxā’

yesterday compl-compl.pay=3sg.if light

‘He paid the light (electricity bill) yesterday.’

(34) *kēd.gú.*ˈ*dîxh.dyan* ˈ*xtxā’* ˈ*nnâ̰y*

kēd=gu-dixh=di=an xtx*ā’* **nna̰y**

neg=compl-compl.pay=neg=3sg.if light yesterday

‘He didn’t pay the light (electricity bill) yesterday’

In the preverbal position, the adverb may be followed by other (second position) adverbial enclitics, as in (35).

(35) ˈ*nna̰y.pkā.zá* *gu.*ˈ*di.xhan* ˈ*xtxā’*

nna̰y=**pkā**=**zá** *gu-dixh=an xtxā’*

yesterday=precisely=also compl-compl.pay=3sg.if light

‘Precisely yesterday also he paid the electricity (bill).’

Since adverbs generally occupy the focus position, they are negated with *adí*=, as nouns and verbs do in this position. This is shown in (36). However, they cannot be negated with *kěty,* the negator for nouns*,* or *kēd=* and *=di,* the negator(s) for verbs. This, in addition to their inability to be modified by an indefinite article or adjective, as I shown in (37), differentiate them from nouns and verbs.

(36) *á.dí.*ˈ*nna̰y* ˈ*gwâ’* ˈ*Bak*

**ádí**=nna̰y gu-â’ Bak

neg.foc=yesterday compl-go.1sg Tlacolula

‘Not yesterday I went to Tlacolula’ / ‘I didn’t go to Tlacolula (toponim) yesterday.’

(37) \**te.*ˈ*nna̰y* ˈ*srū*

te=nna̰y srū

i.art=yesterday good

Intended reading: ‘a good yesterday’

Adverbs, like adjectives, can be followed and modified by free function word intensifier(s), as in (38). In this example, observe that it is possible that two temporal adverbs cooccur in the preverbal position. However, it is also possible that one of the adverbs move at the end of verb phrase, as in (39).[[36]](#footnote-36)

(38) ˈ*nna̰y gu.*ˈ*kǎy* ˈ*tæ̰ gwe.*ˈ*stæ̌n*

nna̰y gukǎy tæ̰ gu-æstǣ=an

yesterday at.dawn intsf compl-get.up=3sg.if

‘Yesterday, he got up (very early) at dawn.’ / ‘(Very early) at dawn, he got up yesterday.’

(39) *gu.*ˈ*kǎy* ˈ*tæ̰ gwe.*ˈ*stæ̌n* ˈ*nna̰y*

gukǎy tæ̰ gu-æstǣ=an nna̰y

at.down intsf compl-get.up=3sg.if yesterday

‘Yesterday, he got up (very early) at dawn’ / ‘(Very early) at dawn, he got up yesterday.’

Lastly, I want to mention an adverbial constituent that contains a NP, as in (40) and (41). Interestingly, this NP may be omitted in a context in which it is presupposed. These constructions, however, need further exploration and analysis.

(40) *ga.*ˈ*dǎw* ˈ*tæ̰* (ˈ*yu’*) *ba.*ˈ*zwa̰n* ˈ*yag*

gadǎw tæ̰ (yu’) ba-zu=an yag

close.to intsf building compl-plant=3sg.if tree

‘S/he planted the tree quite close (to the building).’

(41) *ga.*ˈ*lǎy* (*le.*ˈ*llæ̂’*) *ba.*ˈ*zwa̰n* ˈ*yag*

galǎy (lellæ̂) ba-zu=an yag

in.the.middle patio compl-plant=3sg.if tree

‘S/he planted the tree in the middle (of the patio).’

In Table 4, I summarize the morphology and syntactic distribution that distinguishes, nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs in TdVZ.

Table 4. Properties of nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs in TdVZ

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Verbs | Nouns | Adjectives | Adverbs |
| Affixes | TAM and valence increasing affixes | Possessable marker | None | None |
| Negative markers | *kēd*= + =*di* | *kěty* | None, but *ádí=* can negate them in focus constructions | None*,* but *ádí*=can negate them in focus constructions |
| Syntactic modifiers | Free function word intensifiers and non-prominent (second position) adverbial enclitics (and lexical adverbs (§4.6)) | Indefinite marker and adjectives | Free function word intensifiers | Free function word intensifiers, but in some cases, the intensifier modifies the whole construction |
| Order in declarative clauses | Precede nouns | Follow verbs | Follow the noun they modify | (Generally)  Precede verbs or follow the sequence: verb + noun argument(s) |

In this section, I have shown the characteristics that motivate the classification of TdVZ words into each of the lexical classes (nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs). In the following section, I will discuss the type of constituents that are formed with nouns and the various constituents that occur in a clause. At the end of this chapter I will discuss three grammatical/ functional types of elements that exist in TdVZ.

# 3.5 Noun phrase

Besides their morphology and syntactic distribution, each lexical category forms different types of phrases. As I showed above in (12), a sole noun may appear as the subject or object argument or it can be modified by several types of elements with which it forms a constituent, as in (42). In this example, the noun is being modified by adjectives, the affective morpheme and a demonstrative enclitic.

(42) *ˈkwǎn ˈbækw ˈngæ̌s xhā.ˈtæ̂’n.kī*

kwā’=an bækw ngæ̌s xhǎt-æ’ny=kī

compl.get=3sg.if dog black short-aff=temp.dem

‘S/he got the black short dog (how nice!).’

The affective morpheme (-*æ’ny*)[[37]](#footnote-37) as well as demonstrative enclitics define a type of noun phrase (NP) since they attach at specific edges of certain constituents. The affective morpheme, however, defines a tighter (smaller) constituent than demonstratives; the affective morpheme has to occur either after the noun, as in (43a), or after the modifying adjective(s), as in (43b). The sequence noun + adjectives + affective morpheme cannot be interrupted by any other type of element (such as a (second position) enclitic) or modified in order, as shown below.

(43) a. *te.gæ.ˈsæ’n* b. *te.ˈgæs ngæ.ˈsæ̂’n* / \**te.gæ.ˈsæ’n* *ˈngæ̌s*

te=gæs-**æ’ny** te=gæs ngæ̌s-**æ’ny** te=gæs-**æ’ny** ngæ̌s

i.art=pot-aff i.art=pot black-aff

‘a small pot’ ‘a small black pot’

‘a pot (how nice!)’ ‘a black pot (how nice!)’

On the other hand, demonstratives cliticize at the right edge of the NP, that is, after all the elements that may be modifying a noun, as in (44). Also, a demonstrative may optionally occur after the noun + adjective(s) + affective morpheme sequence if a pause occurs, as shown in (45). Note that whether the demonstrative occur at the edge of the tighter constituent or not, it has to occur at the right edge of the NP.

(44) *ˈkwǎ’n ˈbækw ˈngæ̌s xhā.ˈtæ̂’n*

kwā’=an bækw ngæ̌s xhǎt-æ’ny

compl.get=3sg.if dog black short-aff

*ni.ba.ˈdxél.dán.kī*

ni=ba-dxēl=dán=**kī**

sub=compl-find=3pl.if=temp.dem

‘S/he got the black short dog that they found (how nice!).’

(45) *ˈkwǎ’n ˈbækw ˈngæ̌s xhā.ˈtæ̂’n*(.*kī*)*,*

kwā’=an bækw ngæ̌s xhǎt-æ’ny(=kī)

compl.get=3sg.if dog black short-aff(=temp.dem)

*ni.ba.ˈdxél.dán.kī*

ni=ba-dxēl=dán=**kī**

sub=compl-find=3pl.if=temp.dem

‘S/he got the black short dog that they found (how nice!).’

I assume then that the noun forms a looser constituent with those elements that occur after the affective morpheme since this constituent can be interrupted by an enclitic if a pause occurs. Another grammatical characteristic that supports this hypothesis is the position of the (second position) enclitics. That is, when the NP constituent moves to the preverbal position, it can host second position clitics. The (second position) clitic =*zá*, highlighted in boldface, then may select either the looser constituent, as in (46), or the tighter constituent, as in (47), as its host. However, it cannot interrupt the sequence within the tight constituent.[[38]](#footnote-38) The example below also demonstrates that a noun may form a syntactic (loose) constituent with a RC.

(46) *ˈbækw ˈngæ̌s xhā.ˈtæ̂’n ni.ba.ˈdxél.zá.dān.kī*

bækw ngæ̌s xhǎt-æ’ny ni=ba-dxēl=**zá**=dān=kī

dog black short-aff sub=compl-find=also=3pl.f=temp.dem

*ˈkwǎ’n*

kwā’=an

compl.get=3sg.if

‘S/he also adopted (got) the black short dog that they found (how nice!).

(47) *ˈbækw ˈngæ̌s xhā.ˈtæ̂’n.zá ni.ba.ˈdxél.dān.kī*

bækw ngæ̌s xhǎt-æ’ny=**zá** ni=ba-dxēl=dān=kī

dog black short-aff=also sub=compl-find=3pl.f=temp.dem

*ˈkwǎ’n*

kwā’=an

compl.get=3sg.if

‘S/he also adopted (got) t the black short dog, (the one) that they found (how nice!).’

A noun may also form a loose syntactic constituent with a prepositional phrase when the syntactic possessive construction occurs (§3.5.1.1), as in (48). That the noun forms a constituent with these elements is confirmed by the movement test shown in (48), and due to the fact that all these elements can/may be pronominalized, as shown in (49).

(48) *te.bæ.ˈkwæ’n ˈxtḛ̂n dxa.ˈpæ’n.zá.kī ˈkwǎ’n*

te=bækw-æ’ny xtḛ̂n dxapæ’n=**zá**=**kī** kwā’=an

i.art=dog-aff prep.of little.girl=also=temp.dem compl.get=3sg.if

‘He also got a dog (how nice!) of/for the little girl.’

(49) *ˈa*, *ˈkwǎ’n ˈlǎ̰m*

a kwā’=an lǎ̰m

yes compl.get=3sg.if 3sg.anml

‘Yes, he got it (the black short dog they found / the dog of / for the little girl).’

In the following template I show the noun with its possible modifiers with which it may form a syntactic constituent. In this template, I include the three possible types of elements that can precede nominals. These, however, are discussed in the following sections. Also, as mentioned above, I assume that there are elements with which the noun forms a tighter constituent (e.g., the adjective and the affective morpheme) and there are elements with which the noun forms a looser constituent (e.g., the prepositional phrase and the relative clause). Finally, notice that in (48), the noun (or NP) is followed by the enclitic =*zá* ‘also’. This only occurs when the noun or NP moves to the focus position, thus, I did not include it in this template.

Table 5. Noun Template in TdVZ

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  | NP | | | | | | | | |
|  |  | looser constituent | | | | | | | | |
|  |  |  | Tighter constituent | | | | |  |  |  |
| (prep) | (r.n) | (i.art=)  (qdr) | (pl=) | (poss) | noun  stem | (adj+) | (-aff) | (prep.p)/ (nppossessor) | (rc) | (dem) |
|  |  | te= | d´= | x- |  |  | (-æ’ny) | (xtḛ̂ny) |  |  |

As noticed from the table above, the positions before the noun stem contain three possible modifiers that have been previously discussed (the indefinite article,[[39]](#footnote-39) the plural marker and the possessable marker). Here only the possessable marker and the plural markers are considered within the tighter constituent while the indefinite article is not considered part of the tighter constituent. The indefinite article, as other quantifiers, can precede or follow relational nouns, as shown in (50),[[40]](#footnote-40)

(50) a. *te.ˈdæts ˈyu’* b. *ˈdæts te.ˈyu’*

te=dæts yu’ dæts te=yu’

i.art=r.n.back.of building r.n.back.of i.art=building

‘behind a building’ ‘behind a building’

The other elements that can precede the NP constituent form other types of constituents: a prepositional phrase, as in (51a), and a relational noun phrase, as in (52a). However, I consider these words to be the head of the phrase they lead based on their morphosyntactic and syntactic behavior. In fact, when the NP is pronominalized, it cliticizes to these elements, as shown in the (b) examples below. Each of these phrases is discussed in the following sections.

(51) a. *ˈtrâly ˈxtḛ̂n tyú.ˈNély* b*. ˈtrâly ˈxtḛ̂.nyān*

trâly xtḛ̂n tiw=Nély trâly xtḛ̂ny=ān

loom prep.of uncle=Manuel loom prep.of=3sg.f

‘the loom of uncle Manuel’ / ‘(a) loom of his’

‘uncle Manuel’s loom’

(52) a. *ba.ˈsyǎn ˈlæ’n ˈdxūmmy*

ba-syā=an læ’n dxūmmy

compl-clean=3sg.if r.n.stomach basket

‘S/he cleaned the inside of it.’

b. *ba.ˈsyǎn ˈlǣ’.nīn*

ba-syā=an læ’n=īn

compl-clean=3sg.if r.n.stomach=3sg.inan

‘S/he cleaned the inside of it.’

## 3.5.1 Possessive constructions

Possessive constructions in TdVZ are other types of NP constituents. These contain two NPs, and the possessed NP occurs first followed by the NP possessor, as was shown above in (6). Even though this word order is strict, due to its semantics and morphosyntax, possessive constructions may be classified in two main categories with subcategories. The two main categories are based on the alienability of the head possessed noun, thus, alienable *vs* inalienable. Each of these categories has at least two subcategories. The subcategories are based on different criteria for each category. That is, alienable nouns are subclassified based on the formal properties of the construction in which they can occur. On the other hand, inalienable nouns are subclassified based on whether the inalienable (head) noun takes a suppletive form when possessed or not.

### 3.5.1.1 Alienable possession

When possessed, alienable nouns exhibit two possible constructions. The first construction involves the prefixation of a possessable marker while the second does not. Therefore, I will refer to the first one as the morpho-syntactic construction and to the second as the syntactic construction.[[41]](#footnote-41)

*Morpho-syntactical possessive construction*

In the morpho-syntactic construction, the possessed head noun must be prefixed with the possessable morpheme *x*- and be followed by the NP possessor, as in (53a). In this example, notice that the possessable marker triggers the mutation of the initial lenis consonant of the possessed noun to its fortis counterpart. This mutation is quite productive but does not always apply. For instance, in words such as *guliz* ‘daughter in law’ there is no mutation, as in (53b). Also, in this example, notice that, the possessable marker *x-* occurs as *xh-* (its lenis counterpart) before /g/. x 🡪 xh before any lenis or fortis sonorant sound (i.e., /m/, /mm/, /n/, /nn/, /ll/, /l/, /r/), as shown in (53c).

(53) a. *ˈxkû’n ˈBǽd*  b. *xhgu.ˈliz ˈBǽd* c. *xhnan.ˈtyǽ ˈBǽd*

x-gû’n Bǽd x-guliz Bǽd x-nantyǽ Bǽd

poss-bull Pedro poss-daughter.in.law Pedro poss-aunt Pedro

‘Pedro’s bull’ ‘Pedro’s daughter in law’ ‘Pedro’s aunt’

Since this type of construction contains two NPs, the *possessed* noun + *possessor* may be interrupted by any element modifying the possessed noun, such as adjectives or, if the NP is in focus position, (second position) clitics. In this case, the possessor would occur after these elements, and if pronominalized, it would cliticize to the last (modifying) element. These possible modifications are exemplified in (54).

(54) *ˈxkû’n ˈngǐts.zán gu.ˈllá’ ˈlyû*

x-gû’n ngǐts=**zá**=an gu-llā’ lyu

poss-bull white=also=3sg.if compl-break land

‘His white bull also plowed the land.’

*Syntactic possessive construction*

In the syntactic construction the possessed head noun does not require any prefixation, instead the preposition *xtḛ̂ny* ‘of’ must appear between the possessed NP and the possessor NP, as in (55a). In this construction, if the possessor is pronominalized, it cliticizes to the preposition, as in (55b).

(55) a. *ˈgû’n* *ˈxtḛ̂n ˈBǽd* b*. ˈgû’n* *ˈxtḛ̂.nyan*

gû’n xtḛ̂ny Bǽd gû’n xtḛ̂ny=an

bull prep.of Pedro bull prep.of=3sg.if

‘(the) bull of Pedro / Pedro’s bull’ ‘(the) bull of him/her’

Since this type of construction has two NPs, each noun can be modified by its own modifiers, as in (56).

(56) *ˈgû’n ˈngǐts ˈxtḛ̂n ˈbēnny ná.ˈrúy.kī*

gû’n ngǐts xtḛ̂ny benny narúy=kī

bull white prep.of person mischievous=temp.dem

‘the white bull of the mischievous person’

### 3.5.1.2 Inalienable possession

In inalienable possession, the possessed NP and the NP referring to the possessor are juxtaposed and no prefix indicating the possessive relation appears on any of the nouns, as in (57). Inalienable nouns include body parts, part-whole relation, same rank family members (brother and sister), and a few garments (e.g., *zṵdy* ‘manta’).[[42]](#footnote-42)

(57) a. *ˈkyæ*  *ˈBǽd* b. *ˈbæts ˈBǽd*

poss.head Pedro poss.brother(same gender) Pedro

‘Pedro’s head’ ‘Pedro’s brother’

There is a subclass of this type of possessive construction. This subclass contains those nouns that exhibit a suppletive form when possessed. Thus, just as with its main group, the NP indicating the possessed entity and the NP indicating the possessor are juxtaposed. However, in this case, the possessed head noun exhibits a suppletive form, as shown in (58a). Notice that when *xab* ‘someone’s clothes’ is not possessed, the form is *lady* ‘clothes’, as shown in (58b). Other nouns that exhibit this pattern are *gedx* ‘town’ *vs* *ladx* ‘someone’s town’, *bya̰g* ‘shirt’ *vs* *xhyā̰g* ‘someone’s shirt’ among a few others.

(58) a. *ˈxab* *ˈBǽd* b*. ká.ˈgḭby ˈBǽd ˈlady*

poss.clothes Pedro ká-gḭby Bǽd lady

‘Pedro’s clothes’ progr-wash Pedro clothes

‘Pedro is washing clothes’

Interestingly, in all the possessive constructions shown, the first NP can only be modified by adjectives and the affective morpheme, while the second NP exhibits a broader possibility since, in addition to adjectives and the affective morpheme, it can be modified by a RC, as shown in (59). Thus, considering my previous classification, one could say that the possessed noun only projects the/a tighter (part of the) constituent while the possessor noun project the whole constituent (the tighter and the loose one).

(59) *ˈxkû’n ˈngǐts ˈbēnny ní.gu.ˈllá’ ˈlyû.kī*

x-gû’n ngǐts bēnny ni=gu-llā’ lyu=kī

poss-bull white person sub=compl-break land=temp.dem

*ˈbâ̰.nīn*

ba̰ny=īn

compl.do=3sg.inan

‘That white bull of the person who plowed the land did it.’

A characteristic that supports this hypothesis is the placement of a (second position) clitic since it can occur after the tighter constituent, as in (60), or after the whole possessive construction as in (61).[[43]](#footnote-43)

(60) *ˈbæts ˈgwěn.zá ˈbēnny ˈzyṵ̂l.kī ˈbâ̰.nīn*

bæts gwěn=**zá** bēnny zyṵ̂l=kī ba̰ny=īn

poss.brother small=also person tall =temp.dem compl.do=3sg.inan

‘The small (young) brother of the tall man also made it.’

(61) *ˈbæts ˈgwěn ˈbēnny ˈzyṵ̂l.zá.kī ˈbâ̰.nīn*

bæts gwěn bēnny zyṵ̂l=**zá**=kī ba̰ny=īn

poss.brother small person tall=also=temp.dem compl.do=3sg.inan

‘The small brother of the tall man also made it.’

# 3.6 Constituents within a clause

A verb phrase is not easy to define in TdVZ, especially the Verb Phrase (VP) that is assumed in the analysis of a phrase structure approach. That is, in SVO languages, it has been assumed that the argument object forms a syntactic constituent with the verb. This same approach has extended to some VSO languages (e.g., Irish, Carnie 1995). In fact, Lee (2003) discusses how the VSO word order is derived in a Zapotec language. However, empirical data suggests that a V + Object sequence does not form a constituent in TdVZ.

One of the most commons tests in English that suggests the existence of the VP constituent is the *do so* test. In this test, the sequence of the verb + object is substituted by a proform. In (62), the sequence *plant a tree* is substituted by the *do so* expression. This shows that this sequence of words functions as one element. However, this test show that the word today is also part of that constituent.

(62) Juan will *plant a tree* today and Pedro will *do so* too

In TdVZ, a similar test could be applied. In (63) and (64), I show the possible means to do so. As noted, in the second part of the construction, the only NP that occurs is the subject. Thus, it seems that the sequence Verb + object is substituted by a proform, in (63), or deleted, as in (64). Nevertheless, in English what is missing is exactly the verb + object sequence (*plant a tree*), but in TdVZ, if it becomes explicit, the missing part must include a pronominal subject. That is, the form in (63) and (64) seems to be derived from a topicalized construction in which the comment (which includes the NP subject) is missing, in fact, even the adverb =*zá* ‘also’ has to occur if uttered, as shown in (65).

(63) *zu.ˈzu ˈJwáyn te.ˈyag nna’.ˈdxi, ˈzē(ky).ˈgâ.(kā.)zá ˈBǽd*

zu-zu Jwáyn te=yag nna’dxi zē(ky)=ga(kā)=zá Bǽd

fut-plant Juan i.art=tree today pron.dem=adv=also Pedro

‘Juan will plant a tree today and Pedro likewise.’

(64) *zu.ˈzu ˈJwáyn te.ˈyag nna’.ˈdxi, ˈBǽd ˈnna’*

zu-zu Jwáyn te=yag nna’dxi Bǽd nna’

fut-plant Juan i.art=tree today Pedro also

‘Juan will plant a tree today (and) Pedro too.’

(65) *zu.ˈzu ˈJwáyn te.ˈyag nna’.ˈdxi, ˈBǽd ˈnna’*

zu-zu Jwáyn te=yag nna’dxi Bǽd nna’

fut-plant Juan i.art=tree today Pedro also

(*zu.ˈzu.zán te.ˈyag nna’.ˈdxi*)

(zu-zu=zá=an te=yag nna’dxi)

fut-plant=also=3sg.if i.art=tree today

‘Juan will plant a tree today (and) Pedro too (he will plant a tree today).’

Other tests such as the answer fragment (stand alone) test do not provide enough evidence for a Verb + Object constituent in TdVZ. Given that these tests fail or are non-applicable, in this dissertation, I will consider both phrases that follow the verb to form a constituent since it is the verb that subcategorizes for them. Thus, in this section, instead of arguing for a VP constituent in TdVZ, I will define the various phrases/constituents and elements that may occur in a clause, I will begin with the smallest constituent inside the structure and build up to the clause.

The smallest constituent within a clause in TdVZ corresponds to the verb stem + affixes (henceforth V-constituent). In this constituent occurs the obligatorily TAM prefix. Between the TAM prefix and the verb stem, the andative *æ-* ‘go’ or venitive *ǣ̰d-* ‘come’[[44]](#footnote-44) may occur. After the verb base, a comitative suffix and the affective morpheme may also occur. In (66) I show an example containing all these affixes. This sequence of morphemes cannot be interrupted by a (second position) adverbial clitic or any free form element, as shown in (67). If a (second position) clitic occurs, it must cliticize after this constituent, as shown in (68). In addition, any of the elements that follow the verb cannot move to the preverbal focus position, as shown in (69). Therefore, this may be considered the core of the clause since any other element/constituent that occurs after this constituent ‘revolves’ around this. That is, any other element/constituent that occurs after this constituent can move to the preverbal focus position by itself or, in the case of (second position) clitics, when there is a host for it in the preverbal positions, as I discuss below.

(66) *re.sut.ˈně’.nyan ˈlǎ̰n*

**r**-æ-**sut**-nǣ-i’ny=an lǎ̰n

hab-go-go.play-comit-aff=3sg.if 3sg.if

‘He goes to play with him/her (how nice!)’

(67) *\*re.sut.zá.ˈně’.nyan ˈlǎ̰n*

**r**-æ-**sut**=**zá**-nǣ-i’ny=an lǎ̰n

hab-go-go.play=**also**-comit-aff=3sg.if 3sg.if

Intended reading: ‘He also goes to play with him/her (how nice!).’

(68) *re.sut.ˈně’n.zán ˈlǎ̰n*

**r**-æ-**sut**-nǣ-i’ny=zá=an lǎ̰n

hab-go-go.play-comit-aff=**also**=3sg.if 3sg.if

‘He also goes to play with him/her (how nice!).’

(69) \**nǣ.ré.su.ˈtæ’.nan ˈlǎ̰n*

nǣ-**r**-æ-**sut**-i’ny=an lǎ̰n

comit-hab-go-go.play-aff=3sg.if 3sg.if

Intended reading: ‘He goes to play with him/her (it is nice)’

After the V-constituent there is a position that may be filled by free function words + any adverbial clitic that modifies the clause, as in (70). These elements form a constituent if the free function word heading the constituent moves to the focus position, and all the other elements move with it, as shown in (71). Adverbial clitics may select the V-constituent as their host if no function word constituent occurs, but they cannot cliticize to the V-constituent when the free function word constituent occurs, as shown in (72). Thus, I consider them as part of this latter constituent.

(70) *ba.ˈzǔt ˈxhlyā’ ˈdḭ̂ ˈtǣ̰.zyún*

ba-zǔt**xhlyā’** dḭ tæ̰=zī=un

compl-compl.play.1pl in.vain intsf intsf=only=1pl

‘We played very, very, (much) in vain.’

(71) ˈ*xhlyā’ ˈdḭ̂ ˈtǣ̰.zī bá.ˈzū.tún*

**xhlyā**’ dḭ tæ̰=zī ba-zǔt=un

in.vain intsf intsf=only compl-compl.play.1pl=1pl

‘We played very, very, (much) in vain.’

(72) \**re.sut.ˈně’n.zá ˈtæ̰n ˈlǎ̰n*

r-æ-sut-nǣ-i’ny=**zá** tæ̰=an lǎ̰n

hab-go-go.play-comit-aff=also intsf=3sg.if 3sg.if

Intended reading: ‘He also goes very often to play with him/her (how nice!).’

After the free function word constituent, there is the position for the NPs that have syntactic functions. The NP subject must occur first in the sequence, then the object, as in (73). These NP arguments can to move to the preverbal position and they may take pronominal forms, as shown in (74). NP subjects may take clitic forms and attach to the last element of the preceding constituent. The object generally takes a pronominal independent form, but if it can take clitic forms, as in (74). When the V-constituent contains the comitative suffix, the introduced argument generally takes the position after the subject NP, as shown in (75). This indicates that there are at least three argument positions after the verb.

(73) *ˈgwæ’.zá ˈJwáyn mas.ˈkály*

gu-æ’=zá Jwáyn maskály

compl-drink=also Juan mezcal

‘Juan also drank mezcal.’

(74) *ˈgwæ’.zá.nēn*

gu-æ’=zá=an=ēn

compl-drink=also=3sg.if=3sg.inan

‘S/he also drank it.’

(75) *gwǣ’.ˈnǣ ˈtæ̰̂ ˈJwáyn ˈBǽd mas.ˈkály*

gu-æ’-nǣ tæ̰ Jwáyn Bǽd maskály

compl-drink-comit intsf Juan Pedro mezcal

‘Juan drank lots of mezcal with Pedro.’ / ‘Juan regularly drank lots of mezcal with Pedro.’

After the NP arguments, adverbial adjuncts may occur, as in (76). Discursive elements (i.e., =*bā* ‘like that’ and =*x* ‘then’) would attach to the last constituent in the verbal complex. After these, discourse interrogatives (i.e., *ô̰w* ‘right?’ or *æ̌* ‘what/really?’) may occur. These latter are free function words since they have their own accent. Generally, the discursive elements and discourse interrogatives do not cooccur, but they may. The examples below show how discursive elements and discursive interrogatives occur.

(76) *ˈgwæ’.zá ˈJwáyn mas.ˈkály ˈnna̰y ˈstúyx*

gu-æ’=zá Jwáyn maskály nna̰y s´=tuy=x

compl-drink=also Juan mezcal yesterday mdr=one=d.e

‘Juan also drank mezcal yesterday again, then (seriously).’

(77) *ˈgwæ’.zá ˈJwáyn mas.ˈkály ˈnna̰y ˈstúy ˈæ̌?*

gu-æ’=zá Jwáyn maskály nna̰ys´=tuy æ̌

compl-drink=also Juan mezcal yesterday mdr=one intg

‘Juan also drank mezcal yesterday again, really / seriously?’

The position before the verb may be filled by a focused or topicalized NP. In this position, the NP may host the focus clitic (i.e., =*ēn*), as in (78), or be introduced by the topic marker *lā̰*, as in (79). In § 4.6 I discuss focus and topic constructions more broadly.

(78) *ˈNī.sēn ká.ˈyæ’ ˈJwáyn*

nis=ēn káy-æ’ Jwáyn

water=foc progr-drink Juan

‘It is water what Juan is drinking (and not something else).’

(79) *ˈlā̰ ˈJwáyn ká.ˈyæ’ mas.ˈkály*

lā̰ Jwáyn káy-æ’ maskály

top Juan progr-drink mezcal

‘As for Juan, he is drinking mezcal.’

Interrogative elements may also occur preverbally. Most of these elements are proclitics and they attach to V-constituent if no other element occurs before this, as in (80). In § 4.3 I discuss more broadly all the interrogative elements in TdVZ.

(80) a. *xī.gú.ˈzyæ̰̂n?* b. *tū.gú.ˈzḭ̂ ˈndǣ?*

xī=gu-zḭ=an tū=gu-zḭ ndǣ

intg.what=compl-buy=3sg.if intg.who=compl-buy dist.dem.pron

‘What did s/he buy?’ ‘Who bought that?’

Other elements that may occur at the preverbal position are the clausal negator (i.e., *kēd*=), the adverb *á*= ‘done’,[[45]](#footnote-45) and, if the clause is subordinated, a subordinator. In (81), I show an example of these elements and strict order they follow. As noticed, the negative marker occurs closer to the V-constituent while the subordinator occurs further.

(81) *txi.á.kēd.rú.ˈrāp.dyán ˈmědy*

**txi=á=kēd**=rú=r-āp=di=án mědy

sub.temp=done=neg=more=hab-have=neg=3sg.if money

‘When s/he doesn’t have money anymore…’

Another element that occurs before the V-constituent is the imperative plural clitic (i.e., *gūl*=), as in (82a). The term imperative might not be the most appropiate label for this element since it is more like a hortative. In fact, *gūl=* is used in some hortative constructions, as in (82b). In any case, the verb in this construction has to occur with the potential prefix. Also, this proclitic does not generally cooccur with the other proclitics showed above.

(82) a. *gūl.ˈtxæ̂!* b. *gūl.ˈtû’!*

gūl=tx´-æ gūl=tû’

imp.pl=pot-go imp.pl=let’s.go

‘You (pl.) go!’ ‘Let’s go!’

The basic clause in TdVZ then can be made up of the various constituents / phrases shown in the following template. Even though the negator *kēd*= is a clitic, I include a position for it since it bears prominence when hosting (second position) clitics, thus, it behaves as an independent phonological word. Also, notice that I consider that the position of subordinators to be at the left edge of this templet. This is because there are subordinators that can precede the focused NP (as discuss in Chapter 7). Lastly, in various columns I show examples of elements that occur in this position.

Table 6. The basic clause template in TdVZ

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Subordinators | Focus / Topic position | Clausal negator | V-constituent | Free function word constituent | Subject constituent | Object constituent | Object constituent | Adjunct(s) | Discursive elements | |
| *teky*  té=  txi=  etc. | lā̰  ‘top’  =ēn  ‘foc’  ádí=  ‘foc neg’  intgs | kēd= | Vbase + Affixes  tam-v-comit-aff | xhlyā’  ‘in vain’  tæ̰ ‘intsf’  dḭ ‘intsf’ | NP  Subject | NP  Object | NP  Object | Obliques | =bā  =x | ô̰w  *æ̌* |

In this section, I have shown the various types of phrases and elements that may occur in a (basic) clause in TdVZ. I discussed the order they follow and their ability to move to the preverbal position. I define a constituent that contains the verb root + affixes (including the affective clitic). I call this constituent the V-constituent because it contains the verb base and it is the head of the clause. After this constituent, there is a position for an optional free form function word constituent. Then, the there is a position for the subject argument and two positions for objects. The clause can optionally be modified by various adverbial adjuncts. These occur after the NP arguments or in the preverbal focus position.

# 3.8 Functional categories

In this section I will discuss three types of elements that may be considered functional categories since they inherently denote relational and/or abstract concepts: relational nouns, prepositions and conjunctions. These relate two or more things, events or properties in a temporal, spatial or aspectual frame.

## 3.8.1 Relational nouns and prepositions

In this section I discuss three types of elements that are categorized within functional word classes: relational nouns, prepositions and conjunctions. My goal is to show the syntax and function of these elements.

### 3.8.1.2 Relational nouns

Relational nouns and prepositions are functional or grammatical words in TdVZ. Relational nouns are body parts that altogether with another noun express a location, as in (83). Here I will call the construction with the relational noun a relational noun phrase (RNP).

(83)ˈ*lá̰* ˈ*xhǐt* ˈ*zǔb* ˈ*kwæ’* ˈ*yu’*

lá̰ xhǐt zǔb **kwæ’ yu’**

top cat v.psl.be.seated r.n.side building

‘(As for) the cat is seated next to the building.’

For other closer Zapotec varieties, these elements have been discussed as prepositions (Lillehaugen and Sonnenschein 2012). However, I will consider them as relational nouns since the phrase they form still exhibit some NP properties. RNPs indicate the location where an event occurs. Notice that RNP may be confused with a possessive construction since inalienable possession, which include body parts, are analogous to this construction. However, the position and function of each type of phrase can be distinguished (contextually) when used in a clause. For instance, in (84), *kwæ’ yu’* ‘side (of the) building’ must be interpretedas the location that is next to a building, where the event is taking place, and not as any of the walls of the building. Thus, *kwæ’* is being used here as a relational noun within an RNP. On the other hand, *nyæ’ yagxhǐly* ‘(the) chair’s feet’ should be understood as a possessive construction that (literally) indicates the leg(s) of the chair and not a location near the legs of the chair.

(84) ˈ*kwæ’* ˈ*yu’ ká.*ˈ*be.kyan ko.*ˈ*lór* ˈ*nyæ’ yag.*ˈ*xhǐly*

kwæ’ yu’ ká-beky=an kolór nyæ’ yagxhǐly

r.n.side building progr-put.into=3sg.if color poss.foot chair

‘Next to the house s/he is painting the feet of the table.’

Another way to state the RNP constructions is to say that they refer to abstract (nontangible) places, but in a possessive construction, they refer to concrete (tangible) places. The most common body parts that are used as relational nouns in RNP are the shown in Table 7.

Table 7. Body parts used as relational nouns

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Zapotec | Meaning as a noun | Meaning when used as a relational noun |
| *kwæ’* | side (of) | next to |
| *dæts* | back (of) | behind of |
| *low* | face (of) | in front of / on |
| *nyæ’* | leg (of) | on the bottom of |
| *ru’* | mouth (of) | on the border of |
| *xha̰*(*n*) | butt (of) | under |
| *kyæ* | head (of) | on top of |
| *læ’n* | stomach (of) | inside of |

There are also RNP that behave as compound words. That is, the sequence of the relational noun + the noun behaves as a sole phonological word (the r.n losses its prominence) and it provides a meaning that refers to a specific place / entity. In the following chart I show some examples of these.

Table 8. Relational noun phrases that behave as compounds

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Zapotec | Composition |
| *lu.*ˈ*gyæ’*  ‘market’ | low+gyæ’  r.n.face+tianguis |
| *lo.*ˈ*næz*  ‘street’ | low+næz  r.n.face+road |
| *lo.*ˈ*dxǎn*  ‘altar’ | low+dxǎn  r.n.face+deity |
| *ru’.*ˈ*næz*  ‘entrance’ | ru’+næz  r.n.mouth+road |

### 3.8.1.3 Prepositions

There are only a couple of prepositions in TdVZ. Only *xtḛ̂ny* ‘of / from /about’ and *næz=* ‘by/towards’ have been identified to function as prepositions in this language. *xtḛ̂ny* is used in possessive constructions to indicate possession, as in (85). This preposition typically precedes NPs, but in can also precede locative and temporal adverbs, as in (86). This preposition cannot precede verbs or adjectives.

(85) *gāl.*ˈ*bāyn* ˈ*xtḛ̂n bē.ngéxh.*ˈ*lyu*

galbāyn xtḛ̂ny bēngéxhlyu

life prep.of humanity

‘life of humanity’

(86) ˈ*xtḛ̂n gu.dū.*ˈ*bḛ̄w* ˈ*gyæ̰.kán*

xtḛ̂ny gudūbḛ̄w gyæ̰=kán

prep.of last.month flower=dem.med

‘That flower(s) is/are from last month.’

The other preposition is *næz=* ‘toward(s)’, which is derived from the noun *næz* ‘road’. The difference between these two elements is that *næz* ‘road’ is a prominent element, thus, constitute a word while *næz*= ‘toward(s)’ is non-prominent, thus, a clitic. In fact, when used as a preposition, the open mid-front vowel /æ/ of this form alternates with the closed mid-front vowel /e/; the neutralization of /æ/ and /e/ is one of the characteristics of non-prominent syllables (Uchihara & Gutiérrez 2020a)

This preposition precedes any locative or temporal adverb phrase, as in (87). No other lexical category is compatible with *næz=* ‘toward(s)’.

(87) *txi.ba.*ˈ*gyæ̰̌m næz.*ˈ*gyâ̰*

txi=ba-gyǣ̰=um næz=gyâ̰

sub.temp=compl-see=3sg.anml toward(s)=high

‘When he looked towards the top.’ (txt.)

## 3.8.2 Conjunctions

Conjunctions are words that are used to connect other words, phrases or clauses (Schachter and Shopen 2007). These are generally classified in *coordinating* and *subordinating* conjunctions. The first group assigns equal rank to the conjoined elements while the second assign unequal rank to the conjoined elements, marking one of them as subordinate to the other.

Conjunctions may occur between the elements they conjoin or they may be closely associated structurally to one of the conjuncts than with the other.

### 3.8.2.1 Conjunctions in TdVZ

Conjunctions are of different types in TdVZ. Most of them are (pro)clitics since they are non-prominent elements that cliticize to the following independent phonological word, regardless of its lexical category. Therefore, the syntax of the conjunctions has to do directly with the type of elements they are in this language. Nevertheless, if the conjunction contains a prominent syllable, but does not inflect, I will consider it as a free function word.

### 3.8.2.2 Coordinating conjunctions

I have identified four elements that could be considered coordinating conjunctions. In the following section I shown them and discuss their syntactic distribution.

* *txirú*= ‘conj /and’
* *nǣ=* ‘conj /and’
* *gūzlâ̰* ‘for its part’
* gulá= ‘disj /or’

*Txirú*= (or *txikrú=*) is a conjunction that is used to combine two verb phrases as well as other type of phrases, as shown in (88) and (89). As noticed, this element cliticizes to any (open class) lexical category that may be the first element in a phrase. Even though I consider *txirú=*[[46]](#footnote-46) a coordinating conjunction, its function may vary between coordination and subordination. In fact, its origin seems to be from subordination since *txi*= ‘the temporal subordinator’ may have combined with =*rú* ‘more’ to form *txirú*= ‘conj’. Thus, when combining clauses in discourse, many of its readings indicate something like ‘after the previous event then…’ This suggests that a clear line between coordination and subordination may not exist in TdVZ. This matter has been discussed for other languages, such as XXX (García Salido 2014).

(88) *gu.ˈzḭ.dán te.ˈgû’n txi.rú.ba.ˈtyo’w.dán ˈlǎ̰m*

gu-zḭ=dán te=gû’n **txirú**=ba-tyo’w=dán lǎ̰m

compl-buy=3pl.if i.art=bull conj=compl-grow=3pl.if 3sg.anml

‘They bought a bull and (then) they raised it.’

(89) *gu.ˈzḭ̂.dān ˈdxǐb, ˈxhḭ́ly txi.rú.te.ˈgû’n*

gu-zḭ=dān dxǐb xhḭ́ly **txirú**=te=gû’n

compl-buy=3pl.f goat sheep conj=i.art=bull

‘They bought goat(s), sheep and a bull.’

Another conjunction is *nǣ*= ‘conj’, as *txirú=* ‘conj’, it cliticizes on the second element of the series in a conjoined phrase, as in (90). Besides combining two verb phrases, this conjunction may combine two noun phrases that contain a deverbal head noun, as in (91). This conjunction is much less common than *txirú*=, and younger speakers do not use it frequently. It is important to highlight that *nǣ*= has the same form as the comitative (-*nǣ*), but, their morphosyntax is (completely) different. However, they may have had the same origin since in many languages such as Hausa and Japanese (Schachter and Shopen 2007) ‘and’ and ‘with’ are expressed with the same element.

(90) *ká.ˈyaty ˈráˈtæ̰ ˈmǎyn nǣ.ká.ˈbiz ˈdyâg*

káy-aty rá tæ̰ mǎyn **nǣ=**ká-biz d´=yag

progr-die qdr.cont.all intsf animal conj=progr-get.dried pl=tree

‘All the animals are dying and the trees are drying.’

(91) *xī.ˈgúyn.zá.dān gál.nā.ˈnnā nǣ.gál.na.ˈsínny?*

xī=g´-uny=zá=dān galnānnā **nǣ=**galnasínny

intg.what=pot=do=also=3pl.f knowledge conj=intelligence

What would they do with knowledge and intelligence?

*Nǣ=*[[47]](#footnote-47)‘conj’does not commonly coordinate two NPs or other type of phrases, as shown in (92).

(92) #*ˈdxǐb nǣ.ˈxhḭ́ly gu.ˈzḭ̂.dān*

dxǐb *nǣ*=xhḭ́ly gu-zḭ=dān

goat conj=sheep compl-buy=3pl.f

‘They bought goat(s) and sheep.’

*Gūzlâ̰* ‘and (after that) / for its part’ is an element that may be used to combine two verb phrases, as in (93). However, this element cannot combine two NPs or other type of phrases, as shown in (94). This free function word is common in discourse and the reading it provides is usually a ‘and then / for its part’.

(93) *ˈNély gu.ˈzḭ̂ te.ˈgû’n gūz.ˈlâ̰ ˈLlípy gu.ˈzḭ̂ te.ˈdxǐb*

Nély gu-zḭ te=gû’n **gūzlâ̰** Llípy gu-zḭ̂ te=dxǐb

Manuel compl-buy i.art=bull conj Felipe compl-buy i.art=goat

‘Manuel bought a bull and / for his part, Felipe bought a goat.’

(94) \**ˈdxǐb guz.ˈlâ̰ ˈxhḭ́ly gu.ˈzḭ̂.dān*

dxǐb guzlâ̰ xhḭ́ly gu-zḭ=dān

goat conj sheep compl-buy=3pl.f

Intended reading: ‘They bought goats and sheep.’

Disjunction is expressed with *gulá*= ‘disj’ in TdVZ, as in (95). This disjunctive element does not have any restrictions and can be used with verb phrases as well as any other type of phrase, as in (96). Therefore, it can cliticize to any lexical category.

(95) *lá.ˈzyā’.nú gu.lá.ˈzḛw?*

lá=z-yā’n=ṵ gulá =z-æ=ṵ?

intg.pol=fut-stay=2sg.if disj=fut-go=2sg.if

‘Are you staying or are you going?’

(96) *lá.ˈgû’n gu.lá.ˈdxǐb ˈgû’?*

lá=gû’n gulá=dxǐb g-u’

intg.pol=bull disj=goat compl-exist

‘Was there beef or chevon?’ / ‘Did they have (served) beef or chevon?’

### 3.8.2.3 Subordinating conjunctions in TdVZ

Subordinating conjunctions are words that serve to integrate a subordinate clause into a larger construction. These can be classified according to their functions: complementizers, relativizers, and adverbializers. Complementizers mark a clause as a complement of a verb. Relativizers are markers of relative clauses and adverbializers mark clauses as having some adverbial function.

In TdVZ most subordinating conjunctions are (pro)clitics. Thus, they cliticize to the first element of the subordinate clause, which in most cases is the verb. Most of these subordinators have been introduced in Chapter 2 (2.4.14). Therefore, here I will only show their form and mention if the sequence *subordinator* + *verb* can be interrupted, or if the subordinator cliticizes to any other lexical category besides verbs.

***Complementizers***

In TdVZ, the only complementizer I have identified is *teky,* which is a free function element that occurs between the main predicate and the complement, as in (97).[[48]](#footnote-48)As noted, this complementizer is optional.

(97) *byak.*ˈ*bæ̰n (*ˈ*teky) zi.*ˈ*gīn.dān* ˈ*lǎ̰n*

b-yakbæ̰=an (teky) zi-gīn=dān lǎ̰n

compl-realize=3sg.if (comp) fut-kill=3pl.f 3sg.if

‘S/he realized that they would kill him/her.’

***Relativizers***

Relative clauses may take the subordinator *ni*= or the relative pronoun *kūd=*. Example of these elements are shown in (98) and (99). The sequence of these elements and the verb can be interrupted by the negative marker *kēd*= or the adverb *á*= ‘done’, as shown in (98). Other characteristics of these morphemes such as their obligatoriness and restrictions are discussed in (§5).

(98) *ˈdbénny ní.á.ba.ˈzûyn*

d´=bēnny ni=**á**=ba-zuny

pl=person sub=done=compl-arrive

‘People who (has) already arrived.’

(99) *ˈru’ ˈgḛw kūd.bá.ˈdxé.lēn*

ru’ gḛw **kūd**=ba-dxēl=ēn

mouth river rel.loc.pron=compl-find=3sg.inan

‘At the border of the river where it was found.’

***Adverbializers***

This type of subordinator is the most varied in the language. In the following table I summarize each of those I have identified.[[49]](#footnote-49) In this table, notice that the manner, locative and a type of reason adverbial clause uses the same subordinator as one type of relative clauses do. In the first two cases, then I consider that RC have the function of adverbial modifiers. In the case of a reason clause, *ni*= does not introduce an adverbial clause, but modifies the main clause. This is discussed in §7.

Table 9. Adverbial subordinators in TdVZ

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Zapotec** | **English** | **Semantics** |
| *txi*= | when | Temporal |
| *ka=(ni=)* | as | Manner |
| *kūd*= | where | locative |
| *té*= | in order to / so that / because | Purpose / reason |
| *kom*=[[50]](#footnote-50) | because | reason (explanation) |
| *bǣll*= | if | conditional |
| *ni= /ˈlā̰yn ní*= | which/that is why | reason |
|  |  |  |

In various languages, an adverbial subordinator may be optionally paired with another conjunction occurring in the main clause. English for example can pair *if* and *then*. In TdVZ, it is common to pair two conjunctions. Below I provide an example with each adverbial subordinator shown in Table 9 and I mention if they can be paired with some other conjunction (conjunctive or subordinating).

*txi=* introduces a temporal adverbial clause, and depending on the construction, it can be paired with other elements. When *txi*= introduces a preposed clause that expresses an event that occurs before the event expressed in the main clause, it can optionally be paired with *gāxh*= ‘then’, as in (100).

(100) *txi.ˈbyâ’ (gāxh).gu.díxh.ˈlæ̂' lo.ˈJúlly*

**txi**=b-yâ’ (gāxh=)gu-díxhlæ̂' low=Júlly

temp.sub=compl-go.to.origin.1sg (then=)compl-compl.tell.1sg r.n.face=Julia

‘When I returned (home), (then) I told Julia.’ (txt.)

Another construction in which *txi*= occurs exemplifies how the *txi*= + *verb* sequence can be interrupted by the adverb *á*= ‘done’, as in (111). Notice in this example that, if this clause is negated, the marker *kēd*= will come after *á*= ‘done’. Thus, any (second position) clitic that moves after the negator will also interrupt the sequence of the subordinator and the verb.

(111) *txi.á.kē.drú.*ˈ*gǔk.di gu.*ˈ*zam…*

txi=á=kēd=rú=gu-ak=di gu-za=um

temp.sub=done=neg=more=compl-be.able=neg compl-walk=3sg.anml

‘When it (the animal) already could not walk anymore.’ (txt.)

*ka*= ‘mann.sub’ introduces a manner adverbial clause, as in (112). As can be noted, this subordinator can optionally occur with *ni*=, the subordinator that generally introduces relative clauses. Just as with *txi*=, *ka*=(*ni*=) may be interrupted by *á*= ‘done’, and if the clause is negated, by the negator *kēd*= + any non-prominent (second position) clitic may interrupt the subordinator + verb sequence. *kā=(ni*=) is not paired with other subordinating or adverbial connectors.

(112) *ka.(ni.)ba.*ˈ*lṵ̂.yān* ˈ*lǎ̰n.kī* ˈ*bâ̰.nyan*

ka=(**ni**=)ba-lṵy=ān lǎ̰n=kī ba̰ny=an

mann.sub=(sub=)compl-teach=3sg.f 3sg.if=temp.dem compl.do=3sg.if

‘As s/he taught him, s/he did.’/ ‘S/he did as s/he taught him.’

*té*= introduces purpose and a type of reason adverbial clauses, as in (113) and (114) respectively. When the clause introduced by *té*= occurs preposed, it is paired with the subordinator *ni*=, this latter element cliticizes to the clause that occurs postpose, as shown in (114). As expected, *té*= + *verb* may be interrupted by *á*= ‘done’ or the negative marker + any (second position) clitics that are attracted to the negator.

(113) *gu.*ˈ*læ̌* ˈ*lady ló.gu.*ˈ*bidx té.ga.*ˈ*bî.zēn*

gu-læ̌ clothes low=gubidx té=ga´-biz=ēn

compl-take.out.1sg clothes r.n.face=sun sub=pot-get.dry=3sg.inan

‘I took the clothes out to the sun so that they get dry.’

(114) *té.ká.*ˈ*yab nis.*ˈ*jyæ (ni)*ˈ*byá’.ná*

té=ká-yab nisgyæ (ni=)b-yā’n=a̰

sub=progr-fall rain (sub=)compl-stay=1sg

‘Because it was raining that (is why) I stayed.’

*kūd*= introduces locative adverbial clauses, as in (115). This relative pronoun is not paired with other conjunctions and *kūd*= + verb may be interrupted by *á*= ‘done’ + the negative marker *kēd*= + any non-prominent (second position) clitic that is hosted by the negator.

(115) *Kūd.rí.*ˈ*do’w* ˈ*bēdy.kī gá.*ˈ*dxá̰.gún*

**kūd**=ri-do’w bedy=kī ga´-dxā̰g=un

rel.loc.pron=hab-be.sold chicken=temp.dem pot-bump.into=1pl.incl

‘Where chicken is sold, we will meet there.’ / ‘We will meet where chicken is sold.’

*Kom*= introduces reason (explanation of facts) adverbial clauses, as in (116). This element may be paired with *gāxh=*[[51]](#footnote-51)‘then’. Also, *kom*= + *verb* may be interrupted by *á*= ‘done’, the negative marker *kēd*= and any en(clitic) that the negative marker may host. Some of these features can be observed below.

(116) *kom.á.*ˈ*zyæ̰̂n* (*txi.*)*ba.*ˈ*zû.nyan*

**kom**=á=z´-yæ=ani (txi=)ba-zuny=anj

sub=done=progr-go.to.origin=3sg.if (temp.sub=)compl-arrive=3sg.if

(*gāxh.*)*kēd.rú.gu.nní.*ˈ*nǣ.dyán* ˈ*lǎ̰n*

(gāxh=)kēd=rú=gu-nninǣ=di=anj lǎ̰ni

(then=)neg=more=compl-talk.to=neg=3sg.if 3sg.if

‘Because hei had already left (when) hej arrived, (then) hej didn’t talk to him/heri.’

An interesting characteristic of *kom*= is that it can precede NPs or other type of phrases that move to the preverbal focus position, as shown in (117). Thus, *kom*= does not only cliticize to verb (phrases) but to other types of phrases in this language.

(117) *kéd.bá.*ˈ*llâ̰.di.dān* ˈ*bywâ’n* *kom.gu.*ˈ*dxi*

kēd=ba-lla̰=di=dān b-yu’=an **kom**=gudxi

neg=compl-allow=neg=3pl.f compl-enter=3sg.if sub=afternoon

*ba.*ˈ*zu.nyan*

ba-zuny=an

compl-arrive=3sg.if

‘They didn’t allow him to enter because he arrived late.’

*bǣll*= introduces a conditional clause, as in (118). This element may be optionally paired with *gāxh=* ‘then’. Also, *bǣll*= + *verb* can be interrupted by *á*= ‘done’ and the negative marker + any (en)clitics that *kēd=* may host.

(118) *bǣll.*ˈ*gyáb nis.*ˈ*gyæ (gāxh.)kēd.*ˈ*txǽ.dyan*

**bǣll**=g´-yab nisgyæ (gāxh=)kēd=tx´-æ=di=an

cond.sub=pot-fall rain (then=)neg=pot-go=neg=3sg.if

‘If it rains, (then) he won’t go.’

In addition, *bǣll*=, just like *kom*=, may precede other types of phrases that have moved to the preverbal focus position, as shown in (119).

(119) *bǣll.*ˈ*xhí* ˈ*txô’n,* ˈ*zak.zá*

**bǣll**=xhí tx´-ô’=un z-ak=zá

cond.sub=tomorrow pot-go.1pl=1pl fut-be.able=also

‘If we go tomorrow, (it) is possible too.’

Finally, there is one construction that functions as a subordinator, this is the free form pronoun of the 3rd person singular (which I believe is coreferent with the (whole) event that precedes it) + *ni*=, as in (120).[[52]](#footnote-52) The meaning of this ‘compound subordinator’ could be interpreted as ‘that/which is why’. Just as with any sequence of *ni*= + verb, this can be interrupted by á= ‘done’ or the negative marker + any (second position) clitic the negator may host.

(120) ˈ*byā’n* ˈ*gâ.kán,*

b-yān ga=kā=an,

compl-stay again-affve=3sg.if

ˈ*lā̰yn ní.kē.drú.*ˈ*gwǽ.dyan* ˈ*xkwíly*

**lā̰yn** **ni**=kēd=rú=gu-æ=di=an xkwíly

3sg.inan sub=neg=more=compl-go=neg=3sg.if school

‘He failed again, that is why he didn’t go to school anymore.’

In the following table I summarize the general characteristics of the conjunctions in TdVZ.

Table 10. Conjunctions in TdVZ

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Conjunctions | Zapotec | English | Cliticizes to | Interrupted | Semantics |
| ***coordinating*** | *txirú=* | and | ANY | by *á*= ‘done’ + *kēd*= ‘neg’ + non-prominent clitics |  |
|  | *nǣ*= | and | Verbs | by *á*= ‘done’ + *kēd*= ‘neg’ + non-prominent clitics |  |
|  | *gulá=* | or | ANY | by *á*= ‘done’ + *kēd*= ‘neg’ + non-prominent clitics |  |
|  | *gūzlâ̰* | ‘for its part’ | --- |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| ***subordinating*** |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | *txi*= | when | Verbs | by *á*= ‘done’ + *kēd*= ‘neg’ + non-prominent clitics | Temporal |
|  | *ka*= / *kani*= | as | Verbs | by *á*= ‘done’ + *kēd*= ‘neg’ + non-prominent clitics | Manner |
|  | *té*= | in order to / so that | Verbs | by *á*= ‘done’ + *kēd*= ‘neg’ + non-prominent clitics | Reason (future) / purpose |
|  | *kūd*= | where | Verbs | by *á*= ‘done’ + *kēd*= ‘neg’ + non-prominent clitics | Locative |
|  | *kom*= | because | ANY | --- | Reason (explanation) |
|  | *bǣll*= | if | ANY | --- | conditional |
|  | *lā̰yn ní*= | that is why | Verbs | by *á*= ‘done’ + *kēd*= ‘neg’ + non-prominent clitics | Reason / Resultative? |

# 3.9 Remarks on chapter 3

In this chapter I have defined the lexical categories that are motivated in TdVZ. I provided language-specific criteria to distinguish and classify nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs. As I showed, nouns and verbs are robustly distinguished in this language while adjectives share some distributional properties with verbs but they constitute a distinct word class. There are a few lexical adverbs since many of the adverbs are clitics with a specific position on the verbal template.

After I defined each lexical category, I discussed the type of constituents that nouns may form. I proposed that a noun can form a tighter or a looser constituent with the elements that modify it. The tighter constituent corresponds to the sequence of the noun + adjectives + the affective morpheme. The looser constituent includes the prepositional phrase, the NP possessor and the relative clause.

I did not find empirical evidence of a VP (Verb + Object) constituent, therefore, instead of arguing for this constituent, I discussed the various constituents that form a (basic) clause in TdVZ. I first defined the V-constituent, which is the core of the clause, and showed the elements that occur obligatorily and optionally around it.

Under the section of functional categories, I briefly discussed relational nouns and prepositions. Finally, I presented and described the various coordinating and subordinating conjunctions that occur in TdVZ. Subordinating conjunctions will be revisited in chapter 5,6 and 7.

# Chapter 4

***The syntax and functions of mono-clausal constructions in TdVZ***

In this chapter, I describe the obligatory and non-obligatory elements that occur in various types of basic clauses in TdVZ. My objective in this section is to define the morphosyntactic properties of subject and object as well as the morphosyntactic properties of the adverbs that may modify a clause. I show that a clause in TdVZ may be augmented by different valency changing mechanisms. Also, I discuss how interrogation and negation occur in (mono)clausal constructions. Moreover, I characterize serial verb constructions in order to differentiate them from complementation constructions, which will be discussed in chapter 7. Finally, I discuss focus and topic constructions. This chapter lays out the general characteristics of the syntax of TdVZ, which is the foundation for the following chapters.

# 4.1 The simple TdVZ clause

## 4.1.1 Background in defining ‘a simple clause’

Describing a ‘basic’ clause in a language is a difficult task because the strongest isomorphism between syntax and semantics is found at the level of the clause. That is, syntactic structures of simple clauses are generally described in terms of the grammatical roles (or grammatical relations) assumed by the event participants. This isomorphism is expressed in terms of the systematic mapping between the semantic roles of the participants in the state/event and their grammatical role in the clause. This systematic mapping between these two parallel systems lies at the core of the grammatical structure of simple clauses (Givón 2001). Thus, there is no one simple clause in a language; rather there are types of simple clauses.

Participants in an event, then, assume some grammatical role inside the clause. The grammatical roles that are most commonly described cross-linguistically are: subject, direct object, indirect object, predicate and adverb (Givón 2001).

Of these five grammatical roles, the first three are considered arguments while the last two are considered adjuncts. That is, the first three are more obligatory and display more grammatical consequences in the languages while the last two are more peripheral, thus optional in most cases.

For their part, Van Valin and LaPolla (1997) state that an argument is part of the semantic representation of the verb and the distinction between arguments and peripheral elements are fundamental to the clause structure of all human languages.

A clause, then, is a syntactic structure composed of arguments and peripheral elements. The number of arguments that a clause can contain is directly related to the valence of the verb since a verb in a ‘basic’ clause can be monovalent, bivalent or divalent. Intransitive clauses are those in which one sole argument subject is required, thus they usually contain a monovalent verb. Transitive clauses, require not only a subject but also require an object argument. Thus, these types of clauses generally contain a divalent verb. Ditransitive clauses require not only a subject and an object, but also a third argument that in various languages occurs as an oblique, or an indirect object. These clauses then usually contain trivalent verbs.

The semantic role of each argument in a clause, however, can vary. For instance, the sole argument of the intransitive clause can have a patient, a theme or an effector role, as shown below with English examples:

1. John fell – patient
2. Mary danced – effector
3. the book is on the table – theme (location, or change of location)

Arguments in a transitive clause typically have the agent vs the patient role respectively, as in (d). Nevertheless, in some cases, an instrument may take the subject position. In this case, the agent is not mentioned in the event when it is assumed (to exist) as in (e).

1. John built a house
2. The hammer smashed the window (She smashed the window with the hammer)

The arguments of a ditransitive clause usually have a deliberate agent (the subject) which causes the movement of the patient (direct object) to or from some location (indirect object), as in the examples below.

1. She sent the merchandise to the store.
2. She planted the seedlings in the ground.

## 4.1.2 The basic clause(s) in TdVZ

In this section, I describe the various types of basic clauses in TdVZ. This classification is based on the valency of the verb. Thus, for each type of basic clause, I show the syntactic arguments and define the semantic role they get. In the last part of this section, I discuss various adverbial adjuncts that may occur in these constructions.

Before discussing the basic clause, some general characteristics of TdVZ need to be addressed. TdVZ is a VSO language, thus, on the right side of the verb, the subject occurs first followed by object, as in (1a). This word order is strict since if it changes, there is a change in the meaning of the clause, as shown in (2b).

(1) a. *Gu.ˈdīn ˈBǽd ˈgû’n* b. *Gu.ˈdīn ˈgû’n ˈBǽd*

gu-dīny Bǽd gû’n gu-dīny gû’n Bǽd

compl-kill Pedro bull compl-kill bull Pedro

‘Pedro killed (the) bull.’ ‘(The) bull killed Pedro.’

\*(The) bull killed Pedro. \*Pedro killed (the) bull.

In non-derived structures, when pronominalized, subjects take clitic forms and attach to the verb while objects occur as independent pronominal forms, as shown in (2).[[53]](#footnote-53)

(2) *gu.ˈdī.nyúm ˈlǎ̰n*

gu-dīny=**um** **lǎ̰n**

compl-kill=3sg.anml 3sg.if

‘It killed him.’

As Uchihara and Gutiérrez (2020c) mention, there are other characteristics that distinguish subjects from objects in TdVZ. For instance, only subjects leave a resumptive pronoun on the verb when focused, as in (3). Pronominal objects do not exhibit this property, as shown in (4).

(3) *ˈlā̰.nén gú.ˈdí.nyán ˈlǎ̰m*

**lǎ̰n**=ēn gu-dīny=**an** lǎ̰m

3sg.if=foc compl-kill=3sg.if 3sg.anml

‘(It is) he (who) killed the animal.’

(4) *ˈlā̰.mén gú.ˈdí.nyán*

ˈ**lǎ̰m**=ēn gu-dīny=án ***\_***

3sg.anml=foc compl-kill=3sg.if

‘(It was) it (what) he killed.’

Also, in constructions with two transitive verbs (subordinated or non-subordinated) that share the subject and the object, only the subject, but not the object has to be marked on both verbs, as shown in (5).

(5) *ˈba̰.nyan get.ˈgṵ̄ gwé.ˈnæ̌n*

ba̰ny=**an** getgṵ̄ gu-enǣ=**an**

compl.do=3sg.if tamale compl-bring=3sg.if

‘S/he made tamales to bring (somewhere).’

Having defined that the subject is the required element that occurs immediately after the verb on the right side while the object is the second required element that occurs after the subject, I now discuss the types of basic clauses in TdVZ.

A basic intransitive clause in TdVZ takes a subject argument that, when inanimate, generally takes the theme or patient role, as in (6a) and (6b) respectively. When referring to a location, the sole argument of the intransitive generally takes a locative (patient) role, as in (6c). In many cases, the location is expressed by a relational noun phrase (i.e., body-part relational noun + noun) (§3.8.1.2).

(6) a. *ri.ˈda’ ˈnis* b. *ri.ˈdxā’ ˈnîs*

ri-da’ nis ri-dxā’ nis

hab-be.poured water hab-get.warmed water

‘Water is poured.’ ‘Water gets warmed.’

c. *ˈryā* *ˈlæ̂’n gu.ˈrrâly*

r-yā læ’n gurrâly

hab-get.cleaned r.n.stomach corral

‘Into the corral gets cleaned.’

When animate, the sole argument of the intransitive clause can be the agent, the effector, the patient or the experiencer, as in (7a) - (7d) respectively.

(7) a. *ri.ˈxhṵb ˈJwáyn* b. *ba.ˈyā’ ˈtæ̰̂ ˈJwáyn*

ri-xhṵb Jwáyn ba-yā’ tæ̰ Jwáyn

hab-swim Juan compl-dance intsf Juan

‘Juan swims.’ ‘Juan danced a lot.’

c. *ˈbyab ˈJwáyn* d. *bi.ˈdxiby ˈJwáyn*

b-yab Jwáyn bi-dxiby Jwáyn

compl-fall Juan compl-be.afraid Juan

‘Juan fell.’ ‘Juan was/got afraid.’

Another type of intransitive clause occurs with ‘positional verbs’ (López Cruz 2017; Foreman & Lillehaugen 2017). The semantics of these verbs combines the predication of existence plus the position or the way/form an entity is ‘located’ in the space. Thus, besides the subject (the figure) that follows the verb, this type of verbs generally implies a locative phrase (the ground) that is typically expressed by a relational noun phrase, as shown in (8). The subject of these verbs then usually assumes the theme role, while the oblique assumes the locative role.

(8) *ˈri ˈtxî’n ˈyuxh ˈkwæ’ ˈyū’kī*

ri txî’n yuxh kwæ’ yu’=kī

v.psl.be.placed some sand r.n.side building=temp.dem

‘(There is/was) some sand piled next to the building.’

On the other hand, a basic transitive clause in TdVZ takes a subject and an object. The subject argument generally takes the agent or effector role while the object generally takes the patient role, as in (9).

(9) *ˈgwæ’ ˈBǽd ˈnis*

gu-æ’ Bǽd nis

compl-drink Pedro water

‘Pedro drank water.’

Since the object of a transitive clause can refer to a location, the object argument can be expressed by a relational noun phrase and have a semantic locative role, as in (10).

(10) *ba.ˈsyā ˈBǽd ˈlæ’n gu.ˈrrâly*

ba-syā Bǽd læ’n gurrâly

compl-clean Pedro r.n.stomach corral

‘Pedro cleaned into the corral’

There are some transitive clauses in which the subject is not assigned the agent role, but the experiencer role. For instance, one of these is the verb -*azḭ* ‘find by chance’, as in (11). Also, when the subject is inanimate, the transitive clause does not have a prototypical agent, as shown in (12).

(11) *ba.ˈzḭ ˈBǽd te.ˈllápy*

b-azḭ Bǽd te=llápy

compl-find.by.chance Pedro i.art=pencil

‘Pedro found a pencil (by chance).’

(12) *ba.ˈsyak rru.ˈmédy.kī ˈlǎ̰n*

ba-syak rrumédy=kī lǎ̰n

compl-cure remedy=temp.dem 3sg.if

‘That remedy cured him/her.’

In TdVZ, there are two types of ditransitive clauses/constructions: double object constructions and indirect object constructions (Malchukov et al, 2010).

In the double object construction, both objects, the Theme Object (OT) and the Recipient Object (OR), follow the verb and occur after the subject, as shown in (13). Thus, the word order in this type of ditransitive clauses is: V S OT OR.[[54]](#footnote-54) Note that in this type of construction, the third argument has a recipient or benefactor role.

(13) *ba.ˈdæ̰d*[[55]](#footnote-55) *ˈBǽd ˈzut ˈbækw*

ba-dæ̰d Bǽd zut bækw

compl-give Pedro bone dog

‘Pedro gave the bone to the dog.’

In indirect object constructions, the order of the arguments is just as with the double object construction, but in this case, the recipient is introduced by a relational noun, as in (14).[[56]](#footnote-56) Also, in this type of ditransitive construction, the third argument may assume other thematic roles besides the recipient (or benefactor). That is, verbs such as -*zṵb* ‘be.placed’ and -*beky* ‘put into’, -*sā’n* ‘leave’ assign a locative role to the third argument, as shown in (15).

(14) *ba.ˈka̰*[[57]](#footnote-57) *ˈBǽd ˈzut lo.ˈbækw*

ba-ka̰ Bǽd zut lo=bækw

compl-compl.throw Pedro bone r.n.face=dog

‘Pedro threw the bone to the dog (so it would eat it).’

(15) *gu.ˈleky ˈBǽd ba.ˈda̰w ˈlæ’n ˈgixy*

gu-leky Bǽd bada̰w læ’n gixy

compl-put.into Pedro baby r.n.stomach web

‘Pedro put the baby into the cradle.’

This second subtype of ditransitive constructions suggests that TdVZ follows an indirective alignment since the OR is introduced by a relational noun while the OT, just as the object in (mono)transitive clauses, is not. This hypothesis is reinforced by the fact that both, the OT as well as the object in (mono)transitive clauses occupy the same position and both, when pronominalized, cliticize to the verb. The OR does exhibit these characteristics.[[58]](#footnote-58) Thus, I will follow Gutiérrez (2014) and consider that TdVZ follows an indirective alignment in ditransitive constructions.

In addition, there are several types of clauses that contain a light verb + nominal, as in (16). In this example, the nominal *gi* ‘fire’ doesn’t have a syntactic function but it forms a type of compound verb with *rukwa̰* ‘throw’. Note that the construction in (16) is similar to the double object construction shown in (13) above, but light verb constructions have a counterpart of less valence while ditransitives don’t. Thus, not only do they differ from ditransitives semantically but also lexically and grammatically.

(16) *ru.*ˈ*kwa̰.****dán***ˈ*gi*  ˈ***gits***

ru-kwa̰=dán gi gits

hab-throw=3pl.if fire paper

‘They burn the paper.’ Lit. ‘#They throw fire (to) the paper.’

(17) *ri.ka* ˈ*gi*  ˈ***gits***

ri-ka gi gits

hab-be.thrown fire paper

‘Paper is burnt.’ Lit. ‘#fire is thrown to the paper’

Another type of basic clause occurs with serial verb constructions (SVC). The most prototypical SVC have an intransitive verb followed by whether an intransitive or transitive verb. The subject, which is coreferential, is required on each verb. The second verb requires an object, which would appear in its canonical place, that is, following the subject. All these characteristics are shown in (18).

(18) *bi.*ˈ*dxiby* ˈ*Bǽd gu.*ˈ*nnǎn* ˈ*gû’n*

bi-dxiby Bǽd gu-nnā=an gû’n

compl-be.afraid Pedro compl-witness=3sg.if toro

‘Pedro was / got afraid of/with the bull.’

So far, I have described the various basic clauses in TdVZ; these clauses may be modified by various types of adverbs or adverbial clauses. In this section I will focus on single word adverbs and in chapter 7 I will focus on adverbial clauses.

Adverbs in TdVZ have three forms: words, free function words, and clitics. The former, as mentioned in § 3.4 occur in the preverbal position or after the NP arguments, as in (19).

(19) ˈ*nna̰y* *gu.*ˈ*di.xhan* ˈ*xtxā’*

**nna̰y** gu-dixh=an xtxā’

yesterday compl-compl.pay=3sg.if light

‘S/he paid the light (electricity bill) yesterday.’

Free function word adverbs, on the other hand, occur after the V-constituent (§4.9), as in (20).[[59]](#footnote-59)

(20) *gu.*ˈ*dixh* ˈ*ga̰n* ˈ*nis* ˈ*iz.ræ’*

gu-dixh **ga**=an nis iz=ræ’

compl-compl.pay early=3sg.if water year=dem.prox

‘S/he paid the water (bill) early this year.’

Enclitic adverbs occur after free function word adverbs, if any, in declarative non-derived structures, as in (21). However, in focus or negative constructions, they are attracted to the focused element or the negator, as shown in (22).

(21) *gu.*ˈ*dixh* ˈ*ga.zán* ˈ*nis* ˈ*iz.ræ’*

gu-dixh ga=**zá**=an nis iz=ræ’

compl-compl.pay soon=also=3sg.if water year=dem.prox

‘S/he also paid the water (bill) soon/early this year.’

(22) *kēd.zá.gú.*ˈ*dîxh* ˈ*ga.dyan* ˈ*nis* ˈ*iz.ræ’*

kēd=**zá**=gu-dixh ga=di=an nis iz=ræ’

neg=also=compl-compl.pay early=neg=3sg.if water year=dem.prox

‘S/he didn’t pay the water (bill) early this year either.’

# 4.2 Valency changing mechanisms

## 4.2.1 Valence increasing devices

As I have discussed in §3.2.2, verbs in TdVZ come in semantically and morphosyntactically related verb-pairs. Historically, as various studies have discussed (e.g., Operstein and Sonnenschein 2014), many transitive verbs were derived from intransitives through a morphological process that includes prefixation of a causative marker[[60]](#footnote-60) + other morphophonological processes. Besides this pattern, there are verbs that may be considered equipollent (i.e., Non-directional valence-related morphology where both intransitive and transitive forms are derived through prefixation). Both types are shown in the table below. The verbs in this table are prefixed with the habitual marker.

Table 2. Diachronic valence mechanisms in Zapotec

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | ***Zapotec*** | ***English*** | ***Zapotec*** | ***English*** |
| Derived from intransitives | ri-tṵ̄y | ‘roll’ | r-**u**-tṵ̄y | ‘make (entity) roll’ |
| r-ṵ̄n | ‘cry’ | r-**usg**-ṵ̄n | ‘make someone cry’ |
| Equipollent | ri-**r**-ǣz | ‘crack’ | ri-**t-**ǣz | ‘split’ |
| ri-**d**-æ̰by | ‘be.smeared’ | ri-**g**-æ̰by | ‘smear’ |

In this dissertation, however, I assume that this derivational process is no longer productive and I only consider those valency increasing/decreasing processes that occur synchronically. Thus, as I have mentioned, for consonant beginning verbs, I gloss the remaining vowel of the causative or restorative prefixes as part of the TAM marker.

## 4.2.2 The comitative marker

The ‘incorporation/use’ of the comitative marker licenses a second argument in intransitive verbs and a third argument in transitive verbs, as shown in the (b) examples below. Note that the added argument in transitive verbs generally occurs after the subject and before the (direct) object.

(23) a. *ká.ˈyā’ ˈJwáyn*

ká-yā’ Jwáyn

progr-dance Juan

‘Juan is dancing.’

b. *ká.ˈyā’.nǽ ˈJwáyn ˈNdǔn*

ká-yā’-nǣ Jwáyn Ndǔn

progr-dance-comit Juan Antonia

‘Juan is dancing with Antonia.’

(24) a. *ká.ˈta’w ˈNdǔn ˈgæt*

ká-ta’w Ndǔn gæt

progr-sell Antonia tortilla

‘Antonia is selling tortillas.’

b. *ká.tā’w.ˈnǣ ˈNdǔn ˈLLúpy ˈgæt*

ká-ta’w-nǣ Ndǔn LLúpy gæt

progr-sell-comit Antonia Guadalupe tortilla

‘Antonia is selling tortillas (together) with Guadalupe.’

Even though the function of the added argument is generally ‘comitative’, with verbs of ‘emotion’ (-*dxiby* ‘be afraid’, -*yetx* ‘shiver’, -*xhīz* ‘laugh’, -*ṵ̄n* ‘cry’), the added argument expresses the stimulus of the ‘emotion’, as in (25). Also, with speech verbs, the added argument is the object of communication, as in (26).

(25) *ri.dxīby.ˈnǣ ˈNdǔn ˈgû’n*

ri-dxiby-nǣ Ndǔn gû’n

hab-be.afraid-comit Antonia bull

‘Antonia is afraid of/with bulls.’

(26) *ˈlā̰* *ˈNdǔn ká.nnī.ˈnǣ*[[61]](#footnote-61) *ˈLLúpy*

lā̰ Ndǔn ká-nnḭ-nǣ LLúpy

top Antonia progr-say-comit Guadalupe

‘(As for) Antonia, she is talking to Guadalupe.’

## 4.2.3 Syntactic causatives

In syntactic or periphrastic causatives (Kroger 2004), the notions of cause and effect are spread over two verbs (or clauses). Gutiérrez (2014) mentions that in TdVZ, the syntactic causative is generally built with the verb *uny* ‘do’ which indicates the causation, as in (27). This form, however, is much less common if there is a (diachronically derived) verb that expresses the same event (i.e., -*usgṵ̄n* ‘make someone cry’).

(27) *ˈRu.nyan ˈrṵ̂.na*

r-uny=an r-ṵ̂na

hab-do=3sg.if hab-cry.1sg

‘He makes me cry.’

Nevertheless, for some intransitive verbs that do not exhibit a transitive pair, a syntactic causative is the only means of causativizing them, as in (28).

(28) *ˈbā.nyá ba.ˈka̰n ˈstúy*

bǎny=a̰ b-aka=an s´=tuy

compl.do.1sg=1sg compl-climb=3sg.if mdr=one

‘I made him climb once more / again.’

Also, transitive verbs may be further causativized using the syntactic form, as in (29).

(29) *ˈrū.nyá ru.ˈtxī.txú ˈlǎ̰n*

r-ǔny=a̰ ru-txītx=ṵ lǎ̰n

hab-do.1sg=1sg hab-make.angry=2sg.if 3sg.if

‘I make you make her/him angry.’ (Adapted from Gutiérrez 2014)

‘I make (that) you make her/him angry.’

In addition, as mentioned by Operstein and Sonnenschein (2014), syntactic causatives may indicate a less direct causation, as in other Zapotec languages. This occurs in TdVZ when the second verb of the construction is intransitive, as in (30). In this example notice that the first verb indicates causation but the second verb does not have an animate subject agent that can be interpreted as the doer of the action. Thus, the subject of the first verb can be interpreted as the doer of the action or someone else could be the doer.

(30) *ˈRu.nyan ri.ˈbixy ˈgḭb*

r-uny=an ri-bixy gḭb

hab-do=3sg.if hab-get.flipped bell

‘S/he makes the bell ring.’ / ‘S/he makes the bell ring (by ringing it).’

There are other valence increasing mechanisms discussed by Operstein and Sonnenschein (2014) such as incorporation of body parts and adjectives. I understand these to be compounds in TdVZ. Thus, I do not discuss them here.

## 4.2.4 Constructions treated as valence decreasing mechanisms in Zapotec

Synchronically, there are no productive prefixes or other means to decrease valence in TdVZ.[[62]](#footnote-62) In various Zapotec languages, however, reflexive and reciprocal constructions have been considered to be valence decreasing mechanisms because they include transitive verbs but involve only one participant (syntactic argument). These constructions are discussed here in order to show that in TdVZ, reciprocals but not reflexives could be considered a valence decreasing mechanism.

### 4.2.4.1 Reflexives

Operstein and Sonnenschein (2014) discuss reciprocals and reflexives as mechanisms to decrease valence in some Zapotec varieties. In TdVZ, reflexives may be considered a valence decreasing device since, from the two arguments of a transitive verb, only the object argument is expressed and the subject is generally omitted, as in (31). This construction has been defined as subject covert construction (Avelino, et al., 2004). Nevertheless, the subject may occur, as in (32). This last construction, however, is ambiguous, as noted in the translation.

(31) *rū.ˈgyǣ̰ ˈlâ.wan lo.ˈnis*

ru-gyǣ̰ low=an low=nis

hab-see poss.face=3sg.if r.n.face=water

‘He sees himself on the water.’ Lit. ‘He sees his face on the water.’

(32) *rū.ˈgyæ̰̌n ˈlâ.wan lo.ˈnis*

ru-gyǣ̰=an low=an low=nis

hab-see=3sg.if poss.face=3sg.if r.n.face=water

‘He sees himself on the water.’ / ‘He sees someone’s face on the water.’

Then one could assume that the construction without the subject is the most prototypical reflexive construction in TdVZ because if a subject is marked on the verb, there is ambiguity in the interpretation of the phrase. Thus, reflexives may be a strategy for decreasing valence since only one argument is expressed even though the verb is transitive. Nevertheless, only third person marking triggers ambiguity. When first or second person is marked on the verb as the subject, there is no ambiguous interpretation, as shown in (33). Thus, I conclude that the subject is only optionally omitted in this construction and it is not a valence decreasing phenomenon.

(33) *ru.ˈgyǣ̰(.tū) ˈlôw.tū ló.ˈbídr*

ru-gyǣ̰(=tū) low=tū lo=bídr

hab-see(=2pl.if) poss.face=2pl.if r.n.face=glass

‘You see yourselves on the glass.’ Lit. ‘You see your faces on the glass.’

### 4.2.4.2 Reciprocals

Reciprocal constructions in TdVZ occur with the morpheme *sa’* ‘recip’, as in (34). Besides its function in reciprocal constructions, *sa’* is a lexical element that is translated as ‘relative / type of the same species / related to’ (Gutiérrez et al. 2020). Contrary to the reflexive, the reciprocal construction does not allow the subject to be marked on the verb. If this occurs, the interpretation changes completely, as shown in (35). In fact, it seems that *sa’* takes its lexical meaning in non-reciprocal constructions. Given that the verb -*gǣ̰z* ‘hug’can take two arguments, but in reciprocal constructions only one of them can occur, this can be considered a valence decreasing operation.

(34) *gu.ˈdǣ̰z ˈsa’.dán*

gu-dǣ̰z sa’=dán

compl- compl.hug recip=3pl.if

‘They hugged each other.’

(35) *gu.ˈdǣ̰z.dán ˈsa’.dán*

*gu-dǣ̰z=dán sa’=dán*

compl-compl.hug=3pl.if recip=3pl.if

‘They hug their relatives.’ #‘They hug each other.’

In (36) and (37) I show that a verb containing an accompaniment introduced by *-nǣ* only requires a plural argument to be expressed when changed to a reciprocal construction. Also note that, just as above, a subject marker on the verb triggers a different reading, as shown in (38).

(36) *ká.yā’.ˈnǽ ˈJwáyn ˈNdǔn*

ká-yā’-nǣ Jwáyn Ndǔn

progr-dance-comit Juan Antonia

‘Juan is dancing with Antonia.’

(37) *ká.yā’.ˈnǽ ˈsâ’.dán*

ká-yā’-nǣ sa’=dán

progr-dance-comit recip=3pl.if

‘They are dancing with each other.’

(38) *ká.yā’.ˈnǽ.dán ˈsa’.dán*

ká-yā’-nǣ=dán sa’=dán

progr-dance-comit=3pl.if recip=3pl.if

‘They are dancing with their relatives.’ #‘They are dancing with each other.’

Based on these facts, I understand reciprocals as a valence decreasing mechanism since a transitive verb takes only one argument that is expressed by the third person plural pronoun attached to the reciprocal morpheme.

# 4.3 Interrogatives in TdVZ

## 4.3.1 Polar and content questions

In this section, I describe how interrogation occurs in TdVZ. Firstly, all languages have some way for obtaining information. Depending on what kind of information is requested, interrogatives may take different shapes. If the information sought after is merely confirmation or disconfirmation of the truth value of an utterance, we form polar questions (yes/ no questions). If we need more elaborate information, which cannot be provided by a mere yes/no, we form content questions.

In polar questions, the expected answer is *yes* or *no*. However, there may be other possibilities (e.g., *perhaps*). It is common for languages to have intonation patterns for polar questions (e.g., Spanish), and in some languages it may be their only means to indicate this type of questions. The most common strategy is to have question particles, which may either be a free particle or a clitic added to the declarative sentence.

Content questions[[63]](#footnote-63) contain an interrogative phrase and demand a specific answer containing other information than just a confirmation or disconfirmation. An interrogative phrase may consist of only a question word (*what are you drinking*) or more than that (*which kind of tea* *are you drinking?*). Thus, the interrogative replaces the constituent asked about, thereby indicating what kind of information is being requested. Typical content question words are interrogative pronouns (such as *who* and *what*), interrogative adverbs (such as where and how), interrogative determiners (such as *which*), and interrogative quantifiers (such as *cuántos* ‘how.many’ in Spanish).

## 4.3.2 Polar questions in TdVZ

In TdVZ polar questions are formed with the clitic *(l)á*=, which occurs as the first element of the sentence, as in (39).

(39) *(l)á.ˈgwæ ˈBǽd ˈxkwíly nna’.ˈdxi?*

(l)á=gu-æ Bǽd xkwíly nna’dxi

intg.pol=compl-go Pedro school today

‘Did Pedro go to school today?’

This interrogative particle is mainly used to ask about the polarity (truth value) of an event. However, it can also be used in contrastive focus constructions, as in (40).

(40) *(l)á.ˈgæt ri.ˈka̰.zu gu.lá.ˈpá?*

(l)á=gæt ri-ka̰z=ṵ gulá=pá

intg.pol=tortilla hab-want=2sg.if disj=bread

‘Do you want tortilla or bread?’

This particle exhibits a restriction with potential and counterfactual markers. That is, *(l)á*= does not occur with a verb marked with these categories, as shown in (41)[[64]](#footnote-64) and (42) respectively.

(41) *\*(l)á.ˈtxḭ̂w ˈLlwâ’?*

(l)á=tx´-æ=ṵ Llwâ’

intg.pol=pot-go=2sg.if Oaxaca

Intended reading: ‘Are you going to Oaxaca?’

(42) *\*(l)á.ˈnḭ̂w ˈLlwâ’?*

(l)á=ni´-æ=ṵ Llwâ’?

intg.pol=cntf-go=2sg.if Oaxaca

Intended reading: ‘Were you going to Oaxaca (but not anymore)?’

When asking about the polarity of a future event the future marker is the default in this construction, as in (43). On the other hand, when asking about the polarity of an unrealized event, *nā* ‘cop’ has to appear between the interrogative clitic and the verb, as in (44).[[65]](#footnote-65)

(43) *(l)á.ˈzḛw ˈLlwâ’*?

(l)á=z-æ=ṵ Llwa’

intg.pol=fut-go=2sg.if Oaxaca

‘Are you going to Oaxaca?’

(44) *(l)á.ˈnā ˈnḭ̂w ˈLlwâ’?*

(l)á=nā ni´-æ=ṵ Llwâ’

intg.pol=cop cntf-go=2sg.if Oaxaca

‘(Was it supposed that) you were going to Oaxaca?’

## 4.3.3 Content questions in TdVZ

In §2.4.1.3, I showed the form of the interrogative clitics in TdVZ. Here I will describe their function. There are various content question interrogatives in this language: *tū*= ‘who’, *xī*= ‘what’, *kālí*= ‘where’, *xá*= ‘how’ and *gǔk=* ‘when’. The first two are used to interrogate about an NP argument in the clause.

The clitic *tū*= ‘who’ asks about any of the core arguments (subject, object, indirect object) that are animates, as shown in (45)-(47). Thus, there is no case in this interrogative.

(45) *tū.báyn.ˈtxḛ \_\_\_\_ˈlady.ræ̂’?*

tū=ba-uyntxḛ lady=ræ̂’

intg.who=compl-weave woven.cloth=dem.prox

‘Who wove this tapestry?’

(46) *tū.ˈkwá’.dān \_\_\_lá?*

tū=kwā’=dān =lá

intg.who=compl.get=3pl.f intg.disc

‘Who did they take?’

(47) *tū.bá.ˈdæ̰̂.du ˈgǣt.kī* \_\_\_?

tū=ba-dæ̰d=ṵ gæt=kī

intg.who=compl-give=2sg.if tortilla=temp.dem

‘To whom did you give the tortillas?’

*tū=* is also used with an NP to ask about a specific (human) animate entity within/from group, as shown in the examples below. These constructions are commonly referred to as complex interrogatives (Caponigro 2020).

(48) *tū.ngú.ˈlæ’n báyn.ˈtxḛ ˈlady.ræ̂’?*

tū=ngulæ’n ba-uyntxḛ lady=ræ̂’

intg.who=child compl-weave clothe=dem.prox

‘Which child wove this tapestry?’

(49) *tū.ˈbæ̂kw ba.ˈya’ ˈlǎ̰n*?

tū=bækw ba-ya’ lǎ̰n?

intg.who=dog compl-bite 3sg.if

‘Which dog bit her/him?’

The clitic *xī=* ‘what’ also asks for core arguments (subject and object) that are inanimates, as in (50) and (51).

(50) *xī.bí.ˈxhí’\_\_\_ ˈræ̌n*?

xī=bi-xhī’ ræ̌n

intg.what=compl-be.spilled adv.loc.med

‘What was spilled there?’

(51) *xī.ká.ˈsæ̰.du* \_\_\_?

xī=ká-sæ̰d=ṵ

intg.what=progr-study=2sg.if

‘What are you studying?’

Just as with *tū*=, *xī*= can also be used to ask about a specific member of a group, as in (52).

(52) *xī.ˈdṵ̂ gu.ˈzḭ̂w* \_\_?

xī=dṵ gu-zḭ=ṵ

intg.what=yarn compl-buy=2sg.if

‘Which (type of) yarn did you buy?’

Note that these interrogatives are not sensitive to the syntactic role, but to animacy. Also, the preverbal focus position can be filled not only by a word, but by larger constituents.

Another interrogative clitic is *kālí*=. This asks about the location in which an event or situation takes place. This locative phrase typically has a core argument function, as in (53) and (54).

(53) *kā.lí.ˈbyá \_\_\_ ˈnnâ̰y*?

kālí=b-yā nna̰y

intg.where=compl-get.cleaned yesterday

‘Where/ which part was cleaned yesterday?’

(54) *kā.lí.bá.ˈzṵ̂.bu gīts.kī?*

kālí=ba-zṵb=ṵ gits=kī

intg.where=compl-put=2sg.if paper=temp.dem

‘Where did you put the paper(s)/document(s)?’

There is also another interrogative clitic that asks about location, i.e., *kûn=* / *kûnn=*. This, however, besides requesting the location of an entity, requests information about the activity that an entity is performing, or the state of mind of the entity, as shown in (55).

(55) *kûn.ˈJwáyn?*

kûn=Jwáyn?

deict.intg=Juan

‘(What about Juan) where is Juan (now)?’ /

‘What is Juan doing (now)? How is Juan (doing)?’

The other interrogative clitics: *xá*= ‘how’, *gǔk=* ‘when’, and *xíxh=* ‘why’ ask about clause modifiers or adjuncts as shown in (56) - (58) respectively. Note that *xíxh*= ‘why’ requires a subordinator if the clause being asked is uttered. This suggests that this interrogative construction needs to be considered a subordinate clause.

(56) *xá.ˈrak ˈsya̰b.ræ̂’?*

xá=r-ak sya̰b=ræ̂’

intg.how=hab-be.done atole=temp.dem

‘How is this atole (corn drink) made?’

(57) *gǔk.ˈguk ˈsya̰b.ræ̂’?*

gǔk=guk sya̰b=ræ̂’

intg.when=compl-be.done atole=temp.dem

‘When was this atole made?’

(58) *Xíxh*(*té.ˈgwḛw*)?

xíxh=(té=gu-æ=ṵ)

intg.why=(sub=compl-go=2sg.if)

‘Why (did you go)?’

Other interrogative clitics such as *bǽll*= ‘how many’ or *gūzkâty* ‘how much’ request quantity, as in (59a) and (59b) respectively.

(59) a. *bǽll.ˈdxî ˈtxḭ̂w*? b. *gūz.ˈkâty ˈtxḭ̂w?*

bǽll=dxi tx´-æ=ṵ gūzkâtytx´-æ=ṵ

intg.how.many=day pot-go=2sg.if intg.how.much pot-go=2sg.if

‘How many days are you going?’ ‘(For) how long are you going?’

An important aspect to mention about interrogatives is that when an object introduced by a relational noun is requested, pied piping with inversion occurs (Smith Stark 1998). This can be observed when comparing the examples below.

(60) *gu.dixh.ˈlæ’ ˈJwáyn te.ˈkwæ̌nt loˈBǽd*

gu-dixhlæ’ Jwáyn te=kwæ̌nt **lo=Bǽd**

compl-tell Juan i.art=story r.n.face=Pedro

‘Juan told a story to Pedro.’

(61) *tū.ˈlô gu.dixh.ˈlæ’ ˈJwáyn te.ˈkwæ̌nt?*

**tū=lo** gu-dixhlæ’ Jwáyn te=kwæ̌nt

intg.who=r.n.face compl-tell Juan i.art=story

‘To whom did Juan tell the story?’

Another possibility is that the relational noun stays in situ and an expletive pronoun occurs in the position of the object, as in (62).

(62) *tū.gu.dixh.ˈlæ’ ˈJwáyn te.ˈkwæ̌nt ˈla.wen?*

tū=gu-dixhlæ’ Jwáyn te=kwæ̌nt low=en

intg.who=compl-tell Juan i.art=story r.n.face=expl.pron

‘To whom did Juan told the story?’

Pied piping with inversion also occurs when a possessor is requested, as can be observed in the example below.

(63) a. *tū.ˈxkû’n ˈgǔty?* b. *ˈguty ˈxkû’n ˈJwáyn*

tū=x-gû’n gu-aty gu-aty x-gû’n Jwáyn

intg.who=poss-bull compl-die compl-die poss-bull Juan

‘Whose bull died?’ ‘Juan’s bull died.’

In this section I have described how interrogatives occur in this language. I have shown that most of the interrogative elements are clitics. As in other Zapotec languages (Antonio Ramos 2015, López Nicolás 2016 ), *pied piping* *with inversion* is a common strategy when asking about the recipient introduced by a relational noun or when asking about a possessor.

# 4.4 Negation in TdVZ

## 4.4.1 Clausal negation

Clausal negation (Payne 1985, Miestamo 2005) in TdVZ occurs with the markers *kēd=* and *=di*. The proclitic *kēd*= appears pre-verbally while =*di* is attached post-verbally, where other adverbial enclitics may occur, as in (64).

(64) *Kēd.rú.*ˈ*llṵb.di* ˈ*Jwáyn lo.*ˈ*næz*

**kēd**=ru-llṵb=**di** Jwáyn lo=næz

neg=hab-sweep=neg Juan r.n.face=road

‘Juan doesn’t sweep the road / the street.’

The proclitic *kēd=* may be separated from the verbal word (TAM + verb root) if adverbial clitics modify the negated clause. Also, the enclitic *=di* may be separated from the verb if (free function word) adverbials occur in the clause, as shown in (65). Note that =*di* has to occur before the NP, or pronominal clitic, arguments.

(65) *Kēd.zá.bi.*ˈ*dzɨ̂yn* ˈ*ga.dyan* ˈ*nna̰y*

kēd=**zá**=bi-dzɨny **ga**=di=an ˈnna̰y

neg=also=compl-arrive soon=neg=3sg.if yesterday

‘S/he didn’t arrive early / soon yesterday either.’

Both *kēd=* and *=di* are obligatory in negative monoclausal declarative sentences. If either *kēd*= or *=di* is omitted, the construction becomes ungrammatical, as shown in (66) and (67) respectively.

(66) \*ˈ*raw.di* ˈ*bǣkw.rǣ* ˈ*dzɨ̂t*

r-aw=di bækw=rǣ dzɨt

hab-eat=neg dog=dem.dist bone

Intended reading: ‘That dog doesn’t eat bone(s)’

(67) \**kēd.*ˈ*râw* ˈ*bǣkw.rǣ* ˈ*dzɨ̂t*

kēd=r-aw bækw=rǣ dzɨt

neg=hab-eat dog=dem.dist bone

Intended reading: ‘That dog doesn’t eat bone(s)’

Even though there are no asymmetries observed in relation to the form of the construction when the negative markers occur (Miestamo 2005), the relation between negation and the aspectual markers is paradigmatically asymmetric. That is, not all declarative clauses have a negative counterpart, as I discuss below.

As I have discussed in §3.2.2, TdVZ has six productive TAM prefixes; three of which encode aspect (habitual, completive, progressive) and three of which encode modality (future, potential, and counterfactual). Any clause containing a verb with an aspectual prefix has a negative counterpart as shown in the contrasted examples below.

(68) a. ˈ*ræ’n* ˈ*nis* b*. kēd.*ˈ*ræ̂’.dyan* ˈ*nis*

r-æ’=an nis kēd=r-æ’=di=an nis

hab-drink=3sg.if water neg=hab-drink=neg=3sg.if water

‘S/he drinks water.’ ‘S/he doesn’t drink water.’

(69) a. *ˈgwæ’n ˈnis* b. *kēd.*ˈ*gwæ̂’.dyan* ˈ*nis*

gu-æ’=an nis kēd=gu-æ’=di=an nis

compl-drink=3sg.if water neg=compl-drink=neg=3sg.if water

‘S/he drank water.’ ‘S/he didn’t drink water.’

(70)a. *ká.ˈyæ’n ˈnis* b. *kēd.ká.*ˈ*yæ’.dyan* ˈ*nis*

káy-æ’=an nis kēd=káy-æ’=di=an nis

progr-drink=3sg.if water neg=progr-drink=neg=3sg.if water

‘S/he is drinking water.’ ‘S/he is not drinking water.’

However, a clause containing those prefixes that encode modality has particular characteristics in declarative as well as in negative constructions. First of all, in TdVZ a clause with potential or counterfactual prefixes typically occurs as subordinated in a construction where the negation of the main clause (predicate) involves the negation of the subordinate clause, as in (71).[[66]](#footnote-66)

(71) *kēd.ri.ˈka̰z.di ˈJwáyn ˈgæ̂’n* / *ˈnyæ̂’n ˈnis*

kēd=ri-ka̰z=di Jwáyn g´-æ’=an / ni´-æ’=an nis

neg=hab-want=neg Juan pot-drink=3sg.if / cntf-drink=3sg.if water

‘Juan doesn’t /didn’t want to drink water.’

On the other hand, an indicative (main) clause with a verb prefixed with future is common, as in (72a). Nevertheless, this does not have a negative counterpart.[[67]](#footnote-67) That is, the negative marker *kēd*= and the future prefix cannot cooccur, as shown in (72b). To negate a future event, the potential prefix has to occur on the verb as in (73). Therefore, the negative counterpart of a declarative clause with a future prefix is one with a potential prefix.

(72) a. *ˈzæ’n ˈnis* b.\**kēd.*ˈ*zæ’.dyan* ˈ*nis*

z-æ’=an nis kēd=z-æ’=di=an nis

fut-drink=3sg.if water **neg**=**fut**-drink=neg=3sg.if water

‘S/he will drink water.’ Intended reading: ‘S/he won’t drink water.’

(73) *kēd.*ˈ*gæ̂’.dyan* ˈ*nis*

kēd=g´-æ’=di=an nis

neg=pot-drink=neg=3sg.if water

‘S/he won’t drink water.’

Although the counterfactual prefix does not occur in main clauses, a negative (non-subordinated) clause that involves the counterfactual prefix is common in TdVZ. In fact, a negative clause with counterfactual prefix alternates with the negative construction with a completive prefix. That is, these two aspects seem to neutralize in negatives since they both imply a non-realized event, as shown in (74). Compare this last example with (69b) above.

(74) *kēd.*ˈ*nyæ̂’.dyan* ˈ*nis*

kēd=ni´-æ’=di=an nis

neg=cntf-drink=neg=3sg.if water

‘S/he didn’t drink (the) water.’

Clausal negation in TdVZ is thus paradigmatically asymmetric since not all indicative clauses have a negative counterpart, a verb prefixed with future does not have a negative counterpart and the meaning of the completive vs the counterfactual is neutralized in negatives. This is summarized in the table below. Thus, following the typological classification defined by Miestamo (2005), I understand TdVZ clausal negation to be of the type A/Cat/TAM.

Table 1. Prefixes in declaratives and their negative counterpart in TdVZ

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Prefix on declarative  (main) clauses | Prefix on the negative counterpart |
| Habitual | Habitual |
| Progressive | Progressive |
| Completive | Completive or Counterfactual |
| Future | Potential |

Also, due to the clitic status of the negative marker, it is clear that TdVZ exhibits syntactic negation and not morphological negation (Dahl 1979; Payne 1985; and Dryer 2013). Clitics are elements that attach at the phrase level. They can have different hosts and their position is not consistent. As mentioned, *kēd=* does not always precede the verbs since adverbial clitics can interrupt the sequence *kēd*= + verb stem, as in (75); also, *kēd*= can appear with other lexical categories such as adverbs, as in (76).

(75) *Kēd.pká.ru.*ˈ*syā.dyán* ˈ*li.zan*

kēd=**pká**=ru=syā=di=an liz=an

neg=**always**=hab=clean=neg=3sg.if pos.house=3sg.if

‘S/he never cleans her/his home.’/ ‘S/he doesn’t clean her/his home at all.’

(76) *kēd.ˈǽs.tá ˈrṵ̄.núx*

**kēd**=ǣstá r-ṵ̄n=ṵ=x

neg=later hab-cry=2sg.if=d.e

‘Don’t be crying later!’ Lit. ‘Don’t later you cry then.’

Finally, a particular characteristic of clausal negation is that when the verb is prefixed with completive aspect marking, it undergoes tonal alternation. This tonal alternation can be observed with verb roots that have a lexical low or mid tone, as in (77). Notice that in this context, the verb *llṵb* ‘sweep’ that lexically has a low tone (second line) alternates with a high falling tone (first line). This tone change does not occur with any other TAM category, as shown with the verb *llṵb* ‘sweep’ prefixed with the habitual TAM marker in (78) (repeated from (64)). No other negative construction in TdVZ language shows this phenomenon.

(77) *Kēd.bá.*ˈ***llṵ̂b****.di* ˈ*Jwáyn lo.*ˈ*næz*

kēd=ba-llṵb=di Jwáyn lo=næz

neg=compl-sweep=neg Juan r.n.face=road

‘Juan didn’t sweep the road / the street.’

(78) *Kēd.rú.*ˈ***llṵb****.di* ˈ*Jwáyn lo.*ˈ*næz*

kēd=ru-llṵb=di Jwáyn lo=næz

neg=hab-sweep=neg Juan r.n.face=road

‘Juan doesn’t sweep the road / the street.’

## 4.4.2 Position and scope of the negative marker *kēd*=

In most Zapotec languages there is a preverbal position for focused elements. Thus, one might argue that the negative proclitic *kēd*= occupies this focus position. The negative marker *kēd*=, however, can occur together with a focused NP, as shown in (79). Notice that the position of *kēd*= is fixed and cannot appear before the focused element assuming that it would move to the focus position, as shown in (80). Thus, the position of *kēd=* is before the verb, and due to its clitic status, it cliticizes to it if no other clitics occur.

(79) [ˈ*Jwáyn*]FOC *kēd.bá.*ˈ*llṵ̂b.di lo*ˈ*næz*

**Jwáyn** **kēd**=ba-llṵb=di low=næz

Juan neg=compl-sweep=neg r.n.face=road

‘(It was) Juan (who) didn’t sweep the street.’

(80) *\*Kēd.*ˈ*Jwáyn* ˈ*ba.llṵ̂b.di* ˈ*lo.næz*

**kēd**=**Jwáyn** ba-llṵb=di lo=næz

neg =Juan compl-sweep=neg r.n.face=road

Intended reading ‘(It was) not Juan (who) didn’t sweep the street.’

Also, the scope of *kēd=* is over the verbal predicate, and not over constituents or focused elements. When a focused element is negated, the negative marker *ádí=* is required, as shown in (81).

(81) *Á.dí.*ˈ*Jwáyn kēd.bá.*ˈ*llṵ̂b.di lo.*ˈ*næz*

ádí=Jwáyn kēd=ba-llṵb=di lo=næz

neg=Juan neg=compl-sweep=neg r.n.face=road

‘(It wasn’t) Juan (who) didn’t sweep the street.’

Among those who didn’t sweep the street, Juan is not one of them

## 4.4.3. Negation of potential mood clauses (‘not yet’ expressions)

The negation of potential mood clauses is a subtype of clausal negation since it exhibits structural and functional characteristics of the latter in TdVZ. That is, the negator appears preverbally and *=di* is required post-verbally. Also, it negates a monoclausal predicate, as shown in (82).

(82) *Gád.gútx.*ˈ*nyâ̰.di.dán*

**gád**=g´-utxnyâ̰=**di**=dán

neg=pot-get.married=neg=3pl.if

‘They haven’t gotten married yet.’

This negative construction, however, differs from the main type of clausal negation in two ways: 1) the proclitic negator is *gád*= instead of *kēd=*, and 2) the negated predicate/verb must be marked with the potential prefix, as shown above. This construction is exclusive for verbal predicates that have not occurred but will potentially occur. Therefore, the meaning of the negative marker *gád=*, could be interpreted as ‘not yet’.

A particular characteristic of this negative construction is that it has an alternative form. That is, the marker *gáti*[[68]](#footnote-68)alternates with *gád=* and *=di* as in (83). However, note that *gáti* is a prominent element, then, a phonological and morphosyntactic word, while *gád=* and *=di* are clitics.

(83) ˈ*Gá.ti gútx.*ˈ*nyâ̰.dán*

gáti g´-utxnyâ̰=dán

neg pot-get.married=3pl.if

‘They haven’t gotten married yet.’

## 4.4.4 Negation of Existential predication

Existential predication is expressed by *yū’* ‘stat.exist’, as in (84), and by the verb -*u’* ‘exist’. Even though both forms belong to the same root, their morphosyntax and function are different. *Yū’* ‘stat.exist’ differs from -*u’* ‘exist’ since it has mid tone and its negative counterpart does not contain a verb, but the marker *kěty* ‘neg.exist’, as in (85). Contrary to the negator(s) in clausal negation, this negative marker is not a clitic but a phonologically and morphosyntactically independent element.

(84) *ˈYū’* *ˈnîs nna’.ˈdxi*

stat.exist water today

‘There is water (service) today.’

(85) *ˈKěty ˈnis nna’.ˈdxi*

**neg**.existwater today

‘There is no water (service) today.’

On the other hand, -*u*’ ‘exist’ has low tone and conjugates with the full TAM paradigm, as shown in (86) with the completive prefix. Interestingly, this latter is negated as clausal negation. That is, *kēd*= and =*di* attach to the verb stem, as in (87). Thus, in TdVZ, *yū’* ‘stat.exist’ is a more lexical element that is used to predicate existence during speech time, and -*u*’ is a verb that is used to indicate existence in the past or future.

(86) *ˈgu’ ˈnis ˈnna̰y*

g-u’ nis nna̰y

compl-exist water yesterday

‘There was water (service) yesterday.’

(87) *kēd.ˈgû’.di ˈnis ˈnna̰y*

kēd=g-u’=di nis nna̰y

neg=compl-exist=neg water yesterday

There was not water (service) yesterday.’

Note that the negative *kěty* has some resemblance to the clausal negator *kēd=*.[[69]](#footnote-69) This is a typologically common pattern of this type of predicates. However, the form of the existential negator in TdVZ slightly differs from the typology proposed by Veselinova (2013) since she states that there are four common relations between the negator used in clausal negation and the negator in existential predicates:

* The negator in existential predicates is different from the marker in clausal negation.
* The negator in existential predicates and the negator in clausal negation are formally identical but morphologically different or used in different constructions.
* The marker of clausal negation or a negative quantifier alternate for the negation of existence.
* No special negator is used to negate existential predicates.

In TdVZ, however, the existential negator resembles the clausal negator, but it is not formally identical to it, and the phonological and morphosyntactic status of each element differ as well as the constructions in which they occur.[[70]](#footnote-70)

A particular characteristic of *kěty* is that it can be inflected, as I show in (88). Therefore, *kěty* has a more verbal status than the other negative markers discussed here.

(88) *ˈKē.tyán ˈgwâ’*

kěty=an gu-*â’*

neg.exist=3sg.if compl-go.1sg

‘S/he (was) not (there) (when) I went.’

## 4.4.5 Negative indefinite pronouns

In TdVZ, the indefinite pronouns *nobody*, *nothing*, and *nowhere* are formed using use the monoclausal negation markers (i.e., *kēd=/gád=* and *=di*) and the interrogative clitics of the language, as I show in (89). These forms, however, are used only as short answers that do not contain a verb.

(89)a. *kēd.ˈtúdí* b. *kē.ˈtxí.dí* c. *kēd.ˈká.(lí)dí*

kēd=tū=di kēd=xī=di kēd=kā(lí)=di

neg=intg.who=neg neg=intg.what=neg neg=intg.where=neg

‘nobody’ ‘nothing’ ‘nowhere’

If the (questioned) verb occurs in the answer, the position of *=di* is now after the verb, as in (90a). Indefinite constructions can also occur with the potential mood clause negator *gád*=, as shown in (90b). This data confirms the proposal that the negation of potential mood clauses is a subtype of clausal negation in TdVZ.

(90)a*. Kēd.tú.ˈbǽ̰d.dí* b*. Gád.tú.ˈgǽ̰d.dí*

**kēd**=tū=b-ǣ̰d=**di gád**=tū=g´-ǣ̰d=**di**

neg=intg.who=compl-come=neg neg=intg.who=pot-come=neg

‘Nobody came.’ ‘Nobody has come yet.’

In addition, when the question or the indefinite construction focalizes some specific noun, as in (91), the meaning as well as the construction is modified, as shown in (92). In this case, note that =*di* cliticizes right after the negated constituent.

(91) *(L)á.yū’ xí.ˈgæ̂t ba.ˈdæ̰̂d.dān ˈlǎ̰n?*

lá=yū’ xī=**gæt** ba-dæ̰d=dān lǎ̰n?

intg.pol=stat.exist intg.what=tortilla compl-give=3pl.f 3sg.if

‘Did they give him some/ any tortilla?’

(92) *Kē.txī.ˈgæ̂t.di ba.ˈdæ̰̂d.dān lǎ̰n*

kēd**=**xī**=gæt**=**di** ba-dæ̰d=dān lǎ̰n

neg=intg.what=tortilla=neg compl-give=3pl.f 3sg.if

‘They didn’t give him/her any tortilla.’/ ‘Any/No tortilla they gave him/her’

The use of *kēd=* in (92) does not seem to be negating nouns in a contrastive way but instead negates its existence. Then, in this construction =*di* seems to add emphasis to the non-existence of the entity, as the negative item ‘at all’ in English.

# 4.5 Serial verb constructions in TdVZ

A serial verb construction (SVC) is defined as a sequence of verbs which act together as a single predicate without any overt marker of coordination, subordination or syntactic dependency of any sort. Together, the verbs in the construction describe what is conceptualized as a single event. SVCs are monoclausal and their intonational properties are the same as those of a monoverbal clause. They have just one aspect and polarity value. They may also share core or other arguments. Each verb of the construction must be able to occur on its own. The serialized verb can have same or different transitivity values (Aikhenvald 2006).

## 4.5.1 SVC in TdVZ

SVC in TdVZ have been discussed by Gutiérrez (2014) in detail, so here I only cite the main characteristics of these constructions. This will allow me to differentiate them from complement constructions and purpose clauses, which are discussed in later chapters. Gutiérrez (2014) recognizes five types of SVC in this language, all of which are composed of two verbs (only). Most of the SVC exhibit the properties listed below. These are ordered based on the criteria that defines this construction in this language.

* the verbs in the constructions are marked for the same aspect
* only one negative marker occurs and it is generally on the first verb
* there is no subordination marker between the verbs
* they share an argument (generally the subject)
* the first member of the construction is generally an intransitive verb
* they describe one single event

Below I list the different types of SVC recognized by Gutiérrez (2014). These are followed by examples that show the SVC.

Prototypical SVC. This type of SVC exhibits all the properties listed above, as shown in (93).

(93) *bi.ˈdxḭ.byu gu.ˈnnǒw ˈlǎ̰m*

bi-dxiby=ṵ gu-nnā=ṵ lǎ̰m

compl-be.afraid=2sg.if compl-witness=2sg.if 3sg.anml

‘You were afraid of it (the animal).’

SVC with motion verbs. This type of SVC differs from the prototypical in that the first verb of the construction is the verb *æ* ‘go’ or *ǣ̰d* ‘come’, as in (94). Also, this type of SVC has a grammaticalized form where the motion verb is used only as a prefix, as shown in (95).

(94) *ˈræ̰n ru.ˈlṵ.yan dbí.ˈnī’n.rǣ*

r-æ=an ru-lṵy=an d´=bini’n=rǣ

hab-go=3sg.if hab-teach=3sg.if pl=child=dem.dist

‘S/he goes to/ and teach those children.’

(95) *re.ˈlṵ.yan dbí.ˈnī’n.rǣ*

r-æ-lṵy=an d´=bini’n=rǣ

hab-go-teach=3sg.if pl=child=dem.dist

‘S/he goes to/ and teach those children.’

Adverbial SVC.[[71]](#footnote-71) This type of SVC exhibits the same properties of the first type, as shown in (96). However, it differs from the prototypical construction since the TAM marker on the first verb is being fossilized. That is, the habitual marker on the first verb is becoming the default marker, as showin in ()

(96) *bi.ˈgē.llyá ba.ˈkḭ̂.nya ˈgæt*

bi-gělly=a̰ ba-kḭ̂ny=a̰ gæt

**compl**-get.hurry.1sg=1sg compl-eat.1sg=1sg tortilla

‘I eat tortilla in a hurry.’ / ‘I eat in a hurry.’

() *ri.ˈgē.llyá ba.ˈkḭ̂.nya ˈgæt*

ri-gělly=a̰ ba-kḭ̂ny=a̰ gæt

**hab**-get.hurry.1sg=1sg compl-eat.1sg=1sg tortilla

‘I eat tortilla in a hurry…’ / ‘I eat in a hurry...’

Result SVC. This SVC is characterized by the valency change of the first verb. In each case, the entities involved are assigned a different syntactic and semantic role. This can be observed when comparing the examples below.

(97) *ba.ˈkwḭ.zan ˈnīs.kī ˈgwæ’n*

ba-kwḭz=**an** **nis**=kī gu-æ’=**an**

compl-finish.liquid=3sg.if water=temp.dem compl-drink=3sg.if

‘S/he finished the water (by) drinking (it).’

(98) *gu.ˈbiz ˈnīs.kī ˈgwæ’n*

gu-biz **nīs**=kī gu-æ’=**an**

compl-be.finished.liquid water=temp.dem compl-drink=3sg.if

‘The water was finished (by) him/her drinking (it).’

SVC to introduce a third participant. This type of SVC differentiates from the above since it does not share the subject, but the object and the recipient of the event, as shown in (99).

(99) *ru.ˈta’.wan ˈgæt ri.ˈkā’ ˈÁnn*

ru-ta’w=an gæt ri-kā’ Ánn

hab-sell=3sg.if tortilla hab-get Ana

‘S/he sells tortillas to Ana.’

Other characteristics about SVC discussed by Gutiérrez (2014) include the restriction of the future prefix. That is, one of the most relevant characteristics of the SVC in Zapotec is that both verbs in the construction take the same TAM marker. However, when the first verb is marked with the future prefix, the second verb has to be marked with the potential prefix, as in (100). That is, two future markers in (a row) within the same structure are not possible, as shown in (101). This characteristic is also observed in complementation constructions discussed in Chapter 6.

(100) *Ri.ˈzǎk.txa* [*zi.ˈzo̰w ˈtxḭ̂w*]

ri-zǎk=txa=a̰ zi-za=ṵ tx´-æ=ṵ

hab-assume.1sg=dub=1sg **fut**-walk=2sg.if **pot**-go=2sg.if

‘I thought that you would walk / go walking.’

(101) \**Ri.ˈzǎk.txa* [*zi.ˈzo̰w ˈzḛw*]

ri-zǎk=txa=a̰ zi-za=ṵ z-æ=ṵ

hab-assume=dub=1sg **fut**-walk=2sg.if **fut**-go=2sg.if

Intended reading: ‘I thought that you would walk / go walking.’

Another characteristic of the SVC is that the *major* verb (Aikhenvald 2006: 22) is the one that takes the modifiers according to the verbal template discussed in §3.6. For instance, notice that negation and adverbial modification occur on the major verb (which is usually the first one in the construction), as shown in (102a) and (103a) respectively; (b) examples show that the second verb of the construction cannot be followed by verb modifiers.

(102) a. *kēd.bá.ˈra.di ˈbedy bi.ˈdo’w*

kēd=ba-ra=di bedy bi-do’w

neg=compl-get.finish.count=neg chicken compl-be.sold

‘Not all (the) chickens were sold.’

b. \**bá.ˈra ˈbedy kēd.bí.ˈdo’w.di*

ba-ra bedy kēd=bi-do’w=di

compl-get.finish.count chicken neg=compl-be.sold=neg

Intended reading: ‘Not all (the) chickens were sold.’

(103) a. *ba.ˈra ˈtæ̰.zá ˈbedy bi.ˈdo’w*

ba-ra tæ̰=zá bedy bi-*ˈ*do’w

compl-get.finish.count intsf=also chicken compl-be.sold

‘All the chickens were also sold.’

b. \**ba.ˈra ˈbedy bi.ˈdo’w ˈtæ̰.zá*

ba-ra bedy bi-do’w tæ̰=zá

compl-get.finish.count chicken compl-be.sold intsf=also

Intended reading: ‘All the chickens were sold also.’

In addition, one of the tests provided by Gutiérrez (2014) to show the monoclausality and constituency of the SVC is that the two verbs behave as a monoverbal item in subordinated structures, as I show below.

In relative clauses, both verbs of the SVC have an empty slot for the relativized subject, as in (104).

(104) *ba.ˈdxā̰.gá ˈbēnny*

ba-dxǎ̰g=a̰ bēnny

compl-bump.into.1sg=1sg person

[*ní.ri.ˈdxiby ri.ˈnnyā ˈlûy.kī*]RC

ni=ri-dxiby ri-nnyā luy=kī

sub=hab-be.afraid hab-witness 2sg.if=temp.dem

‘I bumped into the person that is afraid of you.’

SVCs also appear as a complement of a matrix clause, as in (105) (adapted slightly from Gutiérrez 2014). In this construction notice that what distinguishes SVC from complementation is the aspectual marker on the verb, since these must be coreferential in SVC, but not in complementation (§6).

(105) *ri.ˈkā.zá* [*gu.ˈstṵ̂.yu ˈpá.kán ˈgô̰w*]SVC

ri-kǎz=a̰ gu´-stuy=u pá=kán g´-aw=ṵ

hab-want.1sg=1sg pot-finish=2sg.if bread=dem.med pot-eat=2sg.if

‘I want you to finish that bread by eating it.’

SVC, then, are monoclausal constructions composed by two verbs with various particular properties. The properties of this construction can shed light on two other verb constructions that are not monoclausal, but that occur by juxtaposition (e.g., complementation and adverbial subordinating clauses) in TdVZ.

# 4.6 Focus and Topic in TdVZ

## 4.6.1 How Focus and Topic are understood in this work

In this section I describe the focus and topic constructions that occur in TdVZ. These labels refer to pragmatic roles of the elements (phrases) that occur in discourse. Languages have various ways to present the same essential information from different perspectives. The difference generally lies in how that information is packaged. It is well known that languages use a variety of formal devices to signal information structure relations; phonological, morphological or syntactic.

The discourse context includes the discourse participants (minimally the speaker and the addressee(s)), and what is typically called the common ground. The common ground is the set of propositions which the discourse participants have agreed to mutually accept (Stalnaker, 2002). It also contains a set of given discourse referents (who have already been introduced into the discourse, or who are known to be familiar to speaker and addressee), or who can be accommodated because of their relation to other given discourse referents).

The notion of focus is often illustrated via WH-question pairs since this type of questions carries a presupposition (Aissen 2019). In (106) for example, the sentence presupposes that Kim is going somewhere, and (107) presupposes that something is happening.

(106) Where is Kim going?

Kim is going to Prague.

(107) What’s happening?

Kim is going to Prague.

The answers to the questions shown above provide a value to the indefinite (the variable) in the presupposition, making the sentence true. This value is the focus of the answers. It is the element in the answer which is not present in the question. These questions, then, can be partitioned into two parts, the part the corresponds to the presupposition (the background) and the part that corresponds to the locus of new information (the focus). In (106), the focus extends over the NP while in (107), the focus extends over the entire sentence. The first type is called *narrow focus* and the other *broad focus*.

The type and location of the focus depend entirely on the discourse context (e.g., the type of question).

Topic, on the other hand, refers to the entity about which something is said, i.e. what the sentence is about, thus in a sentence such as *Kim is going to Prague*, *Kim* is the topic and the rest of the sentence is considered a **comment** on the topic. Typically, the topic represents old or already known information. Also, topics tend to be the grammatical subject in a sentence. Other characteristics of a typical topic is that it must be ‘referential’, active, and that the sentence must say something about it (Aissen 2019).

Just as with focus, topic can be marked though a syntactic position or it can be morphologically marked. In the first case, left dislocated constructions are a cross-linguistically common strategy for establishing (and shifting) topics. Morphological marking has been documented for Mayan Languages (Aissen 1992). Topics in discourse can have different functions:

* Introducing a new referent
* Establishing an old referent as the topic in the discourse
* Maintaining a topic through (a large part in) the discourse

When documenting topic, a question such as *What about X*? is often suggested. Nevertheless, natural discourse is the best way to study this phenomenon (Aissen 2019).

In the following, through text analysis and elicitation, I will show how elements are focused or topicalized in TdVZ. In the focus section I cover narrow and broad focus through *wh*-questions. In the topic section, I discuss ‘conversational’ topic and topic in narratives. As I will show, the strategy and the constructions differ according to the type of discourse.

## 4.6.2 Focus in TdVZ

In this Zapotec language there is a preverbal position for focusing NPs as well as other types of phrases (narrow focus). Observe the (108b) and (109b) examples below which correspond to the answer to the questions in (108a) and (109a) respectively. As mentioned by Velupillai (2012), even the sole NP would be possible as the answer in these cases. Note that when the non-subject NP argument moves to the focus position, there is no resumptive pronoun on the verb. However, a resumptive pronoun appears on the verb if the focused element is a pronominal subject, as in (108c). This last construction may be considered as a type of topicalization construction (see below for details), but since it is an answer to the *wh* question, I consider it a focus construction.

(108) a. *tū.ˈgwǽ ˈlæ’n ˈdāyn ˈnnâ̰y?*

tū=gu-æ læ’n dāyn nna̰y

intg.who=compl-go r.n.stomach hill yesterday

‘Who went (in)to the hill yesterday?’

b. [*ˈ****Bǽd***]FOC *ˈgwǽ ˈlæ’n ˈdāyn ˈnnâ̰y*

Bǽd gu-æ læ’n dāyn nna̰y

Pedro compl-go r.n.stomach hill yesterday

‘Pedro went (in)to the hill yesterday.’

c. [*ˈlǎ̰n*]FOC *ˈgwæ̰̂n* *ˈlæ’n ˈdāyn ˈnnâ̰y*

**lǎ̰n** gu-æ=**an** læ’n dāyn nna̰y

3sg.if compl-go=3sg.if r.n.stomach hill yesterday

‘He went to the hill yesterday.’

(109) a. *xī.bá.ˈkḭ̂n ˈBǽd*?

xī=ba-kḭ̂n Bǽd

intg.what=compl-taste Pedro

‘What did Pedro eat?’

b. [*ˈ****txî’n nis****.ˈ****ya’***]FOC *ba.ˈkḭ̂n ˈBǽd*

txî’n nis+ya’ ba-kḭ̂n Bǽd

qdr.some water+raw compl-taste Pedro

‘Pedro tasted (drank) some natural water.’

Adjective and adverbial phrases also move to the preverbal position when focused, as in (111). Note that this focus marker triggers a cleft construction reading. Also, when this focus marker appears, it presupposes not only that there is an ongoing event, but that there was previously a discourse (conversation) about this event, as noticed from the examples below.

(110) *gū.kén.ˈtxô’n ˈLlwâ’?*

gǔk=ēn=tx´-ô’=un Llwâ’

intg.when=foc=pot-go.1pl=1pl.incl Oaxaca

‘When (is it that) we are going to Oaxaca?’

(111) *ˈXwǽ.bēn* *ˈtxô’n ˈLlwâ’*

Xwǽb=ēn tx´-ô’=un Llwâ’

Thursday=foc pot-go.1pl=1pl.incl Oaxaca

‘It is Thursday that we are going to Oaxaca.’

In broad focus (predicative and sentence), on the other hand, there are two strategies. An example of predicative focus is shown in (112). In this type of focus note that the object of the verb can be fronted (as in focus of the object), as in (112c).

(112) a. *Xī.ká.ˈyṵ̂.nyu’?*

xī=ká-uny=ṵ

intg.what=progr-do=2sg.if

‘What are you doing?’

b. [*Ká.ˈgḭ̂.bya txî’n ˈlady*]foc

ká-gḭ̂by=a̰ txî’n lady

progr-wash.1sg=1sg a.few cloth(es)

‘I am washing a few clothes.’

c. [*ˈtxî’n ˈlady ká.ˈgḭ̂.bya*]foc

txî’nlady ká-gḭ̂by=a̰

a.few clothes progr-wash.1sg=1sg

‘I am washing a few clothes.’

Sentence focus is quite similar to predicative focus since the object NP can be fronted in this construction. In this case, however, the fronting of the object is more common (acceptable) than the other possibility.

(113) a. *Xī.ká.ˈyak ˈræ̌n*?

xī=ká-akræ̌n

intg.what=progr-happen adv.loc.med

‘What is happening there?’

b. *ˈBedy ni.ˈdô̰n ˈxhí ká.ˈgīn.dān*

Bedyni=dô̰nxhí ká-gīn=dān

chicken sub=pot.eat.1pl.incltomorrow progr-kill=3pl.f

‘They are killing the chicken(s) that we are eating tomorrow.’

c. *Ká.ˈgīn.dān ˈbedy ni.ˈdô̰n ˈxhí*

ká-gīn=dān bedy ni=dô̰nxhí

progr-kill=3pl.f chicken sub=pot.eat.1pl.incltomorrow

‘They are killing chicken(s) that we are eating tomorrow.’

I conclude then, that in narrow focus, the focused phrase must appear in the preverbal position. In broad focus (VP focus or sentence focus), the common word order can work but the object can also be fronted. The fronting of the object is, in fact, more acceptable in sentence focus.

## 4.6.3 Topic in TdVZ

First of all, it is important to note that topicalization and focalization share several characteristics. As I showed above, focused NP arguments occur in the preverbal position. Topicalized elements also appear in this position.

Second, it is important to mention that in order to elicit topic constructions, I use the following questions.

(114) *ˈBǽd.ga’*, *xī.ká.ˈyuyn ˈBǽd*?

Bǽd=ga’[[72]](#footnote-72) xī=ká-uny Bǽd

Pedro=intg intg.what=progr-do Pedro

‘And (what about) Pedro, what is Pedro doing?’

(115) *Kûn.ˈBǽd ˈgú.rrǽn?*

kûn=Bǽd gúr=rǽn

intg.where=Pedro hour=dem.prox

‘Where is Pedro at this time (now)?’

Notice that deixis and TAM play a fundamental role in information structure given that, in elicitation sessions, one has to suit questions to the temporal and deictic context. For instance, if one elicits *Bǽdga’ xīkáyuyn Bǽd*? ‘and (what about) Pedro, what is he doing?’ one assumes that the action is ongoing, and that all the situational context may play a role (or not) in the answers.

The answers I got when eliciting the questions above are shown in (116) and (117).[[73]](#footnote-73) As noted, the topicalized element is fronted, but no resumptive pronoun is left on the right side of verb. This contrasts with what occur in focus constructions, example (108c) above. Thus, topics, just like focused elements, occur in the preverbal position but they are grammatically different.

(116) [*ˈ****lǎ̰n***]TOP *ká.ˈllṵb læ.ˈnyu’*

lǎ̰n ká-llṵb læ’n+yu’

3sg.if progr-sweep r.n.inside+house

‘He is sweeping (inside) the house.’

(117) [*ˈlā̰ ˈBǽd*]TOP *ká.ˈllṵb læ.ˈnyu’*

lā̰ Bǽd ká-llṵb læ’n+yu’

top Pedro progr-sweep r.n.inside+house

‘(That) Pedro is sweeping (inside) the house.’

When an NP is fronted in a topic construction it is introduced by the morpheme *lā̰,* as in (117) above*.* Notably,if the answer for the questions in (114) or (115) would use the NP in the answer, *lā̰* is required, as was shown above. This morpheme is considered a base to host (second position) enclitics that have move to the preverbal position. *lā̰* also forms one single element with the pronominal clitics to form the independent set of pronouns in this language*.* However, given the characteristic of this morpheme in discourse, I consider it to be a ‘conversational’ topic marker.

Narratives, on the other hand, show other means to introduce topics. First, *lā̰* is not typically used (only when the narrative takes direct quotations). Second, the most common method to introduce a topic or change a topic in narratives is to mention the topicalized element before the sentence. Thus, the sentence that follows the topic is a comment on it. The topic in narratives, then, is not part of the clause. This is noticeable since there is usually a pause between the topic and the sentence. Also, in contrast to the conversational topic and focus, a coreferent argument with the topic must appear in situ (i.e., after the verb), as in the examples below. In (118), Mrs. Felicita is talking about how sad the situation is when women die in labor, it occurred regularly in the past, and she mentions that an aunt of hers died because of this situation.In (119), Mr. Domingo is telling the story about how corn (tree) was created. All animals gathered and discussed it, in the first mention of the grackle, it is introduced without any marker, and due to the rapid speech used in the narrative, it is difficult to listen for a pause after the mention of the grackle. However, in both examples shown, there is a pronoun (in situ) on the verb which corefers with the fronting element. This is not observed in focus constructions or in topic constructions with *lā̰* ‘top’.

(118) *tu.ˈgúl.tu nān.ˈtyǽ ˈSyúyn, ˈtxyḛ̄l tyú.ˈGúly-ˈgwæ̌nt,*

tugúltu nāntyǽ Syúyn, txyḛ̄l tiw=Gúly-gwæ̌nt

dead.late aunt **Asunción** poss.spouse uncle=Gregorio-gwæ̌nt

*guty.ˈnǣn ba.ˈdo̰*

gu-aty-nǣ=**ān** bada̰w

compl-die=comit=3sg.if baby

‘(The) late aunt Asunción, the spouse of uncle Gregorio-*gwæ̌nt*, she died with the baby.’ (txt.)

(119) *ba.ˈkâ’ kēd.zá.xī.gwé.ˈdxu’.di ˈgú.nyum*

**bakâ’** kēd=zá=xī=gu-edxu’=di g´-uny=**um**

grackle neg=also=intg.what=compl-do.correctly=neg pot-do=3sg.anml

‘The grackle also didn’t do (something) right.’ (txt.)

Topics in TdVZ then could be considered of two types: conversational and narrative topics. The first one is intra-clausal while the second is extra-clausal. Both, however, precede the verb. Another characteristic of topic is that they have the subject role, thus, objects cannot be topics in this language, which is cross-linguistically common.

In this section, I have shown how focus and topic constructions occur in TdVZ. Focused elements and topics in conversation take the preverbal position and both are intra-clausal. Narrative topics, however, are extra-clausal.

An important characteristic of Zapotec grammar is that there is only one slot for focused/topicalized elements. Thus, if the subject is topicalized and an NP (object) is focused within a clause, only one of these elements can be fronted, whether it is the topicalized subject, as in (120b), or it is the focused element, as in (120c), but not both, as shown in (120d).

(120) a. *kā.lí.ˈzǽ ˈJwáyn?*

kālí=z´-æ Jwáyn

intg.where=progr-go Juan

where is Juan going?

b. [*ˈlā̰ ˈJwáyn*]top *ˈzǽ ˈLlwâ’*

lā̰ Jwáyn z´-æ Llwâ’

top Juan progr-go Oaxaca

‘(As for) Juan (he) is going to Oaxaca’

c. [*ˈLlwâ’*]FOC  *ˈzǽ ˈJwáyn*

Llwâ’ z´-æ Jwáyn

Oaxaca progr-go Juan

‘Juan is going to [Oaxaca]foc.’

d. \*[*ˈlā̰ ˈJwáyn*]TOP [*ˈLlwâ’*]FOC *ˈzǽ*

lā̰ Jwáyn Llwâ’ z´-æ

top Juan Oaxaca progr-go

Intended reading: ‘(As for) Juan, he is going to [Oaxaca]FOC.’

# 4.7 Remarks on chapter 4

In this chapter, I have described the obligatory and non-obligatory elements that occur in various types of basic clauses in TdVZ. I defined the morphosyntactic properties of subject, objects and adverbial adjuncts that occur in a clause. Also, I discussed the semantic roles that these elements take.

Moreover, I have shown that a clause may be augmented by different valency changing mechanisms. I argued that not all valence increasing mechanisms described for other Zapotec varieties operate in the same way in TdVZ.

In addition, I discussed how interrogation and negation occur in (mono)clausal constructions. Within this last topic I showed how existential negation is expressed, and how indefinite pronouns are formed in TdVZ. These topics will be relevant in later chapters as I discuss (headless) relative clauses.

I also characterized serial verb constructions in order to differentiate them from the complement construction that will be discussed in chapter 7. Finally, I briefly showed how the information structure is represented via modifications to the TdVZ clause. This chapter then lays out the general characteristics of monoclausal constructions in TdVZ, which is the foundation for the following chapters where I discuss subordinate clauses.

# Chapter 5

***The syntax and functions of Relative clauses in TdVZ***

In this chapter I explore the morphosyntax and functions of relative clauses in TdVZ. The goal of this chapter is to provide the first detailed description of relativization in a Central Zapotec language. I will show that this language displays multiple types of relative constructions that fall along clines of headedness. Also, there are various strategies for indicating the function of the head within a relative clause.

# 5.1 Relative clauses: theoretical background

According to Lehmann (1986), a relative construction is “a construction consisting of a nominal…(which may be empty) and a subordinate clause interpreted as attributively modifying the nominal.” The nominal is referred to as the head, and the modifying clause is referred to as the relative clause.

The typological literature on the syntax of relative clauses has focused on several aspects of their structure:

1. cross-linguistic variation in noun phrase accessibility (Keenan & Comrie 1977)—that is, which syntactic functions a relativized nominal may have within a relative clause;
2. the degree of encoding of the head’s syntactic function within the relative clause—from none (gap strategy), to relative pronoun, to full pronoun, to non-reduced (Comrie 1989: 148);
3. differences in whether relative clauses are headed, headless (Caponigro 2019; Riemsdijk 2006), or light-headed (Citko 2004), and even if headedness may be a cline not easily separable into two or three discrete categories (Epps 2012);
4. the degree of nominalization of relative clauses and how that correlates with NP accessibility and the structural relationship between the head and the relative clause (Lehmann 1986).

Functionally, Givón (2001: 175–178) notes that the function of relative clauses together with other noun modifiers is to furnish “anaphoric or cataphoric clues for referent identification,” and along these lines another body of literature has focused on the central role of information structure in the use of relative clauses (Bresnan & Mchombo 1987), and how different information structural conditions grammaticalize into different types of relative constructions (Lehmann 2008).

Caponigro et al. (2020, 2013) have given special attention to headless relative clauses ([-H]RC) and proposes a three-way classification for this type of constructions in Mesoamerican Languages: Light headed, Free and Super Free Headless Relative Clauses. The three subtypes vary among each other with respect to whether there is one element considered ‘obligatory’ in the headless relative construction and if so what it is. That is, the subtype of [-H]RC is defined by whether there is a determiner (light headed), a *wh-*word (Free ([-H]RC), or no element (Super free [-H]RC) heading the RC.

Caponigro (2020) also proposes a subcategorization for what he calls Free [-H]RC: Maximal free [-H]RC, Existential Free [-H]RC, and Free choice free [-H]RC. The first subtype, Maximal Free [-H]RC, only contains the *wh*- and nothing else precedes the RC. Examples of this type are shown in (1) from Spanish and English language(s).

(1) a. Admiro a [**quien** trabaja duro.]

b. I bought [**what** is on the table.]

The semantic properties of this first subtype of Free [-H]RC are the following: 1) it is interpreted as referential; 2) it is interpreted as maximal; and 3) it can be paraphrased by a definite DP, as in (2).

(2) Admiro a **la gente** que trabaja duro.

The second subtype, Existential Free[-H]RC, is characterized as containing a verb of existence followed by a *wh*- word, as in (3).

(3) No tengo [**que** decirles.]

The properties of this second subtype of free [-H]RC are the following: 1) They (can) always occur as the complement of existential ‘be’ or existential ‘have’. 2) They can be replaced or paraphrased by existentially quantified nominal expressions, indefinite DPs, as in (4).

(4) a. No tengo [**nada** que decirles.]

b. No tengo **una excusa** [que decirles.]

The third subtype (Free choice [-H]RC) is characterized as containing a free choice marker, as shown in (5).

(5) a. Pablo voted for *whoever* was at the top of the ballot.

b. *Whatever* Paloma is cooking right now, uses onions.

The properties of this third subtype of free [-H]RC are the following: 1) A sentence containing a Free choice [-H]RC obligatorily triggers an inference of ignorance or indifference; 2) Always contains a Free choice Marker (such as the English -*ever*).

# 5.2 Types of relative clauses in TdVZ

A typical basic headed relative construction in the language is shown in (6): the head is external, the relative clause is postnominal and begins with the subordinator *ni=*, and neither the head or its role are expressed at all within the relative clause.

(6) *bi.ˈdxiby ˈ****bēnny***[*ní.ˈzǽ ˈgṵ̄z.kīx*,]RC

bi-dxiby bēnny ni=z´-æ gṵz=kī=x

compl-be.afraid person sub=progr-go hunting=temp.dem=d.e

‘The man *that went hunting* got scared then.’ (txt.)

The relative construction in (7) displays a similar structure, but the relative clause is introduced by the locative relative pronoun *kūd*= in place of *ni=*. This pronoun indicates the function of the head as a locative in the relative clause.

(7) ˈ*txúll dǔx.ˈtæ̰ zu.ˈgwǎ’*

txúll dǔxtæ̰ zugwǎ’

nice intsf est.inhabit.1sg

*ˈ****lī****.****zá***[*kūd.bá.ˈsā’n ˈtxæ̰̂.la ˈna*]RC

liz=a̰ kūd=ba-sā’n txǣ̰l=a̰ na

poss.house=1sg rel.loc.pron=compl-leave poss.spouse=1sg 1sg

‘I live nicely in my house ***where*** *my husband left me.*’ (txt.)

The relative construction in (8) differs from the previous two in that it has no subordinator at all, and the postnominal relative clause is simply juxtaposed with the head. The subordinator, however, is optional in these types of asyndetic RC and not all RCs can omit it.

(8) ˈ*yū’.pkā ˈ****bēnny***[*rú.ˈgwā̰.yīn*]RC  *ˈræ̰̂*

yū’=pkā bēnny ru-gwa̰y=īn ræ̰

est.exist=deft person hab-cook=3sg.inan loc.adv.prox

‘There are specific people *who cook it* here.’ (txt.)

This type of asyndetic relative construction also occurs with locatives, that is, there are locative RCs where the relative pronoun *kūd*= ‘rel.loc.pron’ is omitted, as in (9).

(9) ˈ*yū’* ***ka****.****ˈpǎrt***[ˈ*zǔb ya.ˈgḛdy*]RC

yū’ ka=pǎrt zǔb yag+gḛdy

est.exist intg.where=part v.psl.be.sitting tree+pine[[74]](#footnote-74)

‘There may be parts (areas) *where pine tree grows.*’ (txt.)

There are also two other types of RCs in which the relativized noun functions as the possessor, as in (10), or as the complement of a relational noun, as in (11). These RCs differ from those shown above in that, (i) the relativized element is contained within a NP (or other type of phrase) that functions as an argument of the verb and, (ii) there is an expletive pronoun filling the position of the relativized noun within the RC.

(10) ˈ*zyǽ* ˈ***bēnny***

z´-yæ bēnny

progr-go.to.origin person

[*ní.ba.ká.*ˈ*nyǣ’.dān* ˈ*læ̂’.nīn.kī*]RC

ni=ba-kanyæ’=dān læ’ny=**en**=kī

sub=compl-kick=3pl.f poss.stomach=expl.pron=temp.dem

‘The person *whose stomach they kicked* left.’ / ‘The person *whose stomach was kicked* left.’

(11) ˈ*zyǽ* ˈ***bénny***

z´-yæ bēnny

progr-go.to.origin person

[*ní.gu.díxh.*ˈ*læ’.dān* ˈ*lâ.wēn.kī*]RC

ni=gu-dixhlæ’=dān low=**en**=kī

sub=compl-tell=3pl.f r.n.face=expl.pron=temp.dem

‘The person *that they told (something)* left.’ / ‘The person *who was told (something)* left.’

There are also other types of RCs that do not have a nominal head, but there is an element that may be considered to be functioning as a light head. Elements functioning as light heads are the indefinite article *te=*, as in (12), and (some) quantifier(s), as in (13).

(12) ˈ*txû’* ***te***[*ni.gúyn.ˈllā.wēn*]RC

tx´-u’ te=ni=g´-uynllow=ēn

pot-exist i.art=sub=pot-take.care=3sg.inan

‘There would/must be (some)one *that would take care of it.*’ (txt.)

(13) *ˈtxāzˈtæ̰̂ ˈrom*

txāzī tæ̰ r-aw=um

cont intsf hab-eat=3sg.anml

***ˈráˈ****tæ̰* [*ni.ru.zub.ˈxhi’m*]RC

rá tæ̰ ni=ru-zubxhi’=um

qdr.cont.all intsf sub=hab-smell=3sg.anml

‘He (the animal) would always eat absolutely all *that he smelled.*’ (txt.)

Another type of RC that occurs in TdVZ does not exhibit a nominal head or any other type of element that can be presumed to be functioning as the head, as shown in (14). A relative clause that modifies a locative (introduced by *kūd=*) can also occur without a head, as shown in (15).

(14) ˈ*yū’* [*ní.ruyn.ˈllā.wēn*]RC

yū’ ni=r-uynllow=ēn

est.exist sub=hab-take.care=3sg.inan

‘There is (someone) *who takes care of it.*’ (txt.)

(15) *Gu.xin.ˈrô’w ba.ˈdzɨ.nyum*

guxinny+rô’w ba-dzɨny=um

night+big compl-arrive=3sg.anml

[*kūd.gú.ˈnnǎm ˈtyōp ˈbæ̂kw*]RC

kūd=gu-nnā=um tyōp bækw

rel.loc.pron=compl-witness=3sg.anmltwo dog

‘Very late at night, he (the animal) arrived *where he saw two dogs*.’ (txt.)

In addition, there is a construction that could be considered to involve a (headless) relative clause. This construction contains a verb of existence + an interrogative clitic, as in (16). Note that this construction has the properties that Caponigro (2020) argue to contain a ‘Free existential [-H]RC’. Although this type of construction may have the form of a headless RC, it has several properties that do not allow me to completely consider it as such.

(16) ˈ*yū’* ˈ***xí****n* ˈ*zû ga.*ˈ*dǎw* ˈ*nḛw*

yū’ xi=īn zu gadǎw næ=ṵ

est.exist intg.what=foc v.psl.be.standing near.to rep=2sg.if

‘There is something (*that is*) *standing close*, you said’ (txt.)

In the following, I discuss each type of relative clause shown here. I will first focus on those that are headed and then on those that are headless. When exploring headless relative clauses, the classification proposed by Caponigro et al. (2020) will be the base to discuss this phenomenon. As I will show, this language has various constructions that could be considered [-H]RC, but some specific language criteria are needed to define their membership.

## 5.2.1 Headed Relative Clauses

Basic headed relative clauses in TdVZ are discussed in this section. As mentioned in the introduction, many begin with the subordinator *ni=*, others with the relative pronoun *kūd=*, and still others with no subordinator at all.

For clarity, the following notational conventions are used in the presentation of relative constructions henceforth:

1. The relative clause is enclosed in square brackets in the TdVZ text line, with the closing bracket labeled: ]RC
2. The nominal head, or light head, of the relative construction, if overt, is shown in boldface in the Zapotec line
3. The relative clause in the translation line is shown in italics

Prototypical headed relative clauses in TdVZ are shown (17) and (18); the head functions as the subject of the of the relative clause and as the subject of the verb in the matrix clause. The head is external, the relative clause is postnominal and begins with the subordinator *ni=*, and neither the head nor its role are expressed at all within the relative clause, thus, in the second line there is a ‘gap’ where this nominal would occur. In TdVZ, the subject is the most common argument that is relativized in discourse (conversations and narratives).

(17) *ri.*ˈ*gīn gú.*ˈ*bixh* ˈ***lyu*** [*ni.bi.*ˈ*lyá’.kí*]RC

ri-gīn gubidx lyu ni=bi-lyā’=kī

hab-kill sun land sub=compl-is.broken=temp.dem

‘The sun kills the land *that was plowed*.’ (txt.)

(18) *gu.*ˈ*lā té.*ˈ***bi’n***[*ni.gu.*ˈ*dæ̰̂d* ˈ*rēky*]RCˈ*lǎ̰n*

gu-lā te=bi’n ni=gu-dæ̰d rēky lǎ̰n

compl-crash i.art=young.male sub=compl-pass loc.temp.adv 3sg.if

‘A young male *that passed by there (at that location)* crashed against her/him.’

The next example shows that a nominal in the object function can also be relativized. This type of relativization has the same characteristics of the subject relative construction. That is, the head is external, the relative clause is postnominal and begins with the subordinator *ni=*, and neither the head nor its role are expressed at all within the relative clause.

(19) ˈ*rēky rá.*ˈ*dā* ˈ***nîs***[*ni.ra.*ˈ*kḭ̂.nyun*]RC

rēky r-adā nis ni=ra-kḭ̂ny=un

loc.temp.adv hab-sprout water sub=hab-drink.1pl=1pl.incl

‘There (at that place) sprouts the water *that we drink / consume*.’

The relativization of the second object introduced by the commitative suffix, has the same characteristics as those of a subject or a direct object. That is, the relative clause is postnominal and begins with the subordinator *ni=*, and its role is not expressed at all within the relative clause, as shown in (20).

(20) *á.ˈzyǽ* ***dbén.ˈzǐt***

á=z´-yæ d´=bēnzǐt

done=progr-go.to.origin pl=foreigner

[*ni.gu.zút.ˈnǣ.dān pé.ˈllót.kī*]RC

ni=gu-zut-nǣ=dān pellót=kī

sub=compl-play-comit=3pl.f ball=temp.dem

‘They foreigners *with whom they played (basket)ball (against)* are gone

(went back to their town).’

When a nominal in recipient (indirect object) function is not introduced by any relational noun,[[75]](#footnote-75) its relativization has the same characteristics as those of a subject or a direct object. That is, the head is external, the relative clause is postnominal and begins with the subordinator *ni=*, and its role is not expressed at all within the relative clause, as in (21). These types of examples have not been found in my corpus, but when elicited, they are accepted.

(21) *ba.*ˈ*dxā̰.gá* ***ngu****.*ˈ***læ’n***[*ni.ba.*ˈ*dæ̰̂.da* ˈ*bǣkw.kī*]RC

ba-dxǎ̰g=a̰ ngulæ’n ni=ba-dæ̰̂d=a̰ bækw=kī

compl-bump.into.1sg=1sg male.child sub=compl-give.1sg=1sg dog=temp.dem

‘I met (by chance) the child *whom I gave the dog to.*’

A common strategy to introduce a third participant in this Zapotec variety is through a serial verb construction (SVC). As discussed in §4.5.1, in this construction, the recipient has the subject role for the second verb of the SVC. Thus, when this participant is relativized, the construction is similar to those shown above. That is, the relative clause is postnominal and begins with the subordinator *ni=*, and its role is not expressed at all within the relative clause, as shown in (22).

(22) *ba.*ˈ*dxā̰.gá* ***bēn.***ˈ***gúl***

ba-dxǎ̰g=a̰ bēngúl

compl-bump.into.1sg =1sg elder

[*ni.ba.*ˈ*tâ’.wa* ˈ*gû’n* ˈ*kwā’.kī*]RC

ni=ba-tâ’w=a̰ gû’n kwā’=kī

sub=compl-sell.1sg=1sg bull compl.get=temp.dem

‘I met (by chance) the elder *to whom I sold the bull.*’ /

Lit. ‘I met (by chance) elder *that I sold the bull he got.*’

Oblique instruments that are introduced by a SVC also exhibit these characteristics when relativized, as shown in (23).

(23) *bi.ˈdyu’n* ***gu.ˈtxíly***

bi-dyu’n gutxíly

compl-be.lost knife

[*ni.ˈxhṵ̂.yan ˈtyṵ̂.gan ˈbǣ̰l.kī*]

ni=xhṵ̂y=an tyṵ̂g=an bǣ̰l=kī

sub=pot.use=3sg.if pot.cut=3sg.if meat=temp.dem

‘The knife *that s/he will use to cut the meat* is lost.’

These examples are representative of basic headed relative clauses in TdVZ, in which:

1. The RC is embedded in the matrix clause NP (it is not adjoined);
2. The RC is externally-headed;
3. The RC is postnominal;
4. The RC begins with a subordinating clitic;
5. The RC presents no overt indication of the syntactic function of the head within the relative clause; thus, there is a “gap” in the relative clause where the relativized head would occur.

Evidence for the embeddedness of the relative clause within the matrix clause NP is visible in the position of the temporal demonstrative enclitic =*kī*, which attaches at the end of the NP that is modified. In (24), the head is *bēnny* ‘person,’ but the clitic attaches to the noun *gṵz* ‘hunting’ in the relative clause, which is where the NP ends. If no RC where modifying the head noun, the demonstrative would cliticize to the noun, as in (25).

(24) *bi.*ˈ*dxiby* ˈ***bēnny***[*ní.*ˈ*zǽ* ˈ*gṵ̄z.kīx*,]RC

bi-dxiby bēnny ni=z´-æ gṵz=**kī**=x

compl-be.afraid persona sub=progr-go hunting=temp.dem=d.e

‘The person *that went hunting* got scared then.’ (txt.)

(25) *bi.*ˈ*dxiby* ˈ***bēnny.****kīx*

bi-dxiby bēnny=**kī**=x

compl-be.afraid person=temp.dem=d.e

‘That person got scared then.’

In the same vein, in (26) I show that the RC is part of the constituent of the noun that precedes it, thus, if the nominal head moves to the focus position, the RC moves along with it.

(26) ˈ*zyēn* ˈ*tæ̰̂* ˈ***dmǎyn***

zyēn tæ̰ d´=mǎyn

qdr.cont.some intsf pl=animal

[*ni.nā.*ˈ*bāyn ló.*ˈ*dgḛ̂gy.*ˈ*dǔxy*]RC *ká.ˈyaty*

ni=na-bāyn low=d´=gḛgy+dǔxy káy-aty

sub=stat-live r.n.face=pl=ice+intsf progr-die

‘Many animals *that live in the enormous ice* (*artic*) are dying.’ (txt.)

While non-restrictive relative clauses are not treated in depth in the present study, they exist in TdVZ. The structure of non-restrictive relative clauses is largely the same as that of basic relative clauses, except that, as in English, they typically include pauses delimiting the RC, as in (27) and (28). Also, they modify the head more parenthetically. The information they provide is a comment on the noun. In some cases, demonstrative enclitic(s) may attach directly to the head noun, and not at the end of the (non-restrictive) relative clause, as in (28).

(27) ˈ*zǔb* ˈ***yag kwer.***ˈ***nnín,*** [*ni.ri.*ˈ*xhṵ̂.yun*]RC

zǔb yag kwernnín ni=ri-xhṵ̂y=un

v.psl.be.sitting tree kwernnin sub=hab-use.1pl=1pl.incl

‘There are *kwernnín* tree, *which we use.*’ (txt.)

(28) ˈ*dxû’n* ˈ*ræ̰,* ***ba****.*ˈ***llá****.rǽn,*

dxû’n ræ̰ ballá=**rǽn**

pot.be.located.1pl.inc loc.prox.adv shadow=dem.med

[*kūd.rá.*ˈ*sæ̰̂.dun* ˈ*xtḛ̂ dixh*ˈ*sa*]RC

kūd=ra-sæ̰̂d=un xtḛ̂ny dixhza

rel.loc.pron=hab-study.1pl=1pl.incl prep.of Zapotec

‘We are here, in this ‘house’, *where we study about Zapotec.*’ (txt.)

Finally, one type of relative construction that needs further exploration is found when the RC occurs together with a cleft construction, as in (29). In this type of construction what immediately follows the head noun is the copula *nā* and then comes the relative clause. As noted, the subject of the copula is co-referent with the missing argument of the RC.

(29) ***ya.*ˈ*gyu***ˈ*nā*

yag+yu nā

tree+earth cop

[*ní.*ˈ*zǔ.brú næz*[*kūd.*ˈ*byô’n.ræ̂’*]rc]rc

ní=zǔb=rú næzkūd=b-yô’n=ræ̂’

sub=v.psl.be.sitting=more prep.by=rel.loc.pron=compl-go.1.pl.incl=dem.prox

‘Earth-tree is the one *that grows more around where we went (by).*’ (txt.)

All the relative constructions shown in this section are headed, are introduced by the subordinator *ni*=, and in the position of the relativized noun, there is gap. However, locative adjuncts require the relative pronoun *kūd*=, which indicates its role within the RC, as I discuss below.

## 5.2.2 Relativization with relative pronoun strategy

If the head of a relative construction functions as an adjunct locative within the relative clause, then the relative pronoun *kūd*= introduces the relative clause. This pronoun indicates the function of the head as a locative in the relative clause, as in (30).

(30) ˈ*txúll dǔx.*ˈ*tæ̰ zu.*ˈ*gwǎ’* ˈ***lī****.****zá***

txúll dǔxtæ̰ zugwǎ’ līzá

nice intsf est.inhabit. 1sg poss.home.1sg

[*kūd.bá.*ˈ*sā’n* ˈ*txæ̰̂.la* ˈ*na*]RC

**kūd**=ba-sā’n txǣ̰l=a̰ na

rel.loc.pron=compl-leave poss.spouse=1sg 1sg

‘I live nicely in my house *where my husband left me.*’ (txt.)

As discussed in § 3.8.1.2, in TdVZ, there are relational noun phrases. When this type of phrase functions as a locative within the RC, it is relativized with the relative pronoun *kūd*=, as shown in the example below.

(31) *txi.bi.*ˈ*zû.nyān* ˈ***kwæ̂’ tē****.*ˈ***zīn***

txi=bi-zuny=ān kwæ’ te=zīn

temp.sub=compl-arrive=3sg.f r.n.side i.art=spring

[*kūd.ká.*ˈ*dā* ˈ*nîs* ˈ*rô’* ˈ*tæ̰*]RC

kūd=ká-dā nis rô’w tæ̰

rel.loc.pron=progr-sprout water big intsf

‘When s/he arrived next to a spring (from) *where lots of water were sprouting*.’ (txt.)

## 5.2.3 Relativization with no subordinator

While more relative clauses are introduced by the subordinator *ni*= or the relative pronoun *kūd*=, there are relative clauses that can optionally omit the subordinator. In these constructions then, what immediately follows the head noun is typically the relative clause predicate, as shown in (32) and (33) with a nominal in subject function and a locative adjunct, respectively.

(32) ˈ*yū’.pkā* ˈ***bēnny***[*rú.*ˈ*gwā̰.yīn*]RC ˈ*ræ̂*

yū’=pkā bēnny ru-gwa̰y=īn ræ̰

est.exist=deftv person hab-cook=3sg.inan loc.adv.prox

‘There are (specific / special) people *who cook it* here*.*’ (txt.)

(33) ˈ*yū’* ˈ***læt***[ˈ*zǔb ya.*ˈ*gyu*]RC

yū’ læt zǔb yag+yu

est.exist place v.psl.be.sitting tree+soil

‘There are parts/places *where soil-tree grow*s.’

The omission of the subordinator may be driven by the information structure; in Zenzontepec Chatino, a Chatino language, Campbell (2019) hypothesizes that the omission of the subordinator occurs when the relativized noun is specific (known by the speaker), but non-topical. In TdVZ I haven’t defined what triggers this optionality, but it seems to be related to indefiniteness and discourse factors.[[76]](#footnote-76) Other examples from text that show this optionality are given below.

(34) ˈ*gu’* ˈ***bēnny***[*gwǽ.*ˈ*nǣ* ˈ*lá̰n*]

g-u’ bēnny gu-ǣnǣ lā̰n

compl-exist person compl-take 3sg.f

‘There were people / was a person (*who) took him* (there).’ (txt.)

(35) ˈ*zu,* ˈ***gæs***[ˈ*yū’* ˈ*syâ̰b* ˈ*xhǔb* ˈ*ngâ’*]

zu, gæs yū’ syâ̰b xhǔb ngâ’

v.psl.be.standing pot est.exist atole corn blue

‘There was standing (a) pot *(that) contained blue corn atole*.’ (txt.)

## 5.2.4 Summary and discussion of the basic relativization strategy

Basic relative constructions in TdVZ are ones in which the relative clause is embedded, externally headed, postnominal, and generally introduced by the subordinator *ni=* or the relative pronoun *kūd=*.

The postnominal position of the relative clause fits the strong cross-linguistic correlation that Dryer (2013) states as “if a language is VO, then it is usually NRel.” In terms of treatment of the NP within the relative clause, TdVZ basic relativization strategy resembles the gap strategy because it “does not provide any overt indication of the syntactic function of the head within the relative clause” (Comrie 1989: 151)—unless of course the role of the head in the relative clause is a locative indicated by the relative pronoun *kūd=*.

The optionality of the subordinator is an aspect that needs to be explored further since clear evidence of what exactly triggers this optionality has not been encountered.

## 5.2.5 Relativization of possessors and complements of relational nouns

There are other types of RCs that differ from those discussed above. In these, there is an element filling the position of the relativized noun within the relative clause. This pronoun retention strategy occurs when a possessor or the complement of a relational noun is relativized, as in (36) and (37) respectively. Although this type of RC is headed, it differs from those constructions shown above in that, (i) the relativized element is contained within a NP (or other type of phrase, that functions as an argument of the verb) and, (ii) there is an expletive pronoun filling the position of the relativized noun within the RC.

(36) ˈ*zyǽ* ˈ***bēnny***

z-yæ bēnny

progr-go.to.origin person

[*ní.ba.ká.*ˈ*nyǣ’.dān* ˈ*læ̂’.nīn.kī*]RC

ni=ba-kanyæ’=dān læ’ny=**en**=kī

sub=compl-kick=3pl.f poss.stomach=expl.pron=temp.dem

‘The person *whose stomach they kicked* left.’ / ‘The person *whose stomach was kicked* left.’

(37) ˈ*zyǽ* ˈ***dbénny***

z-yæ d´=bēnny

progr-go.to.origin pl=person

[*ní.gu.díxh.*ˈ*lǣ’.dān* ˈ*lâ.wēn.kī*]RC

ni=gu-dixhlæ’=dān low=**en**=kī

sub=compl-tell=3pl.f r.n.face=expl.pron=temp.dem

‘The people *that they told (something)* left.’ / ‘The people *who were told (something)* left.’

The expletive pronoun that fills the position of the relativized noun does not agree with the head noun. In the examples below, I show the pronominal form of the third person(s). As can be observed, the pronominal clitic forms for the possessor or the complement of a relational noun contain the vowel /a/ and contrast in number and formality. However, the expletive pronoun that fills this slot in the RCs does not exhibit any of these properties. Therefore, I consider that this is a grammatical element that is used only to fill the ‘possessor’s slot, but not a resumptive or anaphoric pronoun.

(38) *ba.ka.*ˈ*nyǣ’.dān* ˈ*læ̂’.nyan/ān*

ba-kanyæ’=dān læ’ny=**an**/=**ān**

compl-kick=3pl.f poss.stomach=3sg.if/=3sg.f

‘They kicked his/her stomach.’

(39) *gu.dixh.*ˈ*lǣ’.dān* ˈ*lâw.dán/dān*

gu-dixhlæ’=dān low=**dán**/=**dān**

compl-tell=3pl.f r.n.face=3pl.if/=3pl.f

‘They told them.’

Nevertheless, that relativization of possessors and complements of relational nouns differs from those shown above is evident because there is an element filling the position of the relativized noun. Therefore, I consider this type of relativization uses the pronoun retention strategy.

# 5.3 Headless relative clauses

In this section I discuss headless relative clauses ([-H]RCs) in TdVZ. First, I will discuss light headed and Super free headless relative clauses. Then, I will discuss various constructions that could be considered Free [-H]RCs. All these labels are taken from Caponigro (2020).

## 5.3.1 Light headed RCs

Light headed RCs are common in TdVZ. The elements that can function as a light head are the indefinite article *te*=, as in (40), or a quantifier, including numerals, as in (41). As noted from the examples below, the RC introduced by the subordinator *ni*= is what occurs immediately after the element that functions as the (light) head.

(40) ˈ*txû’ te*[*ni.gúyn.*ˈ*llā.wēn*]RC

tx´-u’ te=ni=g´-uynllow=ēn

pot-exist i.art=sub=pot-take care=3sg.inan

‘There must be (some)one *that would take care of it.*’ (txt.)

(41) *txāz.*ˈ*tæ̰̂* ˈ*rom* ˈ*rá*ˈ*tæ̰* [*ni.ru.zub.*ˈ*xhi’m*]RC

txāzī=tæ̰ r-aw=um rá tæ̰ ni=ru-zubxhi’=um

cont=intsf hab-eat=3sg.anml qdr.cont.all intsf sub=hab-smell=3sg.anml

‘He (the animal) would always eat (absolutely) all *that he smelled.*’ (txt.)

Interestingly, the plural marker may also be the only element that occurs before the RC, as in (); thus, the plural marker is another element that functions as a light head in TdVZ.

() *á.ˈzyǽ d*[*ní.kēd.bá.ˈsyáll.dí ˈJwáyn ˈpá*]RC

á=z´-yæ d´=ni=kēd=ba-syāll=di Jwáyn pá

done=progr-go.to.origin pl=sub=neg=compl-award/give=neg Juan bread

‘(The ones) *that Juan didn’t give bread* left.’

In these examples above, notice that the functions that the omitted noun has within the RC are subject (),direct object () and indirect object (). The object introduced by the comitative suffix exhibits this same behavior, as shown in (43).

(43) *ˈgu’ te.ˈtyōp* [*ni.gu.zút.ˈnæ̌n*]RC

g-u’ tetyōp ni=gu-zut=nǣ=an

compl-exist a.few sub=compl-play-comit=3sg.if

*txi.ˈgú.kan bí.ˈtxi’n*

txi=gu-ak=an bítxi’n

when=compl-be=3sg.if small

‘There were a few *that s/he plays with* when s/he was small/young.’

Moreover, light headed RC may also occur when the relativized noun has a locative role within the RC. That is, the noun or the relational noun phrase may be omitted leaving only its modifiers, as in (44).

(44) *ˈbyô’n̄ té*[*kūd.ra.ˈdā ˈnîs*]

b-yô’=ūn te=kūd=ra-dā nis

compl-go.1pl=1pl.excl i.art=rel.loc.pron=hab-sprout water

‘We went to one/a (place) *where water sprouts*.’

When the omitted noun has a locative role within the RC, the grammaticalized form of the word for ‘road’, (i.e., *næz*= ‘prep.by) may function as a light head. This is shown in (). In this example, the RC headed by this preposition is contained within another RC.

() ***ya.*ˈ*gyu***ˈ*nā*

yag+yu nā

tree+earth cop

[*ní.*ˈ*zǔ.brú næz*[*kūd.*ˈ*byô’n.ræ̂’*]rc]rc

ní=zǔb=rú næz=kūd=b-yô’n=ræ̂’

sub=v.psl.be.sitting=more prep.by=rel.loc.pron=compl-go.1.pl.incl=dem.prox

‘Earth-tree is the one *that grows more (around) where we went by.*’ (txt.)

In the same vain, when the omitted noun is the complement of a relational noun and this noun omitted, the relational noun is what heads the RC, as showin in ().

(31) *gāxh.bí.*ˈ*zû.nyān* ˈ***kwæ̂’*** [*kūd.*ˈ*zû kamyúnkī*]CR

gāxh=bi-zuny=ān kwæ’ kūd=zu kamyún=kī

then=compl-arrive=3sg.f r.n.side rel.loc.pron=v.psl.standing car=temp.dem

‘Then he arrived next to *where the car was standing*.’

In conclusion, all the elements preceding nouns whether they modify it of form another type of constituent with it can function as a light head in TdVZ. Also, all the syntactic functions can be relativized.

## 5.3.2 Super free [-H]RC

Super free [-H]RC are characterized by the lack of any type of element preceding the RC. That is, no determiner or *wh*- word, and in some languages, not even a subordinator appears before the RC (Caponigro 2020). In TdVZ super free [-H]RCs are characterized by the fact that what occurs immediately after the main predicate is the relative clause introduced by *ni*=, as shown in (45) and (46).

(45) ˈ*yū’* [*ní.gu.*ˈ*nnḭ̂ ru.*ˈ*gutx* ˈ*bēnny.kán*]RC

yū’ ní=gu-nnḭ ru-gutx bēnny=kán

est.exist sub=compl-say hab-mix person=dem.med

‘There were (people) *who said that the person was mixing (crazy)*.’ (txt.)

(46) *lá.ˈkwǒ’w* [*ni.gwé.dxu.ˈlâ̰.zū.kī*]*?*

lá=kwā’=ṵ ni=gu-edxulâ̰z=ṵ=kī

intg.pol=compl.get=2sg.if sub=compl-like=2sg.if=temp.dem

‘Did you get (the thing) *that you liked*?’

As noticed from the examples above, the functions that the omitted noun may have are subject or (direct) object. The noun in the indirect object function can also be omitted, as shown in (47), but it is not as common as the subject or object. In (48) I show that the object introduced by the comitative marker can also occur in this type of headless constructions.

(47) *bi.ˈdxītx* [*ní.kēd.bá.ˈdæ̰̂d.di ˈJwáyn ˈpá*]RC

bi-dxītx ni=kēd=ba-dæ̰̂d=di Jwáyn pá

compl-be.angry sub=neg=compl-give=neg Juan bread

‘The (one) *who Juan didn’t give bread to* got angry.’

(48) *ˈgu’* [*ni.gu.zút.ˈnæ̌n*]RC *txi.ˈgú.kan*

g-u’ ni=gu-zut=nǣ=an txi=gu-ak=an

compl-exist sub=compl-play-comit=3sg.if when=compl-be=3sg.if

*bí.ˈtxi’n*

bítxi’n

small

‘There was *(some)one that s/he plays with* when s/he was small/young.’

Locative can also occur in constructions that involve Super free headless RCs, as shown in (49).

(49) *á.ba.*ˈ*dxē.lán* [*kūd.*ˈ*txæ̰̂n nna’.*ˈ*dxi*]RC

á=ba-dxēl=an kūd=tx´-æ=an nna’dxi

done=compl-find=3sg.if rel.loc.pron=pot-go=3sg.if today

‘S/he (has) found (*some*)*where to go today*.’

To summarize, Super free [-H]RC relative clauses are similar to light headed relative clauses, but the former have a nominal modifier functioning as the head. Both types of constructions are just like those relative clauses discussed in the previous section, that is, there is a subordinator or a relative pronoun introducing the relative clause. Nevertheless, there are constructions that involve the use of interrogative clitics, these have various characteristics of what Caponigro (2020) call free relative clauses, but it is not easy to categorize them as such. This is discussed in the following section.

## 5.3.3 Free [-H]RC in TdVZ?

TdVZ exhibits various constructions that could be referred to as what Caponigro (2020) calls free relative clauses. Recall that Caponigro proposes three subtypes of free relative clauses: 1) Maximal free, 2) Existential free, and 3) Free choice marker.

In (50), the clause that occurs after the verb -*sutxḛ* ‘decorate’contains all the properties to be considered aMaximal free [-H]RC (i.e., it is an embedded clause that lacks a constituent and is introduced by a *wh*-word). In fact, this clause may be paraphrased with a definite noun, as in (51). Note that throughout this section, I will use the brackets to enclose the interrogative clause, but I will not give it a label unless I assume it is a RC.

(50) ˈ*LLúpy ba.sú.*ˈ*txḛ* [*xī.byé.*ˈ*nē.ūn*]

LLúpy ba-sutxḛ xī=bi-ēnǣ=ūn

Guadalupe compl-decorate intg.what=compl-take=1pl.excl

‘Guadalupe prepared/ decorated *what we brought*.’

(51) ˈ*LLúpy ba.sú.*ˈ*txḛ* ***gyæ̰***[*ni.byé.*ˈ*nē.ūn*]RC

LLúpy ba-sutxḛ gyæ̰ ni=bi-ēnǣ=ūn

Guadalupe compl-decorate flower sub=compl-take=1pl.excl

‘Guadalupe prepared the flowers (the bouquet) *that we brought*.’

The construction in (51) also has all the characteristics of an existential free [-H]RC, that is, the main predicate contains a verb that indicates existence followed by a wh-word. In fact, the *wh*-word can be replaced or paraphrased with an indefinite NP, as in (53). Nevertheless, the status of the existential verb + interrogative word is not completely clear, that is, these morphemes may have lexicalized to express indefinite pronouns (*someone*, *something* and *somewhere*), as I discuss in §5.3.3.1.

(52) ˈ*yū’*[*tū ri.*ˈ*kā’n ǽs.tá*]

yū’=**tū** ri-kā’=ān æstá

est.exist=intg.who hab-get=3sg.f in.a.while

‘There is *someone* *to whom s/he gets (married) later* (in the story).’ (txt.)

(53) ˈ*yū’ té.*ˈ***dxap***[*ri.*ˈ*kā’n ǽs.tá*]RC

yū’ te=dxap [ri-kā’=ān æstá

est.exist i.art=young.woman hab-get=3sg.f in.a.while

‘There is a young woman *to whom s/he gets (married) later* (in the story).’

In (54), the [-H]RC contain a free choice marker and triggers an inference of ignorance or indifference. Thus, it may be considered a type of Free choice marker headless relative clause. Nevertheless, this free choice marker attached to the first element of the constituent. Thus, if a nominal head occurs, the free choice marker attaches to it, as in (55). Thus, Free choice headless relative clauses are modified/derived (from) Super Free headless RCs.

(54) *kon.ba.*ˈ*dæ̰d.dá.nēn* [*ní.tsīz.bá.*ˈ*zûyn*]RC

kon=ba-dæ̰d=dán=ēn ni=**tsīz**=ba-zuny

so=compl-give=3pl.if=3sg.inan sub=w.ever=compl-arrive

‘So, they gave it to *whoever/whatever arrived*.’

(55) *ba.*ˈ*dæ̰d.dá.nēn* ˈ*bén.tsīz* [*ní.ba.*ˈ*zûyn*]rc

ba-dæ̰d=dán=ēn bēnny=**tsīz** ni=ba-zuny

compl-give=3pl.if=3sg.inan person=w.ever sub=compl-arrive

‘They gave it to any person *who arrived.*’ / ‘They gave it to whatever person *arrived.*’

In the following I will discuss each type of construction and examine if it can be categorized as a Free [-H]RC or not.

### 5.3.3.1 Maximal free [-H]RC

As mentioned above, constructions involving the use of an embedded clause headed by an interrogative clitic are common in TdVZ. These constructions occur with all the interrogative clitics as shown in (56) - (59).

(56) *ˈBǽd kwǽ.ˈbæ̰̂* [*tū.ˈtxǽ*]

Bǽd kwǽbæ̰ tū=tx´-æ

Pedro pot.define intg.who=pot-go

‘Pedro will define *who is going*.’

(57) ˈ*LLúpy* ˈ*ba.dxél* [*ka.lí.ná.ín*]

LLúpy ba-dxél kalí=nā=īn

Guadalupe compl-find intg.where=cop=3sg.inan

‘Guadalupe found *where it was/is* (the place).’

(58) *ˈBǽd ba.ká.ˈbæ̰* [*gǔk.ˈtxô’n̄*]

Bǽd ba-kabæ̰ gǔk=tx´-ô’=ūn

Pedro compl-indicate intg.when=pot-go.1pl =1pl.excl

‘Pedro indicated/ made the decision *when we are going*.’

(59) ˈ*LLúpy ru.*ˈ*lṵy* [*xá.*ˈ*rā.kēn*]

LLúpy ru-lṵy xá=r-ak=ēn

Guadalupe hab-show intg.how=hab-be.done=3sg.inan

‘Guadalupe shows/ teaches *how (it) is done/ made*.’

Nevertheless, to determine if these constructions are headless RC is not easy. That is, interrogative complement clauses (§6.3.2) have the same form, as shown in (60).

(60) *ˈBǽd gu.ˈnnḭ̂* [*tū.byé.ˈnē.ūn*]

Bǽd gu-nnḭ tū=bi-ēnǣ=ūn

Pedro compl-say intg.who=compl-take=1pl.incl

‘Pedro said (decided) *who we brought*.’

Caponigro (2020) suggests at least three tests to determine which constructions are which in languages where both headless (free) relative clauses and interrogative complements have the same form. First of all, he suggests observing which type of element is selected by the predicate that precedes these constructions: individuals or prepositions. This selection, however, becomes fuzzy in TdVZ because there are predicates that are polysemic or acquire a different meaning in specific constructions. For instance, the verb -*bēbæ̰̂* ‘define’ is understood as ‘design’ in a construction where it is followed by the relational noun phrase (RNP) *logits* ‘on the paper’, as in (61). In this case, this predicate selects for individuals but without this (RNP), this predicate may only select for propositions. Thus, this test only works for predicates such as -*dxēl* ‘find’, which are not polysemic, or that do not occur in other expressions, as in (62).

(61) *ˈBǽd kwǽ.ˈbæ̰̂ lady.ˈgītx.kī lo.ˈgits*

Bǽd kwǽbæ̰ lady+gitx=kī low=gits

Pedro pot.design/#define woven.cloth+wool=temp.dem r.n.face=paper

‘Pedro will design /#define the rug on the paper.’

(62) *ba.ˈdxē.lán te.ˈnæz*

ba-dxēl=an te=næz

compl-find=3sg.if i.art=road

‘S/he found a road.’

The second test suggested is to substitute the *wh*-clause with a nominal (or DP) expression that refers to an object (entity). If the *wh*-clause can be replaced by this expression it refers to a headless relative clause, otherwise it may refer to an interrogative complement. In (63) I show that for the predicate -*kwabæ̰* ‘indicate’, a nominal expression containing a RC may substitute the *wh*-clause (compare with (58) above). On the other hand, the interrogative clause *xárākēn* ‘how it is done’ which occurs after -*lṵy* ‘show’ in (59) above is not easy to be substituted by a nominal (or DP) expression since a noun that expresses ‘(the) manner’ or ‘(the) form’ does not exist in TdVZ.[[77]](#footnote-77) However, the borrowed word *fǒrm* ‘way’ from Spanish, shown in (64), was marginally accepted by some speakers.

(63) *ˈBǽd ba.ká.ˈbæ̰ ˈ****dxi***[*ni.ˈtxô’n̄*]RC

Bǽd ba-kabæ̰ dxi ni=tx´-ô’=ūn

Pedro compl-indicate day sub=pot-go.1pl=1pl.excl

‘Pedro indicated the day *that we are going*.’

(64) ˈ*LLúpy ru.*ˈ*lṵy* ˈ*fǒrm* [*ni.*ˈ*rā.kēn*]RC

ˈLLúpy ru-lṵy fǒrm ni=r-ak=ēn

Guadalupe hab-show way sub=hab-be.done=3sg.inan

‘Guadalupe teaches/show the way *that it is done*.’

The third test suggested by Caponigro is focused on defining whether the interrogative clause is a complement clause or not. Thus, if the interrogative clause can be substituted by a polar interrogative clause, then, it is a complement clause and not a type of headless relative clause. Thus, consider the predicate -*kabæ̰* ‘indicate’ in (65). The result of this test suggests that the interrogative clause that occurs in this construction is a type of headless relative clause since it cannot be substituted by a polar interrogative.

(65) \**ˈBǽd ba.ká.ˈbæ̰ (l)á.ˈzô’n̄*

Bǽd ba-kabæ̰ (l)á=z-ô’=ūn

Pedro compl-indicate intg.pol=fut-go1pl=1pl.excl

Intended reading: ‘Pedro indicated whether we are going (or not).’

Nevertheless, there are predicates that select for propositions as well as for *wh*-clauses, as shown in (66) and (67) respectively. These, however, cannot select polar interrogative clauses, as shown in (68). Thus, this test is not completely applicable in TdVZ.

(66) *gāxh.bá.zi.ˈrwa’n* ˈ*lǎ̰n ˈbâ̰.nyā.nēn*

gāxh=ba-ziru’=an *lǎ̰n* ba̰ny=an=ēn

then=compl-confess=3sg.if 3sg.if compl.do=3sg.if=3sg.inan

‘Then s/he confessed (that) [s/he]foc did it.’

(67) *gāxh.bá.zi.ˈrwa’n* [*xī.ˈbâ̰.nyan*]

gāxh=ba-ziru’=an xī=ba̰ny=an

then=compl-confess=3sg.if intg.what=compl.do=3sg.if

‘Then s/he confessed *what s/he did*.’

(68) \**gāxh.bá.zi.ˈrwa’n (l)á.zæ̰n*

gāxh=ba-ziru’=an (l)á=zæ̰n

then=compl-confess=3sg.if intg.pol=fut-go=3sg.if

Intended reading ‘Then s/he confessed whether s/he going (or not).’

Another test proposed by Caponigro is the use of a complex interrogative expression (i.e., which/what + NP). This author shows that there are languages, such as English, in which these expressions can only introduce interrogative complements and not relative clauses. Thus, predicates that select for individuals (NP/DPs) cannot take these types of complex interrogatives as their complements. In TdVZ, however, these complex interrogative expressions occur after predicates that select either propositions or individuals as complements. This is shown in (69) and (70) respectively. Therefore, this test does not determine the type of construction the *wh*-clause refers to.

(69) *kēd.gú.dixh.ˈlæ’di ˈNdǔn lo.ˈBǽd*

kēd=gu-dixhlæ’=di Ndǔn lo=Bǽd

neg=compl-tell=neg Antonia r.n.face=Pedro

*tū.ˈdbénny bá.ˈdxé.lēn*

tū=d´-bēnny ba-dxēl=ēn

intg.who=pl-person compl-find=3sg.inan

‘Antonia didn’t tell Pedro which people found it.’

(70) *kēd.*ˈ*bá.dxél.dyan* [*tū.*ˈ*bénny* ˈ*xyḛ̂.lan*]

kēd=ba-dxēl=di=an tū=bēnny xyḛ̂l=an

neg=compl=find=neg=3sg.if intg.who=person pot.send=3sg.if

‘S/he didn’t find *someone to send*.’ / ‘S/he didn’t find *which person to send*.’

Given that these tests do not completely apply for all types of predicates in TdVZ, the defining criteria may be semantic. Thus, in the following, if the main predicate selects for individuals (NP/DP) as well as for interrogatives, the interrogative clause will be considered a type of headless relative clause. If, on the other hand, the main predicate selects for propositions as well as for interrogatives, the interrogative clause will be considered an interrogative complement. Having said that, maximal free [-H]RCs in TdVZ have the same form as interrogative complements. Examples Free [-H]RCs are shown below.

(71) *á.ba.*ˈ*dxé.lán* [*tū.*ˈ*bâ̰.nīn*]

á=ba-dxēl=an tū=ba̰ny=ēn

done=compl-find=an intg.who=compl.do=3sg.inan

‘S/he has found (out) *who did it*.’

(72) ˈ*LLúpy ba.sú.*ˈ*txḛ* [*xī.byé.*ˈ*nē.ūn*]

LLúpy *ba-sutxḛ* xī=bi-ēnǣ=ūn

Guadalupe compl-decorate intg.what=compl-take=1pl.excl

‘Guadalupe prepared/decorated *what we brought*.’

As noted, the interrogative is the first element of the RC, and no subordinator occurs; the functions that have access to relativization are the subject and the object. Indirect objects may also have access to relativization in this type of structures, as shown in (73).

(73) *á.ba.ˈdxēl ˈLLúpy* [*tū.gú.ˈdæ̰̂.dan ˈbækw*]

á=ba-dxēl llúpy tū=gu-dæ̰̂d=an bækw

done=compl-find Guadalupe intg.who=pot-give=3sg.if dog

‘Guadalupe has found *who she will give the dog to*.’

Also, locative adjuncts may be relativized in these constructions, as shown in (74).

(74) *á.ba.ˈdxēl ˈLLúpy* [*kā.lí.*ˈ*kwǽ.dán*]

á=ba-dxēl llúpy kālí=kwǽ=dán

done=compl-find Guadalupe intg.where=pot.sit=3pl.if

‘Guadalupe has found *where they will sit*.’

As noted, maximal free [-H]RCs are common in TdVZ, however, if one assumes that the interrogative is standing in the place of the moved element, the RCs shown above are not completely headless. Perhaps the best way to consider these constructions is to say that they are relative clauses with indefinite heads.

### 5.3.3.2 Existential free [-H]RC

TdVZ has constructions that could be considered existential free [-H]RCs because they involve a verb expressing existence followed by a *wh*-word, as in (75). This construction also has the semantic characteristics discussed by Caponigro (2020) for these types of clause.

(75) ˈ*yū’*[*tū rí.*ˈ*kā’n* ˈ*ǽs.tá*]

yū’=**tū** ri-kā’=ān æstá

est.exist=intg.who hab-get=3sg.f in.a.while

‘There is someone (to) whom s/he gets (married) later (in the story)’ (txt.)

This construction, however, may not contain two clauses in TdVZ. That is, the existential verb + the interrogative clitics are the means that TdVZ uses to express the existence of an unknown entity (i.e., the indefinites: *someone*, *something* and *somewhere*, see §4.4.5) and this sequence could refer to a single compound element. A fact that supports the hypothesis of the existential verb+ interrogative clitic compound is that this sequence can host the focus marker, as in (). Note that this construction is similar to the focus construction (§4.6.2), which does not involve two clauses.

() ˈ*yū’.xín* ˈ*zû ga.*ˈ*dǎw* ˈ*nḛw*

yū’=**xī**=īn zu gadǎw næ=u

est.exist=intg.what=foc v.psl.be.standing near.to rep=2sg.if

‘[There is something]foc that is standing close, you said.’ (txt.)

Moreover, even though the verb that indicates existence is a full lexical verb that can be conjugated, it occurs in a ‘fossilized’ stative form in the constructions shown above. A completive or potential prefix triggers semantically awkward readings, as shown in (80).

(80) #ˈ*gu’ xī.gú.*ˈ*nnâ̰.ban*

g-u’ xī=gu-nna̰b=an

compl-exist intg.what=compl-ask.for=3sg.if

Intended reading: ‘There was something that s/he asked for.’

In addition, the fact that this construction does not allow a subordinator, as shown in (), suggests that these constructions do not involve two clauses. However, this compounding or lexicalization process has not completed yet since a (second position) clitic may break the Verb of existence + interrogative clitic sequence, as shown in ().

() \*ˈ*yū’.*[*tū ní.ri.*ˈ*kā’n* ˈ*ǽs.tá*]

yū’**tū** **ni**=ri-kā’=ān æstá

est.exist=intg.who sub=hab-get=3sg.f in.a.while

Intended reading: ‘There is someone that (to whom) s/he gets (marry) later’

() ˈ*yū’.zá xī.*ˈ*zû ga.*ˈ*dǎw*

yū’=**zá**  xī**=**zu gadǎw

est.exist=also intg.what=v.psl.be.standing near.to

‘There is also something that is standing close (to a place).’

In addition, in the sequence Vexistential + interrogative clitic tone sandhi does not apply. That is, if the interrogative clitic were cliticized to the verb, the mid tone on the existential would change its tone (to high). Nevertheless, in the sequence of these morphemes, the tone of this clitic does not change, as shown in the examples below.[[78]](#footnote-78)

(76) ˈ*yū’.tū rí.*ˈ*kā’n* ˈ*ǽs.tá*

yū’**tū** ri-kā’=ān æstá

est.exist=intg.who hab-get=3sg.f in.a.while

‘There is someone to whom s/he gets (marry) later (in the story)’ (txt.)

(77) ˈ*yū’.xī ká.*ˈ*nnā̰.bēn*

yū’=**xī** ká-nn(y)a̰b=ēn

est.exist=intg.what progr-ask.for=3sg.inan

‘There is something that it is asking for’ (txt.)

(78) ˈ*yū’.****kā****(.lí)* ˈ*txæ̰̂n nna’.*ˈ*dxi*

yū’=kā(lí) tx´-æ=an nna’dxi

est.exist=intg.where pot-go=3sg.if today

‘There is somewhere where s/he is going today.’

Given these particular characteristics of the Vexistence + interrogative clitics, it is difficult to determine whether this construction refer to headless relative clauses or to a grammatical construction used to express indefinites is difficult. However, that the verb of existence selects for interrogative clauses as its complements is common in TdVZ, as can be observed in (83)- (86) where the verb of existence selects for a complex interrogative expression.

(83) ˈ*yū’* [*tū.*ˈ*bénny rí.*ˈ*kā’n* ˈ*ǽs.tá*]

yū’ **tū**=bēnny ri-kā’=ān æstá

est.exist intg.who=person hab-get=3sg.f in.a.while

‘There is some person to whom s/he gets (married) later.’

(84) ˈ*yū’* [*xī.*ˈ*gîts ká.*ˈ*nnā̰.bēn*]

yū’ **xī**=gits ká-nn(y)a̰b=ēn

est.exist intg.what=paper progr-ask.for=3sg.inan

‘There is some paper/document that it is asking for.’

(85) *gū.*ˈ*yú’* [***tú.****bá.*ˈ*dxá̰.gú* ˈ*nna̰y*?]

gū=yū’ tū=ba-dxā̰g=ṵ nna̰y

intg.us=est.exist intg.who=compl-meet=2sg.if yesteday

‘Did you find someone (by chance) yesterday?’ **/**

‘Is there someone that you found (by chance) yesterday?’

(86) ˈ*yū’* [*kā.*ˈ*næ̂z* ˈ*txæ̰̂n nna’.*ˈ*dxi*]

yū’ kā=[[79]](#footnote-79)*næ̂z* tx´-æ=an nna’dxi

est.exist intg.where=road pot-go=3sg.if today

‘There is some road where s/he is going today.’

The characteristics discussed above for Vexistence + interrogative clitics makes it difficult to completely determine if these constructions could be considered [-H]RC or not. Further research and tests are need to categorize these constructions in TdVZ.

Constructions that occur with the verb -*āp* ‘have’ also have all the characteristics of an existential free [-H]RC. That is, they involve a verb expressing existence followed by a *wh*-word, as in the examples below.

(87) *á.*ˈ*rā.pá* [*xī.gú.*ˈ*dæ̰̂.da*]

á=r-ǎp=a̰ xī=gu´-dæ̰̂d=a̰

done=hab-have.1sg=1sg intg.what=pot-give.1sg=1sg

‘I already have *what to give*.’ / ‘I already have *something that I will give*.’

(88) *kēd.*ˈ*ráp.dyán* [*tū.*ˈ*xyḛ̂.lan*]

kēd=r-āp=di=an tū=xyḛ̂l=an

neg=hab=have=neg=3sg.if intg.who=pot.send=3sg.if

‘S/he doesn’t have *someone to send*.’ / Lit. ‘S/he doesn’t have *who s/he will send*.’

Although this construction can be formed with the interrogatives *xī*= ‘what’ and *tū*= ‘who’, when requesting information about the object or the subject respectively, it is semantically awkward with other interrogatives, as shown in (89) and (90).

(89) \**kēd.*ˈ*ráp.dyán* [*kā.lí.*ˈ*txæ̰̂n*]

kēd=r-āp=di=an kālí=tx´-æ=an

neg=hab=have=neg=3sg.if intg.where=pot-go=3sg.if

Intended reading: ‘S/he doesn’t have *somewhere (a place) to go*.’

(90) \**kēd.*ˈ*ráp.dyán* [*gǔk.txæ̰̂n*]

kēd=r-āp=di=an g*ǔ*k=tx´-æ=an

neg=hab=have=neg=3sg.if intg.when=pot-go=3sg.if

Intended reading: ‘S/he doesn’t have *when (a date) to go*.’

In fact, it is semantically awkward to use it when the shared argument is the recipient, as in (91). Thus, the only functions that have access to this type of relativization seem to be the subject and the object.

(91) #*kēd.*ˈ*ráp.dyán tū.gú.ˈdæ̰̂.dan ˈbækw*

kēd=r-āp=di=an tū=gu-dæ̰̂d=an bækw

neg=hab=have=neg=3sg.if intg.who=pot-give=3sg.if dog

‘S/he doesn’t have (*some) one to give the dog to*.’

Also, this construction, just as with Vexistence + interrogatives, cannot have a subordinator, as shown in (92).

(92) \**á.*ˈ*rā.pá* [*xī.ní.gu.*ˈ*dæ̰̂.da’*]

á=r-ǎp=a̰ xī=**ní**=gu´-dæ̰̂d=a̰

done=hab-have.1sg =1sg intg.what=sub=pot-give.1=1sg

Intended reading: ‘I already have something/what to give.’

Constructions with -*āp* ‘have’ + interrogatives then have all the properties discussed by Caponigro for existential free [-H]RC. Therefore, they could be categorized as such. In these constructions, due to semantics of the main predicate, in TdVZ, only subjects and objects have access to this type of relativization. Nevertheless, constructions with -*āp* + interrogatives are not structurally different from Maximal free [-H]RC discussed in the previous section. Thus, a subclassification may not be relevant in TdVZ.

### 5.3.3.3 Free choice marker [-H]RC

As mentioned above, TdVZ has the clitic =*tsīz*, glossed as ‘w.ever’, which expresses ignorance or indifference readings in RCs. This clitic attaches to the first element of the RC. Thus, in (Super free) [-H]RC, it attaches to the subordinator, as shown in (93).

(93) *kon.ba.*ˈ*dæ̰d.dá.nēn* [*ní.tsīz.bá.*ˈ*zûyn*]RC

kon=ba-dæ̰d=dán=ēn ni=**tsīz**=ba-zuny

so.that=compl-give=3pl.if=3sg.inan sub=w.ever=compl-arrive

‘So they gave it to whoever/whatever arrived.’

=***tsīz*** ‘w.ever’ cliticizes to any (relative) subordinator (i.e., *ni*=, *ka*=, or *kūd*=), as shown in the examples below.

(94) ˈ*Bā̰.nīn* [*ká.tsīz.rí.*ˈ*ka̰.zu*]RC

ba̰ny=īn **ka**=**tsīz**=ri-ka̰z=ṵ

imp.sg.do=3sg.inan mann.sub=w.ever=hab-want=2sg.if

‘Do it however you want.’ / ‘Do something in any manner (that) you want.’

(95) ˈ*Gwæ* [*kū.tsīz.rí.*ˈ*ka̰.zu*]RC

gu-æ **kūd**=**tsīz**=ri-ka̰z=ṵ

imp.sg-go rel.loc.pron=w.ever=hab-want=2sg.if

‘Go wherever you want.’ / ‘Go to any place (that) you want.’

Interestingly, =*tsīz* ‘w.ever’ does not cooccur with interrogative clitics as shown in (96).

(96) \*ˈ*Bā̰.nīn* [*kā.lí.tsīz.rí.*ˈ*ka̰.zu*]

ba̰ny=īn **kālí**=tsīz=ri-ka̰z=ṵ

imp.sg.do=3sg.inan intg.where=w.ever=hab-want=2sg.if

Intended reading: ‘Do it wherever you want.’

As mentioned above, =*tsīz* ‘w.ever’ can also attach to any head noun to trigger an indifference reading, as in (97).

(97) *ba.*ˈ*dæ̰d.dá.nēn* ˈ***bén.tsīz***[*ní.ba.*ˈ*zûyn*]rc

ba-dæ̰d=dán=ēn bēnny=tsīz ni´=ba-azuny

compl-give=3pl.if=3sg.inan person=w.ever sub=compl-arrive

‘They gave it to any person *who arrived.*’

This type of Free choice relatives is commonly used in commands, as shown in (98). Also, this type of [-H]RC is common in focused constructions, as in (99).

(98) *Gūl.gú.*ˈ*dǣ̰.dēn* [*nī.tsīz.gá.*ˈ*zûyn*]rc

gūl=gu´-dæ̰d=ēn **ni=tsīz**=ga´-zuny

imp.pl=pot-give=3sg.inan sub=w.ever=pot-arrive

‘Give it to *whoever/whatever arrives.*’ / ‘Give it to *any person/thing who/that will arrive.*’

(99)ˈ*bēn.tsīz* [*ní.ba.*ˈ*zûyn*]rc *ba.*ˈ*dæ̰d.dá.nēn*

bēnny=tsīz ni=ba-azuny ba-dæ̰d=dán=ēn

person=w.ever sub=compl-arrive compl-give=3pl.if=3sg.inan

‘They gave it to whatever person *that arrived.*’ / ‘They gave it to any person *that arrived.*’

This type of Free choice Free [-H]RC differs from Free [-H]RCs that take a noun, not only because of the different set of words that they occur with (interrogative particles vs subordinators), but also because Free choice Free Relatives cannot be paraphrased with indefinites, which is possible with Free [-H]RCs.

# 5.4 Noun phrase accessibility to relativization

In their cross-linguistic examination of which functions the heads of relative constructions can have within relative clauses, Keenan & Comrie (1977) propose an implicational hierarchy of noun phrase accessibility. If a language only permits one function to be relativized, then it will be the subject function, or the absolutive function in an ergative language (Lehmann 1986). If only two functions are relativizable, then they will be direct (or primary) object and subject (or ergative and absolutive). That is, if a language allows direct objects to be relativized, then subjects will also be relativizable, and so on down the hierarchy. The Keenan and Comrie accessibility hierarchy is shown in (100).

(100) SUBJ > D.OBJ > I.OBJ. > OBLIQ > GENITIVE > O.COMP

As many of the examples presented above illustrate, nouns in subject function as well as locative obliques are often relativized. Thus, objects and indirect objects are predicted to being able to be relativized. This prediction is borne out, (as I have been showing above and) as I discuss below. Even though these arguments have access to relativization, in the text corpora they are not commonly found.

Object relativization occurs as in (101) and (102).

(101) *té.*ˈ*llâ̰ gal.*ˈ*bāyn* ˈ*xtḛ̂* ˈ*rá*ˈ*tæ̰*

té=llâ̰ galbāyn xtḛ̂ny rá tæ̰

sub =pot.survive life prep.of qdr.cont.all intsf

***gal.na.***ˈ***zak***[*ni.kāz.*ˈ*ryáp ló.ge.*ˈ*xhlyu.ræ̂ ̓*]RC

galnazak ni=kāz=r-(y)āp lo=gexhlyu=ræ̂’

wealth sub=still=hab-have r.n.face=earth=dem.prox

‘So that the life of all the wealth *that the earth still has* is saved.’ (txt.)

(102) ˈ*zyēn.*ˈ*tæ̰̂* ***rre.***ˈ***trát***  *gu.*ˈ*lǎl*

zyēn tæ̰ rretrát gulǎl

qdr.cont.some intsf photo old

[ˈ*rāp* ˈ*xhá.nú*]RC *ri.*ˈ*kā.zá gu.*ˈ*gyæ̰̂*

r-āp xhǎn=ṵ ri-kǎz=a̰ gu´-gyæ̰̂

hab-have poss.mother=2sg.if hab-want.1sg=1sg pot-see.1sg

ˈ*la.wen té.*ˈ*kâ’ te.kó.*ˈ*pi’n*

lo=**en** té=kâ’ te=kópy-i’n

r.n.face=expl.pron sub= pot.get.1sg i.art=copy-aff

‘I want to see many old photos *that your mother has*, so that I get a copy.’ (txt.)

**Relativization of Indirect objects**

As discussed in §5.2.5, there are ditransitive verbs whose indirect object is introduced by a relational noun (e.g., *gixh* ‘pay’) and others in which do not (e.g., *dæ̰d* ‘give’); in both cases, the third argument have access to relativization, as shown in (103) and (104) respectively.

(103) *gu.nnī.*ˈ*nǣ* ˈ*Bǽd* ˈ***bēnny***

gu-nnīnǣ Bǽd bēnny

compl-talk.to Pedro person

[*ní.gu.*ˈ*dî.xhyan* ˈ*xhǔb* ˈ*la.wēn.kī*]

ni=gu-dixhy=an xhǔb low=**en**=kī

sub=compl-pay=3sg.if corn r.n.face=expl.pron=temp.dem

‘Pedro talked to the person to *whom he paid the corn to.*’

(104) *gu.nnī.*ˈ*nǣ* ˈ*Bǽd* ***ngu.*ˈ*læ’n***

gu-nnīnǣ Bǽd ngulæ’n

compl-talk.to Pedro male.child

[*ní.ba.*ˈ*dæ̰̂.dan* ˈ*gû’n.kī*]RC

ni=ba-dæ̰d=an gû’n=kī

sub=compl-give=3sg.if bull=temp.dem

‘Pedro talk to the child *to whom he gave the bull.’*

Nouns that function as temporal or locative adjuncts within the RC can also be relativized, as in (105) and (106) respectively. Notice that when the noun functions as a temporal adjunct within the RC, the subordinate clause is introduced by the subordinator *ni*=, which also introduces relative clauses in which subjects, objects and indirect objects are relativized.

(105) *ba.*ˈ*zuyn*  ˈ***dxi***[*(ni.)*ˈ*txyǽ.dān*]RC

ba-zuyn dxi (ni=)tx´-æ=dān

compl-arrive day (sub=)pot-go=3pl.f

‘The day *that they were going* arrived.’ (txt.)

(106) *txi.bi.*ˈ*zû.nyān* ˈ***kwæ̂’ tē****.*ˈ***zīn***

txi=bi-zuny=ān kwæ’ te=zīn

sub.temp=compl-arrive=3sg.f r.n.side i.art=spring

[*kūd.ká.*ˈ*dā* ˈ*nîs* ˈ*rô’*ˈ*tæ̰*]RC

kūd=ká-(a)dā nis rô’w tæ̰

rel.loc.pron=progr-sprout water big intsf

‘When s/he arrived next to a spring (from) where lots of water were sprouting.’ (txt.)

Alienable and inalienable possessors also have access to relativization, as shown in (107) and (108) respectively. As discussed in Chapter 3 these possessive constructions are slightly different, but in their relativization, they basically exhibit the same type of construction; that is, there is an expletive pronoun where the relativized possessor would occur, as in (107).

(107) *nna’.*ˈ*dxi* ˈ*zyǽ* ***ben.*ˈ*gúl***

nna’dxi z´-yæ bengúl

today progr-go.to.origin elder

[*ni.gu.dín.dán* ˈ*xkû’.nēn.kī*]RC

ni=gu-dīn=dān x-gû’n=**en**=kī

sub=compl-kill=3pl. f poss-bull=expl.pron=temp.dem

‘The elder *whose bull was killed* left today.’ /

(108) ˈ*zyǽ* ˈ***bēnny***

z-yæ bēnny

progr-go.to.origin person

[*ní.ba.ká.*ˈ*nyǣ’.dān* ˈ*læ̂’.nīn.kī*]RC

ni=ba-kanyæ’=dān læ’ny=**en**=kī

sub=compl-kick=3pl.f poss.stomach=expl.pron=temp.dem

‘The person *whose stomach they kicked* left.’ / ‘The person *whose stomach was kicked* left.’

Finally, it is important to mention that a third participant of a SVC can also be relativized, as shown in (109).

(109) *gu.nnī.*ˈ*nǣ* ˈ*Bǽd* ˈ***bēnny***

gu-nnīnǣ Bǽd bēnny

compl-talk.to Pedro person

[*ní.ba.*ˈ*tâ’.wan* ˈ*xhǔb* ˈ*kwā’.kī*]

ni=ba-ta’w=an xhǔb kwā’=kī

sub=compl-sell=3sg.if corn compl.get=temp.dem

‘Pedro talk to the person *to whom s/he sold the corn.*’

The hierarchy discussed by Kennan y Comrie seems to apply in TdVZ. Although the fact that some temporal adjuncts that are not introduced by a relational noun seems to challenge this hierarchy, the fact that obliques rank higher than possessors predicts that the former will have a relativization strategy more similar to arguments (subject, object, indirect object), which is the case in TdVZ.

# 5.5 Negation in relative clauses

In this section I discuss how negation occurs within a relative clause. As discussed in §4.4.1 clausal negation occurs with the negative markers *kēd*= and =*di*. This is a common pattern in relative clauses, as shown in (110).

(110) *Gu.*ˈ*nnǣ̰z.dān* ˈ***bénny***[*ní.kēd.gú.*ˈ*dîxh.dī.kī*]RC

gu-nnæ̰z=dān bēnny ni=**kēd**=gu-dixh=**di**=kī

compl-catch=3pl.f person sub=neg=compl-compl.pay=neg=temp.dem

‘They caught the person *who didn’t pay*.’

However, there are RC in which =*di* is optional, as in (111). Also, there are RC in which the omission of =*di* was common in text, and when elicited, =*di* was not completely accepted. An example of this is shown in (112).

(111) ˈ***Dbénny*** [*ní.kēd.gú.*ˈ*dâw(di)*]RC ˈ*ndǣ* ˈ*zû* ˈ*rǣ*

d´=bēnny ni=kēd=gu-daw(=**di**) ndǣ zu rǣ

pl=person sub=neg=compl-eat(=neg) dist.dem.pron est.stand adv.loc

‘(The) people *that didn’t eat* (are) those standing there.’

(112) ˈ*pær* ***dū****.*ˈ***sô’n***[*ni.kēd.*ˈ*gúp(#di)* ˈ*mědy,*]RC

pær dū=sa’=un ni=**kēd**=gu-āp(=di) mědy

but 1pl=kind=1pl.incl sub=neg=compl-have(=neg) money

*kúz.na.*ˈ*læ̌s gu.*ˈ*dǣ̰d.dān ló.*ˈ*sa’* ˈ*nēky*

kúz=nalæ̌s gu-dæ̰d=**dān** low=sa’ nēky

thing=sad compl-pass=3pl.f r.n.face=kind dem.temp.pron

‘But our kinsperson *that didn’t have money*, very sadly went through something like that.’ (txt.)

Moreover, there are relative clauses in which *=di* is not allowed at all. Note that in (113) the relative clauses followed by a clause indicating a request do not allow *=di*. However, *=di* is optional in a similar construction if the following clause (the main clause) indicates a consequence, as in (114).

(113) ˈ*Gúyn* **ˈ*ddxâp*** [*ni.kēd.ká.*ˈ*zḭ,*]RC *te.pa.*ˈ*búr*

g´-uny d´=dxap ni=**kēd**=ká-zḭ te=pabúr

pot-do pl=girl sub=neg=progr-buy i.art=favor

*bī.*ˈ*ká.dán*

bīká=dán

pot.be.removed=3pl.if

‘Girls *that are not buying*! Please do a favor of moving away!’

(114) ˈ***Ddxâp***[*ni.kēd.rí.*ˈ*zḭ(di) xī.*ˈ*néky*]RCˈ*ruyn* ˈ*gán*

d´=dxap ni=kēd=ri-zḭ(=di) *xīnéky* r-uny gán

pl=girl sub=neg=hab-buy(=di) thing hab-do win

*ri.beky.ˈtxḛ ˈmědy*

ri-bekytxḛ mědy

hab-save money

‘Girls *that do not buy things* are able to save money.’

These last couple of examples shows that *=di* contrasts with deontic modalities, specifically directive modalities. Also, the behavior of =*di* in RC suggest that a subordinate clause lacks positions (or structure) in comparison to an indicative (non-subordinate) clause. These restrictions of =*di*, however, are not particular to RC, these also occur in various subordinate adverbial clauses as I discuss in Chapter 7. More analysis needs to be done to define why *=di* is optional in RC and other (subordinate) constructions in this language.

# 5.6 Tone change in Relative clauses

A characteristic that RC shares with clausal negation and other subordinate clauses discussed in §7 is that the verb in these constructions undergoes tonal alternation when prefixed with the completive marker. This tonal alternation can be observed with verb roots that have a lexical low or mid tone. In (115) note that the verb *-tyu’n* ‘lose’ that lexically has low tone (second line) takes a falling tone (first line). This tone change does not occur with any other TAM category, as shown with the verb *-tyu’n* ‘lose prefixed with the progressive TAM marker in (116).

(115) ˈ***Dbénny***[*ní.ba.*ˈ***tyû’n***]RCˈ*ndǣ* ˈ*zû* ˈ*rǣ*

d´=bēnny ni=ba-tyu’n ndǣ zu rǣ

pl=person sub=compl-lose dist.dem.pron stat.stand adv.loc

‘(The) people *who lost* (the game) (are) those standing there.’

(116) ˈ***Dbénny*** [*ní.ká.*ˈ***tyu’n***]RCˈ*ndǣ* ˈ*zû* ˈ*rǣ*

d´=bēnny ni=ká-tyu’n ndǣ zu rǣ

pl=person sub=progr-lose dist.dem.pron stat.stand adv.loc

‘(The) people *who are losing (the game)* (are) those standing there.’

This tone change is also observed in other subordinate clauses discussed in Chapter 7. Gutiérrez et al. (2016) named this tone ‘subordination tone’.

# 5.7 The functions of RC

In this section I briefly discuss two functions of light-headed RC.

## *5.7.1 loni*= relative clauses as temporal adverbial modifiers

There is a light headed RC that can function as a time adverbial modifier, as shown in (117). In this case, *loni*= superficially looks like an adverbial clause subordinator. In fact, the construction may be translated as such. However, the clause headed by *loni*= is a light-headed RC. This becomes evident when the head noun occurs, as in (118).

(117) *lo.ni.bi.ˈdxû’n̄ ˈréky*

low=ni=bi-dxû’n̄ rēky

r.n.face=sub=compl-be.contained.1pl.excl loc.temp.adv

*ˈgû.kēn*

gu-ak=ēn

compl-occur=3sg.inan

‘It happened while we were there.’

(118) *lo.ˈiz* [*ni.bi.ˈdxû’n̄ ˈréky*]RC

low=***iz***ni=bi-dxû’n̄ rēky

r.n.face=year sub=compl-be.contained.1pl.excl loc.temp.adv

*ˈgû.kēn*

gu-ak=ēn

compl-occur=3sg.inan

‘It happened during the year *that we were there*.’

## *5.7.2* RC in comparative function

Another interesting function of relative clauses is that they are used in comparison structures to highlight manner; thus, in this case, the RC may be functioning as an adverbial modifier. This occurs when the comparative *dxā’* ‘as/like’ takes a (headless) relative clause as a complement, as in (119).

(119) ˈ*dxā’* [*ní.rak.ˈxhṵ*]RC  *ri.ˈnnyæ̰n*

dxā’ ni=r-akxhṵ ri-nnḭ=an

as/similar? sub=hab-be.sick hab-say=3sg.if

‘S/he speaks as if s/he were sick / as (someone) who is sick.’

This type of modification can also occur after the clause it modifies, especially when the connector *gāxh*= ‘then’ is used, as shown in (120).

(120) (*gāxh.)rí.ˈnnyæ̰n ˈdxā’* [*ní.rak.ˈxhṵ*]RC

(gāxh=)ri-nnḭ=an dxā’ ni=r-akxhṵ

(then=)hab-say=3sg.if as/like sub=hab-be.sick

‘S/he speaks as if s/he were sick / as someone who is sick.’

# 5.8 Remarks on chapter 5

This chapter brings to light several issues of relevance to the typology of relative clauses while presenting the first detailed description of most of the types of relative constructions found in a Central Zapotec language. First of all, one of the features often used to compare relativization strategies cross-linguistically is the representation of the head and its function within the relative clause (Comrie 1989).

As I showed, the relative clause is embedded, externally headed, postnominal, and generally introduced by the subordinator *ni=* or the relative pronoun *kūd=*. TdVZ has three relativization strategies: gap, relative pronoun and pronoun retention.

Another feature often used to compare relativization strategies cross-linguistically, as well as language-internally, is whether they are headed, light-headed, or headless, which has been argued to be another cline of non-discrete types (Epps 2012). Such a cline exists in TdVZ, and the degree of headedness of relative constructions may be determined by information structure, but more work is needed to define what drives the various types of headed and headless RCs in TdVZ.

# Chapter 6

**Complementation in TdVZ**

In this chapter I discuss complement clauses in TdVZ. I classify these clauses based on their form. I propose two main types of complements, with various subtypes. In addition to categorizing complement clauses, I examine the tendency that complement taking predicates exhibit when selecting their complements. In the last part, I discuss how control phenomena operate in complementation structures in this language.

# 6.1 Theoretical background

Complement clauses (or complements) are defined as clauses which function as arguments of another predicate, for example, when they function as subject or object (Noonan 2007). In (1), *That Elliot entered the room* is a complement clause that functions as the subject of (the verb) *annoy*. In (2), on the other hand, *that Nell left* functions as the object of (the verb) *remember*.

(1) *That Elliot entered the room* annoyed Floyd.

(2) Zeke remembered *that Nell left.*

Noonan (2007) shows that complement clauses can come in a variety of morphological or syntactic forms even within the same language. That is, based on their morphosyntax (i.e., (i) the morphology of the predicate, (ii) the sorts of syntactic relations the predicate has with its arguments (complement internal syntax) and (iii) the syntactic relations of the complement construction as a whole with the rest of the sentence (complement external syntax)) one can define various types of complements in a language. In addition to these, complement clauses may exhibit semantic dependencies (e.g., temporal) with respect to the meaning of the main predicate. In many languages, these dependencies cause fewer inflectional possibilities in the complement clause. Any complement (type) that has fewer syntactic and inflectional possibilities than an indicative main clause, is defined by Noonan as a reducedcomplement.

Noonan also comments that complement types are sometimes associated with complementizers (a word, particle, clitic or an affix), whose function is to identify the entity as a complement. In the above examples from English, we can observe the complementizer *that*. The use of a complementizer with a given complement type is sometimes optional or contextually determined. Thus, its presence is determined by pragmatic and not grammatical considerations.

On the other hand, complements may not take complementizers, but specific forms (e.g., nominal and participial, as in the English examples). Also, paratactic constructions and verb serialization may be used in complementation. That is, two juxtaposed verbs form a construction in which one of them functions as an argument of the other do occur crosslinguistically. However, whether these constructions should be considered as complementation is specific to each language.

Given the different forms in which a clause can occur as a complement in a language and because not all languages show the same complement clause construction, Dixon (2006) suggests that a better understanding of the structures that involve complement clauses (i.e., complementation) would arise if complements and (what he calls) complementation strategies are considered (separately) in the description of this phenomenon. According to this author, complement clauses (i) have the internal structure of a clause, (ii) function as a core argument of a higher clause and (iii) describe a proposition. A complementation strategy, on the other hand, is a linking strategy (serial verb construction, relative clauses, or nominalization) that is used in a specific language to express what other languages do through complement clauses.

Wurmbrand and Lohninger (2019), following Ramchand & Svenonius (2014), propose that in addition to describing propositions, complement clauses may also describe situations and events. Thus, these authors propose a three-way semantic categorization of complement clauses: proposition, situation and event complements. Proposition complements can be assigned a truth value and are temporally independent from the event expressed in the main clause. Situation complements refer to eventualities that are not evaluated for truth but for properties of the content. The most common type of situation complements are unrealized events, thus, that are typically set in the future with respect to the event expressed in the main clause. Event complements involve implicative and strong attempt context. They lack speaker and utterance properties, as well as world and time properties. Therefore, the event they express occurs simultaneously with the event expressed in the main clause.

Another essential aspect that is explored in complementation is the semantics of the complement taking predicates (CTP). It is common that CTPs are a restricted set in a language, but their complement selection may vary (Dixon 2006). Crosslinguistic research (Noonan 2007, Dixon 2006, Cristofaro 2003; Givón 1980) has shown that specific CTPs exhibit different semantic and syntactic relations with their complements.

When considering the whole construction (i.e., the CTP and the complement clause), an aspect that has received attention is the degree of semantic integration and the syntactic coding of clause union between the two predicates (Cristofaro 2003; Givón 1980). In relation to this, Givón (1980) states the following principle: “the stronger is the semantic bond between the two events, the more extensive will be the syntactic integration of the two clauses into a single though complex clause”. Cristofaro (2003) finds that certain CTPs involve a high degree of semantic integration with their complements while others do not show any, thus, she proposes the hierarchy shown in Table 1. In this table, note that CTPs are grouped into semantic types and within those CTPs that exhibit semantic integration, those on the left exhibit greater semantic integration with their complements than those on the right.

Table 1. Semantic intregration (Cristofaro 2003)

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Semantic integration | No semantic integration |
| Phasals > Modals > Manipulatives  (‘make’)>Manipulatives (‘order’),  Desideratives, Perception predicates | Knowledge, Propositional attitude,  Utterance predicates |

Also, a phenomenon that has been explored in complementation is control (the coreference that an argument of the complement taking predicate and an argument of the complement clause exhibits). Stiebels (2007) proposes two main subdivision in complement control structures: ‘structural control’ and ‘inherent control’ The first type of control subsumes those cases in which control is induced by certain complementation structures (such as the infinitive, as in the examples above). Inherent control is an invariant property of certain clause embedding predicates.

In this chapter, then, I describe how complementation arise in TdVZ (their internal and external syntax). Also, I show the complement taking predicates that I have examined and describe what type of complements they select. In addition, I discuss how complement control operates in this language.

# 6.2 Complement clauses in TdVZ: introduction

There are various types of complement clauses in TdVZ. Most of them occur juxtaposed to the CTP, but not all. Thus, in order to discuss them, I classify them into two main groups: (i) those that occur with a complementizer and (ii) those that do not (and cannot) occur with a complementizer. In the first group there are two subtypes, those that optionally occur with the complementizer *teky* and interrogative complements. These latter are in fact interrogative clauses functioning as complements. On the other hand, those that do not take any complementizer are subclassified in four subtypes. All of these exhibit temporal dependencies due to the meaning of the main predicate. Therefore, their morphological (TAM marking) possibilities are restricted. Thus, following Noonan (2007) I will call the first group non-reduced complements and the second group reduced complements. As I will show, reduced complements are not only semantically or morphologically restricted, but also syntactically. Below I schematize this classification.

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | Types of complement clauses in TdVZ |  |
|  |  |  |
| **Non-reduced** |  | **Reduced** |
| declarative complements (with optional complementizer) |  | with realis and irrealis modalities  with restricted aspect |
|  |  | with loose copied aspect |
| interrogative complements |  | with strict copied aspect |
|  |  |  |

As noted, non-reduced complements are subclassified into declarative complements (with optional complementizer) and interrogative complements. These latter refer to polar interrogatives or *wh*-interrogatives. In (3) and (4) I show an example of each subtype respectively.

(3) *á.bin.*ˈ*dyā.gá* [*(*ˈ*teky)* ˈ*lǎ̰n ká.kwā.*ˈ*næ̌n* ˈ*luy*]CC

á=b-indyǎg=a̰ (teky) lǎ̰n ká-kwānǣ=an luy

done=compl-hear.1sg=1sg (comp) 3sg.if progr-fight.with=3sg.if 2sg.if

‘I have heard (that) (it was) s/he (who) is fighting with you.’

(4) (*l)á.na.*ˈ*nnǒw* [*(l)á.*ˈ*rā.pán ka.*ˈ*myún?*]CC

lá=nannā=ṵ lá=r-āp=an kamyún

pol.intg=est.know=2sg.if pol.intg=hab-have=3sg.if car

Do you know if he has a car?

Reduced complement clauses, on the other hand, are subclassified into reduced complements with realis and irrealis modalities, reduced complements with restricted aspect, reduced complements with loosely copied aspect and reduced complements with strictly copied aspect. The first type differs from the others because it has more TAM marking possibilities (realis and irrealis), as shown in (5) with the completive aspect and in (6) with the potential mood. Note that in each case, there are different implications, as can be observed in the translations.

(5) *gu.nni.*ˈ*bæ̰n* [*ba.zu.*ˈ*kā ˈBǽd* ˈ*gīts.kī*]CC

gu-nnibæ̰=an ba-zukā Bǽd gits=kī

compl-order=3sg.if **compl-**remove Pedro paper=temp.dem

‘Heordered (that) Pedro remove the paper (and he did).’

(6) *gu.nni.*ˈ*bæ̰n* [*gu.zú.*ˈ*kā ˈBǽd* ˈ*gīts.kī*]CC

gu-nnibæ̰=an gu´-zukā Bǽd gits=kī

compl-order=3sg.if **pot**-remove Pedro paper=temp.dem

‘Heordered (that) Pedro remove the paper (he may do it or not).’

Reduced complements with restricted aspect can only occur with potential or counterfactual prefixes, as shown in (7). Any other TAM on the complement is not possible, as shown in (8).

(7) *Kēd.rí.*ˈ*ka̰z.di* ˈ*Bǽd* [ˈ*txǽ.tū*]CC

kēd=ri-ka̰z=di Bǽd tx´-æ=tū

neg=hab-want=neg Pedro **pot**-go=2pl.if

‘Pedro doesn’t want you to go (somewhere).’

(8) *\*Kēd.rí.*ˈ*ka̰z.di* ˈ*Bǽd* [ˈ*ræ.tū*]CC

kēd=ri-ka̰z=di Bǽd r-æ=tū

neg=hab-want=neg Pedro **hab**-go=2pl.if

Intended reading: ‘Pedro doesn’t want you to go (somewhere)’.

Complements with loosely copied aspect generally occur with the same TAM marking as the main predicate, as in (9). Nevertheless, when the verb in the main predicate is marked with completive (or habitual), the complement can take incompletive aspects, as in (10). In each case, there are different implications, as can be noticed in the translations.

(9) *bin.ˈdyā.gá* [*gu.ri.ˈxtyæ̰n*]CC

b-indyǎg=a̰ gu-rixtyæ=an

compl-hear.1sg=1sg compl-yell=3sg.if

‘I heard (that) s/he yelled/cried loudly (possibly once).’

(10) *bin.ˈdyā.gá* [*ká.bi.ˈxtyæ̰n*]CC

b-indyǎg=a̰ ká-bixtyæ=an

compl-hear.1sg=1sg progr-yell=3sg.if

‘I heard (that) s/he was yelling /crying loudly (for a long period, even before the hearing situation).’

The fourth and last subtype of reduced complements has to obligatorily occur with the same TAM marking as the verb in the main predicate, as shown in (11). A different TAM marking from the main predicate triggers ungrammaticality, as shown in (12).

(11) *re.dxu.*ˈ*lâ̰z* ˈ*Jwáyn* [*ra.*ˈ*wan* ˈ*pá*]CC

**r**-edxula̰z Jwáyn **r**-aw=an pá

hab-like Juan hab-eat=3sg.if bread

‘Juan likes to eat bread.’

(12) \**re.dxu.*ˈ*lâ̰z* ˈ *Jwáyn* [*ká.*ˈ*ya.wan* ˈ*pá*]CC

**r**-edxula̰z Jwáyn **káy**-aw=an pá

hab-like Juan progr-eat=3sg.if bread

Intended reading ‘Juan likes to eat bread (and he is doing it now).’

Each of the types of complements are complement clauses since (i) they have the internal structure of a clause, that is, they have a predicate and its associated arguments; (ii) they function as a core argument of a higher clause; this property is tested by asking for either the subject or object (as appropriate) of the CTP. Also, the position of the complement clause corresponds to the position of the syntactic object; (iii) they describe a proposition, a situation or an event.

Before finishing this section, I must mention that when the Object-Theme (OT) of a ditransitive predicate is a clause, it is extraposed, that is, in a ditransitive clause with NP arguments, the OT occurs after the subject, but when the OT is a clause, it occurs last in the construction, as shown in (13).

V S O-Recipient OT

(13) *ká.*ˈ*lṵ.yan* ˈ*luy* ˈ*gṵ̂.nyu* ˈ*zṵyn*

ká-lṵy=an luy g´-uny=ṵ zṵyn

progr-show=3sg.if 2sg.if pot-do=2sg.if work

‘S/he is teaching you to work / that you do work.’

In the following then, I will first discuss (the internal as well as the external) morphosyntactic characteristics of each type of complements (§6.3) and (§6.4). After that, I will focus on the semantics of the complement taking predicates and the type of complement they select (§6.5). Then, I discuss how control phenomena operate in complementation (§6.6). Lastly, in (§6.7), I state the conclusions of this chapter.

# 6.3 Non-reduced Complement clauses

Non-reduced complements are characterized by projecting a focus position and do not show any temporal dependency on the meaning of the main predicate to which they are subordinated. There are two subtypes of this type of complement: declarative complements (with optional complementizer) and interrogative complement clauses. Each of these is discussed below.

## 6.3.1 Declarative complements (with optional complementizer)

Declarative complements (with optional complementizer) are discussed in this section. These have several characteristics that distinguish them from the other types and subtypes of complements discussed here. Below I list these characteristics.

* They are optionally introduced by the complementizer *teky*[[80]](#footnote-80)
* They have a preverbal focus position (like any independent clause)
* Their time reference is independent from the meaning of the CTP
* Negation (freely) occurs in this type of complement.

In (14) I show an example of this type of complement. For clarity, throughout this chapter, the complement clause is enclosed in square brackets in the TdVZ text line, with the closing bracket labeled: ]CC

(14) *á.bin.*ˈ*dyā.gá* [*(*ˈ*teky)* ˈ*lǎ̰n ká.kwā.*ˈ*næ̌n* ˈ*luy*]CC

á=b-indyǎg=a̰ (teky) lǎ̰n ká-kwānǣ=an luy

done=compl-hear.1sg=1sg (comp) 3sg.if progr-fight.with=3sg.if 2sg.if

‘I have heard (that) (it was) s/he (who) is fighting with you.’

Before discussing the characteristics listed above, I will demonstrate that these types of constructions are complement clauses. First of all, in (14), the complement clause expresses its core arguments and it has a focus position as any other independent clause does in TdVZ. That is, after the complementizer, the preverbal focus position is occupied by the third person singular informal pronoun which functions as the subject of the complement clause. On the right side of the verb, a resumptive clitic occupies the subject slot; then, the independent second person singular pronoun occupies the object position.

This type of complement functions as a core argument of a higher clause. In order to test this, I use the interrogative clitic *xī*= ‘what’ which asks for the object in a clause, as in (15). Notice that the answer can be either an NP or a complement clause, as shown in (16a) and (16b) respectively.

(15) *xī.bín.ˈdya̰.gu’?*

xī=b-indyag=ṵ

intg.what=compl-hear=2sg.if

‘What did you hear (get the knowledge of)?’

(16) a. *te.di.*ˈ*xḭw* b*.* [ˈ*teky* ˈ*lǎ̰n ká.kwā.*ˈ*næ̌n* ˈ*luy*]CC

*te=dixḭw* teky lǎ̰n ká-kwānǣ=an luy

i.art=lie comp 3sg.if progr-fight.with=3sg.if 2sg.if

‘a lie’ ‘that s/he is fighting with you.’

Lastly, there is no doubt that the complement clause in (14) expresses a proposition: “that there is a fight between two people (some individual and the addressee of the utterance)”.

Having shown that this type of construction is a complement clause I turn now to discuss its characteristics. One of the main characteristics of this type of complement is that they can optionally be introduced by the complemetizer *teky* ‘comp’, as was shown in (14). Interestingly, when the complement clause occurs without the main predicate, as in (16b), the complementizer is obligatory. This suggests that the complementizer is always syntactically present, and that when the matrix predicate is elided (in the answer to a question), it must be pronounced. When the main predicate is not elided, the complementizer may optionally delete.

Another characteristic of this type of complement is that its reference time is not dependent on the meaning of the CTP. In other words, the event in the complement clause may happen, before, during or after the event expressed in the main predicate. Therefore, the TAM marking on the verb of the complement clause can freely vary from the TAM marking on the verb of CTP. For instance, in (14), the verb in the complement was prefixed with the progressive and in (17) is prefixed with future. In both examples, the TAM marker on the verb in the complement contrasts with the TAM marker on the CTP.[[81]](#footnote-81)

(17) *byak.*ˈ*bæ̰n* [*(*ˈ*teky) zi.*ˈ*gīn.dān* ˈ*lǎ̰n*]CC

b-yakbæ̰=an (teky) zi-gīn=dān lǎ̰n

compl-realize=3sg.if (comp) fut-kill=3pl.f 3sg.if

‘S/he realized that they would kill him/her.’

Finally, in (18), I show that negation can (freely) occur in this type of complement. To express negation, just as in monoclausal negation, both *kēd*= and =*di* are obligatory on the verb.

(18) *á.bin.*ˈ*dyā.gān* [(ˈ*têky*) *kēd.*ˈ*gwǽ.dyu* ˈ*xkwíly*]CC

á=b-indyag=ān (teky) kēd=gu-æ=di=u xkwíly

done=compl-hear=3sg.f (comp) neg=compl-go=neg=2sg.if school

‘S/he has heard (gotten to know) that you didn’t go to school.’

In conclusion, this subtype of complement clause has most of the characteristics of an independent clause in TdVZ: they have a focus position, the TAM marking does not depend on the meaning of the main predicate and negation occurs freely.

Before finishing discussing this type of complement, I want to mention that Gutiérrez (2014) mentioned that in TdVZ there is one type of complement clause that is optionally introduced by *ni=*,as in (19). In this example, *(****ni****)gudínyá lǎ̰m* ‘that I kill it’ (seems to) function as the object of the verb *uny* ‘do’. However, this type of construction might not be a complement clause but a complementation strategy. That is, *ni*= generally introduces relative clauses in TdVZ, thus, *(****ni****)gudínyá lǎ̰m* can be considered a headless relative clause functioning as the complement of the verb do*.*

(19) ˈ*Lǎ̰n* ˈ*bâ̰.nyan (****ni****)gu.*ˈ*dí.nyá* ˈ*lǎ̰m*

lǎ̰n ba̰ny=an (**ni=**)gu-dǐn=a̰ lǎ̰m

3sg.if compl.do=3sg.if (sub=)compl-kill.1sg=1sg 3sg.anml

‘He caused that I kill it (the animal).’ / ‘He caused (something) so I ended up killing it.’ [[82]](#footnote-82)

The type of clause to which *(****ni****)gudínyá lǎ̰m* belongs to is not easy to determine. Notice that it may appear with a pronominal head, as in (20). This pronominal head triggers the obligatoriness of *ni*= and the sequence *lā̰yn ní* is generally translated as ‘which is why / therefore’, an adverbial subordinator. In the example below notice that the subordinate clause with *lā̰yn ní* only gets the consequence reading and the complement reading is not possible.

(20) ˈ*Lǎ̰n* ˈ*bâ̰.nyan (*ˈ***lā̰yn)*** *(****ní)****gu.*ˈ*dí.nyá* ˈ*lǎ̰m*

lǎ̰n ba̰ny=an (lā̰yn) *(ni=)*gu-dǐn=á lǎ̰m

3sg.if compl.do=3sg.if (3sg.inan) (sub=)compl-kill.1sg=1sg 3sg.anml

‘He caused (something), so I ended up killing it (the animal).’

\*‘He caused that I kill it.’

(Subordinate) clauses that optionally occur with *ni*= or *lā̰yn ní=* are common in TdVZ, as shown below*.* In most cases, these subordinate clausesindicate a result or consequence and are linked to the main clause through the relative subordinator or no linking element. Because of this, any clause headed by *ni*= (or those in which *ni*= is optional) is not considered a complement clause but relative clauses or an adverbial clause functioning as a complement. Thus, they are not discussed here further (see adverbial clauses headed by *ni*= in §7.3.3).

(21) ˈ*lǎ̰n* ˈ*bâ̰.nyan* (ˈ*lā̰yn*)(*ni*)*kēd.rú.*ˈ*gwâ’.dya*

lǎ̰n ba̰ny=an (lā̰yn) (ni=)kēd=ru-gu-â’=di=a̰

3sg.if compl.do=3sg.if (3sg.inan) (sub=)neg=more=compl-go.1sg=neg=1sg

‘He caused (something) (so) that I didn’t go more (that I didn’t keep going).’

(22) *bi.*ˈ*lā.dán* ˈ*lǎ̰n* (ˈ*lā̰yn*) *ní.*ˈ*byá.ban*

bi-lā=dán lǎ̰n (lā̰yn) ni=b-yab=an

compl-crash.against=3pl.if 3sg.if (3sg.inan) sub=compl-fall=3sg.if

‘They crashed against him that is why he fell.’

## 6.3.2 Interrogative complements

Interrogative complements are interrogative clauses functioning as complements, that is, as arguments of a CTP. As mentioned in §4.3.1, polar interrogatives occur with the (pro)clitic (*l)á*= before the clause while there are various interrogative (pro)clitics that ask for specific (open) questions. When interrogative clauses function as complements, the interrogative clitic could be considered to be functioning as a complementizer, as shown in (23) and (24) respectively. In this last example note that, as mentioned in the introduction, the interrogative clause, which is the OT, occurs last in the ditransitive construction.

(23) *lá.na.*ˈ*nnǒw* [*lá.*ˈ*rā.pán ka.*ˈ*myún?*]CC

lá=nannā=ṵ lá=r-āp=an kamyún

pol.intg=est.know=2sg.if pol.intg=hab-have=3sg.if car

ˈDo you know if he has a car?’

(24) *ˈlǎ̰n gu.díxh.ˈlæ’n ˈlo̰w* [*xī.ˈnnḭ̂w*]CC

lǎ̰n gu-dixhlæ’=an low=ṵ **xī**=nnḭ̂=ṵ

3sg.if compl-tell=3sg.if r.n.face=2sg.if intg.what=pot.say=2sg.if

‘S/he told you what to say.’

Interrogative clauses are considered to be a type of non-reduced complement clauses since, just as the previous subtype, they have a preverbal position occupied by the interrogative clitic, as in (24) above, or by the interrogative clitic + NP, as in (25).

(25) *ˈlǎ̰n ba.ˈlṵ̂.yan ˈluy* [*xī.ˈdḭ̂dx ˈnnḭ̂w*]CC

lǎ̰n ba-lṵy=an luy xī=dḭdx nnḭ̂=ṵ

3sg.if compl-show=3sg.if 2sg.if intg.what=word pot.say=2sg.if

‘S/he taught you which words to say.’

Also, their temporal reference is not dependent on the meaning of the main predicate, as shown in (26). In addition, negation can also occur in this type of complement, as in (27).

(26) *gu.díxh.ˈlæ’n ˈlo̰w* [*tū.ˈtxǽ / ˈgwǽ /*

gu-dixhlæ’=an low=ṵ tū=tx´-æ gu-ǽ

compl-tell=3sg.if r.n.face=2sg.if intg.who=pot-go compl-go

*ˈræ̂*]CC

r-æ

hab-go

‘S/he told you who would go / went / goes.’

(27) *gu.díxh.ˈlæ’n ˈlo̰w* [*tū.kēd.ˈtxǽ.di*]CC

gu-dixhlæ’=an low=ṵ tū=kēd=tx´-æ=di

compl-tell=3sg.if r.n.face=2sg.if intg.who=neg=pot-go=neg

‘S/he told you who is not going.’

Although I consider interrogative clauses to be a non-reduced type of complement, there are some interrogatives with *wh*-words that can be reduced. That is, its temporal reference is a necessary consequence of the meaning of the CTP. Therefore, its TAM marking is in some way restricted.

# 6.4 Reduced complements

Reduced complements are characterized by the fact that they are not introduced by any complementizer (at all). Also, their temporal reference is a necessary consequence of the meaning of the CTP. That is, given that the event expressed in the complement occurs after or at the same time than the event expressed in the main predicate, the TAM marking possibilities on these complements are more restricted (in comparison with non-reduced complements). Even though these complements are restricted they are much more varied, as noticed from the classification above, and as I discuss below.

## Reduced complement clauses with realis and irrealis modalities

This subtype of complement is characterized by the fact that, although its temporal reference is a necessary consequence of the meaning of the CTP, it is not completely restricted in its TAM marking. That is, it can occur with a TAM marking that does not affect the sequence of the events expressed in the clauses. Thus, this type of complements can take realis and irrealis modalities. The formal characteristics of this subtype of complement are listed below.

* They are not introduced by any complementizer
* They do not have a preverbal focus position[[83]](#footnote-83)
* Their time reference is dependent on meaning of the CTP
* Negation (freely) occurs in this type of complement.

In (28) I show an example of this subtype of complement.

(28) *gu.nni.*ˈ*bæ̰* ˈ*Jwáyn* [*ba.zu.*ˈ*kā* ˈ*Bǽd* ˈ*gīts.kī*]CC

gu-nnibæ̰ Jwáyn ba-zukā Pedro gits=kī

compl-order Juan compl-remove Pedro paper=temp.dem

‘Juan ordered that Pedro remove the paper (the advertisement).’

As noticed, this type of complement takes the position of the syntactic object of the preceding main clause and projects all its argument structure. Also, it describes a situation: ‘a removing event’. Therefore, it is a complement clause.

This type of complement is not introduced by any complementizer; if a complementizer occur, it triggers ungrammaticality, as shown below.

(29) *gu.nni.*ˈ*bæ̰n* [*(\**ˈ*teky) gu.zú.*ˈ*kā ˈBǽd* ˈ*gīts.kī*]CC

gu-nnibæ̰=an (teky) gu´-zukā Bǽd gits=kī

compl-order=3sg.if (comp) **pot**-remove Pedro paper=temp.dem

Intended reading: ‘Heordered (that) Pedro remove the paper (advertisement).’

The time reference of this type of complement is dependent on the meaning of the CTP. That is, the event expressed in the complement clause must occur after the event expressed in the CTP. Thus, the potential is a prefix marker usually found in the complement clause, as shown in (29) above. Nevertheless, it may be possible to have the same TAM marking that occurs on the main predicate. In each case, there are different implications. Notice that in the previous example there is no indication that the event expressed in the main clause occurs, in other words, we do not know if *Bǽd* ‘Pedro’ obeyed and removed the advertisement.

When the complement occurs with a completive marker, as in the main predicate, it implies that the event expressed in this clause has occurred, as in (30). That is, *Bǽd* ‘Pedro’ obeyed and, in this case, has cleaned the street.

(30) ˈ*Jwáyn gu.nní.*ˈ*bæ̰* [*ba.*ˈ*syā* ˈ*Bǽd lo.*ˈ*næz*]CC

Jwáyn gu-nnibæ̰ ba-syā Bǽd lonæz

Juan compl-order compl-clean Pedro street

‘Juan ordered that Pedro clean the street (and Pedro did).’

A habitual marker on the complement, as in the main predicate, implies that *Bǽd* ‘Pedro’ does follow the order and that this order-obeying occurs regularly, as in (31). In fact, there is some presupposition that this will continue occurring.

(31) *ri.nni.*ˈ*bæ̰* ˈ*Jwáyn* [*ru.*ˈ*syā* ˈ*Bǽd lo.*ˈ*næz*]CC

ri-nnibæ̰ Jwáyn ru-syā Bǽd lonæz

hab-order Juan hab-clean Pedro street

‘Juan (usually) orders that Pedro clean the street (and Pedro does clean the street).’

Interestingly, a completive marker on the main predicate allows a habitual or progressive marker on the complement, as in (32). In this latter case, it implies that Pedro is doing what Juan ordered him to do, probably at the time that this sentence is uttered.

(32) ˈ*Jwáyn gu.nní.*ˈ*bæ̰* [*ká.*ˈ*syā* ˈ*Bǽd lo.*ˈ*næz*]CC

Jwáyn gu-nnibæ̰ ká-syā Bǽd lonæz

Juan compl-order progr-clean Pedro street

‘Juan ordered that Pedro clean the street. (and Pedro is cleaning it now)’

Also, a completive marker allows a counterfactual maker on the complement, as in (33). In this case, it implies that the manipulee did not do what he was persuaded to do. Note that in this example, the disjunction *pær* ‘but’ (from Spanish *pero*) is required to introduce the action that took place instead of the event indicated in the complement.

(33) ˈ*llíbr.kī bá.ˈkḭ́ly ˈBǽd ˈlǎ̰n ˈnyú.llyan, pær…*

llíbr=kī ba-kḭ̄ly Bǽd lǎ̰n ni´-ull=an pær

book=temp.dem compl-persuade Pedro 3sg.if cntf-read=3sg.if but

‘Pedro persuaded him to read that book (and he didn’t), but...’

So far, I have shown that even though these complements are temporally dependent, they are not restricted to one specific TAM marking. However, one should bear in mind that the TAM possibilities are dependent on the meaning of the CTP as well as the meaning of the complement. In other words, above I showed the various possibilities of TAM combinations with the CTP -*nnibæ̰* ‘order’, or -*kḭ̄ly* ‘persuade’, but other CTPs that impose temporal dependency may exhibit other possibilities or restrictions. For instance, notice that the CTP -*læbylow* ‘get used to do bad’ does not allow its complement to have a counterfactual prefix, as -*nnibæ̰* ‘order’ or *kḭ̄ly* ‘persuade’ does. This is shown in (34). Therefore, the temporal dependency of these complements restricts the possibilities of TAM marking on the complement, but the semantics of each predicate involved defines which TAM marking is allowed.

(34) \**gu.ˈlæby.ˈla.wan* [*ˈnyú.nyan ni.na.ˈdxǎb*]CC

gu-læby+low=an ni´-uny=an ni=nadxǎb

compl-get.used.to+poss.face=3sg.if cntf-do=3sg.if sub=bad

Intended reading: ‘S/he got used to doing bad things (and/but s/he didn’t do these).’

Lastly, negation can occur in these complements. To negate these complements both markers of negation *kēd*= and =*di* occur, as shown in (35).

(35) ˈ*Jwáyn gu.nní.*ˈ*bæ̰* [*kēd.ˈtxǽ.dyan*]CC

Jwáyn gu-nnibæ̰ kēd=tx´-æ=di=an

Juan compl-order neg=pot-go=neg=3sg.if

‘Juan ordered that s/he does not go.’

## 6.4.2 Reduced complement clauses with restricted aspect

This subtype of complement is restricted in its TAM marking. That is, it can only occur with the potential or counterfactual prefix. The characteristics of this subtype are shown below.

* They are not introduced by any complementizer.
* No preverbal positions are allowed (the complement lacks a focus position).
* Their TAM marker is restricted to potential or counterfactual (irrealis modalities)
* Negation does not usually occur in this type of complement.

In (36) I show an example of this type of complement.

(36) *ri.*ˈ*ka̰z* ˈ*Bǽd* [ˈ*sḭ̂* ˈ*Jwáyn te.*ˈ*llag* ˈ*lady*]CC

ri-ka̰z Bǽd sḭ̂ Jwáyn te=llag lady

hab-want Pedro pot.buy Juan i.art=piece woven.cloth

‘Pedro wants that Juan buys a piece of a rug.’

Before discussing the characteristics of this subtype of complement, I will demonstrate that they are complement clauses. First of all, the complement clause in (36) expresses its core arguments. In this example, *Jwáyn* ‘Juan’ is the subject of the complement and *tellag* *lady* ‘a piece of a rug’ occupies the position of the syntactic object. In the example below, notice that any other NP can occupy this object position. Lastly, the complement clause in (36) describes a ‘buying’ situation.

(37) *ri.*ˈ*ka̰z* ˈ*Bǽd tu.*ˈ*llā’* ˈ*pá*

ri-ka̰z Bǽd tullā’ pá

hab-want Pedro a.piece.of bread

‘Pedro wants a piece of bread.’

Having shown that this type of construction is a complement clause I turn now to discuss its characteristics. First of all, these complements are not introduced by any complementizer (at all). The use of a complementizer triggers ungrammaticality, as shown in (38). Second, these complements do not project a preverbal focus position. If any of the arguments of the complement is focused, this argument must move to the focus position of the main predicate, as shown in (39).

(38) *ri.*ˈ*ka̰z* ˈ*Bǽd* [*(\**ˈ*teky)* ˈ*sḭ̂* ˈ*Jwáyn te.*ˈ*llag lady*]CC

ri-ka̰z Bǽd (teky) sḭ̂ Jwáyn te=llag lady

hab-want Pedro (comp) pot.buy Juan i.art=piece woven.cloth

‘Pedro wants that Juan buys a piece of a rug.’

(39) *te.*ˈ*llag lady ri.*ˈ*ka̰z* ˈ*Bǽd* ˈ*sḭ̂* ˈ*Jwáyn*

te=llag lady ri-ka̰z Bǽd sḭ̂ Jwáyn

i.art=piece woven.cloth hab-want Pedro pot.buy Juan

‘Pedro wants that Juan buys a piece of a rug.’ /

‘A piece of a rug Pedro wants that Juan buys.’[[84]](#footnote-84)

The temporal meaning of these complements is dependent on the meaning of the main predicate. That is, the events expressed in the complement are seen as possible events that may or may not occur in the future (after the sentence is uttered). Thus, they can only occur with a potential or counterfactual prefix on their verb, as in (40) and (41) respectively. In (42), I show that any other TAM prefix is not possible.

(40) *ri.ze.*ˈ*bla̰z* ˈ*Jwáyn* [ˈ*gá.wan tu.*ˈ*llā’* ˈ*pá*]CC

ri-zebla̰z Jwáyn g´-aw=an tullā’ pá

hab-crave Juan pot-eat=3sg.if a.piece.of bread

‘Juan wants (craves) to eat a piece of bread.’

(41) *gu.ze.*ˈ*bla̰z* ˈ*Jwáyn* [ˈ*nyá.wan tu.*ˈ*llā’* ˈ*pá*]CC

gu-zebla̰z Jwáyn ni´-aw=an tullā’ pá

compl-crave Juan cntf-eat=3sg.if a.piece.of bread

‘Juan craved to eat a piece of bread (but he didn’t) ...’

(42) *\*ri.ze.*ˈ*bla̰z* ˈ*Jwáyn* [ˈ*ra.wan tu.*ˈ*llā’* ˈ*pá*]CC

ri-zebla̰z Jwáyn r-aw=an tullā’ pá

hab-crave Juan hab-eat=3sg.if a.piece.of bread

Intended reading: ‘Juan craves to eat a piece of bread.’

The choice between the potential and the counterfactual on the complement is directly related to the TAM on the verb of the main clause. That is, the potential prefix is required if the event is seen as a possible event in the future. In other words, if the verb in the main clause is marked with the habitual, progressive, potential or future, the marking on the complement must be potential. On the other hand, when the verb in the main clause is prefixed with the completive prefix or the counterfactual, the complement verb requires to be prefixed with the counterfactual. This confirms that the temporal-semantics of the main predicate restricts the temporal-semantics of the complement.

Lastly, negation does not typically occur in this type of complement. The negation of the main clause involves the negation of the complement,[[85]](#footnote-85) as shown in (43). Negation on the complement is not generally used but is not ungrammatical, as shown in (44).

(43) *Kēd.rí.*ˈ*ka̰z.di* ˈ*Bǽd* [ˈ*txǽ.tū*]CC

**kēd**=ri-ka̰z=di Bǽd tx´-æ=tū

neg=hab-want=neg Pedro pot-go=2pl.if

‘Pedro doesn’t want you to go (somewhere).’

(44) #*ri.ˈka̰z* *ˈBǽd* [*kēd.*ˈ*txǽ.di.tū*]CC

ri-ka̰z Bǽd kēd=tx´-æ=di=tū

hab-want Pedro neg=pot-go=neg=2pl.if

‘Pedro wants that you don’t go (somewhere).’

## 6.4.4 Reduced complement clauses with loosely copied aspect

This type of complement has various similarities to the previous subtype, but the TAM marking is not restricted to irrealis modalities, but to the same TAM marking of the main predicate. However, this is not their only possibility, that is why I call them loosely copied aspect. Below I show the characteristics of this subtype of complements.

* They are not introduced by any complementizer (at all)
* No preverbal positions are allowed (the complement lacks a focus position).
* Their TAM marker is the same as in the verb of the main clause, but they may vary when the verb is prefixed with completive
* Negation does not generally occur in this type of complement.

In (45) I show an example of this type of complement.

(45) ˈ*xsǐly.rú ri.zu.ˈla.wan ri.ˈgī.bán ˈbǔlls*

xsǐly=rú ri-zulaw=an ri-gǐb=an bǔlls

early.morning=more hab-start=3sg.if hab-sew=3sg.if bag

‘Early (in the) morning s/he starts to sew (the) bag(s).’

As in previous sections, before I discuss the characteristics of this subtype of complement, I will demonstrate that they are complement clauses. First of all, the complement clause in (45) expresses its core arguments. In this example, the clitic indicating the third person singular informal is the subject of the complement and *ˈbǔlls* ‘bag’ is the object. Also, this type of complement occupies the position of the syntactic object. That is, it is the phrase that follows the subject. In addition, this complement describes a situation of sewing bags.

This subtype of complement shares most of the characteristics with those complements with restricted aspect. That is, they are not introduced by any complementizer and they do not project a preverbal focus position. If a complementizer occurs, it triggers ungrammaticality, as shown in (46). With respect to focalization, if any of the arguments of the complement is focused, it must take/move to the focus position of the verb in the main clause, as shown in (47). Focusing the object in front of the complement verb is ungrammatical, as in (48).

(46) ˈ*ruyn.zyán* [*(\*teky)* ˈ*ra.syan*]CC

r-uynzī=an (teky) r-asy=an

hab-pretend=3sg.if (comp) hab-sleep=3sg.if

‘He pretends that hej is sleeping.’

(47) ˈ*būll.sén ri.zu.ˈla.wan ri.ˈgī.bán* ˈ*xsǐly.rú…*

bǔlls=ēn ri-zulaw=an ri-gǐb=an xsǐly=rú

bag=foc hab-start=3sg.if hab-sew=3sg.if early.morning=more

‘Bag(s) (is what) s/he starts sewing early in the morning…’

(48) \*ˈ*xsǐly.rú ri.zu.ˈla.wan ˈbǔlls* *ri.ˈgī.bán*

xsǐly=rú ri-zulaw=an **bǔlls** ri-gǐb=an

early.morning=more hab-start=3sg.if bag hab-sew=3sg.if

Intended reading: ‘Early (in the) morning s/he starts to sew (the) bag(s).’

With respect to its temporal dependency, this subtype has been named considering this characteristic. As noticed in all the examples of this section, the verb occurring in these complements usually have the same TAM marking as the verb in the main predicate. Nevertheless, the verb in the complement may have an incompletive TAM marking when the main predicate has completive or habitual, as in (49) and (50). Contrary to the reading of the example with the same TAM marking, the reading with incompletive implies that the event expressed in the complement is ongoing, whether at the moment in which the event in the main clause occurs, as in (49), or after, as in (50). This TAM variation shows that these complements are not completely restricted to the TAM marking of the main predicate. In (49), it is as if both clauses/events had different backgrounds.

(49) *bin.ˈdyā.gá* [*ká.bi.ˈxtyæ̰n*]CC

b-indyǎg=a̰ ká-bixtyæ=an

compl-hear.1sg=1sg progr-yell=3sg.if

‘I heard (that) s/he was yelling /crying loudly.’

(50) ˈ*xsǐly.rú gu.zu.ˈla.wan* [*ká.ˈgī.bán*]CC

xsǐly=rú gu-zulaw=an ká-gǐb=an

early.morning=more compl-start=3sg.if progr-sew=3sg.if

‘Early (in the) morning s/he started to sew.’

A characteristic of the future prefix that Gutiérrez (2014) discussed for serial verb constructions needs to be mentioned for complement clauses too. That is, a construction with two verbs prefixed with future cannot occur in TdVZ. Thus, when the verb in the main clause is prefixed with future, the complement must occur with the potential marker even when it is expected to copy the same TAM marking. This is shown in (51).

(51) ˈ*zye.xhan* [ˈ*dyæ̰̂n* ]CC */* [*\*zi.*ˈ*dyæ̰n*]CC

z-yexh=an dyæ̰̂=an zi-dyæ̰=an

fut-dare=3sg.if pot.go.out=3sg.if fut-go.out=3sg.if

‘S/he will dare to go out (without permission).’

Lastly, negation does not typically occur in this subtype of complement. That is, since these predicates are implicatives ( i.e., they implicate that the situation described in the complement was realized), negating the complement is semantically awkward, as in (52). Thus, the negation of the main predicate implies that the event in the complement didn’t occur, as in (53).

(52) #ˈ*zye.xhan kēd.*ˈ*dyæ̰̂.dyan*

z-yexh=an kēd=dyæ̰̂=di=an

fut-dare=3sg.if neg=pot.go.out=neg=3sg.if

?‘S/he will dare to not go out (without permission).’

(53) *kēd.ˈgyéxh.dyan* [ˈ*dyæ̰̂n*]CC

kēd=g´-yexh=di=an dyæ̰̂=an

neg=pot-dare=neg=3sg.if pot.go.out=3sg.if

‘S/he won’t dare to go out (without permission).’

## 6.4.5 Reduced complement clauses with strictly copied aspect

This type of complement has most of the characteristics of the previous subtype but their TAM marking is completely restricted to being the TAM marking of the main predicate. Below I show the characteristics of this subtype of complement.

* They are not introduced by any complementizer (at all)
* No preverbal positions are allowed (the complement lacks a focus position).
* Their TAM marker is the same as the TAM marker of the verb in the main clause,
* Negation does not generally occur in this type of complement.

In (54) I show an example of this type of complement.

(54) *re.dxu.*ˈ*lâ̰z* ˈ*Jwáyn* [ˈ*ra.wan* ˈ*pá*]CC

r-edxula̰z Jwáyn r-aw=an pá

hab-like Juan hab-eat=3sg.if bread

‘Juan likes to eat bread’

As in previous sections, before I discuss the characteristics of this this subtype of complements, I will demonstrate that they are complement clauses. First of all, the complement clause in (54) expresses its core arguments. In this example, the pronominal clitic indicating the third person informalis the subject and *pá* ‘bread’ is the object. Also, this type of complement occupies the position of the syntactic object. That is, it is the phrase that follows the subject. In addition, this complement expresses a bread-eating event.

This subtype of complement shares most of the characteristics with those complements discussed so far. That is, they are not introduced by any complementizer, as in (55), and they do not project a preverbal focus position. If any of the arguments of the complement is focused, it must move to the focus position of the verb in the main clause, as shown in (56). Focusing the object in front of the complement verb is ungrammatical, as in (57).

(55) *re.dxu.*ˈ*lâ̰z* ˈ*Jwáyn* [*(\*teky)* ˈ*ra.wan* ˈ*pá*]CC

r-edxula̰z Jwáyn (teky)r-aw=an pá

hab-like Juan (comp)hab-eat=3sg.if bread

‘Juan likes to eat bread.’

(56) ˈ*pá re.dxu.*ˈ*lâ̰z* ˈ*Jwáyn* ˈ*ra.wan*

pá r-edxula̰z Jwáyn r-aw=an

bread hab-like Juan hab-eat=3sg.if

‘Bread (is what) Juan likes to eat.’

(57) \**re.dxu.*ˈ*lâ̰z* ˈ *Jwáyn* ˈ*pá* ˈ*ra.wan*

r-edxula̰z Jwáyn **pá** r-aw=an

hab-like Juan bread hab-eat=3sg.if

Intended reading ‘Bread (is what) Juan likes to eat.’

With respect to its temporal dependency, this subtype has been named considering this characteristic. As noticed in the examples above, the verb occurring in these complements must have the same TAM marking as the verb in the main predicate. A different TAM marking from the main predicate triggers ungrammaticality, as shown in (58). In this last example, I use a completive marker on the main predicate and a progressive marker on the complement since this sequence is allowed for the previous subtype.

(58) \**ri.ka .ˈtuy ba.ˈllṵ.xhan* [*ká.ˈkwa̰n ˈgæt*]CC

ri-ka=tuy ba-llṵxh=an ká-kwa̰=an gæt

hab-sound=one compl-finish=3sg.if progr-throw=3sg.if tortilla

Intended reading: ‘She finished making tortillas at one.’

Nevertheless, just as with the previous subtype, when the verb in the main clause has the future prefix, the complement must occur with the potential marker, as in (59).

(59) *zu.ˈllṵxh ˈga̰n* [*gu.ˈkwâ̰n ˈgæt nna’.ˈdxi*]CC

zu-llṵxh ga=an gu´-kwa̰=an gæt nna’dxi

fut-finish soon=3sg.if pot-throw=3sg.if tortilla today

‘She will finish making tortillas soon/early today.’

Lastly, negation does not typically occur in this type of complement. The negation of the main clause involves the negation of the complement, as shown in (60). Negation on the complement is ungrammatical and semantically awkward, as shown in (61).

(60) ˈ*pá kēd.ré.dxu.*ˈ*lâ̰z .di* ˈ *Jwáyn* ˈ*ra.wan*

pá kēd=r-edxula̰z=di Jwáyn r-aw=an

Bread neg=hab-like=neg Juan hab-eat=3sg.if

‘Bread (is what) Juan doesn’t like to eat.’

(61) #?ˈ*pá re.dxu.*ˈ*lâ̰z* ˈ*Jwáyn kēd.*ˈ*râw.dyan*

Pá r-edxula̰z Jwáyn kēd=r-aw=di=an

bread hab-like Juan neg=hab-eat=neg=3sg.if

Intended reading(s): ‘Bread (is what) Juan likes to not eat’ /

‘Bread (is what) Juan doesn’t like to eat.’

## 6.4.6 Types of complements: summary

In this section I have described the various types of complements that occur in TdVZ. I showed that each type has particular characteristics. I classified them into two main subtypes based on the possibility of a complementizer and their temporal dependency on the main predicate. Those that occur with a complementizer do not show temporal dependencies, thus, following Noonan I called them non- reduced complements. This contrast with those complements that occur juxtaposed and show temporal dependencies, thus, reduced complements. Even though these latter are reduced, they show more variation in their form and TAM marking. Thus, in order to capture all their properties and differences, I have considered four subtypes. This is summarized in Table 2.

Table 2. Types of complements in TdVZ

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Types | Complementizer | Focus position | It can be negated | DTR (Dependent temporal reference) |
| Non-reduced | Declarative complements (with optional complementizer) | Optional | YES | YES | No |
| Reduced | Reduced complements  with realis and irrealis modalities. | NO | NO | YES | YES: the event expressed in the complement clause occurs after the event in the main predicate. Thus, potential prefix is common but not the only option |
| Reduced complements  with restricted aspect | NO | NO | NO | YES, the event is seen just as possible. Thus, it is restricted to potential or counterfactual prefixes. |
| Reduced complements with loose copied aspect | NO | NO | NO | YES, the event in the complement usually occurs at the same time of the main predicate, but it may have started before or continue during the utterance time. |
| Reduced complements with strict copied aspect | NO | NO | NO | YES, the event in the complement occurs at the same time of the main predicate |

# 6.5 The semantics of complement taking predicates.

In this section I classify the CTPs by semantic classes and show the type of complements they select. Before I start this section, two points should be made clear: (i) I will be focusing on verbs that function as CTPs,[[86]](#footnote-86) thus, other word classes that can have this function will not be considered. That is, elements such as *gullí*[[87]](#footnote-87) ‘it is certain (that)’ are not discussed; (ii) the classes of CTPs discussed below are meant to reflect the uses of the verbs as CTPs in complementation rather than the full semantic properties of any given verb or set of verbs in TdVZ. For instance, the Zapotec verb -*zyæby* ‘say’ as a CTP has two main uses, one as an utterance predicate and another as a manipulative predicate, as in (62) and (63) respectively. It is certainly the case that there is a unified meaning of *-zyæby ‘*say to’under which both uses are subsumed, but in this section, I will consider each of the uses of this verbseparately since it is the uses that determine the choice of complement type.

(62) *gāxh.ˈgǽ.byan ˈlǎ̰n* [(*ˈteky*) *kēd.*ˈ*gwǽ.dyanx*]CC

gāxh=gǽby=an lǎ̰n (teky) kēd=gu-æ=di=an=x

then=pot.say=3sg.if 3sg.if (comp) neg=compl-go=neg=3sg.if=d.e

‘Then s/hei will tell him/herj that s/hei/\*j did not go then.’

(63) *gāxh.ˈræ̂.byan ˈlǎ̰n* [*kēd.rú.ˈgæ̂’nx*]CC

gāxh=ræby=an lǎ̰n kēd=rú=g´-æ’=n=x

then=compl.say=3sg.if 3sg.if neg=more=pot-drink=3sg.if=d.e

‘Then s/hei advised/order him/herj not to (continue) drink(ing) more then.’

In the following, I will consider Noonan’s (2007) semantic classification to discuss the CTPs. As I will show, there are CTPs that select for more than one type of complement and various semantic predicate classes do not exhibit a uniform pattern in their selection.

## 6.5.1 Utterance predicates

These predicates are used in sentences describing a simple transfer of information initiated by an agentive subject. The complement represents the transferred information, and the CTP describes the manner of transfer, the illocutionary force of the original statement, and can also give an evaluation of the speaker’s view of the veracity of the proposition encoded in the complement (Noonan 2007).Zapotec verbs that can be used as utterance CTPs are: -*gixhlæ’ low* ‘tell to’,

-*zyæby*[[88]](#footnote-88) ‘say’, -*agṵn dxǎn* ‘swear to god’, *ziru’* ‘confess’, and -*nnyabdḭ̂dx* ‘ask’.

-*gixhlæ’ low* ‘tell to’, *zyæby* ‘say’,[[89]](#footnote-89) and *ziru’* ‘confess’ select for either non-reduced complements with complementizer (optional) or for interrogative complements,[[90]](#footnote-90) as shown in the examples below.

(64) *gu.dixh.ˈlæ’ ˈNdún lo.ˈBǽd* [*(ˈteky) kēd.ˈtxǽ.dyan*]CC

gu-dixhlæ’ Ndún lo=Bǽd (teky) kēd=tx´-æ=di=an

compl-tell Antonia r.n.face=Pedro (comp) neg=pot-go=neg=3sg.if

‘Antonia told Pedro that she was not going (to go).’

(65) *gāxh.ˈgǽ.byan ˈlǎ̰n* [(*ˈteky*) *kēd.*ˈ*gwǽ.dyanx*]CC

gāxh=gǽby=an lǎ̰n (teky) kēd=gu-æ=di=an=x

then=pot.say=3sg.if 3sg.if (comp) neg=compl-go=neg=3sg.if=d.e

‘Then s/hei will tell him/herj that s/hei/\*j did not go then.’

(66) *kēd.gú.díxh.ˈlæ’.di ˈNdún lo.ˈBǽd*

kēd=gu-dixhlæ’=di Ndún lo=Bǽd

neg=compl-tell=neg Antonia r.n.face=Pedro

[*tū.bá.ˈdxé.lén*]CC

tū=ba-dxēl=ēn

intg.who=compl-find=3sg.inan

‘Antonia didn’t tell Pedro who found it.’

(67) *gāxh.bá.zi.ˈrwa’n* [*xī.ˈbâ̰.nyan*]CC

gāxh=ba-ziru’=an xī=ba̰ny=an

then=compl-confess=3sg.if intg.what=compl.do=3sg.if

‘Then s/he confessed what s/he did.’

The CTP -*agṵn dxǎn* ‘swear to god’ selects only for complements with complementizer (optional), as shown in (68).[[91]](#footnote-91)

(68) *ba.ˈgṵn ˈtæ̰n ˈdxǎn* [*(ˈteky) ˈzæ̰n*]CC

ba-gṵn tæ̰=an dxǎn (teky) z-æ=an

compl-swear.to.god intsf=3sg.if deity (comp) fut-go=3sg.if

‘S/he swore to god again and again that s/he would go.’

On the other hand, -*nnyabdḭ̂dx* ‘ask’ selects only for interrogative complements, as in (69).

(69) *txāz.ˈtæ̰̂ ri.nnyab.ˈdḭ̂dx ˈJwáyn* (*ˈLLúpy*) [*kā.lí.ˈtxǽ.dán*]CC

txāzī=tæ̰ ri-nnyabdḭ̂dx Jwáyn (LLúpy) kālí=tx´-æ=dán

always=intsf hab-ask Juan (Guadalupe) intg.where=pot-go=3pl.if

‘Juan always asks (Guadalupe) where they are going.’

Utterance predicates select for non-reduced complements. Most verb predicates select for both subtypes: declarative complements (with optional complementizer) and interrogative complements, but there are predicates that select only one subtype.

## 6.5.2 Propositional attitude predicates

Propositional attitude predicates express an attitude regarding the truth of the proposition expressed as their complement. The propositional attitude may be positive or negative. I have found only one verb predicate, i.e., -*zak* ‘feel like / have a feeling about (an event)’, with this semantics in TdVZ.[[92]](#footnote-92) As noted in (70), this predicate selects for declarative complements (with complementizer optional).

(70) *txā.zī.rí.ˈza.kan* [*(ˈteky) ˈzya.ban*]CC

txāzī=ri-zak=an (teky) z-yab=an

always=hab-feel.like=3sg.if (comp) fut-fall=3sg.if

‘S/he always feels (like) / has the sensation that s/he is going to fall.’

Another predicate that I group into this semantic category is -*nnixkall* ‘dream’. Although it differs slightly from the meaning of propositional attitude predicates, I consider that it belongs to this semantic category since it involves a propositional attitude regarding the event expressed in the complement clause*.* In fact, it selects for declarative complements (with optional complementizer), as shown in (71). This is another characteristic that suggests its membership in this group.[[93]](#footnote-93)

(71) *ri.nni.*ˈ*xkall* ˈ *Jwáyn* [*(ˈteky) ká.*ˈ*llṵb.dán* ˈ*lǎ̰n*]CC

ri-nnixkall Jwáyn (teky) ká=llṵb=dán lǎ̰n

hab-dream Juan (comp) progr-beat=3pl.if 3sg.if

‘Juan dreams that they are beating him / that someone is beating him.’

## 6.5.3 Predicates of knowledge or acquisition of knowledge

These predicates take experiencer subjects and describe the state or the manner of acquisition of knowledge. In TdVZ, verbs that can be used as CTPs of knowledge or acquisition of knowledge are *-sala̰z* ‘remember’*, -nnala̰z* ‘recall’,[[94]](#footnote-94)-*yenla̰z* ‘forget (about)’, *-yakbæ̰* ‘realize / notice’, and

-*dxēlbæ̰̂* ‘find out’.[[95]](#footnote-95) These predicates select for non-reduced complements with complementizer (optional) or interrogative complements, as in (72) - (75).

(72) *á.ba.sa.ˈla̰z ˈJwáyn* [*ˈtú.ín ˈbâ̰.nīn*]CC

á=ba-sala̰z Jwáyn tū=īn ba̰ny=īn

done=compl-remember Juan intg.who=foc compl.do=3sg.inan

‘Juan has remembered who (it was who) did it.’

(73) *byen.ˈla̰z ˈJwáyn* [*(ˈteky) ba.ˈdxā̰.gán ˈlā̰.dán*]CC

b-yenla̰z Jwáyn (teky) ba-dxā̰g=an lā̰dán

compl-forget Juan (comp) compl-found.someone.by.chance=3sg.if 3pl.f

‘Juan forgot / had forgotten that he had found them (before) by chance.’

(74) *zyak.ˈbæ̰ ˈJwáyn* [*(ˈteky) ˈlā̰.dán ba.ˈkâts.dá.nēn*]CC

z-yakbæ̰ Jwáyn (teky) lā̰dán ba-kâts=dán=ēn

fut-realize Juan (comp) 3pl.if compl-hide=3pl.if=3sg.inan

‘Juan will find out / realize that they hid it.’

(75) *á.ba.dxēl.ˈbæ̰̂ ˈBǽd* [*(ˈteky) ba.ˈta’.wan ˈdbêdy.kī*]CC

á=ba-dxēlbæ̰̂ Bǽd (teky) ba-ta’w=an d´=bedy=kī

done=compl-find.out Pedro (comp) compl-sell=3sg.if pl=chicken=temp.dem

‘Pedro has (already) found out that s/he sold the chicken(s).’

The completive form of the verbs -*indyag* ‘hear’ and -*nnā* ‘witness’ can also be used as CTPs that express acquisition of knowledge, that is, they are understood as ‘get to know’ and ‘realize’ respectively*.* In this case, *b-indyag*[[96]](#footnote-96)(compl-hear) ‘got to know’ and *gu-nnā* (compl-witness) ‘realized’ select for non-reduced complements with complementizer (optional), as shown in (76) with this last verb predicate.

(76) *gu.ˈnnā ˈJwáyn* [*(ˈteky) kēd.rí.ˈka̰z.dyan ˈtxæ̰̂n*

gu-nnā Jwáyn (teky) kēd=ri-ka̰z=di=an tx´-æ=an

compl-witness Juan (comp) neg=hab-want=neg=3sg.if pot-go=3sg.if

*ˈxkwíly*]CC *gāxh.bá.ˈdæ̰.dan ˈdzɨ̰yn ˈgú.nyan*

xkwíly gāxh=ba-dæ̰d=an dzɨ̰yn g´-uny=an

school then=compl-give=3sg.if work pot-do=3sg.if

‘Juan realized that s/he didn’t want to go to school so he gave him/her work to do.’

Another CTP of knowledge is *na-nnā* ‘est.know’. However, this predicate is paradigmatically restricted in TdVZ. That is, it seems to be the stative form of the verb -*nnyā* ‘witness’ (i.e., *na-nnā* ‘stat-witness’) and it only gets the ‘knowing’ reading in this form. This predicate can select for declarative complements (with optional complemetizer) or interrogative complements, as in (77) and (78) respectively.

(77) *nā.ˈnnâ̰* [*kēd.ˈgwǽ.dyan*]CC

nānnâ̰ kēd=gu-æ=di=an

est.know.1sg neg=compl-go=neg=3sg.if

‘I know (that) s/he didn’t go.’

(78) *lá.na.*ˈ*nnǒw* [*lá.*ˈ*rā.pán ka.*ˈ*myún?*]CC

lá=nannā=ṵ *lá*=r-āp=an kamyún

pol.intg=est.know=2sg.if pol.intg=hab-have=3sg.if car

‘Do you know if he has a car? ’

Verb predicates that are used as CTPs expressing knowledge then select for non-reduced complements, most of them select for both subtypes (declarative complements (with optional complementizer) and interrogative complements). However, those completive forms of the verb *b-indyag* (compl-hear) ‘got to know’ and *gu-nnā* (compl-witness) ‘realized’ only select for non-reduced declarative complements (with optional complementizer).

## 6.5.4 Immediate perception predicates

These predicates name the sensory mode by which the subject directly perceives the event coded in the complement. Zapotec verbs that can be used as immediate perception CTPs are -*indyag* ‘hear’, -*nnyā* ‘witness’, and -*yenny* ‘perceive’.[[97]](#footnote-97) These CTPs select for reduced complements with loosely copied aspect since the verb in the complement can occur either with the same TAM marking or progressive, as shown in the examples below.

(79) *bin.ˈdyā.gá* [*ká.bi.ˈxtyæ̰n*]CC

b-indyǎg=a̰ ká-bixtyæ=an

compl-hear.1sg=1sg progr-yell=3sg.if

‘I heard (that) s/he was yelling /crying loudly.’

(80) (*l)á.gu.ˈnnǒw* [*ˈbya.ban?*]CC

(l)á=gu-nnā=ṵ b-yab=an

intg.pol=compl-witnness=2sg.if compl-fall=3sg.if

‘Did you witness /see (that) s/he fell her/his falling?’

(81) *byē.ˈnnyá* [*ˈbǣ̰d bí.ˈdxá̰ nnú.ˈtxî*]CC

b-yěnny=a̰ b-ǣ̰d bidxá̰ nnutxî

compl-perceive.1sg=1sg compl-come sorcerer.spirit last.night

‘I perceived that the sorcerer’s spirit came last night.’

This group of verb predicates are quite consistent since they only select for one type of complement, but it is difficult to determine whether they are used as direct perception or knowledge predicates is difficult.[[98]](#footnote-98)

## 6.5.5 Pretence predicates

Pretence predicates are a semantically complex class whose subjects may be either experiencers or agents. These predicates have as a characteristic that the world described by the proposition embodied in the complement is not the real world (Noonan 2007). The only verb I have found with this semantics that is used as CTP in TdVZ is -*uynzī* ‘pretend’*.* This predicate selects for reduced complements with loosely copied aspect, as in (82).

(82) ˈ*ba̰yn.zyán* [ˈ*ra.syan*]CC

ba̰ynzī=ani r-asy=ani/\*j

compl.pretend=3sg.if hab-sleep=3sg.if

‘S/he pretended that s/he was sleeping.’ Lit. ‘S/he pretended s/he sleeps.’

## 6.5.6 Desiderative predicates

These predicates are characterized by having experiencer subjects expressing a desire that the complement proposition be realized (Noonan 2007). In TdVZ, verbs with this semantics that can be used as CTPs are: *-ka̰z* ‘want’, *-zebla̰z* ‘crave (for)’, *-kwala̰z* ‘be hopeful of someone or something’, *-kwen* ‘insist on’, *-uynllā* ‘insist on’ and -*sæ̰d* ‘study (for)’. These predicates select reduced complements with restricted aspect, as shown in (83). This semantic group are the most consistent in this language. That is, all these verb predicates select for one specific type of complement and do not allow any other.[[99]](#footnote-99)

(83) *ri.ze.*ˈ*bla̰.zan* [ˈ*gá.wan te.*ˈ*nyéb*]CC

ri-zebla̰z=an g´-aw=an te=nyéb

hab-crave.for=3sg.if pot-eat=3sg.if i.art=ice.cream

‘S/he craves eating an ice cream.’

### 6.5.6.1 Predicates of fearing

These predicates are characterized semantically by having experiencer subjects and expressing an attitude of fear or concern that the complement proposition will be or has been realized (Noonan 2007). Thus, these are the (negative) counterpart of desideratives. Therefore, I consider them a subgroup of these latter. In fact, verbs that can be used as predicates of fearing (i.e., -*telow* ‘be embarrassed by’, *-dxiby* ‘be afraid of’ and *-kyela̰z* ‘worry about’) select for reduced complements with restricted aspect, as shown in (84) and (85).

(84) *ra.te.ˈla.wan* [*ˈtxæ̰̂n ˈlæ’n ˈrrády*]CC

ra-telow=an tx´-æ=an læ’n rrády

hab-be.embarrased.by=3sg.if pot-go=3sg.if r.n.stomach radio

‘S/he is embarrassed / afraid to go (talk) on /at the radio (station).’

(85) *ri.ˈdxi.byan* [*gu.ˈgwá.llán ˈlǎ̰m*]CC

ri-dxiby=an gu´-gwāll=an lǎ̰m

hab-be.afraid=3sg.if pot-touch=3sg.if 3sg.anml

‘S/he is afraid of touching it (the animal).’

Interestingly, -*kyela̰z* ‘worry about’not only select for reduced complements with restricted aspect, as in (86), it may also select for interrogative complements, as shown in (87). In this last example note that the TAM marker of the interrogative complement is restricted to potential; this confirms that interrogatives clauses can also be of the reduced type (§6.4).

(86) *ri.kye.ˈla̰.zan* [*ˈtxû’ xī.ˈgá.wan*]CC

ri-kyela̰z=an tx´-u’ xī=g´-aw=an

hab-worry=3sg.if pot-exist intg.what=pot-eat=3sg.if

‘S/he worries about having food (what to eat).’

(87) *ri.kye.ˈla̰.zan* [*tū.gák.ˈnǣ ˈlǎ̰n*]CC

ri-kyela̰z=an tū=g´-aknǣ lǎ̰n

hab-worry=3sg.if intg.who=pot-help 3sg.if

‘S/he worries about (that there is) who is going to help him/her.’

## 6.5.7 Manipulative predicates

Manipulative predicates express a relation between an agent or a situation which functions as a cause, an affectee, and a resulting situation. The affectee must be a participant in the resulting situation (Noonan 2007). There are various verbs with this semantics that can be used as CTPs in TdVZ. In this section I will separate these in two subgroups based on the transitivity of the verb. The first subgroup contains the transitive verbs: -*nnibæ̰* ‘order’, *-nnḭ* ‘say to / order / request’, *-lla̰* ‘let /allow’, -*dxūn* ‘impede’, *-zæ̰d* ‘be trained to’*.* The first three verbs (-*nnibæ̰* ‘order’, *-nnḭ* ‘request / order’, and *-lla̰* ‘let /allow’) select for a reduced complement with realis and irrealis modalities, and for interrogative complements, as shown in (88) - (90).

(88) *gu.nni.*ˈ*bæ̰n* [*gu.zú.*ˈ*kǎn* ˈ*gīts.kī*]CC

gu-nnibæ̰=an gu´-zukā=an gits=kī

compl-order=3sg.if pot-remove=3sg.if paper=temp.dem

‘S/hei ordered that s/he\*i/j remove the paper / advertisement.’

(89) ˈ*lǎ̰n gu.*ˈ*nnyæ̰̂n* [*tū.*ˈ*gǽ̰d*]CC

lǎ̰n gu-nnḭ=an tū=g´-ǣ̰d

3sg.if compl-say=3sg.if intg.who=pot-come

‘S/he said (decided/ordered) who would come.’

(90) *ba.ˈlla̰ ˈJwáyn* [*ˈtxǽ ˈxhi’.nyan stú.ˈblád*]CC

ba-lla̰ Jwáyn tx´-æ xhi’ny=an stúblád

compl-allow Juan pot-go poss.son=3sg.if (an)other.side

‘Juan allowed his son to go to the United States (the son hasn’t gone yet).’

The manipulative transitive verb predicates -*dxūn* ‘impede’ and *-zæ̰d* ‘be trained to’ select for a complement with restricted aspect, as in (91).[[100]](#footnote-100)

(91) *ru.ˈdxūn.dān* [*gá.ˈdæ̰̂.dūn*]CC

ru-dxūn=dān ga-dæ̰̂d=ūn

hab-impede=3pl.f pot-pass.1pl=1pl.excl

‘They impede (that) we cross (pass).’

The second subgroup contains the ditransitive verbs *-kḭ̄ly* ‘persuade’, -*lṵy* ‘teach’, -*zyæby* ‘order’, *-llæby* ‘accustom to’, *-llæby low* ‘accustom to do bad’, and -*sala̰z* ‘remind’. *-kḭ̄ly* ‘persuade’ and *-lṵy* ‘show/teach’ select for reduced complements with realis and irrealis modalities, as in (92).

(92) ˈ*llíbr.kī bá.ˈkḭ́ly ˈBǽd ˈlǎ̰n ˈgú.llán*

llíbr=kī ba-kḭ̄ly Bǽd lǎ̰n g´-ull=an

book=temp.dem compl-persuade Pedro 3sg.if pot-read=3sg.if

‘Pedro persuaded him/her to read that book.’

-*zyæby* ‘order / advise’, *-llæby* ‘accustom to’, *-llæby low* ‘accustom to do bad’ and -*sala̰z* ‘remind’ select for complements with restricted aspect, as in (93) and (94).

(93) *ra.ˈzyæ.byan ˈlǎ̰n* [*ˈgú.nyan ˈzṵyn*]CC

ra-zyæby=an lǎ̰n g´-uny=an zṵyn

hab=pot.say =3sg.if 3sg.if pot-do=3sg.if work

‘S/hei will order/ advise him/herj to do work.’

(94) *gāxh.bá.sá.ˈlā.zá* *ˈlǎ̰n* [*txí.ˈti.xhā.nēn*]CC

gāxh=ba-sálǎz=a̰ lǎ̰n tx´-æ-tixh=an=ēn

then=compl-remind.1sg=1sg 3sg.if pot-go-pay=3sg.if=3sg.inan

‘Then I reminded him/her to go (and) pay it.’

-*zyæby* ‘order’ can also select for interrogative complements, as shown in (95). In this case, this is a reduced interrogative complement since the TAM marker is restricted to the potential marker.

(95) *ra.ˈzyæ.byan ˈlǎ̰n* [*xī.ˈgú.nyan*]CC

ra-zyæby=an lǎ̰n xī=g´-uny=an

hab=pot.say =3sg.if 3sg.if intg.what=pot-do=3sg.if

‘S/hei will tell (order/ advise) him/herj what to do.’

## 6.5.8 Achievement predicates

Achievement predicates can be divided into positive and negative achievement classes. Positive achievement predicates refer to the manner or realization of achievement. Negative achievement refers to the manner or reason for the lack of achievement in the complement predication (Noonan 2007).

I have found four verbs that are used as CTPs and indicate a positive achievement: -*yexhy* ‘dare’, -*tsāplôw* ‘work consistently on’, -*la̰zlow* ‘to dedicate oneself to’, and -*āll* ‘be able to afford’*.*[[101]](#footnote-101)The first two CTPs select for reduced complements with loosely copied aspect, as shown in the examples below with a completive marker on the main predicate, but an incompletive marker on the complement.

(96)ˈ*bye.xhan* [ˈ*ræ.byan* ˈ*lā̰n* ˈ*zéky*]CC

b-yexh=an ræby=an lā̰n zēky

compl-dare=3sg.if compl.say.to=3sg.if 3sg.f temp.dem.pron

‘S/he dared to say to her/him like that.’ / ‘S/he dared to talk to him/her like that.’

(97) *ba.tsāp.*ˈ*lâ.wan* [*ká.yuyn.*ˈ*txḛ.yan* ˈ*xtxi’n*]CC

ba-tsāplôw=an káy-uyntxḛy=an s=txi’n

compl-be.consistent=3sg.if progr-create=3sg.if mdr=a.little

‘S/he (has) worked consistently on (doing) weaving a little more.’

On the other hand, -*la̰zlow* ‘to dedicate oneself to’ and -*āll* ‘be able to afford’, select a complement with realis and irrealis modalities, as in (98) and (99) respectively.

(98) *ba.láz.*ˈ*la̰.wa* [*gu.*ˈ*sæ̰̂.da* ˈ*xtxi’n*]CC

ba-lázlow=a̰ gu´-sæ̰̂d=a̰ s=txi’n

compl-commit.oneself.to.1sg=1sg pot-study.1sg=1sg mdr=a.little

‘I committed myself to study some/ a little more.’

(99) *ˈzā.llán* [*ˈkí.xhan ˈgwilly*]CC

z-āll=an kíxh=an gwilly

fut-be.able.to.afford=3sg.if pot.pay=3sg.if musician

‘S/he will be able to afford to pay the musician(s).’

The only verb with negative achievement semantics that I have found is *-yenla̰z* ‘forget (to do)’, when used as a CTP, it selects for complements with restricted aspect, as shown in (100)*.*

(100) *ryen.*ˈ*la̰z* ˈ*Jwáyn* [*gu.*ˈ*sḛ̂.gwan ru’.*ˈ*næz*]CC

r-yenla̰z Jwáyn gu´-sḛgw=ani  ru’+næz

hab-forget Juan pot-close=3sg.if r.n.mouth+road

‘Juan forgets to close the main entrance (of a house).’

Note that most achievement predicates restrict the reference of the subject argument in the complement clause. That is, the subject of the complement refers to the same entity as the subject of the main predicate. However, the last predicate shown (i.e., -*āll* ‘be able to afford’) does not exhibit this characteristic. In (101) I show that the subject of the complement clause can refer to a different entity from the subject of the main predicate.

(101) *ˈzā.llán* [*ˈtxǽ ˈBǽd xkwíly.ˈnyéxh*]CC

z-āll=an tx´-æ=an Bǽd xkwíly+nyéxh

fut-be.able.to.afford=3sg.if pot-go=3sg.if Pedro school+paid

‘S/he will be able to afford for Pedro to go to a private school.’

## 6.5.9 Committing and reneging predicates

There are two verb predicates that have the semantics of committing: -*zigæll* ‘accept’ and -*nnḭ yṵ* ‘accept/ (literally) say yes’. The first one may be the older form since it does not involve any compounding as the second one does. Also, only the first one selects for a complement with restricted aspect while the second one selects for a reduced complement with realis and irrealis modalities, as shown in (102) and (103) respectively.

(102) *gu.zi.ˈgæ.llan* [*ˈgú.nyā.nēn*]CC

gu-zigæll=an g´-uny=an=ēn

compl-accept=3sg.if pot-do=3sg.if=3sg.inan

‘S/he accepted to do it.’

(103) *gu.ˈnnyæ̰n ˈyṵ* [*ˈba̰.nyā.nēn*]CC

gu=nnḭ=an yṵ ba̰ny=an=ēn

compl-say=3sg.if yes compl.do=3sg.if=3sg.inan

‘S/he said yes (about) doing it.’ / ‘S/he accepted to do it (and is done).’

Another verb predicate that has similar semantics is -*gixkyæ* ‘promise’, which is composed of the verb -*gix* ‘lay’ + *kyæ* ‘head’. This predicate selects for a reduced complement with restricted aspect, as in (104).

(104) *gu.dix.ˈkyæ̰n* [*ˈtxæ̰̂n*]CC

gu-dixkyæ=an tx´-æ=an

compl-promise=3sg.if pot-go=3sg.if

‘S/he promised to go.’

On the other hand, there are two verbs that have the semantics of reneging and can be used as CTPs: -*sjḭ̄* ‘renege on’ and -*du’y* ‘change one’s mind’. Although the semantics of these verbs is very similar, *sjḭ̄* ‘renege on’ is used to change to cancel a plan one has with someone else while

-*du’y* implies that the subject is no longer keeping a plan, usually to/with himself/herself. In fact, -*du’y* ‘change one’s mind’ presupposes certain cowardice from the subject. These verb predicates select for a complement with restricted aspect, as shown in the examples below.

(105) *ba.ˈsjyæ̰̌n* [*txí.ˈllǎ’n ˈlyu*]CC

ba-sjḭ̄=an tx´-æ-llā’=an lyu

compl-renege.on=3sg.if pot-go-break=3sg.if land

‘S/he reneged on going to plow the land.’

(106) *ba.ˈdu’.yan*  [*ˈnyæ̰̂n stú.ˈblád*]CC

ba-du’y=an ni´-æ=an stúblád

compl-change.one’s.mind=3sg.if cntf-go=3sg.if (an)other.side

‘S/he changed his mind on going to the United States.’

## 6. 5.10 Phasal predicates

Phasal predicates refer to the phase of an act or state: its inception, continuation, or termination. Verbs that fall into this semantic category and that are used as CTPs in TdVZ are the following: -*zulow* ‘start’, -*zyelow* ‘complete’, *-eno̰w* ‘continue’, and *-llṵxh* ‘finish’. The first two predicates select for a complement with loosely copied aspect, as shown in (107) and (108) respectively.[[102]](#footnote-102)

(107) ˈ*xsǐly.rú gu.zu.ˈla.wan* [*ká.ˈgī.bán*]CC

xsǐly=rú gu-zulaw=an ká-gǐb=an

early.morning=more compl-start=3sg.if progr-sew=3sg.if

‘Early (in the) morning s/he started to sew.’

(108) *gwe.ˈnâ̰.wan* [*ˈbi.llyan ˈrēky*]CC

gu-enâ̰w=an b-illy=an rēky

compl-continue=3sg.if compl-read=3sg.if loc.temp.adv

‘S/he continued reading there (on the paper).’

*-llṵxh* ‘finish’ and -*zyelow* ‘complete’, on the other hand, select for a complement with strictly copied aspect, as shown below.

(109) *ˈnna̰y ba.zye.ˈla.wan* [*gu.ˈdi.xhan*

nna̰y ba-zyelaw=an gu-dixh=an

yesterday compl-complete=3sg.if compl-compl.pay=3sg.if

*ˈmědy.kī*]CC

mědy=kī

money=temp.dem

‘S/he completed paying the money yesterday.’

(110) *á.gu.ˈdxi ru.ˈllṵ.xhan* [*ri.ˈbe.xhǎn ˈxki.tsan*]CC

á=gudxi ru-llṵxh=an ri-bexhā=an x-gits=an

done=afternoon hab-finish=3sg.if hab-solve=3sg.if poss-paper=3sg.if

‘S/he finishes solving / dealing with his papers (paper work) late in the afternoon.’

## 6. 5.11 Summary of section

In Table 3 I summarize the CTPs and the type of complement they select. Note that various semantic categories select for more than one type of complement. Manipulative predicates are the most diverse. Also, note that only phasal predicates select for strictly copied aspect complements and they also restrict the reference of the argument in the complement, other predicate semantic groups are not consistent in this characteristic.

Table 3. CTPs and the type of complement they select in TdVZ

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  |  | NON-REDUCED COMPLEMENTS | REDUCED COMPLEMENTS | | | |
| CTP | RT | RA | Declarative complements | With realis and irrealis modalities | Restrict  Aspect | Loosely  Copied  Aspect | Strictly  Copied  Aspect |
| Utterance | **-** | **-** | **X** |  |  |  |  |
| Propositional attitude | **-** | **-** | **X** |  |  |  |  |
| knowledge | **-** | **-** | **X** |  |  |  |  |
| Direct perception | **+** | **-** |  |  |  | **X** |  |
| Pretence | **+** | **-** |  |  |  | **X** |  |
| Desiderative and fearing | **+** | **-** |  |  | **X** |  |  |
| Manipulative | **+** | **-** |  | **X** | **X** | **X** |  |
| Achievement | **+** | **+/-** |  |  | **X** | **X** |  |
| Committing and reneging | **+** | **+/-** |  | **X** | **X** |  |  |
| Phasal | **+** | **+** |  |  |  | **X** | **X** |

As noted, TdVZ complement clauses show the crosslinguistic tendency discussed by Cristofaro (2003). According to this author’s findings, utterance, propositional attitude and predicates of knowledge are less integrated with their complements since the complement they select is more independent. On the other hand, fearing, desiderative, manipulative and phasal predicates are more integrated with their complements since the complement is restricted (in its aspect marking or argument coreference) by the main predicate.

Cristofaro also proposes a hierarchy of complement relations. This is shown below. She suggests that if a deranked complement (here, a reduced complement) is used to code the complement clause at any point on the hierarchy, then it is used at all points to the left.

Modals,[[103]](#footnote-103) Phasals > Desideratives, Manipulatives (‘make’, ‘order’) > Perception > Knowledge, Propositional attitude, Utterance.

This hierarchy also applies in TdVZ. However, this ranking does not explicitly define which type of complement is more integrated with its main predicate, but the fact that phasals rank higher suggest that they are the most integrated, which is true in TdVZ. Also, that knowledge, propositional attitude and utterance predicates should rank lower in the hierarchy is evident in this language.

# 6.6 Control in complement structures

The notion of control refers to a referential dependency between an argument of a matrix clause predicate and some argument, or adjunct, of an embedded clause. The embedded clause can be a complement of a CTP or an adjunct. In this section, I will focus on control in complement clauses in TdVZ. Research on control in complements started with the analysis of infinitives in Indo-European languages, as in (111). In this example, the infinitival clause does not have a subject, the matrix clause subject is interpreted as the agent of *ir* ‘go’. Since it is the subject who controls the reference of the agent, this type of control is called subject control.

(111) *Pedro no quiere ir a Brasil*.

‘Pedro doesn’t want to go to Brazil.’

Another example of control is shown in (112), in this case, the object *a su hijo* ‘to his son’ is interpreted as the agent of *decir* ‘say/tell’. Being the object who controls the reference of the agent of *decir* ‘say / tell’, this type of control is called object control.

(112) *Juan obligó a su hijo a decir la verdad*.

‘Juan forced his son to tell the truth’

Considering other types of complements besides the infinitives, Stiebels (2007) proposes two main subdivisions in control structures: ‘structural control’ and ‘inherent control’. The first type of control subsumes those cases in which control is induced by certain complementation structures (such as the infinitive, as in the examples above). Inherent control is an invariant property of certain clause embedding predicates.

The phenomenon of control underlies an intricate interaction of lexicon (semantics) and syntax. The question is to which extent complement control is determined by syntax and to which extent by the lexical (semantics) properties of the predicates involved. Cross-linguistic data suggest that in the unmarked case, the controller is determined by semantic properties of the control predicate, whereas the selection of the controlee is determined by syntax. In the marked case however, the controller may be determined by syntax and the semantics of the predicates involved may influence the selection of the controllee.

TdVZ, as is the case in many other Zapotec languages, lacks an infinitive form of the verb. That is, all verbs must occur with a TAM prefix and a subject (nominal or pronominal). Therefore, ‘structural control’ is not expected to occur in this language. Therefore, I will focus on inherent control. In this type of control, one of the arguments of the complement must corefer with an argument of the main clause and this is independent of the form of the complement.

I consider that TdVZ is a language in which the controller is determined by semantic properties of the control predicate, whereas the selection of the controllee is determined by syntax. I consider that this is the case because it is the semantics of the main predicate that imposes a control reading, but in various cases it is the form of the complement verb which defines whether there is control or not, specifically in those control relations that I call default control.

In TdVZ, control occurs with various CTPs. In order to explore this phenomenon, I will classify the constructions that involve control in two types: inherent control and default control.

*Inherent control* refers to those CTPs that select a type of complement and require that one of its arguments be included obligatorily in the set of referents of an argument of the complement predicate. In (113), I show an example of this type of control. As noted, the reference of the subject in the complement clause must (co)refer to the subject of the CTP. No other readings are possible.

(113) ˈ*ruyn.zyán* [ˈ*ra.syan*]CC

r-uynzī=ani r-asy=ani/\*j

hab-pretend=3sg.if hab-sleep=3sg.if

‘S/hei pretends that s/hei/\*j is sleeping.’ Lit. ‘S/hei pretends s/hei/\*j sleeps.’

*Default control* occurs with those CTP that select a type of complement and require that one of its arguments be included in the set of referents of an argument of the complement predicate when this latter refers to a pronoun with which it identifies, as shown in (114). Notice that if the complement verb has a pronominal third person subject, its reference must refer to the subject of the matrix clause. No other readings are possible.

(114) *byen.*ˈ*la̰z* ˈ*Jwáyn* [*nu.*ˈ*sḛ̂.gwan ru’.*ˈ*næz*]CC

b-yenla̰z Jwáyni nu´-sḛgw=ani/\*j ru’+næz

compl-forget Juan cntf-close=3sg.if r.n.mouth+road

‘Juan forgot to close the main entrance.’

I call this default control because the complement verb may have an NP or a pronoun that cannot identify with the argument of the matrix clause, thus, no control relation is established, as in (115). Note that in this example, the semantics of the complement is understood as *send*. Therefore, the subject of the matrix verb is still understood as the agent of the complement but does not control the reference of any syntactic argument in the complement clause.

(115) *byen.*ˈ*la̰z* ˈ*Jwáyn* [ˈ*nyǽ* ˈ*Llúpy* ˈ*xkwíly*]CC

b-yenla̰z Jwáyn ni´-æ Llúpy xkwíly

compl-forget Juan cntf-go Guadalupe school

‘Juan forgot for Guadalupe to go to school.’

‘Juan forgot to send Guadalupe to school.’

Finally, there are other structures similar to inherent control or control by defaultin which a pronoun in the complement may identify with an argument of the matrix clause, however, in these cases, the reading is always ambiguous, as shown in (116).

(116) *byak.*ˈ*bæ̰* ˈ*Jwáyn* [*(*ˈ*teky)* ˈ*za.tyan*]CC

b-yakbæ̰ *Jwáyn*j  (teky) z-aty=anj/i

compl-realize Juan (comp) fut-die=3sg.if

‘Juanj realized that hej/i would die.’

This last type of complementation structure needs further research since there must be two different structures relating to complementation with predicates that are ambiguous because in one structure, the pronoun on the complement is an anaphoric pronoun while in the second is not. This property of complementation control is, however, beyond the scope of the purpose in this section.

An interesting characteristic of control in complementation structures is that the only position where the controller can be expressed as an NP is in its first occurrence. Thus, it usually occurs as an NP when being an argument of the main predicate and it occurs as a pronominal form in the complement. When two NPs that could potentially refer to the same entity occur in both predicates, as in (117), there is no coreference established.[[104]](#footnote-104)

(117) *byak.*ˈ*bæ̰* ˈ*Jwáyn* [*(*ˈ*teky)* ˈ*za.ty Jwáyn*]CC

b-yakbæ̰ *Jwáyn* (teky) z-aty Jwáyn

compl-realize Juan (comp) fut-die Juan

‘Juani realized that Juan\*i/j would die.’

Based on the classification of control relations shown above, in the following, I will discuss the CTPs and the type of control relation they trigger. In order to do this, I will follow each type of semantic category discussed in the previous section.

## 6.6.1 Predicates that trigger inherent control in TdVZ

Verb predicates that trigger inherent control when functioning as CTPs fall into various semantic categories: pretence, phasal, desideratives, and manipulatives. Thus, in the following, I will list those verb predicates that fall into each semantic category and provide an example of the control structure.

### 6.6.1.2 Pretence predicates

The only pretence predicate I have found (i.e., -*uynzī* ‘pretend’) triggers inherent control and an example of this was given above in (113). Thus, in this complement relation, if the subject of the complement does not corefer with the subject of the main predicate, the construction is ungrammatical, as shown in (118).

(118) \*ˈ*ruyn.zyán* [ˈ*rasy* ˈ*Bǽd*]CC

r-uynzī=ani r-asy Bǽdj

hab-pretend=3sg.if hab-sleep Pedro

Intended reading: ‘S/hei pretends that Pedroj is sleeping.’

### 6.6.1.3 Phasal predicates

All phasal predicates trigger inherent control in TdVZ (i.e., -*llṵxh* ‘finish’, -*zyelow* ‘complete’, -*eno̰w* ‘continue’and *-z(u)low* ‘start’) as shown with the verb predicate -*llṵxh* ‘finish’ in (119).[[105]](#footnote-105) If the subject of the complement does not corefer with the subject of the main clause, the constructions is ungrammatical, as can be observed in the subscripts in the second line.

(119) *á.gu.ˈdxi ru.ˈllṵ.xhan* [*ri.be.ˈxhǎn ˈxki.tsan*]CC

á=gudxi ru-llṵxh=ani ri-bexhā=ani/\*j x-gits=an

done=afternoon hab-finish=3sg.if hab-solve=3sg.if poss-paper=3sg.if

‘S/he finishes solving / dealing with her/his papers (paperwork) late in the afternoon.’

### 6.6.1.4 Desiderative predicates

The desiderative predicates that trigger inherent control are: -*uynllā* ‘insist on’ and -*kwen* ‘insist on’. Even though I translate both predicates as ‘insist on’, according to some speakers, -*uynllā* selects clauses that indicate eating events, such as insisting on eating something one craves for. On the other hand, -*kwen* ‘insist on’ selects for clauses that indicate some movement of the subject. However, notice from the examples below that there are cases in which both types of predicates select for the same type of complement.

(120) *ruyn.ˈllā ˈBǽd* [*ˈgyæ̰̂n*]CC

ru-ynllā Bǽdi g-yæ=ani/\*j

hab-insist.on Pedro pot-go.to.origin=3sg.if

‘Pedro insists on going (home).’ / ‘Pedroj insists that hej/\*i go (home).’

(121) *ru.*ˈ*kwen* ˈ *Jwáyn* [ˈ*gyæ̰̂n*]CC

ru-kwen Jwáynj g-yæ=anj/\*i

hab-insist.on Juan pot-go.to.origin=3sg.if

‘Juan insists on going (home).’ / ‘Juanj insists that hej/\*i go (home)’

In (122) I show that by having a subject that does not corefer with the subject of the main clause, the construction is ungrammatical. This confirms that these CTPs trigger inherent control.

(122) \**ru.*ˈ*kwen* ˈ*Jwáyn* [ˈ*gyǽ* ˈ*xtā.dán*]CC

ru-kwen Jwáynj g-yæ xtǎd=an

hab-insist.on Juan pot-go.to.origin poss.father=3sg.if

Intended reading: ‘Juan insists that his father go home.’

### 6.6.1.5 Achievement predicates

The achievement predicates that trigger inherent control are -*yexhy* ‘dare’, -*la̰zlow* ‘commit oneself to’ and *-tsāplôw* ‘be consistent on’, as shown in the examples below.

(123) ˈ*bye.xhyan* [*gu.nni.*ˈ*næ̌n* ˈ*lǎ̰n*]CC

b-yexhy=ani gu-nninǣ=ani/\*j lǎ̰n

compl-dare=3sg.if compl-talk.to=3sg.if 3sg.if

‘S/hei dared to \_\_i/\*j talk to him/her.’

(124) *ru.tsāp.*ˈ*lâ.wan* [*ruyn.*ˈ*txḛ.yan* ˈ*lady*]CC

ru-tsāplôw=ani r-uyntxḛy=ani/\*j  lady

hab-be.consistent=3sg.if hab-create=3sg.if woven.cloth

‘S/he is consistent in (doing) weaving.’

(125) *ba.láz.*ˈ*la̰.wa* [*ká.*ˈ*sæ̰̂.da* ˈ*xtxi’n*]CC

ba-lázlow=a̰ ká-sæ̰̂d=a̰ s=txi’n

compl-commit.oneself.to.1sg=1sg progr-study.1sg=1sg mdr=a.little

‘I committed myself to study some/a little more (and I am doing it).’

Having a subject in the complement that does not corefer with the subject of the main clause is ungrammatical, as shown in (126).

(126) *\*ba.láz.*ˈ*la̰.wa* [*ká.*ˈ*sæ̰d ˈBǽd* ˈ*xtxi’n*]CC

ba-lázlow=a̰ ká-sæ̰d Bǽd s=txi’n

compl-commit.oneself.to.1sg=1sg progr-study Pedro mdr=a.little

Intended reading: ‘I committed (myself) for Pedro to study some/a little more.’

### 6.6.1.6 Committing and reneging predicates

The verb predicate -*du’y* ‘change one’s mind’, which I have classified as a reneging predicate, triggers inherent control, as shown in (127). Note that, having a subject in the complement that does not corefer with the subject of the main clause is ungrammatical, as in (128).

(127) *ba.ˈdu’.yan* [*ˈnyæ̰̂n stú.ˈblád*]CC

ba-du’y=an ni´-æ=an stúblád

compl-renege.on=3sg.if cntf-go=3sg.if (an)other.side

‘S/he changed his mind about going to the United States.’

(128) \**ba.ˈdu’.yan* [*ˈnyǽ ˈxhi’.nyan stú.ˈblád*]CC

ba-du’y=an ni´-æ xhi’ny=an stúblád

compl-renege.on=3sg.if cntf-go poss.son=3sg.if (an)other.side

Intended reading: ‘S/he changed his mind about his/her son going to the United States.’

### 6.6.1.7 Other predicates that trigger inherent control

The verb predicate -*læbylow* ‘get used to do bad’ triggers inherent control, as shown in (129). In (130) I show that having a subject in the complement that does not corefer with the subject of the main clause is ungrammatical.

(129) *gu.ˈlæby.ˈla.wan* [*ˈræ’n ˈnupy*]CC

gu-læby+law=ani r-æ’=ani/\*j nupy

compl-get.used+r.n.face=3sg.if hab-drink=3sg.if maguey.juice

‘S/he is/got used to drink alcohol.’

(130) \**gu.ˈlæby.ˈla.wan* [*ˈræ ˈBǽd ˈxkwíly ˈgudxa’*]CC

gu-læby+law=an r-æ Bǽd xkwíly gudxa’

compl-get.used+r.n.face=3sg.if hab-go Pedro school late

Intended reading: ‘S/he is/got used to Pedro going to school late.’

Other verb predicates that trigger control are: -*dūnn* ‘be invited to’ and -*akxnya̰b* ‘be called to attend’. Interestingly, both verb predicates have a patient subject who controls the reference of the subject on the complement, as shown in (131) and (132) respectively. Note that with these predicates, the complement may become optional.

(131) *bi.ˈdū.nnán* [*(ˈtxæ̰̂n) ˈbyṵz*]CC

bi-dūnn=an (tx´-æ=an) byṵz

compl-be.invited=3sg.if (pot-go=3sg.if) wedding.party

‘S/he was invited to go to the wedding party.’

(132) *guk.ˈxnya̰.ban* [*(ˈtxæ̰̂n) ˈru’ yu.ˈla̰y*]CC

gu-akxnya̰b=an (tx´-æ=an) ru’ yula̰y

compl-be.called=3sg.if (pot-go=3sg.if) r.n.mouth municipal.building

‘S/he was called to go to the municipal building.’

### 6.6.1.7 Manipulative predicates

The only transitive verb that could be considered manipulative and triggers control is -*zæ̰d* ‘be trained to’,[[106]](#footnote-106) as shown in (133).

(133) *bi.ˈzæ̰.dan* [*ˈkwḭ̂.ban ˈgû’n*]CC

bi-zæ̰d=ani kwḭ̂b=ani/\*j gû’n

compl-be.trained=3sg.if pot.ride=3sg.if bull

‘S/he was trained to ride bull(s).’

Nevertheless, several manipulative predicates that occur in ditransitive constructions trigger inherent control. In this case, the controller is the recipient and the controlee is the subject of the complement, as shown in the examples below. This characteristic follows the crosslinguistic tendency that shows that the controller is identified by its semantic role while the controlee is identified by its syntactic role (Aissen 2021).

(134) *ba.ˈkḭ̄ly ˈBǽd ˈlǎ̰n* [*ˈgú.llán* ˈ*llíbr.kī*]CC

ba-kḭ̄ly Bǽdi lǎ̰nj g´-ull=an\*i/j llíbr=kī

compl-persuade Pedro 3sg.if pot-read=3sg.if book=temp.dem

‘Pedro persuaded him/her to read that book.’

(135) *ba.ˈlṵy.an ˈlǎ̰n* [*ruyn.ˈtxæ̰.yan ˈlady*]CC

ba-lṵy=ani lǎ̰nj r-uyntxæ̰y=an\*i/j lady

compl-show=3sg.if 3sg.if hab-create=3sg.if woven.cloth

‘S/he taught him to weave.’

(136) *ba.ˈllæ.byan ˈla.wan*

ba-llæby=ani low=anj

compl-make.get.use.to=3sg.if r.n.face=3sg.if

[*res.ˈtæ̌n gu.ˈdxā’*]CC

r-estǣ=an\*i/j gudxā’

hab-get.up=3sg.if late.in.the.morning

‘S/he got him/her used (by not advising/ talking to him/her) to get up late.’

(137) *ba.ˈllæ.byan ˈlǎ̰n* [*ˈgu.nyan ˈzṵyn*]CC

ba-llæby=ani lǎ̰nj g´-uny=an\*i/j zṵyn

compl-make.get.use.to=3sg.if 3sg.if pot-do=3sg.if work

‘S/he got him/her used (by not advising/ talking to him/her) to do work.’

Note that when the subject of the complement is not coreferent with the recipient of the main clause, the construction is ungrammatical, as shown in (138).

(138) \**ba.ˈlṵy.an ˈlǎ̰n* [*ruyn.ˈtxæ̰ ˈBǽd ˈlady*]CC

ba-lṵy=ani lǎ̰nj r-uyntxæ̰y=an\*i/j *Bǽd* lady

compl-show=3sg.if 3sg.if hab-create=3sg.if Pedro woven.cloth

Intended reading: ‘S/he taught him that Pedro (is) weaving.’

## 6.6.2 Predicates that trigger control by default in TdVZ

This type of control relation occurs also with predicates of various semantic groups: acquisition of knowledge, pretence, achievement and negative predicates. However, in each semantic group there are only a couple of verb predicates that trigger this type of control relation. Recall that in this type of control relation, the argument of the main predicate can only control the reference of an argument of the complement clause if there is a pronoun with which it (can) identify otherwise no control relation is established.

### 6.6.2.1 Acquisition of knowledge predicates

The acquisition of knowledge verb predicates that trigger default control in TdVZ are -*sala̰z* ‘recall’ and -*nnalla̰z* ‘remember’, as in (139) and (140) respectively.

(139) *ba.sa.ˈla̰z ˈNély* [*kēd.gú.ˈdîxh.dyan ˈxtxā’*]CC

ba-sala̰z Nély kēd=gu-dixh=neg=an xtxā’

compl-recall Manueli neg=compl-compl.pay=neg=3sg.ifi/\*j light

‘Manueli recalled that hei/\*j didn’t pay the light (electric bill).’

(140) *á.gu.ˈdxi ˈtæ̰* [*ba.nna.ˈla̰z.dán ˈtxǽ.dán*]CC

á=gudxi tæ̰ ba-nnala̰z=dáni tx´-æ=dáni/\*j

done=afternoon intsf compl-remember=3pl.if pot-go=3pl.if

‘They remember to go (when it was) already very late.’

### 6.6.2.2 Propositional attitude predicate

The predicate -*nnixkall* ‘dream’, which I have classified as a propositional attitude predicate, triggers default control as shown in (141). In this type of control relation, there is no ambiguity, that is, the pronoun on the complement must refer to the subject of the main predicate. However, the subject of the complement may be a full NP that does not corefer with the subject of the main predicate, as in (142).

(141) *ri.nni.ˈxkall ˈJwáyn* [*ˈru.nyan ˈgán*]CC

ri-nnixkall Jwáyni r-uny=ani/\*j gán

hab-dream Juan hab-do=3sg.if win

‘Juani dreams (that) hei/\*j wins.’[[107]](#footnote-107)

(142) *ri.nni.ˈxkall ˈJwáyn* [*ˈruyn ˈBǽd ˈgán*]CC

ri-nnixkall Jwáyni r-uny *Bǽd* gán

hab-dream Juan hab-do Pedro win

‘Juan dreams (that) Pedro wins.’

### 6.6.2.3 Achievement predicates

The verb predicate with this semantics that triggers default control is *-āll* ‘be able to afford to.’, as shown in (143). Recall that in this type of control relation, the argument of the main predicate can only control the reference of an argument of the complement clause if there is a pronoun with which it (can) identify otherwise no control relation is established, as shown in (144).

(143) *ˈgū.llán* [*gu.ˈdi.xhan ˈgwilly*]CC

gu-āll=ani gu-dixh=ani/\*j gwilly

compl-be.able.to.afford.to=3sg.if compl-pay=3sg.if musician

‘S/he was able to afford to pay the musician.’

(144) *ˈgū.llán* [*ˈgwæ ˈJwáyn ˈxkwíly*]CC

gu-āll=an gu-æ Jwáyn xkwíly

compl-be.able.to.afford.to=3sg.if compl-go Juan school

‘S/he was able to afford for/that Juan go to school’

### 6.6.2.4 Committing and reneging predicates

The verb predicate *-sjḭ̄* ‘renege on’ triggers default control, as in (145) and (146). In this last example, I show that an NP is possible, and it allows a non-coreferent subject. However, only some speakers accepted this construction as grammatical.

(145) *ba.ˈsjyæ̰̌n* [*txí.ˈllǎ’n ˈlyu*]CC

ba-sjḭ̄=an tx´-æ-llā’=an lyu

compl-renege.on=3sg.if pot-go-break=3sg.if land

‘He reneged on going to plow the land.’

(146) *ba.ˈsjyæ̰̌n* [*txí.ˈllā’ ˈBǽd ˈlyu*]CC

ba-sjḭ̄=an tx´-æ-llā’ Bǽd lyu

compl-renege.on=3sg.if pot-go-break Pedro land

‘S/he reneged on that Pedro would go to plow the land.’

## 6.6.3 Remarks on complementation control in TdVZ

In this last section I have shown that there are various verb predicates that trigger inherent control. With transitive verbs, subject control is observed. That is, the argument that controls the reference of the argument in the complement clauses is the subject of the main predicate. In these constructions, the entity that is controlled is also the subject of the complement.

In ditransitive constructions, on the other hand, it is the recipient of the main predicate that controls the reference of the argument in the complement clause. Nevertheless, just as in transitive constructions, within the complement clause, the controlee is the subject. Thus, this characteristic follows the claim that cross-linguistically, it is the controller that is identified by its semantic role while the controlee is identified by its syntactic role (Aissen 2021). In other words, the controller is not an entity with a specific syntactic role in the clause, but the controlee is.

An interesting finding in the ‘control’ relation I called default control is that the argument of the main predicate still exerts some type of control on the event expressed in the complement, thus, if a pronoun that can identify with it occurs on the complement, this pronoun takes its reference from the (subject) of the main predicate. However, as I have shown, a different (nominal) subject it is also possible with these predicates.

# 6.7 Remarks on chapter 6

In this chapter I have discussed complement clauses in TdVZ. First, I classified these clauses based on their form, but the semantics, especially of the complement taking predicate (CTP), played a crucial role in defining each type of complement. I propose two main types of complements, with various subtypes. I followed Noonan (2007) in naming each of these main types as non-reduced and reduced. Non-reduced complements are optionally introduced by a complementizer and do not show any aspect restrictions. Reduced complements fall into four types, none of which is introduced by a complementizer and each of which exhibits specific TAM restrictions.

Although interrogative complements are considered a type of non-reduced complement, I showed that in TdVZ these is also interrogatives that need to be considered of the reduced type.

Interrogative complements in TdVZ have the same form of what could be considered a type of headless relative clauses (free headless relative clauses, Caponigro 2020). In this way, I provide language specific criteria to define each type of construction.

I also observe and characterize the degree of integration of the predicates/clauses involved in these constructions. To do this, I examine the tendency that CTPs exhibit when selecting their complements; and interestingly, TdVZ show many patterns typically observed crosslinguistically in the complement structures associated with these CTPs. This suggests that there may be common patterns across languages and that comparative frameworks are valuable for understanding language systems.

In the last part of this Chapter I showed the various CTPs that trigger inherent control. In this section I laid out a type of control relation that needs to be explored crosslinguistically: default control.

# Chapter 7

***The syntax and functions of Adverbial clauses in TdVZ***

In this chapter I explore the morphosyntax and functions of Adverbial Clauses (AdvCs) in TdVZ. The goal of this chapter is then to provide the first detailed description of Adverbial Clauses in a Zapotec language. I will show that this language displays multiple types of AdvC, which can be identified by the subordinator that introduces them. Also, Adverbial Clauses may occur before (preposed) or after (postposed) the clause they modify or are related to.

# 7.1 Theoretical background

Subordinated adverbial clauses are defined as grammatically dependent clauses, which function as modifiers of verb phrases. Adverbial clauses (AdvCs) are also viewed as a hypotactic clause combining with respect to the main clause since they relate to the main clause as a whole. Thus, they are less subordinate than complement and relative clauses (Thompson, Longacre, and Hwang, 2007).

There are three devices which are typically found among languages of the world for marking AdvCs: Subordinating morphemes, special verb forms and word order. There are two types of subordinating morphemes:[[108]](#footnote-108) (i) grammatical morphemes with no lexical meaning (e.g., English *to*) (ii) grammatical morphemes with lexical content (in English: *before*, *when*, *if*). These morphemes may be prepositional or postpositional. Special verb forms refer to a special verb form that is not used in independent verb clauses. Word order refers to some specific word order triggered in subordinate clauses and this word order may differ from what is typically expected in other constructions.

A more general characteristic of AdvC that has been explored is their position with respect to the clause to which they are (generally) dependent. In many languages, AdvCs typically precede the main clause. However, in many languages, the position of the AdvC is determined by its role in linking the main clause which it modifies to the preceding discourse.

Thompson, Longacre, and Hwang (2007) discuss various types of AdvCs. Among these types, these authors make a (sub)division based on whether the AdvC can be substituted by a single word adverb or not. [[109]](#footnote-109) Based on this, they find three AdvCs that can be substituted or alternate with a single word adverb and various that cannot. This is shown below.

AdvCs which can be substituted by a single word

* Temporal
* Location
* Manner

AdvCs which cannot be substituted by a single word[[110]](#footnote-110)

* Purpose
* Reason
* Conditional
* Concessive
* Substitutive
* Simultaneous
* Additive

Another way to say this is that, in general, languages have monomorphemic non-anaphoric adverbs expressing the time, location, and manner relationships, but they do not have such adverbs expressing purpose, reason, concession, etc.

In addition to the fact that the first three types of adverbial clauses are semantically equivalent to single word adverbs, there is another interesting typological feature about them: they tend to take the form, or share properties with, relative clauses, as noted when comparing the examples below (Thompson, Longacre, and Hwang 2007: 244:245).

(1) a. Time

We will go, when Tom gets here.

We will go at **the time** at which Tom gets here.

(2) b. Location

I will meet you where the statue used to be.

I will meet you at **the place** at which the statue used to be.

(3) c. Manner

She spoke as he had thought her to.

She spoke in **the way/manner** in which he had taught her to.

Since the similarity between time, location and manner adverbial clauses and relative clauses is evident in TdVZ, in the following I will first discuss these three types of AdvCs, then I will discuss those AdvCs that do not share characteristics with relative clauses. The main objective of these chapter is then to show the different types of adverbial constructions (main clause + adverbial clause), and to discuss the following aspects of these constructions.

* The subordinator that introduces them.
* Their position with respect to the main clause.

I will also observe if some of the subordinated clauses exhibit some deranking. That is, if the clause has the same syntactic argument structure like when compared to a monoclausal construction and if the subordinate clauses are in some way restricted in their TAM marking due to the semantics of the main predicate.

# 7.2 Adverbial clauses that compete with single word adverbs

In this section I discuss temporal, locative, and manner adverbial clauses. These have particular characteristics in comparison with those adverbial clauses discussed in 7.3. First of all, there are single word adverbs in the language that compete[[111]](#footnote-111) with these adverbial clauses. Also, they share properties with relative clauses (RCs). In fact, locative adverbial clauses are RCs functioning as clause modifiers. In manner adverbial clauses, the subordinator *ni*=, which introduce relative clauses, occurs optionally as a second subordinator. In addition, these types of clause may take argument roles, as shown in the examples below. Moreover, these three types of clauses exhibit a tone change when the verb is in completive. In the examples below, the lexical tone of the verb root (second line) is low, but it occurs as falling in this subordinating context. The adverbial clauses discussed in 7.3 do not show all these characteristics.

(4) *gu.ˈnnǎn txi.bi*.*ˈzûyn.dán*

gu-nnā=an txi=bi-zuyn=dán

compl-witness=3sg.if temp.sub=compl-arrive=3pl.if

‘S/he saw (the moment/time) when they arrived.’

(5) *ba.ˈdxē.lán kūd.gú*.*ˈxḛ̂l.dán ˈlǎ̰n*

ba-dxēl=an kūd=gu-xḛl=dán lǎ̰n

compl-find=3sg.if rel.loc.pron=compl-send=3pl.if 3sg.if

‘S/he found (the place) where/that they sent her/him.’

(6) *gāxh.*ˈ*bâ̰.nyan ka.(ni.)ba.*ˈ*lṵ̂.yān*

gāxh=ba̰ny=an ka=(ni=)ba-lṵy=ān

then=compl.do=3sg.if mann.sub=(sub=)compl-show=3sg.if

ˈ*lǎ̰n.kī*

lǎ̰n=kī

3sg.if=temp.dem

‘Then, s/he did as s/he taught him/her.’

## 7.2.1 Temporal adverbial clauses with *txi=* ‘when’

In this section I will discuss three type of subordinated constructions that involve the subordinator *txi*= ‘when’. Each of the constructions has specific morphosyntactic and semantic properties that are described in each subsection. Throughout this chapter, I will use this translation ‘when’ in the description, but this morpheme will be glossed as temp.sub ‘temporal subordinator’. I do this because I consider that the function of this morpheme is not completely equivalent to English *when*.

### 7.2.1.1 txi= ‘when’ / gāxh= ‘then’ clauses

In this first subtype, the *txi*= ‘when’ clause expresses an event that occurs before the event expressed in the main clause. This becomes evident since the main clause occurs optionally with *gāxh*= ‘then’, as shown below (hence the name that I give to this construction).

(7) *txi.ˈbyâ’ (gāxh)gu.díxh.ˈlæ̂’ lo.ˈJúlly*

**txi**=b-yâ’ (gāxh=)gu-díxhlæ̂’ low=Júlly

temp.sub=compl-go.to.origin.1sg (then=)compl-compl.tell.1sg r.n.face=Julia

‘When I returned (home), (then) I told Julia.’ (txt.)

This type of AdvC typically occur preposed to the main clause in discourse, however, it can also occur postposed to the main clause, as shown in (8).

(8) (*gāxh.*)*gu.díxh.ˈlæ̂’ lo.ˈJúlly*

(gāxh=)gu-díxhlæ̂’ low=Júlly

(then=)compl-compl.tell.1sg r.n.face=Julia

*txi.ˈbyâ’*

txi=b-yâ’

temp.sub=compl-go.to.origin.1sg

‘(then) I told Julia, when I returned (home).’

Although the event in the adverbial *txi*= ‘when’ clause, in the above examples, occurs before the event expressed in the main clause, both clauses may be seen as occurring within a macro-event (Bisang 2009). I consider that this is the case since the verbs involved typically occur with the same TAM markers and coreferent subjects, as noticed from the examples above and those shown below with the rest of the TAM markers of TdVZ.

(9) *txi.ˈryâ’ (gāxh)ri.gíxh.ˈlæ̂’ lo.ˈJúlly*

txi=r-yâ’ (gāxh=)ri-gíxhlæ̂’ low=Júlly

temp.sub=hab-go.to.origin.1sg (then=)hab-tell.1sg r.n.face=Julia

‘When I go home, (then) I tell Julia.’

(10) *txi.ˈgyâ’ (gāxh)kíxh.ˈlæ̂’ lo.ˈJúlly*

txi=g-yâ’ (gāxh=)kíxhlæ̂’ low=Júlly

temp.sub=pot-go.to.origin.1sg (then=)pot.tell.1sg r.n.face=Julia

‘When I (will) go home, (then) I will tell Julia.’

(11) *txi.ˈgyâ’ (gāxh)zi.gíxh.ˈlæ̂’ lo.ˈJúlly*

txi=g´-yâ’ (gāxh=)zi-gíxhˈlæ̂’ low=Júlly

temp.sub=pot-go.to.origin.1sg (then=)fut-tell.1sg r.n.face=Julia

‘When I (will) go home, I will tell Julia.’

(12) *txi.ˈnyâ’ (gāxh)ni.gíxh.ˈlæ̂’ lo.ˈJúlly*

txi=n´-yâ’ (gāxh=)ni´-gíxhˈlæ̂’ low=Júlly

temp.sub=cntf-go.to.origin.1sg (then=)cntf-tell.1sg r.n.face=Julia

‘When/if I would have gone, I would have told Julia.’

As noted in (10) and (11) above, a subordinating verb prefixed with potential may have a main clause either with potential or future. This is because a future prefix does not generally occur in a subordinating clause, as shown in (13) with a *txi*= ‘when’ clause. Thus, while in the subordinating clause only has one grammatical prefix to refer to an event that has not occurred (i.e., potential), the main clause in these constructions has two (i.e., potential and future).

(13) \**txi.ˈzyâ’ (gāxh)zi.gíxh.ˈlæ̂’ lo.ˈJúlly*

**txi**=**z**-yâ’= (gāxh=)zi-gíxhˈlæ̂’ low=Júlly

temp.sub=fut-go.to.origin.1sg (then=)fut-tell.1sg r.n.face=Julia

Intended reading: ‘When I (will) go home, I will tell Julia.’

Given the temporal sequence indicated by the *txi=* ‘when’ / *gāxh=* ‘then’, this type of clause may involve some causation reading, especially, when the main clause occurs first in the construction, as in (14).

(14) *ru*.*ˈxē.xhán txi.ru.zub.ˈxhyæ’n ˈnēky*

ru-xěxh=an txi=ru-zubxhi’=an nēky

hab-sneeze=3sg.if temp.sub=hab-smell=3sg.if dem.temp.pron

‘S/he sneezes when s/he smells that.’ = ‘S/he sneezes because/since s/he smells that.’

### 7.2.1.2 txi= ‘when’ + progressive prefix

Although *txi*= clauses generally indicate an event that occurs before another event, when the progressive occurs in the *txi=* ‘when’ clause as well as on the main predicate, it indicates that both events occur simultaneously, as in (15). A *txi*= + progressive on the subordinate clause may also indicate an event that is ongoing while another (punctual) event occurs, as in (16). In this last case, one could argue that the event in the *txi*= clause began first, which makes this construction similar to *txi*= ‘when’ / *gāxh=* ‘then’ clauses. Nevertheless, it could also be the case that the *txi=* clause indicates a punctual event while another event is ongoing, as in (17).

(15) *ká.ˈyṵ̄.nán txi.ká.ˈtyṵ̄g.dān ˈyâg.kī*

káy-ṵ̄n=an txi=ká-tyṵg=dān yag=kī

progr-cry=3sg.if temp.sub=progr-cut=3pl.f tree=temp.dem

‘S/he is/was crying while/during the time that they are cutting the tree.’

(16) *ba.dxē.lán te.gu.ˈlâs txi.ká.ˈgā̰.nyán ˈrēky*

ba-dxēl=an te=gulâs txi=ká-gā̰ny=an rēky

compl-find=3sg.if i.art=ancient.artifact temp.sub=progr-dig=3sg.if loc.temp.adv

‘S/he found an archeological-piece when/while s/he was digging there.’

(17) *ˈlady* *ká.yuyn.ˈtxḛ.yan txi.gu.díxh.ˈlǣ’.dān ˈlâ.wan*

lady kay-uyntxḛy=an txi=gu-dixhlæ’=dān low=an

woven.cloth progr-weave=3sg.if temp.sub=compl-tell=3pl.f r.n.face=3sg.if

‘S/he was weaving (a) rug when they told him.’

As noted in these constructions, the main clause typically occurs first in the construction. Also, it is more common for these constructions to have different subjects on each verb. In addition, when the main clause occurs postpose in these constructions, *gāxh*= ‘then’ does not occur on the main clause; in fact, it triggers ungrammaticality, as shown in (18). Due to all these characteristics, I consider these constructions another subtype of *txi*= ‘when’ clauses.

(18) *\*txi.ká.ˈtyṵ̄g.dān ˈyâg.kī (gāxh.)ˈrṵ̄.nán*

txi=ká-tyṵg=dān yag=kī (gaxh=)r-ṵ̄n=an

temp.sub=progr-cut=3pl.f tree=temp.dem (then=)hab-cry=3sg.if

Intended reading: ‘S/he is/was crying while/during the time that they are cutting the tree.’

### 7.2.1.3 txi= ‘when’ + á= ‘done’

There is another quite productive construction with *txi*= ‘when’ clauses which involves the adverbial proclitic *á*= ‘done’[[112]](#footnote-112) on the main clause. This proclitic functions as a completive marker indicating that the event expressed by this clause has (already) happened before the event expressed in the *txi*= clause, as in (19). In this type of construction, no TAM coreference is observed. Also, no argument coreference has been found in texts. In addition, *gāxh*= ‘then’ on the main clause triggers ungrammaticality, as shown in (19); *gāxh*= ‘then’ may occur in the main clause when this is preposed, as in (20), but, in this case, is a discourse linker that introduces the whole construction and not just the main clause, as in the *txi*= ‘when’ / *gāxh*= ‘then’ constructions. Based on this, I will consider that the most basic construction of *txi*= ‘when’ clauses are those in which it sets a scenario for another event since in this case there are no other morphemes modifying the meaning of the construction. Therefore, the constructions discussed here will be considered non-basic or derived.

(19) *txi.ba.*ˈ*zûyn.dān (\*gāxh)á.*ˈ*zyæ̰̂n*

txi=ba-zuny=dān (gāxh=)á=z´-yæ=an

temp.sub=compl-arrive=3pl.f (then=)done=progr-go.to.origin=3sg.if

‘S/he had left when they arrived.’

(20) *(gāxh)á.*ˈ*zyæ̰̂n txi.ba.*ˈ*zûyn.dān*

(gāxh=)á=z´-yæ=an txi=ba-zuyn=dān

(then=)done=progr-go.to.origin=3sg.if temp.sub=compl-arrive=3pl.f

‘(Then) s/he had left when they arrived.’

An interesting aspect of *á*= ‘done’/ *txi*= ‘when’ constructions is that they seem to allow the omission of *txi*= ‘when’, as in (21). This construction, however, may not be the same as those in which *txi*= occurs since they cannot occur in a different order. That is, the clause before *txi*= cannot be postposed, as shown in (22). This topic is, nevertheless, beyond the scope of this dissertation.

(21) *á.*ˈ*zyæ̰̂n ba.*ˈ*zuyn.dān*

á=z´-yæ=an ba-zuyn=dān

done=progr-go.to.origin=3sg.if compl-arrive=3pl.f

‘S/he had left (when) they arrived.’

(22) *\*ba.*ˈ*zûyn.dān a.*ˈ*zyæ̰̂n*

ba-zuyn=dān a=z´-yæ=an

compl-arrive=3pl.f done=progr-go.to.origin=3sg.if

Intended reading: ‘S/he had left (when) they arrived.’

Basic constructions with *txi*= cannot be interpreted as subordinating temporal AdvCs when *txi*= ‘when’ is omitted. This is shown in (23). This supports the hypothesis that these are the basic *txi*= ‘when’ constructions in TdVZ.

(23) ˈ*byâ’ (gāxh)gu.díxh.ˈlæ̂’ lo.ˈJúlly*

b-yâ’ (gāxh=)gu-díxhlæ̂’ low=Júlly

compl-go.to.origin.1sg (then=)compl-compl.tell.1sg r.n.face=Julia

‘I went (home) and (then) I told to Julia.’

\*‘When I went (home) I told Julia.’

### 7.2.1.4 Integration of the events in txi= ‘when’ clauses

Above, I have differentiated between at least three types of construction with *txi*= ‘when’: (1) *txi*= ‘when’ / *gāxh=* ‘then’ constructions; (2) *txi*= ‘when’ + progressive prefix, and (3) *txi*= ‘when’ + *á*= ‘done’. In this section, then, I propose a degree of integration of events based on the syntactic and semantic characteristics of these various constructions. That is, I consider that the *txi*= ‘when’ / *gāxh=* ‘then’ constructions are more integrated than the *txi*= ‘when’ + progressive or *txi*= + *á*= ‘done’ due to the following reasons: TAM coreference is the common pattern and subject coreference usually occurs in this constrution, as in (24). On the other hand, when the event expressed by the *txi*= clause overlaps with the main event due to the ongoing event indicated by the progressive prefix, subject coreference is not typically observed, and TAM marking usually varies in the clauses involved, as in (25). In the *txi*= ‘when’ + *á*= ‘done’ construction, subject coreference rarely occur and no TAM coreference is observed, as in (26).

(24) *txi.*ˈ*byé.tán (gāxh.)ba.*ˈ*syā.nēn*

txi=b-yet=an (gāxh=)ba-syā=an=ēn

temp.sub=compl-get.down=3sg.if (then=)compl-clean=3sg.if=3sg.inan

‘S/hei cleaned it when s/hei/j got down.’

(25) *ká.yuyn.*ˈ*txḛ.yan txi.gu.díxh.*ˈ*lǣ’.dān* ˈ*lâ.wan*

kay-uyntxḛy=an txi=gu-dixhlæ’=dān low=an

progr-weave=3sg.if temp.sub=compl.tell=3pl.f r.n.face=3sg.if

‘S/he was weaving when they told him.’

(26) *(gāxh)á.*ˈ*zyæ̰̂n txi.ba.*ˈ*zûyn.dān*

(gāxh=)á=z´-yæ=an txi=ba-zuyn=dān

(then=)done=progr-go.to.origin=3sg.if temp.sub=compl-arrive=3pl.f

‘(Then) s/he had left when they arrived.’

Thus, I propose the following continuum of integration of *txi*= ‘when’ clauses in TdVZ. This is shown in Table 1 together with the characteristics of each type of clause.

Table 1. Continuum of the Integration of *txi*= ‘when’ clauses in TdVZ

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | + integrated -integrated | | |
| Characteristics | txi= / gāxh > *txi*= ‘when’ + progressive prefix > *txi*= ‘when’ + *á*= ‘done’ | | |
| Morphological | TAM coreference | No TAM coreference | No TAM coreference |
| Syntactic | Subject coreference is a regular pattern  *gāxh*= ‘then’ may optionally occur in the main clause when it is postposed | Subject coreference is not a regular pattern  *gāxh*= ‘then’ cannot occur in the main clause when it is postposed | Subject coreference rarely occur  *gāxh*= ‘then’ cannot occur in the main clause when it is postposed |
| Semantic | Sequential event:  the event in the *txi*= clause occurs before the event expressed in the main clause.  One main macroevent? | Simultaneous event:  the event in the *txi*= clause occurs as the event in the main clause develops  Two separated events occurring in the same time period | Sequential event:  the event in the *txi*= clause occurs after the event expressed in the main clause  Two different events occurring in a temporal sequence |

It is important to clarify that this continuum of integration does not make any claim about further theoretical implication since this is based on the tendency I noted when exploring these constructions in this language. Especially since *txi*= ‘when’ / *gāxh=* ‘then’ constructions do allow different TAM marking and subject from the main clause.

Also, as noted from all the examples presented in this section, among the three types of constructions, no deranking of the *txi*= clause is observed. That is, the verb in this clause has its full argument structure and it takes the expected morphology. However, the same TAM marking on the *txi*= ‘when’ / *gāxh=* ‘then’ constructions suggests that this type of *txi*= ‘when’ clause is deranked since they may copy the TAM marker of the verb in the main clause.

### 7.2.1.5 Negation in txi= ‘when’ clauses

Negation does not generally occur in the subordinated *txi*= clause. In the few cases found in my corpus, the subordinate clause was prefixed with habitual, as in (27) and (28). Nevertheless, this type of clause overlaps with conditionals. In fact, just as with conditionals (§ 7.3.4.5), from both markers of clausal negation only *kēd*= occurs. This suggests that there is a neutralization of *txi*= ‘when’ clauses and conditionals when negation is marked.

(27) *kēd.rí.ˈbǣz.dí ri.nnyab.ˈdḭ̂.dxan txi.kēd.rú.ˈzyēky.dān*

kēd=ri-bǣz=di ri-nnyabdḭ̂dx=an txi=kēd=ru-zyeky=dā

neg=hab-wait=neg hab-ask=3sg.if temp.sub=neg=hab-turn=3pl.f

*ˈxtḛ̂.nyan*

xtḛ̂ny=an

prep.of=3sg.if

‘He doesn’t stop asking when they don’t respond to him’ /

‘He doesn’t stop asking if they don’t respond to him.’ (txt.)

(28) *txi.kēd.rá.ˈzuyn ˈga̰n, ri.ˈnnḭ̄.dān ˈlǎ̰n*

txi=kēd-ra-zuyn ga=an ri-nnḭ=dān lǎ̰n

temp.sub=neg=hab-arrive soon=3sg.if hab-say=3pl.f 3sg.if

‘When he does not arrive early, they call him. /

‘If s/he does not arrive early, they call her/him.’

## 7.2.2 Other strategies for temporal modification

There are two other means in which a clause modifies another one by setting a temporal framework. In this section, I show two constructions that could be considered temporal adverbial clauses. The first construction uses the adverb *nḛdy* ‘first(ly)’ and the linker *gāxh*= ‘then’. The former element occurs before the first clause of the construction while the latter on the second one, as in (29).

(29) *ˈnḛdy ba.ˈllṵ.ban (txi.rú)gāxh.ˈzyæ̰̂n*

nḛdy ba-llṵb=an (txirú=)gāxh=z´-yæ=an

first compl-sweep=3sg.if (conj=)then=progr-go.to.origin=3sg.if

‘First s/he swept (and) then s/he left.’

Due to the temporal sequence of the events in this type of construction and since the clauses cannot occur in a different order, it is difficult to define which clause is the dependent one. In fact, both clauses need to be marked by another element to be able to occur in this construction. That is, *nḛdy* ‘first(ly)’ and *gāxh*= ‘then’ must occur respectively on each clause. Interestingly, note that the conjunctive clitic *txirú*= ‘conj’ may optionally occur. Actually, *txirú*= ‘conj’ alternates with *gāxh*= ‘then’. That is, *txikrú*= ‘conj’ can optionally occur when *gāxh*= ‘then’ occurs or must occur if *gāxh*= ‘then’ is omitted. This suggests that both events are interconnected and each of them need the other part to make a coherent sentence.

Semantically, one could argue that the dependent clause is the one that sets a background for another /event, which the speaker wants to highlight. Nevertheless, since a conjunctive marker is allowed and, in fact, obligatory, I conclude that this construction involves two clauses, but their linking relation may not be one of subordination.

Another strategy that is used to set an event within a period of time in TdVZ occurs with the auxiliary verb -*luxh* ‘finish’ + another verb, as in (30). This type of construction, however, may refer to a subtype of *txi*= ‘when’ / *gāxh*= ‘then’ clause that takes as a complement a clause within an auxiliary construction. In fact, changing the order of the construction, *txi*= ‘when’ becomes obligatory, as in (31). However, given the fact that *txi*= is optional when the subordinated clause is preposed suggests that, in this case, the auxiliary verb -*luxh* ‘finish’ functions as a type of subordinator.

(30) (*txi)gu.ˈlûxh gu.dixh.ˈlæ’n gāxh.gú.ˈnnyæ̰n*

(txi=)gu-luxh gu-dixhlæ’=an gāxh=gu-nnḭ=an

(temp.sub=)compl-finish compl-tell=3sg.if then=compl-say=3sg.if

*tū.ˈbénny.kí*

tū=bēnny=kī

intg.who=person=temp.dem

‘(When) s/he finished telling (the story), then s/he said who the person was.’

(31) *gāxh.gú.ˈnnyæ̰n*

gāxh=gu-nnḭ=an

then=compl-say=3sg.if

*tū.ˈbénny.kí txi.gu.ˈlûxh gu.dixh.ˈlæ’n*

tū=bēnny=kī txi=gu-luxh gu-dixhlæ’=an

intg.who=person=temp.dem temp.sub=compl-finish compl-tell=3sg.if

‘(When) s/he finished telling (the story), then s/he said who the person was.’

Finally, I want to mention that there may be other types of constructions that indicate temporal relations with another clause. Thus, further studies are needed in TdVZ to explore these. With respect to the adverbial clauses discussed here, further studies are needed to observe the modification they get when adverbial enclitics occur on any of the verbs in the constructions. Also, studies are needed to explore the role of the lexical semantics of the verbs when these adverbial enclitics occur.

## 7.2.3 Locative Adverbial Clauses

Locative AdvCs may not exist in TdVZ, that is, this language uses locative relative clauses (RCs) to codify this type of adverbial modification. As discussed in §5, this type of relative clauses may be headed, light headed or headless. In (32), the headless locative RC is introduced by the relative locative pronoun *kūd*= and it modifies the clause that expresses the arriving event. Because of this, in this section, I will only focus on whether this locative RC can be preposed, and if negation occurs in this type of clause. For more information on these relatives see §5.

(32) *Gu.xin.ˈrô’w ba.ˈdzɨ.nyum*

guxinny+rô’w ba-dzɨny=um

night+big compl-arrive=3sg.anml

[***kūd****.gú.ˈnnǎm ˈtyōp ˈbæ̂kw*]RC

kūd=gu-nnā=um tyōp bækw

rel.loc.pron=compl-witness=3sg.anml two dog

‘Very late at night, he (the animal) arrived *where he saw two dogs*.’ (txt.)

This type of RC may be preposed specially when the speaker focalizes the location, as shown in (33).

(33)[*Kūd.rí.ˈdo’w* ˈ*bēdy.kī*]rc  *gá.*ˈ*dxá̰.gún*

kūd=ri-do’w bedy=kī ga´-dxā̰g=un

rel.loc.pron=HAB-be.sold chicken=TEMP.DEM POT-bump.into=1PL.INCL

‘Where chicken is sold, we will meet there.’ / ‘We will meet where chicken is sold.’

This type of locative RC rarely takes negation, but when it does, both markers of monoclausal negation (*kēd*= and =*di*) occur, as shown in (34).

(34) *xī.ká.ˈyuyn.zú*

xī=káy-uny=zá=ṵ

intg.what=progr-do=also=2sg.if

*næz*[*kūd.kēd.ˈrî.di* ˈ*bēnny*.*rǽ’*?]rc

næz=kūd=kēd=ri=di bēnny=rǽ’

prep.by=rel.loc.pron=neg=be.piled=neg person=dem.prox

‘What are you doing around here where there are no people?’

## 7.2.4 Manner Adverbial Clauses

In TdVZ, manner AdvCs occur with the subordinator *ka*= ‘as/like’. Interestingly, *ni=* (the subordinator in relative clauses) may optionally occur after *ka*=, as shown in (35). This suggests that the construction used for this type of adverbial modification is a type of (headless or light-headed) relative clause.

(35) *ka.(ni.)ba.*ˈ*lṵ̂.yān* ˈ*lǎ̰n.kī*

ka=(**ni=**)ba-lṵy=ān lǎ̰n=kī

mann.sub=(sub=)compl-show=3sg.if 3sg.if=temp.dem

ˈ*bâ̰.nyā.nēn*

ba̰ny=an=ēn

compl.do=3sg.if=3sg.inan

‘As s/he showed her/him, s/he did (it).’/ ‘S/he did (it) as s/he showed her/him.’

Even though manner AdvCs typically occur preposed to the main clause, they can also occur postposed, especially when the main clause is introduced by the discourse marker *gāxh=* ‘then’, as shown in (36).

(36) *gāxh.*ˈ*bâ̰.nyā.nēn ka.(ni.)ba.*ˈ*lṵ̂.yān*

gāxh=ba̰ny=an =ēn ka=(ni=)ba-lṵy=ān

then=compl.do=3sg.if=3sg.inan mann.sub=(sub=)compl-show=3sg.if

ˈ*lǎ̰n.kī*

lǎ̰n=kī

3sg.if=temp.dem

‘Then, s/he did it as he taught him.’

Note that the construction with *ka(ni*) may be understood as the syntactic object of the main clause in (37). Nevertheless, I assume that this effect is due to the possibility of omitting the object in these constructions and not that it refers to a type of complement clause.

(37) *gāxh.*ˈ*bâ̰.nyan ka.(ni.)ba.*ˈ*lṵ̂.yān*

gāxh=ba̰ny=an ka=(ni=)ba-lṵy=ān

then=compl.do=3sg.if mann.sub=(sub=)compl-show=3sg.if

ˈ*lǎ̰n.kī*

lǎ̰n=kī

3sg.if=temp.dem

‘Then, s/he did as s/he taught him.’

### 7.2.4.1 TAM relations in manner AdvC

Manner AdvCs express an event that occurs before the event expressed in the main clause. Thus, certain TAM restrictions are imposed by the semantics of the main predicate. That is, the verb in the main clause must occur with any TAM marker that does not conflict with the sequence of the events, as in (38); otherwise the construction is semantically incoherent, as in (39).

(38) *gāxh.zí.bé.ˈxhâ̰.īn ká.(ni.)ká.ˈnnyæ̰n*

gāxh=zi-béxhā=a̰=īn ka=(ni=)ká-nnḭ=an

then=fut-solve.1sg=1sg=3sg.inan mann.sub=(sub=)progr-say=3sg.if

‘Then, I will solve it as s/he is stating (it).’

(39) #*gāxh.ká.bé.ˈxhâ̰.īn ká.(ni.)ˈnnyæ̰̂n*

gāxh=ká-béxhâ̰=īn ka=(ni=)nnḭ̂=an

then=progr-solve.1sg=3sg.inan mann.sub=(sub=)pot.say=3sg.if

‘Then, I am solving it as he will order.’

### 7.2.4.2 Negation in manner AdvC

Negation does not typically occur in this type of subordinate clauses, but when it does, it occurs with the same markers of clausal negation (*kēd*= an =*di*), as in (40). Interestingly, after the subordinator(s), besides the negator (and the clitics that may attach to this), no NP (or any other lexical word) may occur. This is also another characteristic this type of subordination shares with *txi*= ‘when’ and the relative pronoun *kūd*=.

(40) *ka.(ni.)kēd.rí.ˈka̰z.dyan ˈnyǎk.kī*

ka(ni=)kēd=ri-ka̰z=di=an ni´-ak=kī

mann.sub=(sub=)neg=hab-want=neg=3sg.if cntf-occur=temp.dem

*ˈgûk*

gu-ak

compl-happen

‘It occurred as s/he didn’t want (it to occur).’

### 7.2.4.3 Control in manner AdvC?

Control does occur in this type of biclausal construction, especially when the AdvC contains a ditransitive verb that triggers control, as in (41). In this example, the subject of the main clause controls the reference of the recipient in the manner adverbial clause. Interestingly, and contrary to complement clauses, a full NP can indicate the controller as well as the controlee in both clauses, as in (42). This characteristic, however, may be of particular types of texts (stories and narratives) since, as a native speaker, I rarely hear it in regular conversation.

(41) *gāxh.*ˈ*bâ̰yn* ˈ*Jwáyn ka.(ni.)ba.*ˈ*lṵ̂.yān*

gāxh=ba̰ny Jwáyn ka=(ni=)ba-lṵy=ān

then=compl.do Juan mann.sub=(sub=)compl-show=3sg.f

ˈ*lǎ̰n.kī*

lǎ̰n=kī

3sg.if=temp.dem

‘Then Juani did as he taught himi/\*j.’

(42) *gāxh.*ˈ*bâ̰yn* ˈ*Jwáyn ka.(ni.)ba.*ˈ*lṵ̂.yān*

gāxh=ba̰ny Jwáyn ka=(ni=)ba-lṵy=ān

then=compl.do Juan mann.sub=(sub=)compl-show=3sg.if

ˈ*Jwáyn.kī*

Jwáyn=kī

Juan=temp.dem

‘Then Juani did as he taught Juani/\*j.’

# 7.3 Adverbial clauses that do not compete with single word adverbs

The AdvCs discussed in this section do not express that two events have something in common (as temporal, locative and manner adverbial clauses do), but that one event modifies the other. That is, the clauses discussed here express a reason or a condition for the event in the main clause to occur, but not that two events have a reason or condition in common. Thus, they cannot be paraphrased as relative clauses or have a relative clause form.

## 7.3.1 Purpose and Reason Adverbial Clauses introduced by *té*=

In TdVZ purpose clauses and a subtype of reason clauses are introduced by the subordinator *té=*, as in (43) and (44) respectively. As noticed, each type of construction seems to have specific characteristics that differentiate one from the another. In purpose clauses, the subordinator *té*= is optional while in reason clauses it is obligatory. Purpose clauses are generally prefixed with potential while reason clauses can occur with any prefix on the verb. Purpose clauses share the subject while reason clauses do not. Also, the semantics in each construction defines each type of construction given that in purpose clauses, the event of the main clause holds a direct relation with the event expressed in the purpose clause in that its subject performs this action as a pre-state of his/her intention expressed in the subordinated clause. This is not the case in reason adverbial clauses since the event in the main clause is seen more as a consequence. In addition, the sequence of the events is iconic in purpose clauses while it is not the case in reason clauses.

(43) ˈ*kwǎ’n* ˈ*gyæ̰ (té.)*ˈ*txæ̰̂n kam.*ˈ*pyúyn*

kwā’=an gyæ̰ (té=)tx´-æ=an kampyuny

compl.get=3sg.if flower (sub=)pot-go=3sg.if cemetery

‘S/he bought flower(s) (to) go to the cemetery.’

(44) *ri.ˈdxī.txān té.ˈru.nyan ˈnā.zī*

ri-dxītx=ān té=r-uny=an nāzī

hab-get.angry=3sg.f sub=hab-do=3sg.if without.care

‘S/hei gets angry because s/hei/j does incoherencies.’

However, certain issues emerge when these types of clause do not follow these characteristics. In (45), I show an example of a construction quite similar to the purpose clause shown in (43) above. The only difference is that in this last case, the subordinated verb is prefixed with the counterfactual. Since both events are seen as ‘completed’ (in the sense that the speaker bought the flowers, and s/he did not go to the cemetery), the reading (that is obtained) is that of a reason clause. Thus, this situation raises the question: is this subordinated clause to be considered a (non-realized) purpose clause or a reason clause with particular characteristics?

(45) ˈ*kwǎ’n* ˈ*gyæ̰ (té.)*ˈ*nyæ̰̂n kam.*ˈ*pyúyn*

kwā’=an gyæ̰ (té=)ni´-æ=an kampyuny

compl.get=3sg.if flower (sub=)cntf-go=3sg.if cemetery

‘S/he bought flower(s) because s/he was going to go to the cemetery.’

‘S/he bought flower(s) because his/her purpose was to go to the cemetery (but s/he didn’t go).’

Purpose clauses also pose a challenge to completely characterize them formally because there are constructions in which several of their (prototypical) characteristics do not follow: the subordinated verb is not prefixed with potential, subjects do not corefer, the subordinator is obligatory, as in (46).

(46) *ba.zu.ˈkǎn ˈyāg.kī*

ba-zukā=an yag=kī

compl-remove=3sg.if tree=temp.dem

*té.ˈguk gu.ˈdæ̰d.dán*

té=gu-ak gu-dæ̰d=dán

sub=compl-be.able.to compl-pass=3pl.if

‘S/he removed the (fallen) tree so that they could pass.’

Gutiérrez (2014) discussed each of the characteristics listed above for purpose AdvC in order to characterize them and differentiate them from serial verb constructions. However, none of these formal characteristics differentiate purpose clauses from reason clauses subordinated by *té=*.

Crosslinguistically it is common to find that the same morpheme is used for purpose and reason adverbial subordinators. The semantic explanation for this fact is that both purpose and reason clauses provide an explanation for the occurrence of a given state or action. However, they differ in that purpose clauses express a motivating event which must be unrealized at the time of the main event, while reason clauses express a motivating event which may be realized at the time of the main clausal event (Thompson et. al 2002). A semantic definition of purpose clauses is found in Shmidkte-Bode (2009): “Purpose clauses are part of complex sentences which encode that one verbal situation, that of the matrix clause, is performed with the intention of bringing about another situation, that of the purpose clause”. Based on this definition, one could argue that what distinguishes purpose and reason AdvCs with *té*= in TdVZ is the sequence of the events in the purpose clause and the semantics of the verbs (or constructions) involved since no formal distinction seems to be consistent.

In order to capture the subtle differences between these two types of constructions in TdVZ, I will consider that there are two types of purpose clauses: +integrated vs -integrated. The former share arguments with the main clause and the subordinator to introduce it is optional. The second type of purpose clause is less integrated with the main predicate and it shares more similarities with reason AdvCs: it does not share arguments with the main clause and the subordinator is obligatory. Reason clauses, then, are formally similar to -integrated purpose clause, but the event structure and the semantics of the whole construction defines each type of clause.

### 7.3.1.1 +Integrated purpose clauses

This type of purpose AdvC is optionally introduced by the subordinator *té*=, it is typically prefixed with potential but it may occur with the same TAM prefix occurring on the main clause. Syntactically, what characterizes this subtype is that it shares arguments with the main clause. That is, subject control generally occurs and when both verbs of the construction are transitive, they share the object, as in (47). The object of the main clause may also have the subject function in the purpose clause, as in (48). Thus, the purpose clause of this subtype is a deranked clause since it lacks its full projection.

(47) ˈ*bā.nyá get.*ˈ*gṵ̄ (té.)txí.*ˈ*næ̰̂*

bǎny=a̰ getgṵ (té=)tx´-énæ̰̂

compl.do.1sg=1sg tamale (sub=)pot-take.1sg

‘I made tamales to bring (them) (somewhere).’

(48) *gwé.ˈka’.la̰ te.ˈgû’n (té.)ˈgów ˈgixy ˈlæ’n*

gu-éka’la̰ te=gû’n (té=)g´-aw gixy læ’n

compl-go.borrow.1sg i.art=bull (sub=)pot-eat grass r.n.stomach

*gu.ˈrrâly*

gurrâly

corral

‘I went to borrow a bull so that it will eat the grass (that is growing) in the corral.’

Given that a purpose clause is seen as a (possible) event that depends on the occurrence/realization of the event in the main clause, it may not be common to find preposed purpose clauses crosslinguisticaly. In TdVZ, the preposing of the +integrated purpose clause is not allowed, as shown in (49). However, there is a construction that could be considered the preposing of this subtype of purpose clause, which is shown in (50). In this last construction, *té*= has to obligatorily occur in the subordinate clause, the ‘subordinator’ *ni*= ‘which is why’ must occur on the main clause and the object must be expressed on both verbs. In addition, the reading triggered is not purposive. Because of these characteristics, I consider that +integrated purpose clauses are fixed structures and do not occur preposed. In §7.3.3 below, I show that the construction in (50) may correspond to a reason AdvC.

(49) \**(té.)txí.*ˈ*næ̰̂* ˈ*bā.nyá get.*ˈ*gṵ̄*

(té=)tx´-énæ̰̂ bǎny=a̰ getgṵ

(sub=)pot-take.1sg compl.do.1sg=1sg tamale

Intended reading: ‘I made tamales to bring (somewhere).’

(50) *té.txí.*ˈ*næ̰̂* *get.*ˈ*gṵ̄ ni.*ˈ*bā.nín*

té=tx´-énæ̰̂ getgṵ ni=bǎny=a̰=īn

sub=pot-take.1sg tamale sub=compl.do.1sg=1sg=3sg.inan

‘Because I will take/bring tamale, that is why I made them.’

#In order to bring tamales, which/that is why I made them.’

### 7.3.1.2 Negation of +integrated purpose clauses

Negation is not common in a +integrated purpose AdvC, but it does occur, as shown in (51) and (52). As noted, negation cooccurs typically with the potential or counterfactual prefix. This may have to do with the irrealis modality involved in these clauses. That is, the purpose clause is unrealized at the utterance time and there may not be certainty about its realization. Due to this, from both markers of mono clausal negation (*kēd*= and =*di*), only *kēd*= occurs. Note that in these constructions the subordinator *té*= becomes obligatory.

(51) *ˈgwæ’.xhgán té.kēd.ˈllyá̰.nán*

gu-æ’=xhgá=an té=kēd=llyá̰n=an

compl-drink=ahead=3sg.if sub=neg=pot.be.hungry=3sg.if

‘S/he drank (breakfast) in advance in order not to be hungry.’

(52) *ba.ˈllǐby.klá ˈlǎ̰m té.kēd.ˈnyó.úm*

ba-llǐby=k(ā)l(á)=a̰ lǎ̰m té=kēd=ni´-aw=um

compl-tie.1sg=adv=1sg 3sg.anml sub=neg=cntf=eat=3sg.amnl

*ˈxkǽ.lá’*

xkǽlá’

poss.milpa.1sg

‘The point was that I tied him up (the animal) so that it would not eat my milpa (but it did).’

### 7.3.1.3 Counterfactual prefix on +integrated purpose clauses

An interesting characteristic of this type of clause is that, when the counterfactual occurs on the verb, it seems to cancel the purpose reading since the event in the purpose clause does not occur, as was shown above, and in (53). As noted, this construction maintains all its structural characteristics and the reading is still purposive. Thus, I will consider that in TdVZ there is a type of purpose clause in which it is known that the event expressed in the purpose clause does not happen.

(53) ˈ*kwǎ’n* ˈ*gyæ̰ (té.)*ˈ*nyé.næ̌n kam.*ˈ*pyúyn*

kwā’=an gyæ̰ (té=)ni´-enǣ=an kampyuny

compl.get=3sg.if flower (sub=)cntf-bring=3sg.if cemetery

‘S/he bought flower(s) to bring to the cemetery (but s/he didn’t go).’

#’S/he bought flower(s) because s/he was going to bring (them) to the cemetery (but s/he didn’t go).’

### 7.3.1.4 -Integrated purpose clauses

This subtype of purpose clause is obligatorily subordinated by *té*= and does not share any arguments with the main clause. With respect to the TAM prefix, it follows the same pattern that +integrated purpose clauses do, that is, potential or counterfactual are common, but the purpose clause may occur with the same TAM marking occurring on the verb of the main clause. Thus, the main difference between these purpose clauses and the previous subtype is that these have more characteristics of a biclausal construction since the subordinated clause is more autonomous in that it can select its own arguments, as I show in (54) and (55). In the first example *lady* ‘clothes’ occurs as a full NP in the object slot of the first verb and as a pronoun on the subject slot of the purpose clause. In (55), *yāgkī* ‘that tree’ does not have any syntactic role in the purpose clause.

(54) *gu.*ˈ*læ̌* ˈ*lady lo.gu.*ˈ*bidx té.ga.*ˈ*bî.zēn*

gu-læ̌ clothes low=gubidx té=ga´-biz=ēn

compl-take.out.1sg clothes r.n.face=sun sub=pot-get.dry=3sg.inan

‘I took the clothes out to the sun so that they get dry.’

(55) *ba.zu.*ˈ*kǎn* ˈ*yāg.kī té.*ˈ*guk gu.*ˈ*dæ̰d.dán*

ba-zukā=an yag=kī té=gu-ak gu-dæ̰d=dán

compl-remove=3sg.if tree=temp.dem sub=compl-be.able.to compl-pass-3pl.if

‘S/he removed the tree so that they could pass.’

-Integrated purpose clauses, contrary to +integrated purpose clauses can be preposed. However, they require the subordinator *ni*= on the main clause that now is postposed, as in (56).[[113]](#footnote-113) In (57) I show that by preposing this clause without further modification (i.e., *ni*=) triggers ungrammaticality. As noted, the reading of this preposed clauses are of reason adverbial clauses. This shows the close connection between these two types of adverbial modification (reason and purpose).

(56) *té.ga.*ˈ*bî.zēn* *ni*.*gu.*ˈ*llěn ló.gu.*ˈ*bidx*

té=ga´-biz=ēn **ni**=gu-llæ̌=ēn low=gubidx

sub=pot-get.dry=3sg.inan sub=compl-take.out.1sg =3sg.inan r.n.face=sun

‘In order to dry, that is why I took it (out) to the sun.’

‘For it to get dry, that is why I took it (out) to the sun.’

(57) \*#*té.ga.*ˈ*bî.zēn* *gu.*ˈ*llěn ló.gu.*ˈ*bidx*

té=ga´-biz=ēn gu-llæ̌=ēn low=gubidx

sub=pot-get.dry=3sg.inan compl-take.out.1sg =3sg.inan r.n.face=sun

Intended reading: ‘In order to dry, which is why I took it (out) to the sun.’

### 7.3.1.5 Negation of -integrated purpose clauses

Negation does occur in a -integrated purpose clause, as shown in (58) and (59). As in the previous case, only *kēd=* occurs from both makers of negation. This, as mentioned above, is related to the irrealis (hypothetical) and non-presupposition of these clauses. In (59), note that both clauses have the same object, but this is not shared since it has to occur in both clauses.

(58) *ba.*ˈ*sḛw té.kēd.*ˈ*dyæ̰̂m*

ba-sḛw té=kēd=dyæ̰̂=um

imp.sg-close sub=neg=pot.leave=3sg.anml

‘Close (the entrance) so that it (the animal) won’t escape.’

(59) *ba.*ˈ*sḛ̂.wa* ˈ*bedy* *té.kēd.*ˈ*gów* ˈ*běw* ˈ*lā̰.dúm*

ba-sḛ̂w=a̰ bedy té=kēd=g´-aw běw lā̰dúm

compl-close.1sg=1sg chicken sub=neg=pot-eat coyote 3pl.anml

‘I locked the chicken(s) so that the coyote won’t eat them.’

In this section, I have shown that there are at least two types of purpose clauses in TdVZ. Further analysis is required to determine if the preposing of purpose clauses is possible. As I showed, this movement triggers the occurrence of *ni*= ‘which/that is why’ on the main clause, which triggers a reason reading.[[114]](#footnote-114)

### 7.3.1.6 Reason AdvCs with té=

There is a type of reason advC that uses the same subordinator as purpose clauses (i.e., *té*=). Structurally, reason AdvCs with *té*= show some characteristics of the -integrated purpose clauses: the subordinator *té*= is obligatory and the reason clause does not share arguments with the main clause. However, with respect to the TAM marking, reason AdvCs usually differ from the TAM marking of the main clause. In fact, the completive marker is more common in the reason clause since they usually refer to a previous event (in relation to the event expressed in the main clause). Thus, what distinguishes these clauses from -integrated purpose clauses is that the event in the main clause is not performed with the intention of bringing about another situation. Instead reason clauses express an event that causes an effect on the subject of the main clause, who has no control or intention for the event in the subordinate clause to occur. Also, in most cases, the order of the events is not iconic. That is, in purpose clauses, the main clause in the construction expresses the event occurring first but in reason clauses the event in the main clause does not necessarily need to occur first, as shown in (60) and (61).

(60) *ri.ˈdxī.txān té.ˈru.nyan ˈnā.zī*

ri-dxītx=ān **té**=r-uny=an nāzī

hab-get.angry=3sg.f sub=hab-do=3sg.if without.care

‘S/he getsi angry because s/hej does incoherencies.’

(61) *ri.be.ˈdxā’n té.kēd.bá.ká.ˈdyā.gá ˈdḭdx*

ri-bedxa’=*ā*n **té**=kēd=ba-kadyǎg=a̰ dḭdx

hab-lecture=3sg.f sub=neg=compl-listen.1sg=1sg word

‘S/he is lecturing (me) because I didn’t obey.’

Even though reason AdvCs usually occur postposed to the main clause, they may occur preposed; in this case, another subordinator (that has the form of the relative subordinator, i.e., *ni=*) is required on the main clause, as in (62). This second subordinator reinforces the meaning of the construction because it indicates that the event in the subordinate clause is causing (in a way) the event expressed in the main clause. In fact, *ni*= is usually translated into Spanish as *por eso* ‘that/which is why’/ ‘therefore’.

(62) *té.ˈtxæ̰̂n stú.ˈblád ni.ri.ˈdxī.txān*

té=tx´-æ=an *stúblád* ni=ri-dxītx=ān

sub=pot-go=3sg.if (an)other.side sub=hab-get.angry=3sg.f

‘Because s/he is going to go to the United States, that is why s/he is angry.’

### 7.3.1.7 Negation of reason AdvCs with té=

Another difference between reason and purpose clauses introduced by *té*= is that purpose clauses are seen as ‘positive’ events and the speaker wants them to occur, thus negation does not typically occur. In reason AdvC, on the other hand, negation freely occurs given that it is used for expressing excused or explanations, as shown in (63) and (64) respectively. Note that in (63) only *kēd*= occurs (without =di) since the event falls into irrealis modality due to the counterfactual prefix. Nevertheless, the negation of the completive in (64) alternates between the use of *=di* and its omission.

(63) *ˈsrēky gú.ˈnyæ̰n té.kēd.ˈnyæ̰̂n ˈxkwíly*

srēky gu-nnḭ=an té=kēd=ni´-æ=an xkwíly

mann.temp.dem compl-say=3sg.if sub=neg=cntf-go=3sg.if school

‘S/he said (like) that so that s/he would not (have to) go to school.’

‘The reason s/he said that is for not going to school.’

(64) *ri.be.ˈdxā’n té.kēd.bá.ká.ˈdyǎg.(dy)a ˈdḭdx*

ri-bedxa’=ān té=kēd=ba-kadyǎg(=di)=a̰ dḭdx

hab-lecture=3sg.f sub=neg=compl-listen.1sg(=neg)=1sg word

‘S/he is lecturing (me) because I didn’t obey.’

In this section, I have shown that structurally, there are at least two types of purpose clauses introduced by *té*=. This subordinator is also used in a type of reason AdvC. Below I show the characteristics of each type of subordinate clause.

Table 2. characteristics of purpose and reason AdvC with *té*= in TdVZ

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Characteristics** | **+Integrated purpose clauses** | **-Integrated purpose clauses** | **Reason adverbial clauses** |
| Morphological | Occur with irrealis prefixes (potential/ counterfactual) or same TAM marking as the the main clause verb | Occur with irrealis prefixes (potential/ counterfactual) or same TAM marking as the the main clause verb | No specific (or dependent) TAM prefix |
| Syntactic | *té*= subordinator is optional  Subject control is observed  Shared object | *té*= subordinator is obligatory  No subject control is observed  No shared object | *té*= subordinator is obligatory  No subject control is observed  No shared object |
| Semantic | The event in the purpose clause is seen as a possible (future) event. If this event occurs, it will occur after the event indicated in the main clause; event structure is iconic | The event in the purpose clause is seen as a possible (future) event. If this event occurs, it will occur after the event indicated in the main clause; event structure is iconic | The event in the reason clause is seen as a causative event; thus, it usually occurs before the event indicated in the main clause; event structure is not iconic |

When situating these clauses according to a typological context, +integrated purpose clauses are deranked since they do not project their full argument structure. -integrated purpose clauses, on the other hand, does not exhibit these properties. This suggests that the same (semantic) type of ‘subordinate’ clause should take two positions in a continuum; at least in TdVZ, purpose clauses would have to.

## 7.3.2 Reason (explicatory) Adverbial Clauses with *kom*=

Another type of reason AdvC occur with the subordinator *kom=* ‘since/because’, as shown in (65). The clause introduced by *kom*= gives an explanation of why the event in the main clause occurs. This differentiates it from reason clauses with *té*=, which indicate a cause-effect relation with the main clause.

(65) *ri.be.ˈdxā’n kóm.kēd.bá.ká.ˈdyǎg.(dy)a ˈdḭdx*

ri-bedxa’=ān **kom**=kēd=ba-kadyǎg(=di)=a̰ dḭdx

hab-lecture=3sg.f sub=neg=compl-listen.1sg(=neg)=1sg word

‘S/he is lecturing (me) since/because I didn’t obey.’

Although this type of clause typically occurs postposed, they can occur preposed, as in (66). In this case, *gāxh*= ‘then’ occurs on the main clause. In some cases, *ni*= is also accepted, but only when it cooccurs with *lā̰yn* ‘3sg.inan’. This is discussed below in (7.3.3).

(66) *kom****.****kēd.bá.ká.ˈdyǎg.(dy)a ˈdḭdx* *gāxh*.*rí.be.ˈdxā’n*

kom=kēd=ba-kadyǎg(=di)=a̰ dḭdx gāxh=ri-bedxa’=ān

sub=neg=compl-listen.1sg(=neg)=1sg word then=hab-lecture=3sg.f

‘Since/because I didn’t obey, then s/he lectures (me).’

### 7.3.2.1 TAM relations in reason AdvCs with kom=

Since =*kom* adverbial clauses express an event that occurs before the event expressed in the main clause (hence the use of the subordinator *gāxh*= ‘then’ when the main clause occurs postposed), the semantics of the main predicate imposes certain restrictions. That is, the AdvC cannot have a TAM marker indicating a future event with respect to the event expressed in the main clause, as in (67). When the order of the events does not follow a coherent temporal sequence pattern, the construction is semantically incoherent, as shown below.

(67) #*kom.ˈtxâ’ gāxh.bí.ˈdxī.txán*

kom=tx´-â’ gāxh=bi-dxītx=an

sub=pot-go.1sg then=compl-get.angry=3sg.if

‘Since I will go, then s/he got angry.’

Interestingly, this type of adverbial clause may be used to posit a condition under which an event may be considered true. This occurs when both clauses are marked with irrealis modalities, potential and future, as in (68). Thus, just as conditional clauses (§7.3.4), this type of construction is used to state hypotheses about possible future situations.

(68) ***kom.****kēd.gú.kwá.ˈdyǎg.dya ˈdḭdx* (*gāxh.)zí.be.ˈdxā’n*

kom=kēd=gu´-kwadyǎg=di=a̰ dḭdx (gāxh=)zi-bedxa’=ān

sub=neg=pot-listen.1sg=neg=1sg word (then=)fut-lecture=3sg.f

‘Since I will not obey, then s/he will lecture (me).’

The subordinator *kom*= may also co-occur with other subordinators. When this occurs, *kom*= precedes the other subordinators, as shown in (69) and (70) respectively. This indicates that there are two positions for subordinators on the preverbal area.

(69) *kom.txi.ˈræ’n, kēd.ˈrǽ̰d.dyán*

kom=txi=r-æ’=an kēd=r-ǣ̰d=di=an

sub=rel.loc.pron=hab-drink=3sg.if neg=hab-come=neg=3sg.if

‘because when he drinks (alcohol), he doesn’t come.’ (txt.)

(70) *kom.bǣll.ˈtxyæ̰̂n, á.nā.ˈnnǎn*

kom=bǣll=tx´-æ=an á=nānnā=an

sub=cond.sub=pot-go=3sg.if done=est.know=3sg.if

*xī.ˈsá.kán*

xī=sǎk=an

intg.what=pot.occur=3sg.if

‘Because if s/he goes, s/he knows what will happen to her/him.’

## 7.3.3 Result clauses with *lā̰yn ní=*

As was discussed in §7.3.1, the subordinator *ni*= has to occur on the main clause when a reason AdvC with *té*= is preposed. In this section, I show that *ni*= also occurs in a very similar construction that expresses a resulting situation. In (71) the first clause expresses an event that triggers a situation expressed in the second clause headed by *ni*=.

(71) *bi.*ˈ*lā.dán* ˈ*lǎ̰n*  *ni.*ˈ*byá.ban*

bi-lā=dán lǎ̰n **ni**=b-yab=an

compl-crash.against=3pl.if 3sg.if sub=compl-fall=3sg.if

‘They crashed against her/him, which is why s/he fell.’

Interestingly, in this construction *ni*= may optionally occur with the 3sg.inan pronoun (i.e., *lā̰yn*), as shown in (72).

(72) *bi.*ˈ*lā.dán* ˈ*lǎ̰n* (ˈ*lā̰yn*) *ni.*ˈ*byá.ban*

bi-lā=dán lǎ̰n (lā̰yn) ni=b-yab=an

compl-crash.against=3pl.if 3sg.if (3sg.inan) sub=compl-fall=3sg.if

‘They crashed against her/him, which/that is why s/he fell.’

The construction shown above, however, may refer to a preposed reason AdvC in which the subordinator *té*= or *kom*= is omitted. In (73) and (74) I show that (any of) these subordinators, in fact, may optionally occur on the first clause of the construction (assumed to be the subordinate clause).

(73) (*kom*)*bi.*ˈ*lā.dán* ˈ*lǎ̰n* (ˈ*lā̰yn*) *ni.*ˈ*byá.ban*

(kom=)bi-lā=dán lǎ̰n (lā̰yn) ni=b-yab=an

(sub=)compl-crash.against=3pl.if 3sg.if (3sg.inan) sub=compl-fall=3sg.if

‘(Since/because) they crashed against him/her, that is why s/he fell.’

(74) (*té)ba.ˈllṵ̄b.dān ˈlǎ̰n (ˈlā̰yn) ni.ˈzæ̰̂n*

(té=)ba-llṵb=dān ˈlǎ̰n (lā̰yn) ni=z´-æ=an

(sub=)compl-beat=3pl.f 3sg.if (3sg.inan) sub=progr-go=3sg.if

‘(Because) they beat her/him, that is why s/he left.’

Although these constructions seem to be a subtype of reason AdvCs with *té*= or *kom*=, their semantics differs slightly from reason AdvCs with *té*=. In (75) I show that the postposing of the subordinate clause headed by *té*= is not semantically coherent.

(75) #ˈ*byá.ban té.bi.*ˈ*lā.dán* ˈ*lǎ̰n*

b-yab=an té=bi-lā=dán lǎ̰n

sub=compl-fall=3sg.if sub=compl-crash.against=3pl.if 3sg.if

‘S/he fell since the crashed against her/him.’

Interestingly, the postposing of the clause headed by *kom*= shown in (76) is similar in meaning to the construction shown in (72) above. Thus, I consider that the constructions discussed in this section are a subtype of *kom*= reason adverbial clauses. However, they differ from the main subtype since they are used to highlight a resulting situation (or the effect) caused by the event expressed in the main clause.

(76) ˈ*byá.ban kom.bi.*ˈ*lā.dán* ˈ*lǎ̰n*

b-yab=an kom=bi-lā=dán lǎ̰n

compl-fall=3sg.if sub=compl-crash.against=3pl.if 3sg.if

‘S/he fell since/because they crashed against him.’

What is of special interest in these clauses is that the events they express are ‘strongly’ linked, and this linking is visible in the grammar of TdVZ.

## 7.3.4 Conditional clauses: introduction

Conditional sentences involve an adverbial clause, generally referred to as the conditional clause, *antecedent* or *protasis*, and a main clause known as the *consequent* or *apodosis*. Conditional clauses then are defined as subordinate AdvCs that establish a relation with another (main) clause such that the occurrence of the event in the conditional clause is the condition for the occurrence of the event expressed in this main clause (Cristofaro 2003).

In the study of conditional sentences, linguists have observed the order that the clauses involved follow, how a construction is marked overtly as being a conditional, and the various types of conditional constructions that exist in languages (or in a particular one) based on their syntax and/or semantics.

Crosslinguistically, conditional clauses generally occur preposed to the main clause (cf. Comrie 1986) and overt marking of the protasis seems to be the most common indication of this type of clauses. With respect to their categorization, various authors have classified them based on realis vs irrealis conditionals (Givon 2011; Thompson et al. (2007); Cristofaro 2003) or the degree of hypotheticality (probability of realization) of the situations referred to in the conditional clause (Comrie 1986). Interestingly, conditional clauses do not always establish the relation cited above; in some cases, these clauses are used as a relevance hedge that warns the hearer that the statement that follows may be relevant if certain conditions hold e.g., *if you are thirsty, there is a beer in the fridge* (Kroeger 2018; Iatridou 1991).

In English, Iatridou (1991) and Bhatt (2006), among others, have defined three types of conditional clauses based on their syntax and the relation that the conditional clause holds with the main clause: Hypothetical, speech act, and factual conditionals. Hypothetical conditionals do not commit the speaker to believe either the antecedent or the consequent to be true but do seem to commit the speaker to believing that some type of relation exists e.g., *if it does not rain, we will eat outside* (Kroeger 2018: 349). Speech act conditionals are usually referred to as relevance conditionals. These commit the speaker to believing the consequent to be true, regardless of whether the antecedent is true or not e.g., *PBS will broadcast Die Walküre tonight, if you like Wagner* (Kroeger 2018: 349). Factual conditionals, on the other hand, carry the presupposition that someone other than the speaker (often the addressee) believes or has said that the proposition expressed by the antecedent is true. This type of conditional is usually exemplified by statements such as (77b), which as noted are part of a specific context.

(77) a. *This book that I was assigned to read is really stupid*.

b. I have not read it, but *if it is that stupid*, you shouldn’t bother with it (Kroeger 2018: 350).

In addition to this three-way classification, Kroeger (2018) includes a fourth type of conditionals: Concessive conditionals. In these, the speaker asserts that the consequent is true no matter what, regardless of whether the antecedent is true or false e.g., *(Even) if the bridge were standing I wouldn’t cross* (Kroeger 2018: 350).

In the following, I will describe how conditionals AdvCs occur in TdVZ. I will show the order of the clauses involved in this type of constructions. There may be constructions in TdVZ that have a conditional reading such as the English example: *Kiss my dog and you’ll get fleas* (Bhatt, 2006:), but I will only focus on those conditionals that occur with the conditional morpheme *bǣll*= ‘if’. After I show the basic syntax of conditionals. I will categorize them in hypothetical and speech act conditionals (or relevance) conditionals. Only hypothetical conditionals, as in English, exhibit various degrees of hypotheticality. The three degrees that occur in English are briefly define below just for exemplification and comparison.

* -Hypothetical (or real) conditionals. In these, the speaker has a reason to believe that the antecedent is true, e.g., *If Bill is your uncle, then you must know his daughter Margaret*
* Hypothetical conditionals. In these, the speaker doesn’t know whether the antecedent is true or not e.g., *If Susan wins the election, she will become the mayor of Des Moines*
* +Hypothetical (or counterfactual) conditionals, (presupposes that) the speaker believes the antecedent to be false. *If I were you, I would apply for a different job*

In the last section, I will discuss concessive conditional clauses and concessive adverbial clauses. These constructions may be differentiated only by the prefix on the verbs involved in the construction.

### 7.3.4.1 Conditional clauses in TdVZ

In TdVZ conditional AdvCs generally occur preposed to the main clause and are introduced by the subordinator *bǣll*= ‘if’, as shown in (78). When the main clause occurs postposed, it can optionally occur with the adverb *gāxh*= ‘then’. In this construction, note that the subordinating morpheme allows a preverbal (indefinite) NP, while there are other subordinators, such as *txi*= ‘when’, that do not.

(78) *bǣll.****tū****.****ˈbénny*** *gá.ˈdxá̰g.dán xī.ˈgǽby ˈlā̰.dán,*

bǣll=**tū=bēnny** ga´-dxā̰g=dán xī=g´-æby lā̰dán

cond.sub=intg.who=person pot-encounter=3pl.if intg.what=pot-say 3pl.if

***(gāxh.)****zí.gi.ˈxæ’ lo.ˈxhǎn.dán.bā*

(gāxh=)zi-gixhlæ’ low=xhǎn=dán=bā

(then=)fut-tell r.n.face=poss.mother=3pl.if=d.e

‘If they encounter a person that (will) tell them something, (then) they will tell their mothers.’ (txt.)

Even though conditional clauses typically occur preposed to the main clause, they can also occur postposed, as shown in (79).

(79) *zí.gi.ˈxæ’ lo.ˈxhǎn.dán bǣll.tū.ˈbénny*

zi-gixhlæ’ low=xhǎn=dán bǣll=**tū=bēnny**

fut-tell r.n.face=poss.mother=3pl.if cond.sub=intg.who=person

*gá.ˈdxá̰g.dán xī.ˈgǽby ˈlā̰.dán,*

ga´-dxā̰g=dán xī=g´-æby lā̰dán

pot-encounter=3pl.if intg.what=pot-say 3pl.if

‘They will tell their mothers If they encounter a person that (will) tell them something.’

### 7.3.4.2 Hypothetical conditional clauses

With respect to their hypotheticality degree, I propose three degrees of hypotheticality: -Hypothetical, Hypothetical and +Hypothetical conditional clauses in TdVZ.

**-Hypothetical (or real) conditionals**

In this type of conditionals, the speaker has a reason to believe that the antecedent is true. The events expressed in this type of conditional clauses are considered a logical pre-event for the resulting event expressed in the main clause, as in (80).

(80) *bǣll.ˈbyâb nis.ˈjyæ, ˈgudx ˈxpē.dyá’*

bǣll=b-yab nisgyæ gu-adx x-bedy=a̰

cond.sub=compl-fall rain compl-get.wet poss-chicken=1sg

‘If it rained, my chickens got wet.’

As noted, these types of conditionals occur with the same prefix as the verb in the main clause, which must be completive, as shown above, or progressive, as in (81).

(81) *bǣll.ká.ˈyab nis.ˈjyæ, ká.ˈyadx ˈxpē.dyá*

bǣll=ká-yab nisgyæ káy-adx x-bedy=a̰

cond.sub=progr-fall rain progr-get.wet poss-chicken=1sg

‘If it is raining, my chickens are getting wet.’

According to Givon (2011), the truth value of the conditional clause depends on the truth value of the main clause. Thus, this type of conditional clause has truth value since the main clause does.

A characteristic that distinguishes this construction is that *gāxh*= ‘then’ is not accepted on the main clause, as shown in (82). This may indicate that the resulting event is obvious for the speakers.

(82) *bǣll.ˈbyâb nis.ˈjyæ (#gāxh)ˈgudx ˈxpē.dyá*

bǣll=b-yab nisgyæ gu-adx x-bedy=a̰

cond.sub=compl-fall rain compl-get.wet poss-chicken=1sg

‘If it rained, my chickens got wet.’

Also, this type of conditional only occurs when the speaker knows the consequent and it is not used to express regular hypothesis about the past. That is, this type of conditional is restricted to logical (and well known) events. Thus, events that could have various other possibilities/reasons/causes for the resulting event expressed in the main clause do not use this type of conditionals, as shown in (83). In this example, due to the completive prefix on the main predicate, the speaker knows that individual returned (home). Thus, the speaker cannot hypothesize about an event that may have had multiple causes. In this case, a reason clause to explain the resulting event, expressed in the main clause, is expected.

(83) #*bǣll.bá.ˈzu.nyan gu.ˈdxa’, bye.kyan*

bǣll=ba-zuny=an gudxa’ b-yeky=an

cond.sub=compl-arrive=3sg.if late.in.morning compl-returned=3sg.if

‘If s/he arrived late (to school), s/he went back (home).’

There is a subtype of real conditionals. These are used just to report what is expected to happen due to previous experience or because this is what regularly happens. Thus, these types of conditionals must occur with the habitual prefix on both clauses, as in (84). A characteristic that defines this type of conditional is that it can alternate with a *txi*= ‘when’ clause, as shown in the examples below.

(84) *bǣll.ˈrû.nyan ni.na.ˈdxǎb, (#gāxh)ru.ˈllṵ̄b.dān ˈlǎ̰n*

bǣll=r-uny=an ni=nadxǎb, ru-llṵb=dān lǎ̰n

cond.sub=hab-do=3sg.if sub=bad hab-beat=3pl.if 3sg.if

‘If s/he does bad, they beat him/her.’

(85) *txi.ˈru.nyan ni.na.ˈdxǎb, (#gāxh)ru.ˈllṵ̄b.dān ˈlǎ̰n*

txi=r-uny=an ni=nadxǎb ru-llṵb=dān lǎ̰n

temp.sub=hab-do=3sg.if sub=bad hab-beat=3pl.f 3sg.if

‘When s/he does bad, they beat him/her.’

**Hypothetical conditionals**

In these, the speaker does not know whether the antecedent is true or not. This type of construction is used to express situations in a possible future world. Therefore, the main clause in constructions involving hypothetical conditionals occurs with the future prefix, as in (86). The conditional clause can occur with completive, progressive, habitual,[[115]](#footnote-115) or potential as shown in the examples below. In this type of constructions *gāxh*= ‘then’ is optional.

(86) *bǣll.bá.ˈsæ̰.dan, (gāxh.)zi.ˈdæ̰.dan*

bǣll=ba-sæ̰d=an (gāxh=)zi-dæ̰d=an

cond.sub=**compl**-study=3sg.if (then=)fut-pass=3sg.if

‘If s/he studied, s/he will pass (the test).’

(87) *bǣll.ká.ˈsæ̰.dan, (gāxh.)zi.ˈdæ̰.dan*

bǣll=ká-sæ̰d=an (gāxh=)zi-dæ̰d=an

cond.sub=**progr**-study=3sg.if (then=)fut-pass=3sg.if

‘If s/he is studying, s/he will pass (the test).’

(88) *bǣll.rá.ˈzu.nyan ˈxsǐly, zi.ˈnnyâ̰*

bǣll=ra-zuny=an xsǐly zi-nnyâ̰

cond.sub=**hab**-arrive=3sg.if morning fut-witness.1sg

*ˈla.wan*

low=an

r.n.face=3sg.if

‘If s/he (will) arrives early, I would see him/her.’

(89) *bǣll.gú.ˈsæ̰̂.dan, (gāxh.)zi.ˈdæ̰.dan*

bǣll=gu´-sæ̰d=an (gāxh=)zi-dæ̰d=an

cond.sub=pot-study=3sg.if (then=)fut-pass=3sg.if

‘If s/he (will) study, s/he will pass (the test).’

A different TAM marker from future on the main clause ungrammatical (and semantically incoherent), as shown in the examples below.

(90) \**bǣll.bá.ˈsæ̰.dan, (gāxh.)gu.ˈdæ̰.dan*

bǣll=ba-sæ̰d=an (gāxh=)gu-dæ̰d=an

cond.sub=compl-study=3sg.if (then=)**compl**-pass=3sg.if

Intended reading: ‘If s/he studied, (then) s/he passed (the test).’

(91) \**bǣll.ká.ˈsæ̰.dan, (gāxh.)ˈtæ̰̂.dan*

bǣll=ká-sæ̰d=an (gāxh=)tæ̰̂d=an

cond.sub=progr-study=3sg.if (then=)**pot**.pass=3sg.if

Intended reading: ‘If s/he is studying, s/he will pass (the test).’

Note that a potential on the conditional clause may have a stronger degree of hypotheticality since the event expressed in the conditional is seen just as a possible future event. On the other hand, the event with a completive, progressive or habitual prefix on the conditional clause (as in the examples above) is seen as an event that may have occurred. Nevertheless, I consider that conditional clauses with potential prefix belong to hypothetical conditionals because the TAM marker on the conditional clause does not presuppose that the speaker knows the antecedent is true or not.

There is a construction that seems to alternate with hypothetical conditionals prefixed with the potential. That is, in (92) a conditional clause prefixed with the potential is followed by a main clause also prefixed with the potential, and not future. However, this construction differs from the hypothetical construction in two ways: 1) *gāxh*= ‘then’ becomes obligatory in order to get the conditional reading; 2) when the main clause is preposed, the reading of this clause is not of a consequent clause but of a clause with an optative mood, as shown in (93). This type of construction then may be considered a speech act conditional since the speaker is using the conditional to introduce/express a command.

(92) *bǣl.ˈllá̰.dán ˈgǎk.dán ˈsrū kón.ˈle ˈnǣn,*

bǣll=lā̰dán g´-ak=dán srū kon=luy næ=ān

cond.sub=3pl.if pot-behave=3pl.if good with=2sg.if rep=3sg.if

*gāxh.ˈká’.dá.nnēn, ˈnǣn*

gāxh=ká’=dán=ēn næ=ān

then=pot.get=3pl.if=3sg.inan rep=3sg.f

‘If they behave well with you, s/he said, then they will get it, s/he said.’ (txt.)

(93) *ˈká’.dá.nnēn, ˈnǣn*

ká’=dán=ēn næ=ān

pot.get=3pl.if=3sg.inan rep=3sg.f

*bǣl.ˈllá̰.dán ˈgǎk.dán ˈsrū kón ˈle ˈnǣn,*

bǣll=lā̰dán g´-ak=dán srū kon luy næ=ān

cond.sub=3pl.if pot-behave=3pl.if good with 2sg.if rep=3sg.if

‘May they get it, s/he said, if they behave well with you.’

**+Hypothetical**

In this type of conditional, the speaker knows that the event in the conditional clause has no possibility of occurring. Thus, the speaker knows the antecedent to be false. This type of conditional occurs with the counterfactual prefix on the conditional clause, which indicates that the event expressed in this clause didn’t take place. Interestingly, just as with hypothetical conditionals, future prefix must occur on the main clause, as in (94).[[116]](#footnote-116) In these constructions, as in the previous ones, *gāxh*= ‘then’ is optional on the postposed main clause.

(94) *bǣll.ˈnyâ’, (gāxh.)se.ˈgúr ˈtæ̰ za.ˈdxā̰.gán*

bǣll=ni´-â’ (gāxh=)segúr tæ̰ za- dxǎ̰g=an

cond.sub=cntf-go.1sg (then=)sure intsf fut-bump.into.1sg=3sg.if

‘If I had gone, for sure I would have encountered him/her.’

A different marker than future on the main clause triggers ungrammaticality, as shown in (95).

(95) \**bǣll.ˈnyâ’, (gāxh.)se.ˈgúr ˈtæ̰ ga.ˈdxá̰.gán*

bǣll=ni´-â’ (gāxh=)segúr tæ̰ ga´-dxǎ̰g=an

cond.sub=cntf-go.1sg (then=)sure intsf pot-bump.into.1sg=3sg.if

Intended reading: ‘If I had gone, for sure I would have encountered him/her.’

This type of conditional clause does not have truth value since the main clause falls into irrealis modality (Givon 2011).

In Table 3, I summarize the properties of conditional constructions based on their degree of hypotheticality.

Table 3. Characteristics of hypothetical conditionals constructions in TdVZ

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Characteristics | -Hypothetical | Hypothetical | +Hypothetical |
| Morphological | Same TAM marking as the main clause; occurs with completive, progressive or habitual prefixes. | Any TAM marking (except future) on the conditional clause, but the main clause takes future | Counterfactual prefix on the conditional clause, and future prefix on the main clause |
| Syntactic | The conditional is introduced by *bǣll*= ‘if’. When the main clause occurs postposed, it occurs  juxtaposed. | The conditional is introduced by *bǣll*= ‘if’. When the main clause occurs postposed, it is optionally introduced with *gāxh*= ‘then’ | The conditional is introduced by *bǣll*= ‘if’. When the main clause occurs postposed, it is optionally introduced with *gāxh*= ‘then’ |
| Semantics | The speaker assumes that the event in conditional clause is a pre-stage of the event expressed in the main clause. | The speaker hypothesizes about an event that may have some consequence in a possible future world; it is expressed in the main clause | The speaker knows that the event in the conditional clause did not occur. Thus, the event in the main clause does not have any possibilities of occurring. |

### 7.3.4.3 Speech act conditionals

Speech act (or relevance) conditionals commit the speaker to believing the consequent to be true, regardless of whether the antecedent is true or not. This type of conditional does not hold a condition relation with the main clause, instead they are used as a relevance hedge that warns the hearer that the statement that follows may be relevant if a certain condition holds (Kroeger 2018). Thus, the main clause in these constructions is usually an assertion, an imperative or an interrogative.

In TdVZ, speech act conditionals are not different from hypothetical conditionals in that they are introduced by the subordinator *bǣll* ‘if’, as in (96) and (97). However, the postposing of the conditional clause is not common, but it may occur.

(96) *bǣl.rí.****ˈ****llyā̰.nú,* ***ˈ****lā̰* ***ˈ****gæ̂t* ***ˈ****yū’*

bǣl =ri-llyā̰n=ṵ lā̰ gæt yū’

cond.sub =hab-be.hungry=2sg.if top tortilla est.exist

***ˈ****læ̂’n bǔlls.kán*

læ’n bǔlls=kán

r.n.stomach bag=dem.med

‘If you are hungry, there is tortilla in that bag.’

(97) *bǣll.gú.****ˈ****llô̰w* ***ˈ****nnyæ̰̂* ***ˈ****tuy, ád.****ˈ****la̰.di*

bǣll=gu´-lla̰=ṵ nnyæ̰̂ tuy ád=la̰=di

cond.sub=pot-allow=2sg.if pot.say.1sg one neg=correct=neg

***ˈ****ba̰.nyu*

ba̰ny=ṵ

compl.do=2sg.if

‘If you let me say one (opinion), you did not do/act correctly.’

Another use of a speech act conditional is to introduce a question. This occurs when the speaker foresees an event in the future, as I show in (98). In this case, then, the clause that follows is not the consequent.

(98) *bǣll.ˈgyáb nis.ˈjyæ xī.ˈgyḛ̂.nyun?*

bǣll-g´-yab nisgyæ xī=g´-yḛ̂ny=un

cond.sub=pot-fall rain intg.what=pot-do.1pl=1pl.incl

‘If it rains, what are we going to do?’

As I have shown in § 7.3.4.2, in hypothetical conditional constructions the TAM marking on the verbs play an important role to define the construction. Interestingly, speech act conditionals contrast with hypothetical conditionals because the verb in the main clause does not occur with the future, as in hypothetical conditionals. When referring to an event that may occur (in the future), the potential marker is used, as in (99). In this example, note that the clause that occurs after the conditional is not the consequent clause, but an opinion of the speaker.

(99) *bǣll.báˈdxē.lá.nēn, ga.zí.****ˈ****rwa’n*

bǣll=ba-dxēl=an=ēn ga´-ziru’=an

cond.sub=compl-find=3sg.if=3sg.inan pot-confess=3sg.if

‘If s/he found it, then s/he should/ may confess.’

Speech act conditionals’ characteristics are shown in Table 4.

Table 4. Characteristics of speech act conditionals in TdVZ

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Morphological | Syntactic | Semantics |
| Speech act conditionals | The verb in the conditional clause is prefixed with any TAM prefix and the verb in the main clause is usually prefixed with potential. Future prefix does not occur on the main clause | The conditional is introduced by *bǣll*= ‘if’. The clause that follows may optionally occur with *gāxh*= ‘then’ | Do not hold a condition relation with the main clause, instead they are used as a relevance hedge that warns the hearer that the statement that follows may be relevant if a certain condition holds |

Before finishing this section, it is important to mention that both types of conditionals (Hypothetical and speech act) may occur with the copula *nā* and the subordinator *ni*=, as shown in (100) and (101). This complex construction may be translated as *if it is (the case) that… then*.

(100) *bǣll.ˈná.ín ní.bá.ˈdxé.lá.nēn, za.zi.ˈrwa’n*

bǣll=nā=īn ni=ba-dxēl=an=ēn za-ziru’=an

cond.sub=cop=3sg.inan sub=compl-find=3sg.if=3sg.inan fut-confess=3sg.if

‘If it is (the case) that s/he found it, s/he will confess.’

(101) *bǣll.ˈná.ín ní.gu.ˈzyæ̰̂.nēn,* ***k****í.ˈxhæ’n*

bǣll=nā=īn ni=gu-zḭ=an=ēn **k**íxhæ’=an

cond.sub=cop=3sg.inan sub=compl-buy=3sg.if=3sg.inan pot.tell=3sg.if

*kā.****ˈ****lí*

kālí

intg.where

‘If it is (the case) that s/he bought it, s/he (should) tell where / s/he may tell where.’

### 7.3.4.4 Concessive conditional clauses & concessive adverbial clauses

In those constructions that contain a concessive conditional, the speaker asserts that the consequent is true no matter what, regardless of whether the antecedent is true or false (e.g., *even if the bridge were standing, I wouldn’t cross*; Kroeger 2018: 350).

In TdVZ, concessive conditional clauses are introduced by the ‘subordinator’ *nīktxá=* ‘even if’, as in (102). As with any other conditional clause in this language, it is common to find the conditional as the first element in the construction, but it can also be postposed, as in (103).

(102) *nīk.txá.ˈgyáb nis.ˈjyæ, ˈzâ’*

nīktxá=g´-yab nisgyæ z-â’

c.cond.sub=pot-fall rain fut-go.1sg

‘Even if it rains, I will go’

(103) ˈ*zâ’ nīk.txá.ˈgyáb nis.ˈjyæ*

z-â’ nīktxá=g´-yab nisgyæ

fut-go.1sg c.cond.sub=pot-fall rain

‘I will go, even if it rains.’

Kroeger (2018) distinguishes between concessive conditional clauses and concessive adverbial clauses. This latter commits the speaker to believing the antecedent and the consequent to be true. (e.g., *Even though the bridge is still standing, I won’t cross it* (Kroger 2018: 351)). Thus, the difference between these two types of clauses is that, in concessive conditionals the antecedent may be true or not while in concessive adverbial clauses the antecedent is always true.

In TdVZ, there may be only one construction for both type of concessive clauses distinguished by Kroger (2018). That is, in this language, the TAM marker on the verbs involved determine their truth value. When the verbs in the conditional construction are prefixed with irrealis modalities (potential, future or counterfactual), as in (104), the speaker doesn’t know if the event will take place or not. In fact, in this case, there is no truth value since the main clause falls into irrealis modality.

(104) ˈ*zâ’ nīk.txá.ˈgyáb nis.ˈjyæ*

z-â’ nīktxá=g´-yab nisgyæ

fut-go.1sg c.cond.sub=pot-fall rain

‘I will go, even if it rains.’

On the other hand, when the verbs involved are prefixed with realis modalities (e.g., completive), there is truth value, as shown in (105). In this example, the speaker know that it rained and that s/he went where s/he was supposed to go. Also, notice that the translation cannot be of a concessive conditional construction.

(105) *nīk.txá.ˈbyab nis.ˈjyæ, ˈgwâ’*

nīktxá=b-yab nisgyæ gu-â’

c.cond.sub=compl-fall rain compl-go.1sg

‘Even when it rained, I went.’ / ‘Although it rained, I went.’

# ‘Even if it rained, I went.’

Thompson et al. (2007) mention a construction that they call indefinite concessive clauses. These are those that signal a meaning like ‘no matter what/who/where’. These contain some unspecified element, typically an indefinite pronoun or question word. A universal quantifier may be used for an element in the concession (whoever, whatever, whenever). In TdVZ, there is a type of clause that occurs with *nīktxá=* ‘even if’ + an interrogative pronoun modified by the clitic *=ti,*[[117]](#footnote-117)as in (106) and (107). This sequence of morphemes is obligatory for the indefinite reading. Besides cliticizing after the interrogative clitic, =*ti* can occur after the verb, as in (108).

(106) *nīk.txá.xī.tíˈgú.nyan, kēd.ˈtxǽ.dyan*

nīktxá=xī=ti=g´-uny=an kēd=tx´-æ=di=an

c.cond.sub=intg.what=ti=pot-do=3sg.if neg=pot-enter=neg=3sg.if

‘Regardless what s/he does / No matter what s/he does, s/he is not going.’

(107) *nīk.txá.tū.tíˈkwów, kēd.ˈxyé.lú*

nīktxá=tū=ti=kwów kēd=xyěl=ṵ

c.cond.sub= intg.who=ti=pot.knock neg=pot.open=2sg.if

‘Whoever knocks, do not open.’

(108) *nīk.txá.tū.ˈkwów.ti, kēd.ˈxyé.lú*

nīktxá=tū=kwów=ti kēd=xyěl=ṵ

c.cond.sub= intg.who=pot.knock=ti neg-pot.open=2sg.if

‘Whoever knocks, do not open.’

Just as I mentioned above, the condition only holds in those cases where the verb in the conditional clause is prefixed with the potential and the verb in the main clause is prefixed with the future; in any other case, the modification this type of clause provides is that of a concessive adverbial, as shown in (109).

(109) *nīk.txá.tū.tí.guˈlôw, kēd.gú.ˈxyěl.dyan*

nīktxá=tū=ti=gu*-*low kēd=gu-xyěl=di=an

c.cond.sub=intg.who=ti=compl-knock neg-compl-open=neg=2sg.if

‘Whoever was knocking/ knocked, s/he did not open.’

### 7.3.4.5 Negation in conditional clauses

An aspect of negation in conditional clauses with *bǣll*= ‘if’ that must be highlighted is that the second part of the monoclausal negative marked, i.e., *=di,* does not occur, as in (110). The occurrence of =*di* triggers ungrammaticality in this type of clause, as shown in (111). This, I consider, is directly related to the (irrealis) modality of this type of clause.

(110) *bǣll.kēd.gá.zí.ˈrwa’n, ˈzæ̰n liz.ˈjḭb*

bǣll=kēd=ga´-ziru’=an z-æ=an lizgḭb

cond.sub=neg=pot-confess=3sg.if fut-go=3sg.if jail

‘If s/he does not confess, s/he will go to jail.’

(111) \**bǣll.kēd.gá.zí.ˈru’.dyan, ˈzæ̰n liz.ˈjḭb*

bǣll=kēd=ga´-ziru’=di=an z-æ=an lizgḭb

cond.sub=neg=pot-confess=neg=3sg.if fut-go=3sg.if jail

Intending reading. ‘If s/he does not confess, s/he will go to jail.’

Also, the future prefix cannot occur on the verb of the main clause when negation occurs, as in (112), see §4.4.1 for more detail on this restriction. In hypothetical conditionals, the potential prefix must occur on the verb of the main clause when negation occurs, as in (113). This, however, is due to a restriction in the language and not due to the conditional constructions discussed here.

(112) \**bǣll.gá.zí.ˈrwa’n, kēd.zǽ.dyan liz.ˈjḭb*

bǣll=ga´-ziru’=an, kēd=z-æ=di=an lizgḭb

cond.sub=pot-confess=3sg.if neg=fut-go=di=3sg.if jail

Intended reading: ‘If he confesses, he won’t go to jail.’

(113) *bǣll.gá.zí.ˈrwa’n, kēd.ˈtxǽ.dyan liz.ˈjḭb*

bǣll=ga´-ziru’=an, kēd=tx´-æ=di=an lizgḭb

cond.sub=pot-confess=3sg.if neg=pot-go=neg=3sg.if jail

‘If s/he confesses, s/he won’t go to jail.’

In this section, I have discussed three types of the various types of conditional constructions. I followed Iatridou (1991) and Kroger (2018) in considering three distinct types of conditional functions: hypothetical, speech act and concessive.

Constructions that contain a hypothetical conditional clause were subclassified based on their hypothetical degree. Each subtype defined has specific characteristics regarding their truth value.

Concessive conditionals and concessive adverbial clauses overlap since both use the same subordinator (i.e., *nīktxá=* ‘even if’). However, a condition only holds when the verb in the main clause is prefixed with future and the verb in the conditional clause is prefixed with potential or progressive, otherwise, the reading is that of a concessive adverbial clause.

Indefinite concessive clauses also occur with *nīktxá=* ‘even if’, but they are followed by an indefinite pronoun and =*ti.* These have the same morphosyntactic and semantic behavior as concessive conditionals, that is, the conditional or concessive adverbial reading depends on the prefixes of the verbs involved.

## 7.3.5 Concessive adverbial clauses with *masy*

In TdVZ, there is another type of concessive adverbial clauses that uses the subordinator *masy* ‘although? / even so’ (it doesn’t matter (the other event)). These are discussed in this section.

Concessive adverbial clauses with *masy* ‘although’ usually occur preposed to the main clause, as in (114), but they can also occur postposed, as in (115).

(114) ˈ*masy ká.ˈnnḭ.dá.nnēn,*

masy ká-nnḭ=dán=ēn,

even.though progr-say=3pl.if=3sg.inan

*ˈna kē.txī.gák.ˈlǎz.dya*

na kēd=xī=g´-aklǎz=di=a̰

1sg neg=intg.what=pot-care.1sg= neg=1sg

‘Even though they are saying it, I do not care.’ (txt.)

(115) *kē.txī.gák.ˈlǎz.dya ˈmasy ká.ˈnnḭ.dá.nnēn,*

kēd=xī=g´-aklǎz=di=a̰ masy ká-nnḭ=dán=ēn

neg=intg.what=pot-care.1sg=neg=1sg although progr-say=3pl.if=3sg.inan

‘I do not care even though they say it.’

The subordinator *masy* may be modified by the clitic *=txa* ‘dubitative?’and have a more complex form, as shown in (116). The modification of =*txa* is not transparent, it seems to intensify that the event in the subordinate clause does not affect the event expressed in the main clause.

(116) ˈ*masy.txa ˈbā̰yn.dān ˈnâ ˈzēky,*

masy=txa ba̰yn=dān na zēky

although=dub compl.do=3pl.f 1sg mann.dem.pron

*kēd.ˈkwâ’.dyān*

kēd=kwâ'=di=ān

neg=compl.get.1sg=neg=3sg.f

‘Although they did (like) that to me, I didn’t get (to marry) her/him.’ (txt.)

Since *masy* ‘although’ introduces an event that must take place before the event in the main clause, having a non-coherent temporal sequence triggers ungrammaticality, as in (117). Thus, the semantics of the main predicate restricts the possibilities in the subordinate clause.

(117) \**ba.ˈxhī.zán ˈmasy kēd.ˈgyé.nyan ˈxín*

ba-xhīz=an masy kēd=g´-yeny=an xī=īn

compl-smile=3sg.if although neg-pot-understand=3sg.if intg.what=3sg.inan

Intended reading: ‘S/he laughed although s/he hadn’t understood what it was (the point)’

Another syntactic characteristic of *masy* ‘although’ is that it allows a phrase to occur between the verb and the subordinator, as in (118). This is a characteristic that *masy* ‘although’, *bǣll*=‘if’ and *nīktxá*= ‘even if’ share.

(118) *ˈsrū ˈnǎn ˈmasy ˈnæz lo.ˈgyâ̰ ri.ˈka̰.zan*

srū na=an masy næz low=gyâ̰ ri-ka̰z=an

good cop=3sg.if although road r.n.face=up hab-want-3sg.if

*gu.ˈgwæ̂’n*

gu´-gwæ’=an

pot-make.someone.drink=3sg.if

‘S/he is nice although on the surface s/he wants (to make) us believe otherwise.’ (txt.)

This type of concessive adverbial clauses indicates an event that could have affected the event in the main clause, but it did not. However, it is important to mention that this type of clause reveals contextual (it gives certain background) aspects in which the event in the main clause takes place.

## 7.3.6 Simultaneous clauses

Simultaneous clauses encode the relationship called ‘overlap’ by Longacre (2007). In marking that two events occur simultaneously, it appears to be universally the case that languages allow one of the simultaneous events to be signaled as providing the context or background for the other, or foregrounded, event. The choice of which clause serves as the background is, of course, determined essentially by discourse.

There are two common ways of marking a backgrounded clause as simultaneous with its main clause: either a marker explicitly signaling simultaneity is used, or a continuative, durative, or imperfective aspect marker is used. Above I showed that *txi*= + progressive prefix clauses (§7.2.1.2) is one of the means to express simultaneous clauses (or events) in TdVZ.

In this section, I show that there are other grammatical elements that can be used to express simultaneity between two events in this language. It involves the use of the (en)clitic =*ga* ‘sim(ultaneous)’ in two juxtaposed clauses, as shown in (119). The reading triggered is that both events occur at the same time.

(119) ˈ*rṵ̄n.gán ˈraw.gan*

r-ṵ̄n=**ga**=an r-aw=**ga**=an

hab-cry=sim=3sg.if hab-eat=sim=3sg.if

‘S/he cries as s/he eats’ / ‘S/he cries and at the same time s/he eats.’

The construction with =*ga* differs from the *txi*= + progressive in various ways. First of all, constructions with =*ga* ‘sim’ are juxtaposed. The dependency between the two clauses then is signaled by the enclitic that occurs in both clauses. Also, constructions with =*ga* ‘sim’ require coreferent subjects and same TAM markers.

Another difference is the semantics of the clauses: *txi*= + progressive usually indicates an ongoing event that functions as the background for another event. Simultaneity with =*ga* ‘sim’, on the other hand, indicates that both events are ongoing without defining if there is a specific background event. Thus, the prefix on both clauses usually indicate incompletive aspects, as in (120).

(120) *ká.*ˈ*za.gan ká.*ˈ*nnḭ.gan* ˈ*zēky*

ká-za=ga=an ká-nnḭ=ga=an zēky

progr-walk=sim=3sg.if progr-say=sim=3sg.if temp.dem.pron

‘As s/he was walking, s/he was saying/talking like that.’

It may also be possible to talk about two simultaneous events in the future using the clitic =*ga* ‘sim’, as in (121). However, two completive markers on atelic verbs are not possible with =*ga* ‘sim’ since this indicates that the event in the first clause is completed and no other event can occur at the same time, as shown in (122). Nevertheless, =*ga* ‘sim’ may occur on both verbs with completive markers that are telic, but the modification they provide is not of simultaneity but consecutiveness. This is discussed in §7.3.7.

(121) ˈ*sá.gan* ˈ*nnḭ̂.gan* ˈ*tyúb* ˈ*txô’n*

sá=ga=an nnḭ̂=ga=an té=g´-yúb tx´-ô’=un

pot.walk=sim=3sg.if pot.say=sim=3sg.if sub=pot-have.time pot-go.1pl=1pl

‘(S/he should) walk and talk (at the same time) so that we go ahead (on time).’

(122) #ˈ*bḭ̄n.gán gu.ˈdaw.gan*

bḭ̄n=**ga**=an gu-daw=**ga**=an

compl.cry=sim=3sg.if compl-eat=sim=3sg.if

‘S/he cried as s/he ate’ / ‘S/he cried and at the same time s/he ate.’

Even though it may not be possible to determine if there is a dependent and an independent clause in this type of construction, pragmatically one can say that the event expressed by the first clause is more focused than the second. Thus, in example (119), the act of crying is highlighted since it is not common for someone to cry while eating (well, in babies it may be common).

Given the semantics of this type of clause, negation cannot occur in this type of construction, as shown in (123) and (124). In the first example I negate both clauses since both take the simultaneous clitic. In the second example I only negate the first clause assuming it may be the main clause. In both cases, negation is not accepted.

(123) \**kēd.ká.ˈza.ga.dyan kēd.ká.*ˈ*nnḭ.ga.dyan*

kēd=ká-za=ga=di=an kēd=ká-nnḭ=ga=di=an

neg=progr-walk=sim=neg=3sg.if neg=progr-say=sim=neg=3sg.if

*ˈzēky*

zēky

temp.dem.pron

Intended reading: ‘S/he was not walking neither talking like that at the same time.’

(124) \**kēd.ká.ˈza.ga.dyan ká.*ˈ*nnḭ.gan* ˈ*zēky*

kēd=ká-za=ga=di=an ká-nnḭ=ga=an zēky

neg=progr-walk=sim=neg=3sg.if progr-say=sim=3sg.if temp.dem.pron

Intended reading: ‘S/he was not walking as s/he was talking like that.’

This type of clause is quite integrated although there is no subordinate morpheme as such. ‘Subordination’ between the clauses involved then is marked by the various morphosyntactic properties shared by the clauses in the construction.

## 7.3.7 Consecutive clauses

In addition to =*ga* ‘sim’, there is another double marking that has a very similar semantics. This occurs with the clitic *lā*= ‘cons(ecutive)’ on each clause in the construction, as in (125). The modification/meaning that these clitics provide to the construction is that of a consecutive event that does not necessarily have a cause-effect relation.

(125) *lā.bí.ˈdyæ̰n lā.ˈbyâ.ban*

**lā**=bi-dyæ̰=an **lā**=b-yab=an

cons=compl-leave=3sg.if cons=compl-fall=3sg.if

‘As (soon as) s/he left, s/he fell’ ‘Just as s/he was leaving, s/he fell’

Since these clauses indicate a sequence of events that occurs within the same temporal framework, the clause expressing the event occurring first needs to also occur first in the construction, as shown above. Having the clause expressing the event that occurs later in the sequence is ungrammatical, as in (126).

(126) \**lā.ˈbyâ.ban lā.bí.ˈdyæ̰n*

**lā**=b-yab=an **lā**=bi-dyæ̰=an

cons=compl-leave=3sg.if cons=compl-fall=3sg.if

Intended reading: ‘S/he fell as s/he was leaving.’ / ‘S/he fell just as s/he was leaving.’

Due to the implicative semantics of this type of constructions, negation triggers ungrammaticality, as in (127), or semantically awckward readings, as in (128).

(127) \**lā.kéd.bí.ˈdyæ̰̂.dyan lā.kéd.ˈbyáb.dyan*

**lā**=kēd=bi-dyæ̰=di=an **lā**=kēd=b-yab=di=an

cons=neg=compl-leave=neg=3sg.if cons=neg=compl-fall=neg=3sg.if

Intended reading: S/he didn’t go out nor did s/he fall.’

(128) #*kēd.lā.bí.ˈdyæ̰̂.dyan kēd.lā.ˈbyáb.dyan*

kēd=**lā**=bi-dyæ̰=di=an kēd=lā=b-yab=di=an

neg= cons=compl-leave=neg=3sg.if neg=cons=compl-fall=neg=3sg.if

‘S/he didn’t go out nor did s/he fall.’

Interestingly, the same events may be paraphrased using the clitic *=ga* ‘sim’, as in (129). This indicates that both events are connected within the same temporal framework and that *=ga* ‘sim’ links both clauses, but the TAM markers are in fact contributing to the semantics of simultaneity clauses discussed above.

(129) *bi.ˈdyæ̰.gan ˈbyab.gan*

bi-dyæ̰=ga=an b-yab=ga=an

compl-leave=sim=3sg.if compl-fall=sim=3sg.i

‘As (soon as) s/he left, s/he fell.’

## 7.3.8 Additive clauses

Thompson, Longacre, and Hwang (2007) comment that some languages have subordinate clauses which express one state of affairs in addition to another. In English, *besides* and *in addition to* are used to introduce clauses with this function. Both elements require that their verbs be in the participial form which provides evidence that they are subordinated. See the following examples in English.

* In addition to having your hand stamped, you must show your ticket stub
* besides missing my bus, I got my feet all wet

In TdVZ additive clauses may be considered coordinating structures since they optionally take *txirú*=, considered a conjunctive element in TdVZ. Interestingly, for the construction to get the semantics expressed by *besides* or *in addition to*, in TdVZ, each verb in the construction require the enclitic *=lā* ‘cons’, which indicates not only that two events occur within the same temporal setting but that one event occurs in addition to another event of the same type. In the examples below, these are events that affect/harm the subject.

(130) ˈ*gudx.lán, (txi.rú)ba.ˈsā’n.lā ka.ˈmyún ˈlǎ̰n*

gu-adx=lā=an (txirú=)ba-sā’n=lā kamyún lǎ̰n

compl-get.wet=cons=3sg.if (conj=)compl-leave=cons car/bus 3sg.if

‘Not only did s/he get wet; on top of that, s/he missed the bus.’

In the construction above, the clitic =*lā* ‘cons’ may be understood to be an ‘exaggerative’ morpheme because it adds some emphasis to the fact that the two events were too much for the patient subject, but it does occur with more volitional verbs that highlight the qualities or work, of a subject, as in (131).

(131) *ba.ˈllṵb.lán lo.ˈnæz*  *(txi.rú.)ˈgwæ.lán ˈdāyn*

ba-llṵb=lā=an lonæz (txirú=)gu-æ=lā=an dāyn

compl-sweep=cons=3sg.if street (conj=)compl-go=cons=3sg.if hill

‘S/he swept the street and, in addition to that, s/he went to the hill (for wood)!’

Negation does occur in this type of clause, especially when one highlights the non-realized events expected, as in (132).

(132) *kē.dlā.bá.ˈllṵ̂b.dyan lo.ˈnæz*

kēd=lā=ba-llṵb=di=an lonæz

neg=cons=compl-sweep=neg=3sg.if street

*(txi.rú)kē.dlā.ˈgwǽ.dyan xkwíly*

(txirú=)kēd=lā=gu-æ=di=an xkwíly

(conj=)neg=cons=compl-go=neg=3sg.if school

‘S/he didn’t sweep the street nor did s/he go to school.’

## 7.3.9 Substitutive Clauses

Some languages have subordinate clauses for signaling the replacing of an expected event by an unexpected one. These clauses are usually introduced by specific subordinating markers, like English *instead of* and *rather than*. In TdVZ the clauses that are used to cover this function are introduced by *xlæt* ‘(in) place of’, as I show in (133).

(133) ˈ*xlæt nu.ˈsæ̰̂.dan, gu.ˈzu.tan*

x-læt nu´-sæ̰d=an, gu-zut=an

poss-place cntf-study=3sg.if compl-compl.play=3sg.if

‘Instead of studying, s/he played.’

Although this type of AdvCs usually occur preposed, they may also occur postposed, as in (134).

(134) *gu.ˈzu.tan* ˈ*xlæt nu.ˈsæ̰̂.dan*

gu-zut=an x-læt nu´-sæ̰d=an

compl-compl.play=3sg.if poss-place cntf-study=3sg.if

‘S/he played instead of studying.’

Two important characteristics of these clauses are that: 1) they require TAM markers that indicate irrealis modalities, as in (135) and (136); 2) although when postposed, the main clause may occur juxtaposed, it can also take the morpheme *syēll(ā)* ‘sub’,[[118]](#footnote-118) as shown in the examples below.

(135) ˈ*xlæt nu.ˈsæ̰̂.dan, syēll(ā)gú.ˈzu.tan*

x-læt nu´-sæ̰d=an syēll(ā) =gu-zut=an

poss-place cntf-study=3sg.if sub=compl-compl.play=3sg.if

‘Instead of studying, s/he played.’

(136) ˈ*xlæt gu.ˈsæ̰̂.dan, syēll(ā)gú.ˈzu.tan*

x-læt gu´-sæ̰d=an syēll(ā)=gu-zut=an

poss-place pot-study=3sg.if sub=compl-compl.play=3sg.if

‘Instead of studying, s/he played.’

As noted, I have glossed *xlæt* as poss-place ‘(in) place of’. Interestingly, in the Spanish language, *en lugar de* ‘in place of / instead of’ is used to introduce this type of adverbial modification. Thus, this form may be a calque of Spanish. This hypothesis, however, needs further exploration.

Due to the semantics of this construction, the clause headed by *xlæt* ‘(in) place of’ cannot be negated, as shown in (137).

(137) \*ˈ*xlæt kēd.ˈnyá.wan, ri.ˈkḭn ˈnyá.wan*

x-læt kēd=ni´-aw=an, ri-kḭn ni´-aw=an

poss-place neg=cntf-eat=3sg.if hab-be.needed cntf-eat=3sg.if

Intended reading: ‘Instead of not eating, s/he should have eaten.’

Clauses with similar semantics may also occur juxtaposed in TdVZ, as shown in (138). These, however, need further explorations.

(138) *kēd.bá.ˈsæ̰̂d.dyan, gu.ˈzu.tan*

kēd=ba-sæ̰d=di=an, gu-zut=an

neg=compl-study=neg=3sg.if compl-compl-play=3sg.if

‘S/he didn’t study, s/he played’

# 7.4 Remarks on chapter 7

In this chapter I have described various adverbial clauses that occur in TdVZ. Each type of adverbial clause has a specific subordinator.

Temporal adverbial clauses are generally introduced by *txi*=, and this indicates an event that may be occurring at the same time as the event expressed in the main clause or the *txi*= clause sets a background for the event expressed in the main clause.

Headless relative clauses function as locative adverbial modifiers, and manner adverbial clauses are introduced by the subordinator *ka*=, which optionally cooccurs with *ni*=, the subordinator of relative clauses. Interestingly, *ni*= also occurs in constructions with reason clauses; it appears on the main clause when this is postposed. This demonstrates that *ni*= is a general subordinator in this language and not a relativizer.

In this chapter I also discussed purpose and reason adverbial clauses that are introduced by *té=*. I show that there are two types of purpose clauses: one subtype is more integrated because it shares arguments, and the subordinator is optional; the other subtype does not have these characteristics.

Conditional clauses in this language are introduced by the subordinator *bǣll*= and these clauses cover various functions in TdVZ. I highlighted various discourse functions of these clauses.

In the last part of this chapter, I showed various other subordinate clauses: consecutive, simultaneous, and substitutive adverbial clauses. These need more exploration and research in TdVZ. However, I showed the subordinator or the way in which they are linked to the main predicate, their TAM possibilities, and if negation can occur in these clauses.

# Chapter 8

**Conclusions**

This dissertation has described various aspects of the phonology, lexical categories and morphosyntax of Teotitlán del Valle Zapotec (TdVZ), and has given a more in-depth study of three types of subordinated clauses in this Central Zapotec language: relative, complement and adverbial clauses. This chapter summarizes the major findings of this work and brings up issues for further research.

## 8.1 Findings

By providing a general description of the phonology, word classes and the properties of the simple clause in the first three chapters, this dissertation contributes to a better understanding of TdVZ grammar. This helps to shed light on various issues in Zapotec languages. The discussion of word in this language provides phonological and morphosyntactic parameters to understand this concept in this language. Also, specific criteria were shown to argue for the category of adjective in this language. This topics had not been discussed for TdVZ, or even more broadly in Zapotecan.

As I show throughout the dissertation, tone is a prominent feature in TdVZ. There are five contrastive tones in this language and they interact with phonation types. The representation of this property of the language is one of the major contributions of this dissertation. Tone and phonation have been usually set aside in the research of Zapotec languages, especially in Central Zapotec varieties. As I showed, tone interacts with syntax in various subordinate clauses: relative and adverbial clauses. Tone also interacts with clausal negation. Although I did not determine/generalize what this tone indicates in subordination or clausal negation, highlighting this behavior of tone can lead to further research in this area within the Zapotec/Otomanguean languages.

Regarding morphology, I proposed a classification of verb classes, considering Kaufman’s (1988) verbal classes for Protozapotec and Smith Stark (2002) for Chichicapam Zapotec, I defined three main classes. These classes are based (mainly) on the allomorphs that verbs take in the completive aspect and the potential mood. Owing to certain changes and mergers in class, there are no longer four distinct classes, as in Kaufman’s historical analysis.

Syntactically, I described the obligatory and non-obligatory elements that occur in various types of basic clauses in TdVZ. I defined the morphosyntactic properties of subject, objects and adverbial adjuncts that occur in a clause. Also, I discussed the semantic roles that these elements take.

The second part of the dissertation provides a detailed description of three types of subordinate clauses: relative, complement and adverbial clauses. This work constitutes the first attempt to analyze such clauses in a Central Zapotec variety.

I showed that TdVZ displays multiple types of relative constructions that fall along clines of headedness and that there are various strategies for indicating the function of the head within a relative clause.

Complement clauses are also of various types, and many of them are restricted by the semantics of the main predicate. In addition to categorizing complement clauses, I examine the tendencies that complement-taking predicates exhibit when selecting their complements. A special feature that was highlighted in complementation is a control relation that I call default control. This type of control occurs with those CTP that select a type of complement and require that one of its arguments be included in the set of referents of an argument of the complement predicate when this latter refers to a pronoun with which it identifies. In this type of control, an argument of the main predicate still exerts some type of control on the event expressed in the complement; thus, if a pronoun that can identify with it occurs on the complement, this pronoun must take its reference from the argument (subject) of the main predicate.

In addition, this work exhibits an exploration of various types of adverbial subordinate clauses. With each type of adverbial clause, I showed the subordinator that introduced them, whether the adverbial occur preposed or postpose, how negation occurs in these clauses and whether they have TAM restrictions due to the semantics of the main predicate to which they are subordinated. These clauses have received little or no attention in the literature on Zapotec languages. This work then provides material for further comparative studies among Zapotec or other Otomanguean languages, as well as empirical evidence and analysis for confirming or revising current theoretical understandings of subordination.

In sum, this dissertation seeks to make a two-fold contribution: it deepens our understanding of TdVZ grammar, and it adds to our broader understanding of how subordination may be encoded and investigated across languages.

## 8.2 Further research

As I highlighted throughout the dissertation, there are many topics that need further exploration and analysis since they remain ‘unresolved’.

To start with, further research is needed to define the contribution of tone in subordination.

Likewise, each of the adverbial clauses introduced in Chapter 7 needs detailed analysis in their TAM relations and restrictions due to the semantics of the main predicate. Also, special attention is needed in conditional clauses since these interact with various aspects of the language and cognition. Although I am a native speaker of TdVZ, to completely understand how these clauses operate in the language and what their functions are was not easy. Experimental work may be a tool when re-exploring these clauses.

Also, deeper/more detailed analysis of texts and discourse are needed to observe all those possible modifications to the constructions discussed here in specific contexts. As I briefly mentioned, in various types of subordinate clauses, juxtaposition may occur in specific discoursive contexs.

## Appendix A

The following table lists the verb predicates analyzed for Chapter 6 (The semantics of complement taking predicates). This table also shows in detail the selection of these complement taking predicates.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Predicates** |  |  | **Non-reduced** | **Interr** | **Reduced complements** | | | |
|  |  | rt | ra |  |  | With Realis and Irrealis Modalities | Restrict  Aspect | Loosely Copied Aspect | Strictly  Copied  Aspect |
| Utterance predicates | *gixhlæ’ low* ‘tell’ | **-** | **-** | **X** | **X** |  |  |  |  |
|  | *zyæby* ‘say’ | **-** | **-** | **X** | **X** |  |  |  |  |
|  | *ziru’* ‘confess’ | **-** | **-** | **X** | **X** |  |  |  |  |
|  | -*agṵn dxǎn* ‘swear to god’ | **-** | **-** |  | **X** |  |  |  |  |
|  | *nnyabdḭ̂dx* ‘ask’ | **-** | **-** |  | **X** |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Propositional attitude  predicates | -*zak* ‘feel like’ | **-** | **-** | **X** |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | -*nnixkall* ‘dream’ | **+/-** | **+/-** | **X** |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Predicates of knowledge | *-sala̰z* ‘remember’ | **-** | **-** | **X** | **X** |  |  |  |  |
|  | *-nnala̰z*  *‘*recall’ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | -*yenla̰z* ‘forget (about)’ | **-** | **-** | **X** | **X** |  |  |  |  |
|  | *-yakbæ̰* ‘realize | **-** | **-** | **X** | **X** |  |  |  |  |
|  | *-dxēlbæ̰̂*  ‘find out’ | **-** | **-** | **X** | **X** |  |  |  |  |
|  | *b-indyag*  ‘got to know’ | **-** | **-** | **X** |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | *gu-nnā*  ‘realized’ | **-** | **-** | **X** |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | *nannā* ‘know’ | **-** | **-** | **X** | **X** |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Direct perception | -*indyag* ‘hear’ | **-** | **-** |  |  |  |  | **X** |  |
|  | *-nnyā* ‘witness’ | **-** | **-** |  |  |  |  | **X** |  |
|  | *-yenny* ‘perceive’ | **-** | **-** |  |  |  |  | **X** |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Pretence | -*uynzī* ‘pretend’ | **+** | **+** |  |  |  |  | **X** |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Fearing | -*telow* ‘be embarrassed of’ | **+** | **-** |  |  |  | **X** |  |  |
|  | *-dxiby* ‘be afraid of’ | **+** | **-** |  |  |  | **X** |  |  |
|  | *-kyela̰z* ‘worry about’ | **+** | **-** |  |  |  | **X** |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Desiderative | *-ka̰z*  ‘want’ | **+** | **-** |  |  |  | **X** |  |  |
|  | *-zebla̰z* ‘crave to’ | **+** | **-** |  |  |  | **X** |  |  |
|  | *-kwala̰z* ‘be hopeful | **+** | **-** |  |  |  | **X** |  |  |
|  | *-ugwen* ‘insist on’ | **+** | **-** |  |  |  | **X** |  |  |
|  | *uynllā* ‘beg to let’ | **+** | **+** |  |  |  | **X** |  |  |
|  | -*sæ̰d* ‘study for / in order to’ | **+** | **+** |  |  |  | **X** |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Manipulative | -*nnibæ̰* ‘order’ | **+** | **-** |  |  | **X** |  |  |  |
|  | *-nnḭ* ‘request / order’ |  |  |  |  | **X** |  |  |  |
|  | -*dxūn* ‘impede’ |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |  |  |
|  | *-zæ̰d* ‘be trained to’ |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |  |  |
|  | *-lla̰* ‘let /allow’ |  |  |  |  | **X** |  |  |  |
|  | *-lṵy* ‘teach’ |  |  |  |  | **X** |  |  |  |
|  | -*zyæby* ‘order’ |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |  |  |
|  | *-llæby* ‘accustom to’ |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |  |  |
|  | *-llæby low* ‘accustom to do bad’ |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |  |  |
|  | -*sala̰z* ‘remind’ |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Achievement | -*yexhy* ‘dare’ | **+/-** | **+** |  |  |  |  | **X** |  |
|  | -*tsāplôw* ‘work consistently on’ |  |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |  |
|  | -*la̰zlow* ‘to dedicate oneself to do’ |  |  |  |  | **X** |  |  |  |
|  | *-āll* ‘be able to afford’ |  |  |  |  | **X** |  |  |  |
|  | *-yenla̰z* ‘forget (to do)’ |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Committing and reneging | -*zigæll* ‘accept’ |  |  |  |  | **X** |  |  |  |
|  | -*nnḭ yṵ* ‘accept/ say yes’ |  |  |  |  | **X** |  |  |  |
|  | -*gixkyæ* ‘promise’ |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |  |  |
|  | -*sjḭ̄* ‘reneg on’ | **+** | **+** |  |  |  | **X** |  |  |
|  | -*du’y* ‘change one’s mind on’ | **+** | **+** |  |  |  | **X** |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Fasal | *-zulow* ‘start’ | **+** | **+** |  |  |  |  | **X** |  |
|  | *-eno̰w* ‘continue’ |  |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |  |
|  | *-zyelow* ‘complete’ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |
|  | *-llṵxh* ‘finish’ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |

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1. There is also overwhelming general agreement that languages should be described in their own terms, meaning that language-specific categories are unavoidable. Although this introduces the potential for terminological misunderstandings, a common convention is to capitalize language specific terms in order to avoid confusion (see Haspelmath 2008) [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. Thus, sufficient evidence and analysis includes extensive cross-referencing, morpheme by morpheme glossing, and ideally, access to the broader context from which examples are drawn, either by presentation of texts in the grammar, or by providing reference to the corpus itself via a digital archive. At present, the work falls short of the latter goal. Unfortunately, there was not sufficient time to include polished texts, nor could archived materials be easily linked with the examples provided. At the time of writing, archiving of text corpus materials is starting, but all materials will be accessible on Archive of Indigenous Languages of Latin America (AILLA) at https://www.ailla.utexas.org [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. Transcription using this software uses the practical alphabet shown below. This alphabet is mainly phonemic; thus, phonation types are represented. Nevertheless, tone is not represented in the ELAN files. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. In Chapter 2 I discuss how a word is understood in this work and discuss more broadly the role of prominence in defining words. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. Each of the phonological aspects mentioned here are explained in more detail in Chapter 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. This counting slightly differs from Uchihara & Gutiérrez (2020c) since they do not consider /f/ and /rr/. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. Given that /y/ and /w/ are preceded by long vowels in prominent syllables, I will consider them within the lenis consonant set. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. This consonant sequence may be derived from the loss of a vowel of the stative prefix *na*-, or the copula *nā*. Kaufman (2006) reconstructs the word for male as *kwe’ki’yu* or *niki’yu*, which contains a nasal followed by a vowel. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. In some compounds, the non-prominent syllable may contain a contour tone that phonetically differs from a contour tone occurring on a prominent syllable. That is, the rising or falling is less marked. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. It is not the case that a glottalized vowel is not allowed in a non-prominent syllable in general; a glottalized vowel in a non-prominent syllable is allowed when it is not followed by another syllable with a glottalized vowel within a phonological word. Thus, in (ia)the glottalization is maintained in the root vowel when the comitative suffix is attached; in (ib), the noun *xhi’n* ‘poss.child’ does not lose its glottalization in compound; and in (ic) the first element ‘cacao’ maintains its glottalization when compounded with *yu* ‘ground’.

    (i) a. *ru.ta’w.ˈnǣ* b. *xhi’.ˈngīts* c. *bi.zyǣ’.ˈyû*

    ru-ta’w-nǣ xhi’n-gīts bizyǣ’-yu

    hab-sell-comit poss.child-metate cacao-ground

    ‘sells with’ ‘metate hand (piece)’ ‘peanut’ [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. *gu*- is one of the allomorphs of the completive aspectual marker, but the second syllable *du* does not resemble other grammatical or lexical elements in TdVZ. Thus, the question mark indicates that there is not enough evidence to label this element as such. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. Only enclitics for subject or object do when they are vowel beginning enclitics. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. Thus, they may be considered ‘second position’ or ‘Wackernagel’ clitics; cf. Baškovič 2000 [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. Kaufman and Beam de Azcona (personal communication) suggest that these prefixes may have indicated animacy or were used to derive nouns. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. Adjectives and adverbs are not usually inflected. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. Various authors disagree as to whether the second position clitic attachment is syntactic or prosodic (Boškovič 2000). In TdVZ, since a second position clitic can attach after a relative clause (Munro 2004), which is unlikely to be a prosodic constituent, I consider its attachment to be syntactic. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. Many adjectives have different full forms when they stand alone or they are in the predicative function; for instance, the full forms ‘big’ and ‘new’ are *guro’w* and *nakúy* respectively, instead of *rô’w* and *kúy.* [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. Even though Uchihara and Gutiérrez (2020c) discuss this process, the analysis shown here differs from theirs since I assume that this process is directly related to the consonant in coda position while Uchihara and Gutiérrez consider it to be directly related to vowel length. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. This example was taken from Uchihara and Gutiérrez (2019) and was slightly modified to adapt here. [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. However, in TdVZ, some prepositions (closed class words) were borrowed from Spanish (e.g. *par* ‘(in order) to’ or *kon* ‘with’). [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. It is not common to use a verb with the completive prefix to express the event it refers to; rather, a verb prefixed with the habitual is used instead. Thus, in this case, the arguments may be omitted. [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. The plural marker can precede verbs only in indefinite constructions (see §4.7) [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. Even though quantifiers do not typically precede verbs, it is possible to find constructions such as *zyēn (gwæ̌lt) ba̰nyanen* ‘S/he made it several times’ where *gwæ̌lt* ‘times’ may be omitted. In these cases, a quantifier may precede verbs. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. In fact, the affective morpheme attaches to verbs while demonstratives only cliticize to verbs if these are the last element within a relative clause, as in (i).

    (i) ˈ*xtḛ̂n* ˈ*dxap ni.ba.*ˈ*zûyn.ká.nnēn*

    xtḛ̂ny dxap ni´=ba-**zuyn**=**kán**=ēn

    prep.of girl sub=compl-arrive=dem.med=3sg.inan

    ‘(It is) of that girl who (has) arrived.’ [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. Demonstrative enclitics may function as definite articles in this language. [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. Owing to certain changes and mergers in class, there are no longer four distinct classes, as in Kaufman’s historical analysis. [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. The remnant of the causative morpheme has several allomorphs and it usually cooccurs with the fortition of the beginning consonant. Thus, there may have been two exponents of this causativization process. [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. In several transitive verbs, this affixation is not transparent. In fact, Operstein (2014) suggests that it is better to consider the transitive verb as part of the lexicon and not as part of a derivational process. [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. There is also a focus negator (i.e., *ádí*=) which can negate verb or nouns when they move to the focus position. More details on this negative marker can be seen (§5). [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. I assume that the adjectives of this group originated from verbs since they can take other TAM prefixes. In addition, I consider that the derivation was verb 🡪 adjective since the verb root has low (unmarked) or mid tone, but the adjective, in many cases, has a (contour) rising tone. [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. Kaufman and Beam de Azcona (personal communication) believe that there were derivational prefixes with the same form of the completive aspect *bi*- and *gu*-. [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. In specific expressions such as *xtip galbayn* ‘strength of life: food / energy’ the adjective strong does take the possessable marker. In fact, in this phrase this adjective is understood as the noun *strength*. This, however, is specific to an allusive context and is not productive, as shown in (22a). [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. In some cases, an adjective can stand in place of an omitted noun as *x-pixhuy=an* ‘his/her green (something)’*.* In this case, it seems like an adjective may receive the same morphology that nouns do, but this occurs only when the noun is omitted because it is understood from the context. [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
34. These may also be considered verb roots in attributive function while in predicative function they must be derived into adjectives. [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
35. Given the demonstrative in this construction, the reading of the copula may be in the past tense. [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
36. There are various characteristics of adverbs that need further exploration. Deserving of special attention is the order they take when more than one occurs in preverbal position, the occurrence of the intensifier and the scope of the intensifier, that is, the intensifier requires a specific position and it may be modifying the adverb or the whole clause. [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
37. The affective morpheme generally refers to the speaker’s perception (and intention) about the situation described by the phrase, when appearing adjacent to nouns, however, it can have a diminutive reading. In fact, in several studies on Zapotec languages, this morpheme is glossed as *diminutive*. [↑](#footnote-ref-37)
38. This sequence is what I defined as the morphosyntactic word. [↑](#footnote-ref-38)
39. The plural marker *d*´= does not commonly cooccur with the indefinite article *te*= since this latter comes from the numeral one and maintain the semantics of singularity. When the indefinite article precedes a noun with the plural marker, the obtained reading is ‘one of’, as in *ted.xká.myú.nan* ‘one of his/her cars’. [↑](#footnote-ref-39)
40. This confirms that the indefinite marker *te*= comes from the numeral *tuy* ‘one’ since it behaves as a numeral / quantifier. That is, it can either follow or precede relational nouns (see §3.8.1.2). [↑](#footnote-ref-40)
41. Francisco Arellanes (p.c) refers to these constructions with a similar name. [↑](#footnote-ref-41)
42. This is a piece of woven cloth that women (especially elders) wear as an attire to cover their lower body. [↑](#footnote-ref-42)
43. This second possibility is, of course, canceled if the possessor occurs in a pronominal form (see above in (55b)). [↑](#footnote-ref-43)
44. The use of this verb roots to indicate directionality has been discussed as a prefixation process. However, Uchihara personal communication) consider this to be a type of compounding given that some phonological processes that are not seen in prefixes occur on these motion verbs. [↑](#footnote-ref-44)
45. This adverb is usually translated as ‘already’ in various studies in Zapotec languages. Since its meaning /function varies from English *already*, I gloss it as ‘done’ in this dissertation. [↑](#footnote-ref-45)
46. In fact, Munro (2004) considers this element to be a (conjunctive) adverb in a close variety of Zapotec. However, its meaning and position suggest it is a coordinating element in TdVZ. [↑](#footnote-ref-46)
47. This ‘conjunction’ in combination with other elements in the language has formed the negative polarity item *nēkl(ā)* ‘nor’, as in (ia). Interestingly, this element can coordinate two or more NPs (or other type or phrases), but it is less common with verb phrases, as in (ib). This composed element is another conjunction in the language.

    (ia) *kē.drú.ˈrak.di ˈgæl nē.kl(ā).bí.ˈza̰, nē.kl(ā).ˈgît*

    kēd=rú=r-ak=di gæl nǣ+kl(ā)=biza̰ nǣ+kl(ā)=git

    neg=more=hab-be.done=neg milpa conj+?=bean conj+?=pumpkin

    ‘Milpa is no longer harvested (good), nor beans, nor pumpkin.’ (txt.)

    (ib) #*kē.dbá.ˈyá’.dī.dān* *né.kl(ā).ké.ˈdgwæ̂’.dī.dān nē.kl(ā)…*

    kēd=ba-yā’=di=dān nǣ+kl(ā)=kēd=gu-æ’=di=dān nǣ+kl(ā)=

    neg=compl-dance=neg=3pl.f conj+?=neg=compl-drink= neg=3pl.f conj+?

    ‘They didn’t dance nor they didn’t drink, nor…’ [↑](#footnote-ref-47)
48. Gutiérrez (2014) mentioned that ‘manipulative’ complement clauses may optionally be introduced by the subordinator *ni*=. Nevertheless, I understand *ni*= to be introducing a reason adverbial clause in the example provided by Gutiérrez, thus, *ni*= is discussed in that section. [↑](#footnote-ref-48)
49. As discussed by Schachter and Shopen (2007), in some languages, many words that serve as adverbial subordinators may serve as prepositional or postpositional noun adjuncts. In TdVZ this is not the case, adverbial subordinators cannot serve as prepositional or postpositional noun adjuncts. [↑](#footnote-ref-49)
50. This subordinator alternates between *kom*= and *kum=* with most speakers. [↑](#footnote-ref-50)
51. I do not consider this element a subordinator per se since it occurs mainly in discourse as a ‘sequenc(tial) connector’ [↑](#footnote-ref-51)
52. Note that this construction is related to ‘manipulative / reason’ complement clauses since the event that precedes this subordinator is the reason for the event expressed in the main clause. [↑](#footnote-ref-52)
53. However, when the object is inanimate it can also take a clitic form, but it must attach after the element indicating the subject. [↑](#footnote-ref-53)
54. This word order is quite strict, but exceptions do exist, especially when the arguments take pronominal forms and the first person is the subject, see Gutiérrez (2014). [↑](#footnote-ref-54)
55. Other verbs that are of this type include -*zyāll* ‘award’. [↑](#footnote-ref-55)
56. Verbs such as -*gyǣ̰* ‘see someone’ or *-nnā* ‘witness someone’ introduce their object with a relational noun when they indicate perception, as in (ia). In this case, they are more intransitive. However, both could also mean ‘take care of someone.’ In this case, no relational noun is needed, as in (ib). In this last case, these verbs are more transitive-like. One could assume that in another type of basic clause in TdVZ, transitive verbs like these introduce their object by a relational noun when the object is human.

    (i) a. *ba.ˈgyǣ̰ ˈBǽd lo.ˈLlúpy* b*. ba.ˈgyǣ̰ ˈBǽd ˈLlúpy*

    ba-gyǣ̰ Bǽd lo=Llúpy ba-gyǣ̰ Bǽd Llúpy

    compl-see Pedro r.n.face=Guadalupe compl-see Pedro Guadalupe

    ‘Pedro saw Guadalupe.’ ‘Pedro took care of Guadalupe.’ [↑](#footnote-ref-56)
57. Other verbs that fall into this category include *-xḛl* ‘send’, *-zǔg* ‘bring close to’ *-gixhlæ’* ‘tell’. [↑](#footnote-ref-57)
58. In some cases, when the first person is the subject and both the OT and OR are expressed by pronouns, the OR may precede the OT, but this only occur under these circumstances. [↑](#footnote-ref-58)
59. Many of these free function word adverbs may move to the preverbal position if there is another adverb that can host them. [↑](#footnote-ref-59)
60. Several causative markers are discussed by Operstein and Sonnenschein (2014). Also, some of the morphophonological processes that occurred in derived causative verbs are seen as ‘redundant’ causatives. [↑](#footnote-ref-60)
61. Given that the comitative is integrated into the prosodic word, some sequences of verb + comit may be considered compounds and not verb inflections; especially verbs such as *r-e+nǣ* ‘bring (hab-go+comit)’. [↑](#footnote-ref-61)
62. The valence decreasing prefix -*y* that occurs in San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec (Munro 2014) occurs in TdVZ. For instance: *rut* vs. *ryet* ‘grind vs. be.ground’; *ra’n* vs. *rya’n* ‘plow vs. be.plown’. However, I consider that this process is no longer productive. [↑](#footnote-ref-62)
63. Also called question-word questions, information questions, *wh*-questions, and constituent interrogatives. [↑](#footnote-ref-63)
64. In contrastive focus constructions, a verb with the potential mood marker can follow the interrogative polar clitic, as in (iii), but only because the complement verb is focused.

    (iii) *(l)á.ˈgâ̰w ri.ˈka̰.zu gu.lá.ˈgá.syu’?*

    (l)á=g´-aw=ṵ ri-ka̰z=ṵ gulá=g´-asy=ṵ

    intg.pol=pot-eat=2sg.if hab-want=2sg.if disj=pot-sleep=2sg.if

    ‘Do you want to eat or sleep?’ [↑](#footnote-ref-64)
65. This last construction needs further exploration since it may be a type of subordinated construction. [↑](#footnote-ref-65)
66. A clause with potential or counterfactual prefix in a non-subordinated construction has an optative mood reading, as in (iv), and not a declarative.

    (iv) a. *ˈgæ̂’n ˈnis* b. *ˈnyæ̂’n ˈnis*

    g´-æ’=an nis ni´-æ’=an nis

    pot-drink=3sg.if water cntf-drink=3sg.if water

    ‘May s/he drink water.’ ‘May s/he had drunk water.’ [↑](#footnote-ref-66)
67. This TAM marker exhibits several restrictions in TdVZ; for instance, in *Serial Verb Constructions* (SVC), two verbs marked with the *future* are not possible (Gutiérrez 2014). In fact, various of these restrictions hold in other Central Zapotec varieties such as San Dionisio Ocotepec Zapotec (Broadwell 2012) and San Pablo Güilá Zapotec (López Cruz, personal communication). [↑](#footnote-ref-67)
68. I consider that *gáti* is the conflation of *gád=* and *=di* since both negative constructions shown are in free variation in TdVZ. [↑](#footnote-ref-68)
69. In closer Zapotec varieties (i.e., San Pablo Guilá Zapotec (SPGZ), and SLQZ)) *kěty* (or *kɨ̌ty* or *ke’ity* respectively) is the negator in clausal negation. This suggests that in TdVZ *kēd*= may be the evolved form of *kěty,* which has maintained its form in existential negation. Also, since the negation with *kěty* does occur with =*di* one could hypothesize that *kěty* may be the conflation of *kēd= + =di*, but in the closer varieties the homologous form of *kěty* does cooccur with =*di*. [↑](#footnote-ref-69)
70. Nevertheless, historically these two negators are connected so they probably had one single source. [↑](#footnote-ref-70)
71. This type of SVS has similar characteristics than complement structures. Thus, in this section, I will follow Gutiérrez (2014) in considering it SVCs, but I discuss this type of construction further in § 6. [↑](#footnote-ref-71)
72. This interrogative could be considered a topic interrogative since it is used to require information about someone who was not in the conversation. The topic is known by the speaker and the hearer and they bring it to the conversation. [↑](#footnote-ref-72)
73. The focus of VP construction was hesitatingly accepted when elicited as a possible answer, but not given as a ‘natural’ answer. [↑](#footnote-ref-73)
74. Even though I translate this morpheme as pine, it literally means burning stick. [↑](#footnote-ref-74)
75. When the indirect object is introduced by a relational noun (i.e, *lo* ‘r.n.face’) the relative clause has an expletive pronoun in the position of the relativized noun. These are discussed in §5.2.5 since this construction differs from the RC shown here. [↑](#footnote-ref-75)
76. This optionality needs to be explored further in TdVZ since specificity and topicality are terms that need to be defined (in TdVZ discourse) before I discuss this topic. [↑](#footnote-ref-76)
77. The way this is expressed in the language is by using *xkal* ‘the way in which’. This element seems to be the fusion of the possessable marker (*x*-) and the nominalizer clitic (*gal*=). Thus, this may be a case of nominalization.

    (i) ˈ*LLúpy ru.*ˈ*lṵy xkal.*ˈ*rā.kēn*

    LLúpy ru-lṵy xkal=r-ak=ēn

    Guadalupe hab-show sub?nom?=hab-be.done=3sg.inan

    ‘Guadalupe teaches/show the way that it is done.’ [↑](#footnote-ref-77)
78. This non-application of tone sandhi is observed especially with pronominal enclitics that indicate third person formal, which have a mid tone. [↑](#footnote-ref-78)
79. Note that the interrogative *kālí*= ‘intg.where’ has to occur only as *kā=* in this construction. [↑](#footnote-ref-79)
80. *tek(y)* ‘comp’ may be translated as English *that*, but it is closer to *de que* ‘of that’ in Spanish, which slightly differ from English. In fact, its form suggests that it may come from Spanish *de que*. This hypothesis, however, needs further explorations. [↑](#footnote-ref-80)
81. An interesting characteristic of this type of complements is that when the event it expresses will occur after the event in the CTP, the future prefix is more common than potential, and counterfactual is not usually accepted. [↑](#footnote-ref-81)
82. One speaker even suggested the translation: ‘He distracted me so I ended up killing it’ for this clause when I presented the context of two people after killing a dog with one of them saying the construction in (20) to blame a third person. [↑](#footnote-ref-82)
83. This type of complement was accepted with a focus position with the CTP -*nnibæ̰* ‘order’. However, this position was only accepted by the speakers when the subject of the main predicate was also in focus position or when it is pronominalized in situ, as in (i). This type of reduced complement does not show this syntactic behavior with other CTPs. Therefore, I do not consider a subtype of reduced complement with focus position, but I consider it to be an idiosyncratic situation with the CTP -*nnibæ̰* ‘order’.

    (i) *gu.nni.*ˈ*bæ̰n* [*ˈBǽd gu.zú.*ˈ*kā* ˈ*gîts.kī*]CC

    gu-nnibæ̰=an Bǽd gu´-zukā gits=kī

    compl-order=3sg.if Pedro **pot**-remove paper=temp.dem

    ‘Heordered (that) Pedro (and no one else) removes the paper (advertisement).’ [↑](#footnote-ref-83)
84. A structure in which the object NP of the complement seems to have taken the focus position of the complement occur in TdVZ, as shown in (ii). However, in this type of structure, the object of the main predicate is an NP and not a clause. Thus, the subordinate clause can only be interpreted as a purpose adverbial clause or a RC.

    (ii)  *ri.*ˈ*ka̰z* ˈ*Bǽd te.*ˈ*llag* ˈ*lady* [ˈ*sḭ̂* ˈ*Jwáyn*]

    ri-ka̰z Bǽd te=llag lady sḭ̂ Jwáyn

    hab-want Pedro i.art=piece woven.cloth pot.buy Juan

    Intended reading ‘A piece of a rug (is what) Pedro wants Juan to buy.’

    Possible reading: ‘Pedro is asking for a piece of a rug for Juan to buy’ / ‘Pedro wants a piece of a rug (that) Juan will buy.’ [↑](#footnote-ref-84)
85. The desiderative verb -*ka̰z* ‘want’ is used in a collocation with the meaning of *believe/think*; in this case, the complement clause can be negated, as in (iii).

    (iii) *ri.*ˈ*kā.zá kēd.zú.*ˈ*gwā’.dyú*

    ri-kāz=a̰ kēd=zugwā’=di=ṵ

    hab-want=1sg neg=est.inhabit=neg=2sg.if

    ‘I thought that you were not dwelling/ inhabiting here.’ [↑](#footnote-ref-85)
86. 50 verb predicates were considered as the main corpus for the analysis presented in this chapter. These verbs are shown in appendix A. [↑](#footnote-ref-86)
87. This element can be used as a CTP when it is followed by a clause. However, I consider it an adverb since it does not exhibit other verb properties besides the cliticization of pronominal subjects. [↑](#footnote-ref-87)
88. The use of this verb as the CTP with the meaning ‘advise’ will be discussed in the manipulative CTPs section. [↑](#footnote-ref-88)
89. Even though -*gixhlæ*’ *low* ‘tell’ and -*zyæby* ‘say (to)’ have similar meanings, their syntax and function are different. The first one is used to report events that have occurred or that may occur, and its complement generally occurs postposed. On the other hand, the second one is used to report direct speech and its complement usually occur preposed, as in (iv)., -*zyæby* ‘say’ then, is more commonly used with completive.

    (iv) [*kēd.ˈtxǽ.dyān*]CC *ˈræ̂.byān ˈlǎ̰n*

    kēd=tx´-æ=di=ān ræby=ān lǎ̰n

    neg=pot-go=neg=3sg.f compl.say.to=3sg.f 3sg.if

    ‘S/hei is not going, s/hei told (/said to) him.’ [↑](#footnote-ref-89)
90. In order to determine if the CTP selects for an interrogative clause or the interrogative clause that occurs in these constructions is a type of headless relative clause, I apply the tests suggested by Caponigro (2020): (i) I define which type of complement the main predicate selects for: propositions or individuals; (ii) I substitute the interrogative by an individual NP, and (iii) I observe if the CTP besides selecting for an interrogative *wh*-question also selects for a polar interrogative. However, as I discussed in § 5, in most cases, I assume that when the main predicate selects for propositions as well as for interrogatives, the interrogative clause is considered an interrogative complement. [↑](#footnote-ref-90)
91. There are cases in which it seems that these CTPs can select for complements with restricted aspect as in (v). In fact, the complementizer *teky* cannot occur in these constructions. Nevertheless, it is possible to focalize an argument within the complement clause, and in this case, the complementizer can occur. Thus, only superficially these complements look similar to those with restricted aspect. This characteristic may have to do with a non-co-occurrence restriction of the complementizer and the potential marker.

    (v) *ba.ˈgṵn ˈtæ̰n ˈdxǎn* [*(ˈlǎ̰n) ˈtxæ̰̂n*]CC

    ba-gṵn tæ̰=an dxǎn (lǎ̰n) tx´-æ=an

    compl-swear.to.god intsf=3sg.if deity (3sg.if) pot-go=3sg.if

    ‘S/hei swore to god again and again that [s/hei/\*j]FOC would go.’ [↑](#footnote-ref-91)
92. There are other predicates with these semantics that may be used as CTPs in TdVZ (e.g., *gullí* ‘is true that’). These however, are not discussed here because they are not verbs. [↑](#footnote-ref-92)
93. This predicate is one of the most difficult to classify semantically and syntactically in TdVZ. In a previous analysis I considered it a pretence predicate. However, the complement of -*nnixkall* ‘dream’denotes a proposition which is true in the world of the dream, which may or may not be true in the actual world. Also, when elicited, the type of complement it selects was not very consistent. [↑](#footnote-ref-93)
94. *-sala̰z* ‘remember’*, -nnala̰z* ‘recall’ are used in a similar way as transitive predicates. However, *-sala̰z* could also be used in a ditransitive construction with the meaning *remind*. This is discussed in §. Historically, due to the fossilized vowel on the prefixes, *ra-nnala̰z* ‘hab-remember’ could have implied to recall something by chance while *ru-sala̰z* ‘hab-remember’ could have implied to receive some input in order to remember*.* [↑](#footnote-ref-94)
95. I consider that -*yenla̰z* ‘forget’ also belong to (negative) achievement predicates. In this case, it selects for a complement with restricted aspect. Thus, I translated it as *forget (about)* when it indicates a CTP of knowledge and as *forget (to do)* when it indicates a (negative) achievement CTP. [↑](#footnote-ref-95)
96. Direct perception verbs are used as CTPs of acquisition of knowledge only when they are prefixed with completive. Thus, to disambiguate their use, I changed the prefix with habitual to define its semantic categorization. [↑](#footnote-ref-96)
97. As CTPs, these direct perception verbs are commonly used in completive. Habitual or progressive may also occur on these verbs. However, future is not accepted. That is, one cannot say *I will hear that she will cry* since the speaker doesn’t know if the event expressed in the complement clause will occur or not. Thus, when the events are believed to occur in the future, the CTP is prefixed with future, but it must be followed by a conditional subordinated clause: *I will hear if/when she cries*. [↑](#footnote-ref-97)
98. These perception verbs also occur in a construction where they are followed by an interrogative clause, as in (vi). In this case, I consider that what follows is a type of headless RC since these predicates select for individuals (NP/DPs).

    (vi) *kēd.gú.ˈnná.dya* [*tū.ˈbâ̰.nīn*]CC

    kēd=gu-nnā=di=a̰ tū=ba̰ny=īn

    neg=compl-witness=neg=1sg intg.who=compl.do=3sg.inan

    ‘I didn’t see who did it.’ [↑](#footnote-ref-98)
99. Verbs of this semantic category may be followed by an interrogative clause, but in this case, it is not a case of complementation but of a RC. [↑](#footnote-ref-99)
100. Interestingly, the first verb may be followed by an interrogative clause, as in (vii), but I consider this an instance of a headless RC.

     (vii) *ru.ˈdxūn.dān* [*xī.ˈgǎk*]CC

     ru-dxūn=dān *xī=g´-ak*

     hab-impede=3pl.f intg.what=pot-be.done

     ‘They impede (something) what will be done.’ [↑](#footnote-ref-100)
101. The lexical meaning of -*āll* is ‘reach’, but in complement structures it is understood as ‘be able to afford’. [↑](#footnote-ref-101)
102. Gutiérrez (2014) mentions that the TAM prefix of the complement of -*z(u)low* ‘start’ can alternate habitual and progressive. According to Gutiérrez (2014), this depends on whether the speaker wants to focalize the starting point or theeventthat continued once it had started. However, now I consider that this behavior is due to the loose copied aspect of this complement. [↑](#footnote-ref-102)
103. Modal predicates are not considered CPTs in TdVZ. Due to the type of constructions modal predicates occur in, they may be better understood as auxiliaries. For more information on modal verbs in Zapotec languages, see Chávez-Peón & Mudzingwa (2007). [↑](#footnote-ref-103)
104. This is contrary to what has been reported for San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec (Lee 2003), a variety close to TdVZ. [↑](#footnote-ref-104)
105. In some languages, these structures may be referred to as raising phenomena. In TdVZ I consider that they refer to control since all the phasal verb predicates used in these constructions assign the semantic role of agent to their argument subject, as shown in (viii). In fact, all these predicates are transitive and most of them are differentiated from their intransitive counterparts because of their form, e.g, -*llṵxh* ‘finish’ vs. -*luxh* ‘be.finished’.

     (viii) á*.ba.ˈllṵxh ˈJwáyn ˈxtsɨ̰.nyan*

     á=ba-llṵxh Jwáyn x-dzɨ̰ny=an

     done=compl-finish Juan poss-work=3sg.if

     ‘Juan (has) already finished his work.’ [↑](#footnote-ref-105)
106. The caustivized pair of this verb, i.e., -*sæ̰d* ‘practice/study’ also participates in a construction that triggers inherent control, as shown in (ix). Note that in this case, the meaning is purposive, thus, the constructions below may not be categorized as complementation, but adverbial.

     (ix) *ru.ˈsæ̰.dan* [*ˈkwḭ̂.ban ˈgû’n’*]CC

     ru-sæ̰d=ani kwḭ̂b=ani/\*j gû’n

     hab-practice=3sg.if pot.ride=3sg.if bull

     ‘S/he practices (in order) to ride bull(s).’ [↑](#footnote-ref-106)
107. In a context in which the third person singular is an entity that can be pointed as the experiencer of the winning situation, there is no default control established. [↑](#footnote-ref-107)
108. It should be mentioned that in some languages, the same morpheme that is used for coordination is used for subordination. Thus, the linguist must specify what is the criterion for distinguishing between both constructions. [↑](#footnote-ref-108)
109. It is important to clarify that replaceability does not imply substitutability. In other words, these three types of AdvCs alternate with single words in the language, while the other type of AdvC does not. [↑](#footnote-ref-109)
110. Thompson, Longacre, and Hwang (2007) consider two more types of adverbial clauses that cannot be substituted by a single word: circumstantial, and absolutive. These are not explored in TdVZ. [↑](#footnote-ref-110)
111. The term ‘substitution’ or ‘alternation’ used by Thompson, Longacre, and Hwang (2007) may be confusing. Thus, I use the term ‘compete’ to indicate that languages have single word adverbs that may also be used to modify a clause. [↑](#footnote-ref-111)
112. I will use ‘done’ to gloss this proclitic although in Spanish is translated as *ya* ‘already’. [↑](#footnote-ref-112)
113. Another possible analysis is to consider that purpose clauses cannot occur preposed. Thus, all the constructions with *ni*= (on the postpose main clause) would refer to reason adverbial clauses. [↑](#footnote-ref-113)
114. Thus, one could argue that both purpose and reason clauses trigger the occurrence of *ni*= ‘which is why’ on the main clause when this is postposed, and that the reason reading in purpose clause is just because of the occurrence of *ni*= (see § 7.3.3). [↑](#footnote-ref-114)
115. In some cases, the semantics of the predicates involved together with the TAM prefixes may not allow some TAM combinations. For instance, a habitual marker on the verb -*sæ̰d* ‘practice/study’ triggers a semantically awkward reading when followed by a main clause with the predicate -*dæ̰d* ‘pass’ prefixed with future, as shown in (i).

     (i) #*bǣll.rú.ˈsæ̰.dan, (gāxh.)zi.ˈdæ̰.dan*

     bǣll=ru-sæ̰d=an (gāxh=)zi-dæ̰d=an

     cond.sub=hab-study=3sg.if (then=)fut-pass=3sg.if

     ‘If s/he is studying, s/he will pass (the test).’ [↑](#footnote-ref-115)
116. +Hypotheticals are structurally similar to hypothetical conditionals, perhaps they are part of the same group. However, I consider that +hypothetical conditionals belong to a different group because the speaker is aware that the event expressed in the conditional didn’t take place at all. Therefore, its consequent is already cancelled before being expressed. [↑](#footnote-ref-116)
117. *=ti* is a clitic that has no meaning or a specific function in the language. Thus, I will gloss it as =*ti*. [↑](#footnote-ref-117)
118. The meaning of this element is grammatical, but I haven’t defined what to call it. [↑](#footnote-ref-118)