

Marlett 2009: Zapotecan Pronominal Inventories

1. First and Second-Person Pronouns
 1. General Properties
 1. Two cross-familial parameters: Number and Clusivity
 1. Number distinctions typically marked in 1/2 stems
 2. Clusivity: typically stable across the family.
 1. Quiegolani: 1.sg 'vague for number and is also used for first-person plural exclusive.'
 2. Formality: not so prevalent as in Mixtec.
 1. Some Zapotec, Mazatec varieties show respect with heightened voice register.
 2. Some Zapotec varieties have a special *respect* morpheme which occurs "primarily but perhaps not exclusively" before second-person pronouns.
 3. Impersonal *you*: absent outside of advice-giving proverbs.
 2. Third-Person Pronouns:
 1. Cross-familial variation: seriously immense.
 2. Zapotecan pronominals generally unrelated to demonstratives.
 3. Third-person pronouns typically not marked for number in the stem.
 4. Gender distinctions rare across pronominal inventories
 1. Attested in several varieties (where?)
 2. Mixed groups of males and females typically referred to with a different pronoun than that used for fully male groups.
 5. Male-Female speech differences attested, though subtle.
 6. Animal pronouns
 1. Yareni: animal clitic entails affection for the referent
 2. Tilquiapan, Santo Domingo Albarradas: used for both animals and mushrooms.
 7. Other pronouns:
 1. Deity pronouns
 1. Range: gods, angels, celestial beings, persons of great respect, and newborn babies.
 2. Tilquiapan: deity pronoun also used for sun, moon
 3. San Juan Guelavía: deity pronoun for all of the above plus thunder, potable water, rain, corn, or edible corn products.
 2. Deprecatory pronouns
 1. Choapan *da'n*: for sentential beings or inanimate objects; the gloss given is '*la basura, el malvado*'
 8. Usage Conditions:
 1. "In some varieties, third-person pronouns are rarely used since generic nouns, regular nouns, and noun phrases are all used (with great repetition) in common discourse." (Martínez 1995)

Marlett 2009: Zapotecan Pronominal Distributions

1. Three-way distinction
2. Strong Pronouns ([+S +P]): only these can occur...
 1. In isolation as fragment answers ("me.")
 2. Alone with the Q-particle ("me?")
 3. Preverbally with no support morphemes ("me, I went...")
 4. After Spanish prepositions (*fabor, par, despwes.de*)
 5. As subjects of predicate nominal clauses ('you're morons.')
 6. As predicate nominals ('it's me.')
3. Weak ([+S -P]) and Strong ([+S +P]) Pronouns can both occur...
 1. As objects following an NP subject (*Saw Pedro you.*)
 2. After interrogative pronouns ('who are you?')
 3. In coordinate structures (though pronominal conjunction rare?)
4. Clitic Pronouns ([-S -P]): these typically occur...
 1. As postverbal subjects and postnominal possessors
 2. Strict-Lax Head-Adjacency Constraint (Marlett 1993)
 1. Zapotecan clitics generally must be adjacent to a head.
 2. Thus strings like the following might be problematic:
 1. $V = Cl_{Subj} = Cl_{Obj}$
 2. $N - Adj = Cl_{Poss}$
 3. "Strict" languages ban such configurations; "Lax" ones allow them.
 4. The Northern subgroup seems to be especially lax here.
5. Person Hierarchies
 1. Generalization: Lax languages which permit clitic stacking show a **GCC** (López and Newberg 2005, H. Lyman 2007, H. Lyman 2008)
 1. **Shape:** $1/2 > 3_{FO} > 3_{INFO} > 3_{AN} > 3_{INAN}$
 2. "Strong PCC": the second clitic can never be a local person.