

Adverbial Clitics in San Cristóbal Lachirioag Zapotec

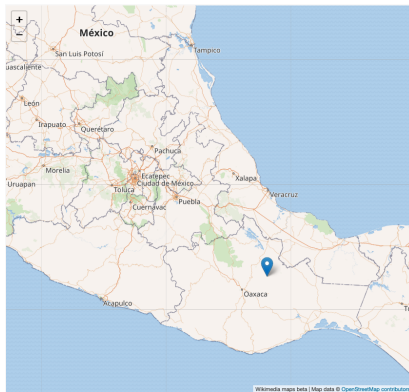
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Introduction

San Cristóbal Lachirioag Zapotec (SCLZ) is a Zapotecan language of Oaxaca, Mexico.



Introduction

- SCLZ has basic VSO order.

(1) u-dàu bédú mánsang nà
PST-eat Pedro apple DEM
'Pedro ate the apple.'

- A subject suffix occurs on the verb when there is a pre-verbal full DP subject.

(2) bédú u-dàu=bé mánsang nà
Pedro PST-eat=3 apple DEM
'Pedro ate the apple.'

Introduction

- Full adverbs in SCLZ usually precede the verb and form the Adv-V-S-O order, such as *kángz* 'reluctantly' in (3a).
- (3) a. **kángz** u-dàu bédu mánsang nà
 reluctantly PST-eat Pedro apple DEM
 'Pedro reluctantly ate the apple.'
- b. * u-dàu **kángz** bédu mánsang nà
 c. * u-dàu bédu **kángz** mánsang nà
 d. * u-dàu bédu mánsang nà **kángz**

Introduction

- By contrast, a closed class of modification morphemes in SCLZ occur between V and S, yielding the V-Adv-S-O order:

(4) u-srít=(**jyísh**)=a
PST-jump=wildly=1SG
'I jumped (wildly).'

(5) b-rèd=(**ks**) Mali béku na
PFV-see=EMP Mary dog DEM
'Mary (indeed) saw the dog.' (EMP = emphasis)

Introduction

- Besides verbs, they can also attach to adjectives, DP's, NP's, quantifiers, etc. Since their distribution is wide and above the word level, we claim that these morphemes are **clitics** rather than verb suffixes.
- Morphemes of this type usually function as modification of an event or express the speaker's attitude. Therefore, in this presentation, we refer to them as '**adverbial clitics**' despite the different categories of their hosts.

Some Adverbial Clitics in SCLZ

- =*ks*: conveys the speaker's emphasis or certainty

(6) dy-ábèt(=**ks**)=be béku

PRS-like=EMP=3 dog

'S/he (indeed) likes dogs.'

(7) w-ale(=**ks**) Mali jyìsy na

IRR-read=EMP Mary book DEM

'Mary will (definitely) read the book.'

Some Adverbial Clitics in SCLZ

- =z(e) ‘only’

- (8) a. A: bédu syàla=be sríidya
 Pedro speak=3 Zapotec
 ‘Pedro speaks Zapotec.’
- b. B: kùj, (kun) *(to)
 NEG only one
 dy-jàni=*(z)=be=n
 PRS-understand=only=3=3.inanimate
 ‘No, he only understands it.’

Some Adverbial Clitics in SCLZ

- =z(e) ‘only’ also attaches to DP and triggers focus movement

- (9) a. u-zrí bedu [líbr nà]
PST-buy Pedro book DEM
‘Pedro bought that book.’
- b. [líbr nà]=z u-zrí bedu
book DEM=only PST-buy Pedro
‘Pedro only bought that book.’ (not that pen)
- c. *[líbr]=z nà u-zrí bedu
- d. *u-zrí bedu [líbr nà]=z

Some Adverbial Clitics in SCLZ

- =*chúku* ‘even’

(10) bédu kù b-arét(=**chúku**)=be jyĩsy tye=be
 Pedro NEG PFV-read=even=3 book POSS=3
 ‘Pedro didn’t (even) read his own book.’

- =*chúku* ‘even’ also attaches to NP/DP and triggers focus movement

(11) a. líbr=**chúku** ngă b-arèt=be
 book=even DEM PFV-read=3
 ‘S/he even read this book.’
 b. béd=**chúku** b-arèt=be jyĩsy=n
 Pedro=even PFV-read=3 book=OBJ
 ‘Even Pedro read the book.’

Some Adverbial Clitics in SCLZ

- =*len* 'with': (a) a preposition, (b) an adverbial clitic

- (12) a. *toz bédu=n b-syalà=be len wer*
only Pedro=FOC PFV-speak=3 with Manuel
'Only Pedro spoke with Manuel.'
- b. *toz bédu=n b-syalà=len=be wer*
only Pedro=FOC PFV-speak=with=3 Manuel
'Only Pedro spoke with Manuel.'

Distribution

- So far we have seen that, in a verb complex, adverbial clitics occur after the verb root and before the subject (and object) clitics
- Some adverbial clitics can occur on nominal phrases, e.g., =*z*(e) ‘only’, =*chúku* ‘even’, etc.

Distribution

- Some adverbial clitics can also occur in the following pronominal complexes in SCLZ.

<i>lé</i>	'you'	<i>lé=lé</i>	'you (pl)'
<i>lé=be</i>	's/he'	<i>lé=gak=be</i>	'they (human)'
<i>lé=ba</i>	'it (animal)'	<i>lé=gak=ba</i>	'they (animal)'
<i>lé=n</i>	'it (inanimate)'	<i>lé=gak=n</i>	'they (inanimate)'

- (13) *lé=ks/z/chúku=gak=be* *g-un=gak=be=n*
 PRON={EMP/only/even}=PL=3 IRR-do=PL=3=3.inanimate
 ' {They themselves/Only they/Even they} will do it.'

Distribution

- Some adverbial clitics such as =*ch* ‘more’ can occur with the negation head *ku*.

- (14) a. *ku n-ak=ch=be bi wéu*
NEG STAT-be=more=3 man young
‘He is no longer a young man.’
- b. *ku=ch n-ak=be bi wéu*
NEG=more STAT-be=3 man young
‘He is no longer a young man.’

Co-occurrence

- Multiple adverbial clitics can potentially co-occur in SCLZ. The relative orders of the co-occurring clitics are fixed.

- (15) a. u-ran(=**te**)(=**ks**)=gak=be médgu-ng
 PST-steal=EMP=EMP=PL=3 money-OBJ
 'They (indeed) stole the money.'
- b. *u-ran(=**ks**)(=**te**)=gak=be médgu-ng
- (16) a. to b-shalà=**len**=**z**=be wer
 one PFV-speak=with=only=3 Manuel
 'S/he only spoke with Manuel.'
- b. *to b-shalà=**z**=**len**=be wer

‘Discontinuous’ Adverbial

- Some adverbials in SCLZ such as *ka...=z* ‘unexpectedly’ in (17b) consist of two obligatory parts, one preceding the verb and the other having the distribution of a regular adverbial clitic. The nature of these ‘discontinuous adverbials’ remains a puzzle for now.

- (17) a. *b-ará=be*
PFV-come=3
‘S/he came.’
- b. **ka** *b-ará=z=be*
KA PFV-come=Z=3
‘S/he unexpectedly came.’

Summary and Future Directions

- This study investigated the wide distribution of adverbial clitics in SCLZ and some related phenomena such as the co-occurrence of multiple adverbial clitics.
- The current study is a fuller description of such clitics than previously available for the Villa Alta Zapotec languages (Long C and Cruz M, 2000; Sonnenschein, 2004). It is a first step to understanding the morpho-syntactic derivation of these dependent modification morphemes
- Future work: examine these clitics in more complicated structures such as subordinate clauses; investigate whether these are 'second-position' phenomena (Munro, 2004, on San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec) (cf. Munro 2004 on SLQZ).

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All SCLZ data in this study comes from my field work in UCLA Field Methods class with Julio Dominguez. All mistakes are my own.

Reference

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