

Contents

List of abbreviations used in glosses	v
Orthographic conventions	vii
1 Introduction	1
1.1 Motivation and objectives	1
1.2 Ethnographic setting	4
1.3 Previous work on the language	6
1.4 Methods	7
1.4.1 Corpus creation	8
1.4.2 A discourse corpus	9
1.5 Organization of the study	10
2 Background: the basic grammatical structures of ZAI	13
2.1 The segmental and tonal inventory	13
2.1.1 ZAI segmental inventory	13
2.1.2 The tonal system	15
2.2 The structural function of prosody in ZAI	16
2.2.1 Tones, VQMs and stress	17
2.2.2 Previous studies on Zapotec prosody	19
2.2.3 Prosodic properties of intonation units in ZAI	20
2.2.4 Prosody in ZAI information structure: some initial remarks	22
2.3 Clause structure and constituent order correlations in ZAI	23
2.3.1 Verbal morphology	23
2.3.2 Constituent order correlations	25
2.3.3 Summary of constituent order correlations	33
2.3.4 The pre-verbal position and rigidity in verb-initial syntax	35
2.3.5 The pre-verbal position in ZAI	36
2.4 Summary and research questions	38

Contents

3	Preferred Argument Structure and the pragmatic status of nominal forms in ZAI	41
3.1	Preferred Argument Structure in ZAI	41
3.1.1	Data and Methodology	41
3.1.2	Evidence for PAS in ZAI	43
3.1.3	PAS and the notion of Accessibility	48
3.1.4	Accessibility and the introduction of new referents	53
3.1.5	Accessibility and co-reference	55
3.1.6	LNPs and salience	57
3.1.7	Pronouns and salience	60
3.1.8	Episode boundaries	65
3.1.9	Summary	67
3.2	Nominal forms and the pragmatic status of referents	69
3.3	Summary and conclusions	73
4.1	Syntactic constraints on the overt versus zero alternation	75
4.1.1	Reflexives	75
4.1.2	Dependent clauses	76
4.1.3	Adverbial clauses	78
4.2	The overt versus zero alternation in a Pear Story monologue	79
4.3	The overt versus zero form in conversation	82
4.4	Summary and conclusions	85
5	Focus structures in ZAI	87
5.1	Focus structure	88
5.1.1	Predicate focus	88
5.1.2	Sentence focus	92
5.1.3	Argument focus	93
5.1.4	The use of NGA in argument focus	96
5.1.5	Van Valin's (1999) typology of focus structure	100
5.2	Focus structures in discourse: predicate focus plus argument focus	103
5.3	Summary and conclusions	107
6	Topic relations in ZAI	109
6.1	Topic constructions	109
6.1.1	Presentational constructions	110
6.1.2	Topic-comment	111
6.1.3	Identificational constructions	112
6.1.4	Topicalization	115
6.1.5	Detached or LA-marked constructions	117

Contents

6.2	Topic relations and the LA particle in discourse	118
6.2.1	Left-detachment constructions	121
6.2.2	Yes/no questions	122
6.3	Summary and conclusions	125
7	Conclusions and avenues for further research	127
7.1	Nominal forms and cognitive status	128
7.2	Topic and focus constructions	129
7.3	The LA discourse particle	131
Appendix A		133
Appendix B		143
References		183
Index		193
	Name index	193
	Language index	195
	Subject index	197