Comparing reflexives in San Pablo Güilá Zapotec (SPGZ) and San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec (SLQZ)

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In this paper, I provide a comparison between reflexives in SPGZ and reflexives in SLQZ. Both are Otomanguean Languages¹ spoken in Oaxaca, Mexico. Previous research shows that in SLQZ, personal pronouns (see 1) and R-expressions (see 2) can have a reflexive reading (Lee, 2003). In SPGZ, personal pronouns in local contexts can have an ambiguous interpretation between a reflexive reading and a non-reflexive reading (see 3); however, R-expressions do not show this behaviour (see 4). Moreover, in SPGZ, there is a reflexive marker ni that provides a purely reflexive reading (see 5).

<u>San Lucas Quiavini Zapotec (SLQZ)</u>			<u>San Pablo Güilá Zapotec (SPGZ)</u>		
(1) R-yu'lààa'z	-ëng _i la'an	ngi	(3) B-ètj	= bĭ i là	= bĭ _{i/j}
HAB-like-3SG.PROX _i 3SG.PROX _i			C-kill	=3SG.FD.O.M	=3SG.F
He/she _i likes himself/herself _i			<i>He_i/she_i killed himself_i/herself_i/</i>		
(2) R-yu'lààa'z Gye'eihllyi Gye'eihllyi			<i>He_i/she_i kills him_j/her_j</i>		
HAB-like	Mikei	Mikei	(4) B-ètj	Jwâňj i là	Jwâňj∗i∕j
<i>Mike_i likes him</i>	self _i		C-kill	Juan D.O.M	Juan
		(Lee, 2003, p. 84)	Juan _i killed Juan* _{i/j}		
			(5)B-ètj	$=\mathbf{b}\mathbf{\check{i}}_{i}$	là = nì i
			C-kill	=3SG.F	D.O.M = REFL
		He _i /she _i killed himself _i /herself			

In the present study, the data presented above represent a challenge to binding principles (mainly *Principle B: a pronoun must be free in a domain*, and *Principle C: a name must be free*). In SLQZ and SPGZ pronouns can be bound in a local domain; and R-expressions seem to be bound in SLQZ. These issues are explored in-depth in this work.

Methodology. This work is based on the proposal of Lee (2003) for SLQZ and the reflexives' behaviour in this language. Based on that paper, I have conducted a research on SPGZ, where I run some tests proposed in Lee (2003). Once I establish these two systems' main characteristics, I look for the implications of the distribution and interpretation of pronouns and reflexives in terms of theories of anaphora. The main data for this qualifying paper comes from two sources. For SLQZ, it comes from Lee (2003), and for SLQZ, it comes from a consultant.

Results. I conclude that in SPGZ, pronouns may have a referential interpretation in the sense of bound variables, as Lee (2003) proposed for SLQZ. Furthermore, in SPGZ, R-expressions cannot act as bound variables as in SLQZ. Finally, SPGZ has a marker, ni that behaves purely as a reflexive marker in this language; and it appears in wider syntactic environments than ni' in SLQZ, which only appears in possessive structures:

¹ Smith Stark (2007), proposed the following affiliation for SPGZ and SLQZ. *SPGZ*: Otomanguean languages>Zapotecan languages> Medular Zapotec> Central Zapotec> Western Valley Zapotec> San Pablo Güilá Zapotec. SLQZ: Otomanguean languages>Zapotecan languages> Medular Zapotec> Central Zapotec> Valley Zapotec> Valley Zapotec> San Lucas Quiavini Zapotec.

Table 1. Comp Test		SLQZ	SPGZ	
IAR (Identical Antecedent Requirement)		-R expressions & Pronouns	-Pronouns	
Reflexive marker		- <i>Ni</i> ': - Possessive constructions - Bound in a local c-command relationship	 Ni>: Possessive constructions Other syntactic environments, as any other clitic pronoun Bound in a local c-command relationship 	
Crossover		-Strong crossover	-Strong crossover & Weak crossover	
Locality	No c-command (bound)	-R expressions & Pronouns	-Pronouns	
	Quantified arguments (bound)	-QP subjects cannot be bound by a copy of them in reflexive constructions -They can be bound with a preverbal topic, and a copy of the pronoun bound the QP	 -QP subjects cannot be bound by a copy of them in reflexive constructions -They can be bound with a preverbal topic, and a copy of the pronoun bound the QP> ambiguous reading - Ni> can also bound the QP 	
Nonlocality Referentiality		-R expressions and pronouns are not truly referential arguments	 Pronouns have an ambiguous reading between referential and non-referential arguments. Nì> is not a referential argument 	
	Adjunct clauses (bound): <i>long</i> <i>distance</i> <i>anaphora</i>	-R expressions & Pronouns	-Pronouns	

Table 1. Comparison between reflexives in SLQZ and SPGZ

References

Lee, F. (2003). 'Anaphoric R-Expressions as bound variables'. *Syntax*. Number 6. Volume 1. Pp. 84-114.

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