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Two Types of Light Verb Constructions: Syntactic Accommodation of Spanish Loanverbs in San Pablo Güilá Zapotec

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Puzzle

SPGZ accommodates Spanish loan verbs into monoeventive constructions such as (5) and (7), while both are linearly identical (native. V-Subj-Loan. V-Obj) they have different syntactical possibilities.

¿which first assembling structure corresponds to each type of construction, explaining the empiric differences between them?

Evidence

Nominal Modification (Adj. and Q.)(bolds)

Thematic role assignment and “third” argument co-occurrence (in brown)

(1) θ -Agent θ -?? θ -Theme
*Bè>n=à> **tĩ** gån työp màngûtx mĩly
CMPL.tr.aux=1SG **one** get two sack money
Desire reading: I do a get of two sacks of money
(cf. grammatical (5)) Type I

(2) θ -Agent θ -theme
Bè>n nån Màryê **tĩ** kěj
CMPL.do lady Marie **one** complaint
Miss Marie made a complaint Type II

Pronominalization (in bolds)

(3) *Bè>n=à>=nĩ työp màngûtx mĩly
CMPL.tr.aux=1SG=3INA two sack money
Desire reading: I did it of two sacks of money
(cf. grammatical (5)) Type I

(4) Bè>n nån Màryê=nĩ
CMPL.do lady Marie=3INA
Lady Marie made it Type II

Main Claims

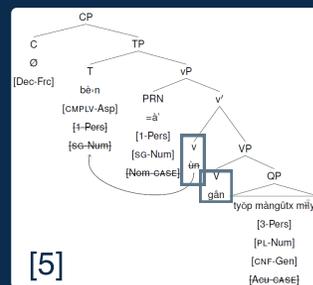
- SPGZ accommodates Spanish eventive loan words in two different syntactic constructions:
 - Type I: natives *ùn* or *àk* assembled as **vP heads** and loans as **VP heads**
 - Type II: natives *ùn* or *àk* assembled as **VP heads** and loans as **NP heads**
- ùn* - vDO transitives and unnergatives grammaticalized from 'do'
àk - vCAUSE undergoer hypothetically grammaticalized from 'cause'
- Apparently *àk* headed unaccusatives are truly **undergoer voice** constructions in terms of Öztürk y Taylan's (2017)

Analysis

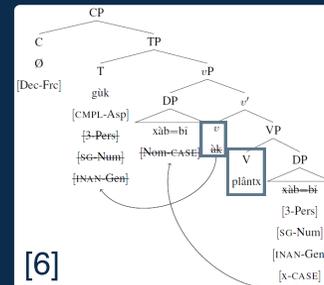
Loanverb as VP head

Transitive

(5) Bè>n =à' gån työp màngûtx mĩly
CMPL.tr.aux =1SG get two sack money
'I endure'
(from Spanish *ganar*)



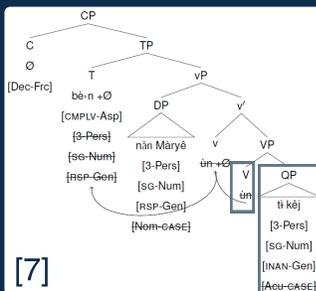
[5]



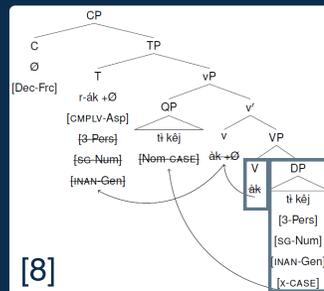
[6]

Undergoer voice (not unaccusative)

(6) Gùk xàb rã =bĩ plãntx
CMPLV.intr.aux POS.clothes PL =3CLS iron
'Their clothes were ironed'
(from Spanish *planchar*)



[7]



[8]

Loanverb as NP head

Transitive

(7) Bè>n nån Màryê tĩ kěj
CMPL.do lady Marie one complaint
'Miss Marie made a complaint'

Undergoer voice (not unaccusative)

(8) R-àk tĩ kěj
HAB-do one complaint
(from Spanish *quejarse*) 'A complaint was made'

Theoretical Perspective

Type I constructions must be understood as a "split verb" one clause. *ùn* and *àk* could be properly analyzed as verbalizer heads (in Harley's 1995, 2017 terms) which define the construction's voice, introduce subjects, and support grammatical material (TAM-prefixes, negation enclitics). *ùn* must be analyzed as vDO and *àk* as vCAUSE, not BECOME (as the usual opposition).

Loans define the argumental structure and assign accusative case (if needed).

Conversely, type II *ùn* and *àk* are full verbs

Implications

This analysis predicts the syntactic and argumental structure of constructions that accommodate loan verbs using an auxiliary native verb.

Worthy due to the barely described and analyzed V1-S-V2-O pattern

Shows the usefulness of studying descriptive analysis through formal perspectives.

Set out questions about Zapotec languages voice oppositions

References

Harley, H. (2017). The "bundling" hypothesis and the disparate functions of little v. Öztürk, B., & Taylan, E. (2017). Omnipresent little vP in Pazar Laz.