A Zapotec contribution towards the typology of inclusory constructions[1]
SSILA 2006
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Today I will attempt to:

- Describe the structure of Southern Zapotec (SZ) inclusory constructions (IC's) and explain how these are different from those previously described
- Describe a similar SZ construction, the Quantified List Construction (QLC)
- Make suggestions for helping describe the diversity of IC's that exist worldwide.

Time allowing, I would also like to discuss grammaticalization paths affecting elements of IC's

1.   Introduction to Inclusory Constructions

Inclusory constructions (hereafter IC's) must include a superset, e.g. a plural or dual pronoun, and a subset that is a noun phrase included in but not equal to the whole set of referents of the superset.

 (1)   Toqabaqita (Lichtenberk, 2000)
        Kamareqa doqora-ku meki lae ma-i qusungadi
        1DU(EXCL) brother-1SG.PERS 1DU(EXCL).FUT go VENIT-at tomorrow
        '**I and my brother** will come tomorrow.'

(2)   Roper River Kriol, Ngukurr (Singer, 2001)
        Minbala Michelle bin go.
        1.du <name> PST go
        Me and Michelle went.

2. IC's in Southern Zapotec languages

Figure 1: Map showing varieties contributing data to this handout

Amatlán Zapotec
SFL •
• SCA

Quiegolani Zapotec
SMQ

Coatlán-Loxicha
Zapotec

SAM •

Miahuatec Zapotec

• SBalL

• SAL

• SBarL

Abbreviated town names:

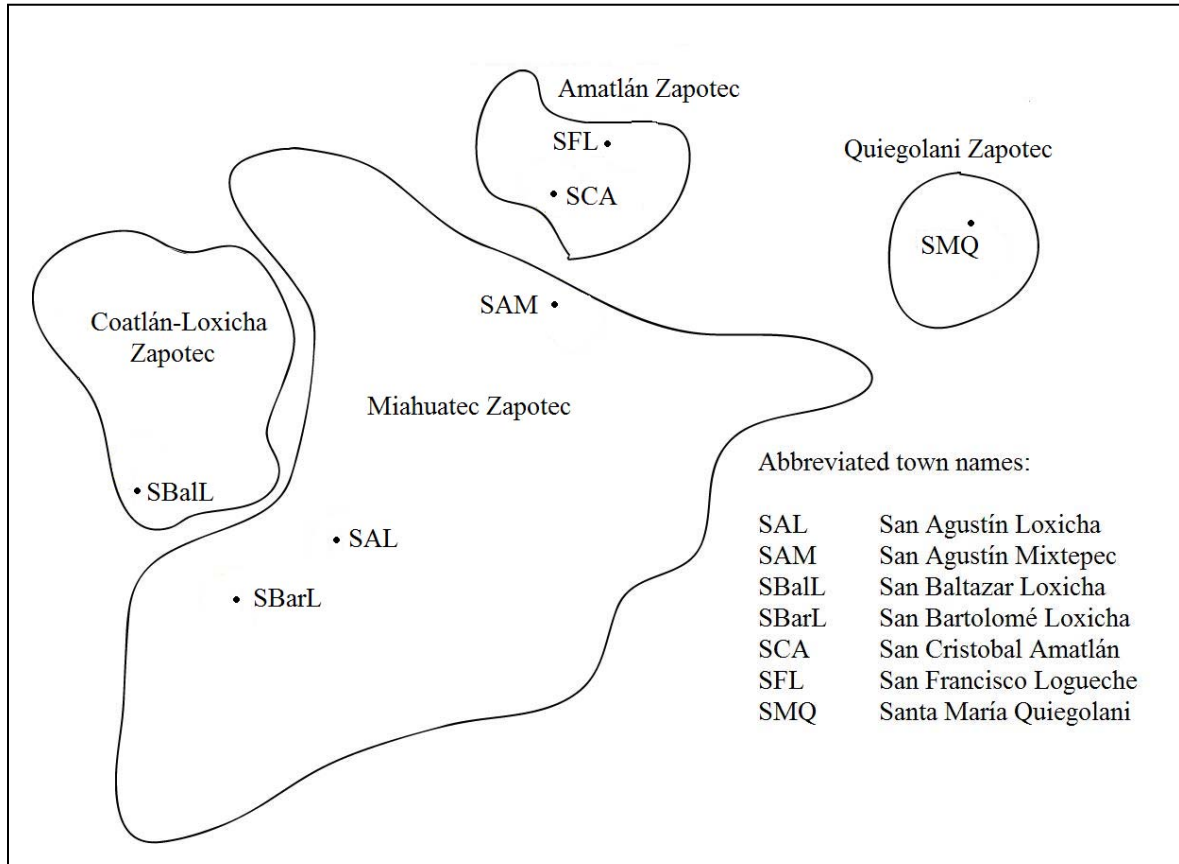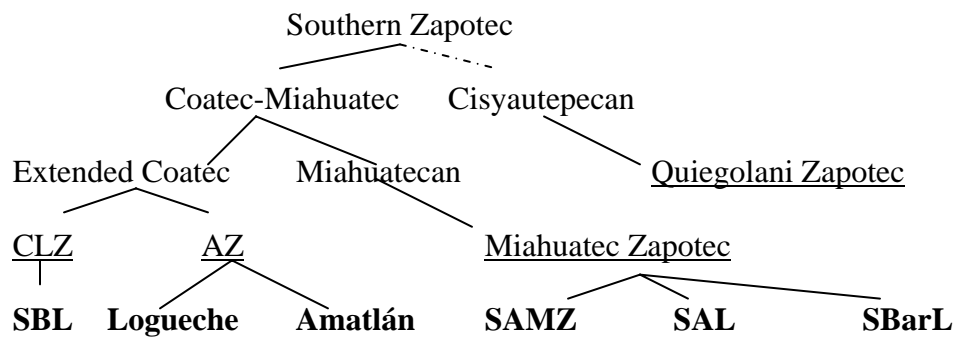|	
SAL	San Agustín Loxicha
SAM	San Agustín Mixtepec
SBalL	San Baltazar Loxicha
SBarL	San Bartolomé Loxicha
SCA	San Cristobal Amatlán
SFL	San Francisco Logueche
SMQ	Santa María Quiegolani

Figure 2: Relationship of <u>languages</u> and **varieties** used in this handout (based on Smith-Stark, 2003 and Beam de Azcona, forthcoming)

Southern Zapotec

Coatec-Miahuatec   Cisyautepecan

Extended Coatéc   Miahuatecan   Quiegolani Zapotec

CLZ   AZ   Miahuatec Zapotec

SBL   **Logueche**   **Amatlán**   **SAMZ**   **SAL**   **SBarL**

3.1 Southern Zapotec IC's have quantifier supersets

(3) *Mbi⁷d **tŏp** [xìn mě]*ₙₚ₋ₚₒₛ *ti⁷n.*   San Baltazar Loxicha (dialect of CLZ)
  C-venir **P-dos hijo 3hr** trabajo
  C-come **P-two offspring 3hr** job
  Él vino **con su hijo** a trabajar.
  He and his son came to work.

(4) *Mbi⁷d **chŏn** [xìn mě]* ₙₚ₋ₚₒₛ *ti⁷n.*
  C-venir **P-tres hijo 3hr** trabajo
  C-come **P-three offspring 3hr** job
  Él y sus dos hijos vinieron a trabajar.
  He and his two sons came to work.

(5) *Ngwâ **tě́** [xìn mě]* ₙₚ₋ₚₒₛ *lèy.*
  C-ir **todos hijo 3hr** rosario
  C-go **all offspring 3hr** rosary
  Fue **ella con todo y sus hijos** al rosario.
  She went **with all her children** to (say) the rosary.

(6) *Re **yŏn** [xi'n Pedr]*ₙₚ₋ₚₒₛ *ngwa zi'n.*   San Agustín Loxicha (dialect of Miahuatec)
  todo C(?)-tres hijo Pedro C-ir trabajo
  all C(?)-three offspring Peter C-go job
  Pedro y sus dos hijos se fueron a trabajar.
  Peter and his two sons went to work.

(7) *Re **thàp** [běl Mari]*ₙₚ₋ₚₒₛ *nduxkwa' komid.*
  todo P-cuatro hermana María H-hacer comida
  all P-four sister Mary H-make food
  Las cuatro hermanas (María y sus tres hermanas) hicieron la comida.
  The four sisters (including Mary and her three sisters) made the food.

3.2 Inclusory pronominals in Southern Zapotec?

It is possible in SZ languages to have a pronoun that refers to the superset. Though it has not been found in CLZ, such a pronoun is obligatory in Quiegolani Zapotec and optional in Miahuatec and Amatlán Zapotec.

(8) Quiegolani Zapotec (Black, 2000)
  *Sabt w-a xee noo, w-xa-ndxen **noo y-rup [x-patron noo]**ₙₚ₋ₚₒₛ.*
  Saturday C-go-rise 1EX C-eat-breakfast **1EX P-two POS-patron 1EX**
  'Saturday **I** got up and ate breakfast **with my patron**.'

Here there are two superset words: a pronoun which gives certain grammatical information (person, animacy, but not number) about the superset (or rather its central member, see Singer, 2001), and a quantifier which identifies the number of the superset.

In the San Agustín Mixtepec variety of Miahuatec, the CLZ-type construction, where the preceding coreferent pronoun is omitted appears more common, as in (9), but the Quiegolani-type construction with apposition is also possible (10).

(9)　　*Nhé yǜ²g **yǒn [běl mě]**NP-POS nǐt yět̀.*　　　　　　　San Agustín Mixtepec
　　　　AUX cook **three sister 3hc** |water tortilla: food|
　　　　She and her two sisters are cooking the food.

(10)　　*Ngwà **mě ré̌ [xmbál mě]**NP-POS lnì.*
　　　　C-go **3hc all POS-compadre 3hc** party
　　　　S/he went **with all his/her compadres** to the fiesta.

3.3　Another SZ quantifier construction

Singer (2001: 23) recognizes the existence of IC's with multiple subsets specified, however in these cases there is still some portion of the superset that is not overtly specified by a subset NP. She regards the following example as ambiguous:

(11) Gooniyandi (McGregor 1990: 286, as cited by Singer, 2001, with her bracketing)
　　　　gid-yarndi [lambadi ngaanggi] [garingi ngaanggi] [nginyji]
　　　　you(pl)-PL father-in-law your wife your you
　　　　You lot: your father-in-law, your wife, and you.

According to Singer, this Gooniyandi example is an IC if it refers to more than three people, but if it only refers to the three referents who are overtly identified, then it is not an IC. Singer's defining feature (a) dictates that the total of the expressed subsets is less than the total of the superset.

2.3.1　The SZ "quantified list construction"

Though not yet found in CLZ, the SZ languages of Quiegolani, Miahuatec, and Amatlán Zapotec have a construction in which two overt NP's that do not share a possessive relationship and are not connected by a coordinate/comitative marker, follow a quantifier which specifies their total quantity. Like the IC, this construction may occur with or without a pronoun preceding the quantifier and referring to both subsets together.

QLC with superset pronoun
(12)　　*Ts-a <u>de y-rup de Susan</u>.*　　　　　　　Quiegolani Zapotec (Black, 2000)
　　　　P-go <u>2 P-two 2 Susan</u>
　　　　'<u>You</u> can go <u>with Susan</u>.'
　　　　"<u>The two of you, you and Susan</u>, can go" (my reinterpretation)

(13)   *R-oo men y-rup men Biki nisgaal.*
        H-drink 3rd P-two 3rd Virginia soda
        'She and Virginia drink soda pop.'

(14)   *Ne' m-dil me' rop me' soltato*.   Logueche (Angulo, 1922-1930)
        here fought they both they (and) soldiers
        Here the two of them fought, they and the soldiers.

QLC without superset pronoun

(15)   *Töö me' [re' ce' [cic]$_{NP}$ [[kwan]$_{NP}$ tnoo me']$_{NP\text{-}REL}$]$_{IC?}$.*
        sell they [all many [pineapple]$_{NP}$ [[things]$_{NP}$ bring they]$_{NP\text{-}REL}$[2]]$_{IC?}$
        They sell all the many pineapples and other things they bring.

(16)   *Nyaad [rop [nu]$_{NP}$ [xezhap na, Chik]$_{NP}$]$_{IC?}$.* San Cristobal Amatlán (Riggs, nd)
        H-venir [segundo/ambos 1pe [suegro yo Fransisco]$_{NP}$]$_{IC}$
        H-come second/both 1pe[3] father-in-law 1s Frank
        We were coming, both me and my father-in-law, Francisco.

2.3.2 The quantified list construction is not coordination

One special feature of QLC's is that they lack a coordination marker. If a conjunction is added the two noun phrases no longer count as subsets of the same superset.

(17)   *Chi drobe'i ya rop go' Sǔs.*   San Bartolomé Loxicha
        INTERROG poder? ir C(?)-dos 2r Susana
        INTERROG be.able? go C(?)-two 2r Susan
        ¿Pueden ir Uds. dos, tu y Susana?
        Can the two of you go, you and Susan?

(18)   *Chi drobe'i ya go' rop go' Sǔs?*
        INTERROG poder? ir 2r C(?)-dos 2r Susana
        INTERROG be.able? go 2r C(?)-two 2r Susan
        ¿Pueden ustedes ir, ustedes dos, tú y Susan?
        Can you guys go, the two of you, you and Susan?

(19)   *Chi drobe'i ya rop go' no Sǔs?*
        INTERROG poder? ir C(?)-dos 2r y Susana
        INTERROG poder? ir C(?)-dos 2r and Susana
        ¿Pueden ir los dos, y Susan?
        Can the two of you and Susan go?

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[2] The structure of the relative clause is ambiguous. It may be [pineapples] (and) [things that they bring] or [[pineapples and things] that they bring]. Surely the subjects brought the pineapples with them to market as well as the other things, but the speaker may still have intended either structure for this sentence.
[3] While this may appear to be an inclusory pronoun, it probably isn't. The first person exclusive may be used for either singular or plural reference in SZ.

2.3.3 Animacy restrictions on IC's

Singer (2001) and Bril (2004) have both found that IC's can only refer to humans in many, though not all, languages with IC's.

In Miahuatec, it is not possible to use an IC to refer to place names or other inanimate things. A speaker's attempts at such an example ended up with a non-inclusory meaning:

(20)   *Ngwa-no' re yon [guez Xiz]*$_{NP\text{-}POS}$.   San Bartolomé Loxicha
        fuimos todos tres pueblo SanBaltazar
        C-go-1e all C(?)-three town SBalL
        Fuimos a los tres pueblos de San Baltazar.
        We went to the three towns belonging (politically) to San Baltazar Loxicha.

It is possible to form a true IC which only refers to animals.

(21)   **Re yon [xin bidx]**$_{NP\text{-}POS}$ **ngwa god.**
        todos tres hijo(s) gata fueron cazar
        all C(?)-three offspring cat C-go P-hunt
        La gata y dos de sus hijos fueron a cazar.
        The cat and two of her children went to hunt.

However, if one wishes to refer to a group of mixed animacy, what would otherwise be a well-formed inclusory construction results in a non-inclusory meaning:

(22)   *Rop [mbak xa]*$_{NP\text{-}POS}$ *ndǎ.*
        C(?)-dos ANC-perro 3h H-ir
        C(?)-two ANC-dog 3h H-go
        Fueron los dos perros de él.
        His two dogs went.

In order to express that the man and his dog went together, the two of them, one can use a 3rd person human pronoun to refer to them both in context, or if the context is not already clear one can do this and add a coordinate noun phrase in apposition to this pronoun, as in (23), or can resort to either of what appear to be two variations on the quantified list construction, shown in (24) and (25):

(23)   *Ngwa rop xa, xa no mbak xa.*
        C-ir C(?)-dos 3h 3h y ANC-perro 3h
        C-go C(?)-two 3h 3h and ANC-dog 3h
        Fueron lo dos, él y su perro (de él).
        The two of them went, he and his dog.

(24)   *Rop xa mbak ndă.*
       C(?)-two 3h ANC-perro H-ir
       C(?)-two 3h ANC-dog H-go
       Él y su perro fueron.
       He and his dog went.

(25)   *Rop xa mbak xa ndă.*
       C(?)-two 3h ANC-perro 3h H-ir
       C(?)-two 3h ANC-dog 3h H-go
       Fue con su perro fueron.
       He went with his dog.

Comparing (22) to (24) and (25), it would seem that if the human is intended to be one of the subsets quantified, the human must come first, even though possessors normally follow possessed nouns. If an animal possesses a human there is no order change.

(26)   *Mbro' **rop xwan mbak**.*
       C-salir **C(?)-dos dueño ANC-perro**
       C-go.out **C(?)-two owner ANC-dog**
       1. Salió el perro con su dueño.   Inclusory meaning preferred
       The dog with/and his owner went out.
       2. Salieron sus dos dueños del perro.   Non-inclusory meaning possible
       The dog's two owners went out.

3.4   The structure of SZ quantifier constructions

Both IC's and QLC's can be expressed as a mathematical expression:

(27) $X_{\text{QUANTIFIER}} = Y_{\text{POSSESSED NP}} + Z_{\text{POSSESSOR NP}}$ IC

(28) $X_{\text{QUANTIFIER}} = Y_{\text{NP}} + Z_{\text{NP}}$ QLC

The quantity of X is specific by nature and the quantity of either Y or Z, typically the latter in IC's, is usually or always apparent from context (a named person is singular, a noun phrase represented by a pronoun may have been mentioned with a full NP previously or otherwise is likely clear from context). The quantity of the remainder can thus be deduced algebraically. The equation for example (4) would be *3 = y + 1*, ergo *y*, the number of children indicated, is *2*.

The type of SZ IC and/or QLC which has a pronoun referring to the superset and preceding the quantifier can be analyzed as a relative clause.

(29) $W_{\text{PRONOUN}} = X_{\text{QUANTIFIER}} = Y_{\text{NP}} + Z_{\text{NP}}$

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SZ IC's and QLC's without initial pronouns are headed by verbs (quantifiers), yet they function as noun phrases, filling argument slots and other functions of noun phrases. These quantifier-headed constructions are ungrammatical in Quiegolani (Black, p.c.) but are common in SZ languages to Quiegolani's west, and are the only type found in the westernmost SZ language. It is likely that the type of construction with an initial pronoun is the original construction, and that the common argument that is the head of the relative clause, has been lost in the other construction type. This may be related to other phenomena in Zapotec languages where a noun phrase is omitted or "covert" when there is coreferrence between it and another noun phrase (as described by Butler, 1976; Black, 1994: 95-96; Avelino et al., 2004; Beam de Azcona, 2004: 335-337)

3. Current thoughts about expanding the global typology of IC's

3.1 Types of supersets

Lichtenberk (2000) distinguished "phrasal IC's" and "split IC's," noting a generalization about whether the superset was a free pronoun or dependent pronominal. Singer (2001) found that the generalization of free but not dependent pronominals forming phrases with the subset NP did not always hold and instead opted for the following schema:

Table 1: Singer's three types of IC's according to how the superset is represented

		Bound pronominal?	
		Yes	No
Free pronoun?	**Yes**	Type 3	Type 1
	No	Type 2	**?**

In SZ languages the number (the essential feature of IC's) of the superset is indicated by a quantifier, itself a verb, while other qualities of the superset may optionally be indicated by a pronoun. Having a quantifier verb as the superset of an IC is not unique to Zapotec:

(30)   Jarawara (Dixon, 2004:587)
Haimoto$_A$ faha$_O$ kii ne-bona;
name(m) water(f) look.at AUX-INTm

*to-ke-hiri ama **[Bakoki jaa] fama-hi***
AWAY-in.motion-RPem EXTENT **name(m) PERI be.two-m**

Haimoto intended to go fishing; **he** went, **together with Bakoki (lit. with Bakoki he was two)**

Depending on the language, the superset of the IC may be indicated by a free pronoun, a bound pronominal, or a quantifier, which itself may be a verb or another part of speech.

English and Spanish quantifiers are adjectives rather than verbs. The idiomatic Spanish construction *con todo y* is quite different from the Oceanic, Australian, and Zapotec IC's,

but appears to be another type of IC, though quite restricted in only having one possible word, *todo*, as the superset.

- Luis Miguel llega a México **con todo y Mariachi**
- LAPTOP IBM T42 NUEVA **CON TODO Y ACCESORIOS**
- Diez años después vendieron ese negocio, **con todo y los 82 esclavos que allí trabajaban**, por $90.000.
- A la calle **con todo y maletas**, Britney corrió a Kevin de su casa.
  (to the street **with all and bags**, Britney threw Kevin out of the house)

The quantifier 'all' seems especially prone to grammaticalization (e.g. English quotative "and she was all, '…'"). In Miahuatec 'all' plays a special role in IC's (see Appendix B). In English we have something similar to the Spanish construction, e.g. "She threw him out, bags and all." We can also form something similar to the IC using *all* with or without a number, if the unnamed subset is known to the listener(s), such as when it forms a natural or otherwise known set with the named subset:

- *I hate Posh Spice, all four (of 'em).*
- *Who was your favorite Beatle? Well, John, Paul, I loved all four.*

New descriptions of IC's should identify what type of word or marker is used to indicate the superset. If a quantifier represents the superset, its part of speech and role in IC phrase structure should be identified. It should also be stated whether or not multiple markers are used, and which markers are optional or obligatory.

3.2   Some new proposed terminology for the semantic analysis of IC's

There are three elements represented in IC's:

The superset
One or more *overt subsets*
One *covert subset*

These elements have *known values* and *vague values*. Values include *quantities* and *qualities*.

Quantity is the value that is essential to the IC, but qualities may also happen to be indicated. All IC's have a *known quantity* for the superset. It may be 'dual,' 'plural,' or 'five,' but it is known.

The *overt subset(s)* is a subset that is directly indicated by a noun phrase, which may or may not form a phrase together with the superset.

A term introduced by Singer for the semantic analysis of IC's is the following:

The *central member of a superset* is that referent which is already specified by the superset. This is a single first person for first person supersets, a single second person for second person supersets and a single first plus a single second person for first person inclusive supersets. Third person supersets do not have a central member. (Singer, 2001: 28) [my italics]

The *covert subset* is the remaining subset whose quantity, together with the quantity of any and all overt subsets, adds up to the quantity of the superset. The quantity and qualities of the covert subset are indicated not through a direct noun phrase whose sole function is to indicate the subset (i.e. the covert subset is not an overt subset), but rather through words, phrases, or markers with other syntactic or morphosyntactic roles. For example, information about the covert subset may be extrapolated from a superset inclusory pronoun (see Singer's discussion of the "central member of the superset," cited above) or from the possessor of the overt subset, as in SZ.

Both overt and covert subsets may have either or both vague and known values.

Known values are features overtly indicated which don't have to be deduced. If a subset is a given name, e.g. *Peter*, it is known that this subset has singular quantity and probably male gender, human animacy etc.

Note that quantifiers may also occur inside subsets, providing that subset with a known quantity:

(31)   Nêlêmwa, Remote Oceanic, Oceanic, New Caledonia, (Bril 2004: 208)
        Hla *u oda mwa **ma hlileny thaxamo**.*
        3PL PERF go.up ACT **and/with/ASSOC these2.DEICT wife**
        He and his two wives went south.

Vague values are values that can be deduced from an equation in which we subtract the known values of other subset(s) from the known values of the superset. If the superset has a known quantity of three, and we know that one subset, *Peter*, has a known quantity of one, we can deduce that the quantity of the remaining subset is two, even though the quantity of two is not directly stated or marked anywhere in the utterance. [4]

Appendix A: Grammaticalization paths

Bril (2004) identified how superset pronouns have come to be used as markers of coordination and comitative constructions in Oceanic languages. Though SZ supersets are quantifiers rather than pronouns, they show similar steps towards grammaticalization.

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[4] While the most important values of IC's are quantities, to some extent we may deduce qualities in the same way. If a language marks masculine on plural pronouns reflecting a group of mixed gender, if the superset word is a masculine pronoun and the overt subset is feminine, we can deduce that the covert subset is masculine.

(32) San Cristobal Amatlán (Riggs, n.d.)

Nal za na tub kwent cheen <u>konej rop   mbew</u>.
ahora doy yo uno cuento de   loan   segundo/ambos coyote
now   give 1s one story of   <u>rabbit second/both   coyote</u>
Now I will give the story of <u>the rabbit with the coyote</u>.

(33)   San Agustín Mixtepec

mb*ǽʔt* *ŋgwà ɣǎw* **r*ǒp* *xnà̰ʔa*.**
child C-go P-eat **two POS-mother**
 '**The child** went to eat **with his/her mother**.'

The unusual word order in the two examples above is a sign of grammaticalization,
which may be facilitated by word order changes affecting IC's and QLC's due to focus
marking.

 (34)   **L*è̀'ë* m*ě*** *ndá* **r*ǒp* [*tzě̋'l* m*ě*]***NP-POS** *ndá kanǐ'*.
        [FOC 3hc] C-go **two spouse 3hc]** H-go dance
        S/he went **with his/her spouse** to dance.

(35)   **[*læ̀ʔæ* m*ě* r*ǒp* β*ǽ'l* m*ě*]** *ŋé yṵ̀ʔɣ nǐt yæ̀t*.
        [FOC 3hc two sister 3hc] AUX cook |water tortilla: food|
        She and her sister are preparing the meal.

Appendix B: Ways of disambiguating quantified and non-quantified possessors

In SZ languages, where an inclusory reading is possible, i.e. when the syntax and
morphology are that of an IC, the inclusory reading is strongly preferred, though a non-
inclusory reading is also possible. If a non-inclusory meaning is intended this is usually
indicated by the context:

(36)   San Agustín Loxicha (dialect of Miahuatec)

Ngol le Mari, per <u>re yon [bël Mari]</u>NPp-POSS nduxkwa' thi komid,
C-nacer nombre María pero <u>todo C(?)-tres hermana María</u> H-hacer uno comida
C-be.born name Mary but <u>all C(?)-three sister Mary</u> H-make one food

per Mari na ñe-d-e. Mbro' Mari fwer.
pero María NEG saber=NEG=3i C-salir María fuera
but Mary NEG know=NEG=3i C-go.out Mary away

Bël Mari nduxkwa'-i.
hermana María H-hacer=3i
sister Mary H-make=3i

Zë' mzin Mari nzo la komid por ngol le Mari.
REL C-llegar María H-estar ya comida por C-nacer nombre María
REL C-arrive Mary H-be already food for C-be.born name Mary

(En) el cumpleaños de María, <u>todas las tres hermanas de María</u> hicieron una comida, pero María no supo. Salió María fuera. Las hermanas de María lo hicieron. Cuando llegó María ya estaba la comida para el cumpleaños de María.

On Mary's birthday <u>all her three sisters</u> made a meal, but Mary didn't know about it. Mary had gone out. Mary's sisters did it. When Mary arrived the food was already made for Mary's birthday.

A borrowed Spanish preposition or a native coordinate conjunction can be used to form alternatives to the IC. The following are alternatives to the IC's in
 (6) and (7):

(37)   *Pedr ngwa zi'n <u>kon rop [xi'n Pedr]</u>_{NP-POS}.*
         Pedro C-ir trabajo <u>con C(?)-dos hijo Pedro</u>
         Peter C-go job <u>with C(?)-two offspring Peter</u>
         Pedro fue a trabajar <u>con sus dos hijos</u>.
         Peter went to work <u>with his two sons.</u>

(38)   *Mari <u>kon re [yon bël]</u>_{NP-POS} nduxkwa' komid.*
         María <u>con todo C(?)-tres hermana</u> H-hacer comida
         Mary <u>with all C(?)-three sister</u> H-make food
         María <u>con sus tres hermanas</u> hicieron la comida.
         Mary <u>with her three sisters</u> made the food.

When a quantifier-headed NP follows such a comitative/coordination marker, the NP's possessor does not count towards the number indicated by the quantifier if it is coreferent with the noun on the other side of the coordination/comitative marker.

(39)   *Mgòl Bdǒnh <u>nò ròp [xì'n xà']</u>_{NP-POS} ndǎ rǒ nìt.*   San Bartolomé Loxicha
         anciano Abdón <u>con C(?)-dos hijo 3h</u> H-ir cara agua
         elder Abdón <u>with C(?)-two offspring 3h</u> H-go face water
         Don Abdón <u>con dos de sus hijos</u> se fueron a la playa.
         Mr. Abdón <u>with two of his children</u> went to the beach.

If there is no such coreference, then the possessor does indeed count:

(40)   *Mgòl Bdoňh nò **ròp [xì'n Mari]**_{NP-POS} ndǎ rǒ nìt.*
         anciano Abdón con **C(?)-dos hijo María** H-ir cara agua
         elder Abdón with **C(?)-two offspring Mary** H-go face water
         Don Abdon se fue a la playa con **Maria y su hijo/a.**
         Mr. Abdón went to the beach with **Mary and her child**.

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Another way of indicating a non-inclusory construction, in which the possessor is not counted by the quantifier, is by adding a relative clause to emphasize the possession:

(41)   *Ndǎ **ròp** [bda'n xa']*NP-POS.   Inclusory meaning preferred
       H-ir **C(?)-dos hermano/a 3h**
       H-go **C(?)-two cross-sex.sibling 3h**
       Él y su hermana fueron.
       He and his sister went.

(42)   *Ndǎ <u>ròp</u> [bda'n xa']*NP-POS <u>jwa'n ndxap xa'</u>.   Only non-inclusory meaning
       H-ir <u>C(?)-dos hermano/a 3h REL H-tener 3h</u>
       H-go <u>C(?)-two cross-sex.sibling 3h REL H-have 3h</u>
       <u>Las dos hermanas que tiene él</u> fueron.
       <u>The two sisters that he has</u> went.

In (the SBarL variety of) Miahuatec it is also possible to indicate a non-inclusory meaning by using different inflection of the quantifier (a type of verb) than used in the IC. In order to strengthen the possibility of an inclusory meaning the quantifier *re* 'all' is usually added to numbers of three or more.

(43)   <u>*Tzon [xi'n mgol Bdǒnh]*NP-POS *ndǎ rǒ nìt dò'*.</u>   Non-inclusory meaning
       <u>P-tres hijo anciano Abdón ir boca agua sagrado</u>
       <u>P-three offspring elder Abdón go mouth water holy</u>
       <u>Tres de sus hijos de Don Abdón</u> fueron a la playa.
       <u>Three of Mr. Abdón's children</u> went to the shore.

(44)   ***Re yon** [xi'n mgol Bdonh]*NP-POS *ngwa rǒ nìt dò'*.   Inclusory Construction
       todo C(?)-tres hijo ANC-anciano Abdón C-ir boca agua sagrado
       all C(?)-three offspring ANC-elder Abdón C-go mouth water holy
       Don Abdón y dos de sus hijos fueron al mar.
       Mr. Abdón and two of his children went to the shore.

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